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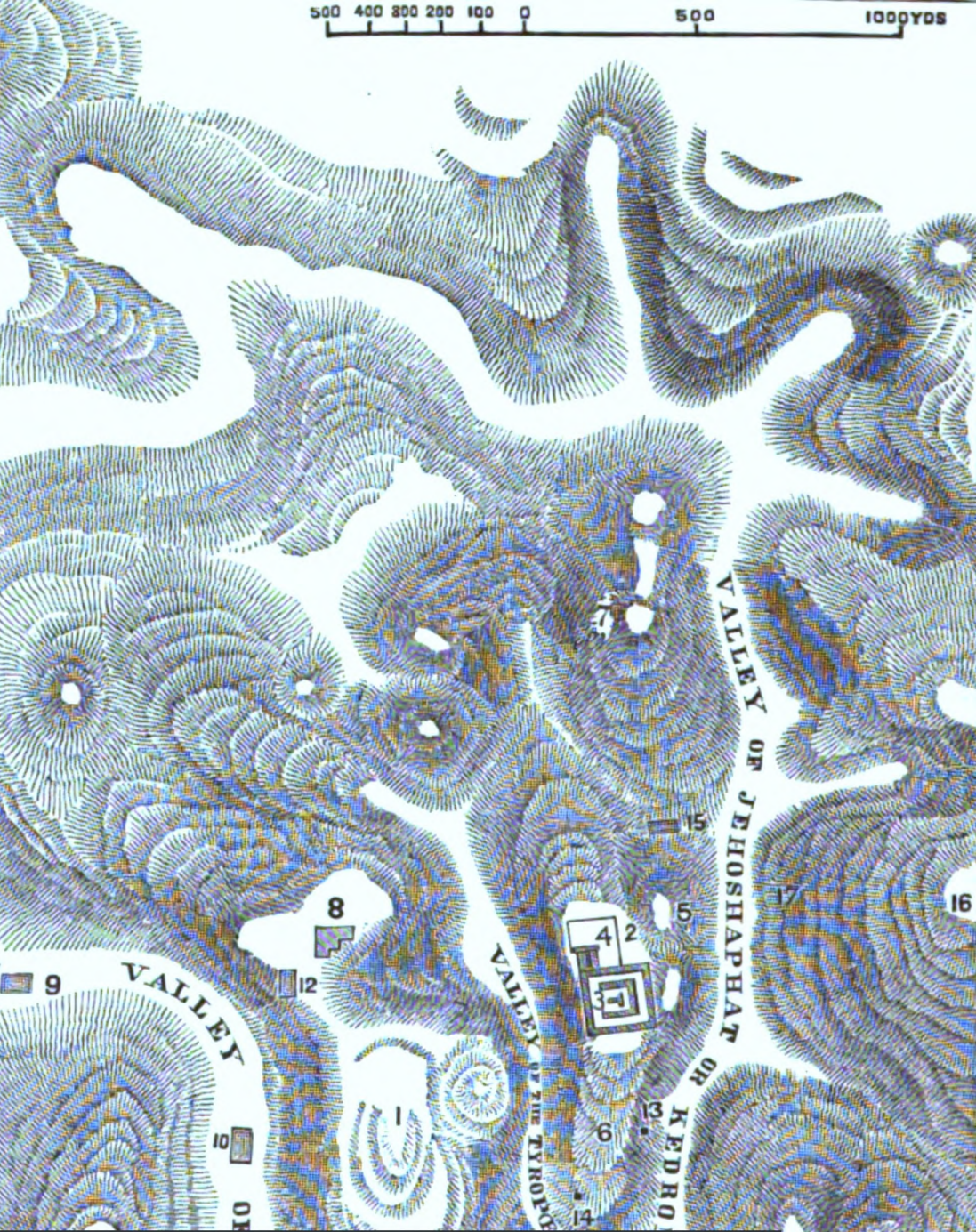
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COMPRISING ITS

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ABBREVIATIONS.

Ald. The Aldine edition of the Septuagint, 1518.

Alex. The Codex Alexandrinus (5th cent.), edited by Baber, 1816–28.

A. V. The authorized (common) English version of the Bible.

Comp. The Septuagint as printed in the Complutensian Polyglott, 1514–17, published 1522.

FA. The Codex Friderico-Augustanus (4th cent.), published by Tischendorf in 1846.

Rom. The Roman edition of the Septuagint, 1587. The readings of the Septuagin for which no authority is specified are also from this source.

Sin. The Codex Sinaiticus (4th cent.), published by Tischendorf in 1862. This and FA. are parts of the same manuscript.

Vat. The Codex Vaticanus 1209 (4th cent.), according to Mai's edition, published by Vercellone in 1857. "Vat. H." denotes readings of the MS. (differing from Mai), given in Holmes and Parsons's edition of the Septuagint, 1798-1827. "Vat.^{1}" distinguishes the primary reading of the MS. from "Vat.^{2}" or "2. m.," the alteration of a later reviser.

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GENNESARET, SEA OF (λίμνη Γεννησαρέτ, Luke v. 1; ὕδωρ Γεννησάρ, 1 Macc. xi. 67), called in the O. T. "the Sea of Chinnereth," or "Cinneroth," Num. xxxiv. 11; Josh. xii. 3), from a town of that name which stood on or near its shore (Josh. xix. 35). In the later Hebrew we always find the Greek form גִּנֵּסַר, which may possibly be a corruption of כִּנֶּרֶת, though some derive the word from Gannah, "a garden," and Sharon, the name of a plain between Tabor and this lake (*Onom.* s. v. Σαρών; Reland, pp. 193, 259). Josephus calls it Γεννησαρῖτιν λίμνην (*Ant.* xviii. 2, § 1); and this seems to have been its common name at the commencement of our era (Strab. xvi. p. 755; Plin. v. 16; Ptol. v. 15). At its northwestern angle was a beautiful and fertile plain called "Gennesaret" (γῆν Γεννησαρέτ, Matt. xiv. 34), from which the name of the lake was taken (Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 10, § 7). The lake is also called in the N. T. Θάλασσα τῆς Γαλιλαίας, from the province of Galilee which bordered on its western side (Matt. iv. 18; Mark vii. 31; John vi. 1); and Θάλασσα τῆς Τιβεριάδος, from the celebrated city (John vi. 1, [xxi. 1]). Eusebius calls it Λίμνη Τιβεριάς (*Onom.* s. v. Σαρών; see also Cyr. in *Jes.* i. 5). It is a curious fact that all the numerous names given to this lake were taken from places on its western side. Its modern name is *Bahr Tubariyeh* (بحر طبريه).

In Josh. xi. 2 "the plains south of Chinneroth" are mentioned. It is the sea and not the city that is here referred to (comp. Deut. iii. 17; Josh. xii. 3); and "the plains" are those along the banks of the Jordan. Most of our Lord's public life was spent in the environs of the Sea of Gennesaret. On its shores stood Capernaum, "his own city" (Matt. iv. 13); on its shore he called his first disciples from their occupation as fishermen (Luke v. 1–11); and near its shores he spake many of his parables, and performed many of his miracles. This region was then the most densely peopled in all Palestine. No less than *nine* cities stood on the very shores of the lake; while numerous large villages dotted the plains and hill-sides around (Porter, *Handbook*, p. 424).

The Sea of Gennesaret is of an oval shape, about thirteen geographical miles long, and six broad. Josephus gives the length at 140 stadia, and the breadth forty (*B. J.* iii. 10, § 7); and Pliny says it measured xvi. M. P. by vi. (*H. N.* xiv.). Both these are so near the truth that they could scarcely have been mere estimates. The river Jordan enters it at its northern end, and passes out at its southern end. In fact the bed of the lake is just a lower section of the great Jordan valley. Its most remarkable feature is its deep depression, being no less than 700 feet below the level of the ocean (Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* i. 613). Like almost all lakes of volcanic origin it occupies the bottom of a great basin, the sides of which shelve down with a uniform slope from the surrounding plateaus. On the east the banks are nearly 2000 feet high, destitute of verdure and of foliage, deeply furrowed by ravines, but quite flat along the summit; forming in fact the supporting wall of the table-land of Bashan. On the north there is a gradual descent from this table-land to the valley of the Jordan; and then a gradual rise again to a plateau of nearly equal elevation skirting the mountains of Upper Galilee. The western banks are less regular, yet they present the same general features — plateaus of different altitudes breaking down abruptly to the shore. The scenery has neither grandeur nor beauty. It wants features, and it wants variety. It is bleak and monotonous, especially so when the sky is cloudless and the sun high. The golden tints and purple shadows of evening help it, but it looks best during a thunder-storm, such as the writer has often witnessed in early spring. The cliffs and rocks along the shores are mostly a hard porous basalt, and the whole basin has a scathed volcanic look. The frequent earthquakes prove that the elements of destruction are still at work beneath the surface. There is a copious warm fountain near the site of Tiberias, and it is said that at the time of the great earthquake of 1837 both the quantity and temperature of the water were much increased.

The great depression makes the climate of the shores almost tropical. This is very sensibly felt by the traveller in going down from the plains of Galilee. In summer the heat is intense, and even in early spring the air has something of an Egyptian balminess. Snow very rarely falls, and though it often whitens the neighboring mountains, it never lies here. The vegetation is almost of a tropical character. The thorny lote-tree grows

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among the basalt rocks; palms flourish luxuriantly, and indigo is cultivated in the fields (comp. Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 10, § 6).

The water of the lake is sweet, cool, and transparent; and as the beach is everywhere pebbly it has a beautiful sparkling look. This fact is somewhat strange when we consider that it is exposed to the powerful rays of the sun, that many warm and brackish springs flow into it, and that it is supplied by the Jordan, which rushes into its northern end, a turbid, ruddy torrent. The lake abounds in fish now as in ancient times. Some are of the same species as those got in the Nile, such as the *Silurus*, the *Mugil*, and another called by Hasselquist *Sparus Galilæus* (*Reise*, pp. 181, 412 f.; comp. Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 10, § 7). The fishery, like the soil of the surrounding country, is sadly neglected. One little crazy boat is the sole representative of the fleets that covered the lake in N. T. times, and even with it there is no deep-water fishing. Two modes are now employed to catch the fish. One is a hand-net, with which a man, usually naked (John xxi. 7), stalks along the shore, and watching his opportunity, throws it round the game with a jerk. The other mode is still more curious. Breadcrumbs are mixed up with bi-chloride of mercury, and sown over the water; the fish swallow the poison and die. The dead bodies float are picked up, and taken to the market of Tiberias! (Porter, *Handbook*, p. 432.)

A "mournful and solitary silence" now reigns along the shores of the Sea of Gennesaret, which were in former ages studded with great cities, and resounded with the din of an active and industrious people. Seven out of the nine cities above referred to are now uninhabited ruins; one, Magdala, is occupied by half a dozen mud hovels; and Tiberias alone retains a wretched remnant of its former prosperity. J. L. P.

GENNE'US (Γενναῖος, Alex. Γεννεος: *Gennæus*), father of Apollonius, who was one of several generals (στρατηγοί) commanding towns in Palestine, who molested the Jews while Lysias was governor for Antiochus Eupator (2 Macc. xii. 2). Luther understands the word as an adjective (γενναῖος = well-born), and has "des edlen Apollonius."

GENTILES. I. *Old Testament.* — The Hebrew גּוֹי in sing. = a people, nation, body politic; in which sense it is applied to the Jewish nation amongst others. In the plural it acquires an ethnographic, and also an invidious meaning, and is rendered in A. V. by Gentiles and Heathen.

גּוֹיִם, the nations, the surrounding nations, *foreigners*, as opposed to Israel (Neh. v. 8). In Gen. x. 5 it occurs in its most indefinite sense = the far-distant inhabitants of the Western Isles, without the slightest accessory notion of heathenism, or barbarism. In Lev., Deut., Ps., the term is applied to the various heathen nations with which Israel came into contact; its meaning grows wider in proportion to the wider circle of the national experience, and more or less invidious according to the success or defeat of the national arms. In the prophets it attains at once its most comprehensive and its most hostile view; hostile in presence of victorious rivals, comprehensive with reference to the triumphs of a spiritual future.

Notwithstanding the disagreeable connotation of the term, the Jews were able to use it, even in the plural, in a purely technical, geographical sense (Gen. x. 5 (see above); Gen. xiv. 1; Josh. xii. 23; Is. ix. 1. In Josh. xii. 23, "the king of the nations of Gilgal," A. V.; better with Gesenius "the king of the Gentiles at Gilgal," where probably, as afterwards in Galilee, foreigners, *Gentiles*, were settled among the Jews.

For "Galilee of the Gentiles," comp. Matt. iv 15 with Is. ix. 1, where A. V. "Galilee of the nations." In Heb. גְּלִיל הַגּוֹיִם, the "circle of the Gentiles;" κατ' ἐξοχήν, הַגָּלִיל, ha-Gâleel; whence the name Galilee applied to a district which was largely peopled by the Gentiles, especially the Phœnicians.

The Gentiles in Gen. xiv. 1 may either be the inhabitants of the same territory, or, as suggested by Gesenius, "nations of the West" generally.

II. *New Testament.* — 1. The Greek ἔθνος in sing. means a people or nation (Matt. xxiv. 7; Acts ii. 5, &c.), and even the Jewish people (Luke vii. 5, xxiii. 2, &c.; comp. גּוֹי, supr.). It is only in the pl. that it is used for the Heb. גּוֹיִם, heathen, Gentiles (comp. ἔθνος, heathen, ethnic): in Matt. xxi. 43 ἔθνει alludes to, but does not directly stand for, "the Gentiles." As equivalent to Gentiles it is found in the Epistles of St. Paul, but not always in an invidious sense (*e. g.* Rom. xi. 13; Eph. iii. 1, 6).

2. Ἕλλην, John vii. 35, ἡ διασπορὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, "the Jews dispersed among the Gentiles," Rom. iii. 9, Ἰουδαίους καὶ Ἕλληνας, Jews and Gentiles.

The A. V. is not consistent in its treatment of this word; sometimes rendering it by *Greek* (Acts xiv. 1, xvii. 4; Rom. i. 16, x. 12), sometimes by Gentile (Rom. ii. 9, 10, iii. 9; 1 Cor. x. 32), inserting Greek in the margin. The places where Ἕλλην is equivalent to Greek simply (as Acts xvi. 1, 3) are much fewer than those where it is equivalent to Gentile. The former may probably be reduced to Acts xvi. 1, 3; Acts xviii. 17; Rom. i. 14. The latter use of the word seems to have arisen from the almost universal adoption of the Greek language. Even in 2 Macc. iv. 13 Ἑλληνισμός appears as synonymous with ἀλλοφυλισμός (comp. vi. 9); and in Is. ix. 12 the LXX. renders פְּלִשְׁתִּים by Ἕλληνας; and so the Greek Fathers defended the Christian faith πρὸς Ἕλληνας, and κατὰ Ἑλλήνων. [GREEK; HEATHEN.]

T. E. B.

GENU'BATH (גְּנֻבַת [*thîft*, Ges.]: Γανηβάθ: *Genubath*), the son of Hadad, an Edomite of the royal family, by an Egyptian princess, the sister of Tahpenes, the queen of the Pharaoh who governed Egypt in the latter part of the reign of David (1 K. xi. 20; comp. 16). Genubath was born in the palace of Pharaoh, and weaned by the queen herself; after which he became a member of the royal establishment, on the same footing as one of the sons of Pharaoh. The fragment of Edomite chronicle in which this is contained is very remarkable, and may be compared with that in Gen. xxxvi. Genubath is not again mentioned or alluded to.

GE'ON (Γηών: *Gehon*), i. e. GIHON, one of the four rivers of Eden; introduced, with the Jordan, and probably the Nile, into a figure in the praise

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of wisdom, Ecclus. xxiv. 27. This is merely the Greek form of the Hebrew name the same which is used by the LXX. in Gen. ii. 13.

GE'RA (גֵּרָא [*grain, little weight*, Ges.]: Γηρά; [in 1 Chr. viii. 5, Rom. Vat. Γερά: *Gera*]), one of the "sons," *i. e.* descendants, of Benjamin, enumerated in Gen. xlvi. 21, as already living at the time of Jacob's migration into Egypt. He was son of Bela (1 Chr. viii. 3). [BELA.] The text of this last passage is very corrupt; and the different Geras there named seem to reduce themselves into one — the same as the son of Bela. Gera, who is named Judg. iii. 15 as the ancestor of Ehud, and in 2 Sam. xvi. 5 as the ancestor of Shimei who cursed David [BECHER], is probably also the same person. Gera is not mentioned in the list of Benjamite families in Num. xxvi. 38–40; of which a very obvious explanation is that at that time he was not the head of a separate family, but was included among the Belaites; it being a matter of necessity that some of Bela's sons should be so included, otherwise there could be no family of Belaites at all. Dr. Kalisch has some long and rather perplexed observations on the discrepancies in the lists in Gen. xlvi. and Num. xxvi., and specially as regards the sons of Benjamin. But the truth is that the two lists agree very well as far as Benjamin is concerned. For the only discrepance that remains, when the absence of Becher and Gera from the list in Num. is thus explained, is that for the two names אחי and ראש (Ehi and Rosh) in Gen., we have the one name אחירם (Ahiram) in Num. If this last were written ראם, as it might be, the two texts would be almost identical, especially if written in the Samaritan character, in which the *shin* closely resembles the *mem*. That Abiram is right we are quite sure, from the family of the Ahiramites, and from the non-mention elsewhere of Rosh, which in fact is not a proper name. [ROSH.] The conclusion therefore seems certain that אחיוראש in Gen. is a mere clerical error, and that there is perfect agreement between the two lists. This view is strengthened by the further fact that in the word which follows Rosh, namely, Muppim, the initial *m* is an error for *sh*. It should be Shuppim, as in Num. xxvi. 39; 1 Chr. vii. 12. The final *m* of *Ahiram*, and the initial *sh* of *Shuppim*, have thus been transposed. To the remarks made under BECHER should be added that the great destruction of the Benjamites recorded in Judg. xx. may account for the introduction of so many new names in the later Benjamite lists of 1 Chr. vii. and viii., of which several seem to be women's names.

A. C. H.

GERAH. [MEASURES.]

GE'RAR (גְּרָר [*circle, district*, Fürst; *abode, residence*, Sim., Ges.]: Γεραρά [or Γέραρα; in 2 Chr., Γεδώρ: *Gerara*;] Joseph. *Ant.* i. 12, § 1, a very ancient city south of Gaza. It occurs chiefly in Genesis (x. 19, xx. 1, xxvi. 1, 6, [17, 20, 26]) also incidentally in 2 Chr. xiv. 13, 14. In Genesis the people are spoken of as Philistines; but their habits appear, in that early stage, more pastoral than they subsequently were. Yet they are even then warlike, since Abimelech was "a captain of the host," who appears from his fixed title, "Phichol," like that of the king, "Abimelech," to be a permanent officer (comp. Gen. xxi. 32, xxvi. 26, and Ps. xxxiv., title). The local description, xx. 1, "between Kadesh and Shur," is probably meant to indicate the limits within which these pastoral Philistines, whose chief seat was then Gerar, ranged, although it would by no means follow that their territory embraced all the interval between those cities. It must have trenched on the "south" or "south country" of later Palestine. From a comparison of xxi. 32 with xxvi. 23, 26,[a] Beer-sheba would seem to be just on the verge of this territory, and perhaps to be its limit towards the N. E. For its southern boundary, though very uncertain, none is more probable than the wadies *el-Arish* ("River of Egypt" [*torrent*, נַחַל]) and *el-'Ain*; south of which the neighboring "wilderness of Paran" (xx. 15, xxi. 22, 34) may be probably reckoned to begin. Isaac was most probably born in Gerar. The great crops which he subsequently raised attest the fertility of the soil, which, lying in the maritime plain, still contains some of the best ground in Palestine (xxvi. 12). It is possible that the wells mentioned by Robinson (i. 190) may represent those digged by Abraham and reopened by Isaac (xxvi. 18–22).[b] Williams (*Holy City*, i. 46) speaks of a *Joorf el-Gerar* as now existing, three hours S. S. E. of Gaza, and this may probably indicate the northern limit of the territory, if not the site of the town; but the range of that territory need not be so far narrowed as to make the *Wady Ruhaibeh* an impossible site, as Robinson thinks it (see his map at end of vol. i. and i. 197), for Rehoboth. There is also a *Wady el-Jerûr* laid down S. of the wadies above-named, and running into one of them; but this is too far south (Robinson, i. 189, note) to be accepted as a possible site The valley of Gerar may be almost any important wady within the limits indicated; but if the above-mentioned situation for the wells be not rejected, it would tend to designate the *Wady el-'Ain*. Robinson (ii. 44) appears to prefer the *Wady es-Sheri'ah*, running to the sea south of Gaza.[c] Eusebius (*de Sit. & Nom. Loc. Heb.* s. v.) makes Gerar 25 miles S. from Eleutheropolis, which would be about the latitude of Beer-sheba; but see Jerome, *Lib. Quæst. Heb.* Gen. xxii. 3. Bered (xvi. 14) may perhaps have lain in this territory. In 1 Chr. iv. 39, the LXX. read Gerar, εἰς τὴν Γέραρα, for Gedor; a substitution which is not without some claims to support. [BERED; BEER-SHEBA; GEDOR.]

H. H.

* GERAR, VALLEY OF. [GERAR.]

[a] The well where Isaac and Abimelech covenanted is distinguished by the LXX. from the Beer-sheba where Abraham did so, the former being called φρέαρ ὅρκου, the latter φρέαρ ὁρκισμοῦ.

[b] The stopping wells is a device still resorted to by the Bedouins, to make a country untenable by a neighbor of whom they wish to be rid.

[c] * In his *Phys. Geogr.* (p 128) Robinson says merely that this valley was doubtless "some portion or branch of these valleys south and southeast of Gaza." Van de Velde (ii. 183) heard of "a site called *Um el-Gerar*, about 8 hours from Gaza, and about the same distance from the sea," though without any ruins to indicate its antiquity. Thomson says (*Land and Book*, ii. 348) that Gerar has not yet been discovered, but can hardly fail to be brought to light, "just as soon as it is safe to travel in that region." B

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GER'ASA (Γέρασα, Ptol.; Γάδασα, Not. Eccles.: Arab. *Jerash*, جرش). This name does not occur in the O. T., nor in the Received Text of the N T. But it is now generally admitted that in Matt. viii. 28 "Gergesenes" supersedes "Gadarenes." Gerasa was a celebrated city on the eastern borders of Perœa (Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 3, § 3), placed by some in the province of Cœlesyria and region of Decapolis (Steph. *s. v.*), by others in Arabia (Epiph. *adv. Hær.*; Origen. *in Johan.*). These various statements do not arise from any doubts as to the locality of the city, but from the ill-defined boundaries of the provinces mentioned. In the Roman age no city of Palestine was better known than Gerasa. It is situated amid the mountains of Gilead, 20 miles east of the Jordan, and 25 north of Philadelphia, the ancient Rabbath-Ammon. Several MSS. read Γερασηνῶν instead of Γεργεσηνῶν, in Matt. viii. 28; but the city of Gerasa lay too far from the Sea of Tiberias to admit the possibility of the miracles having been wrought in its vicinity. If the reading Γερασηνῶν be the true one, the χώρα, "district," must then have been very large, including Gadara and its environs; and Matthew thus uses a broader appellation, where Mark and Luke use a more specific one. This is not improbable; as Jerome (*ad Obad.*) states that Gilead was in his day called Gerasa; and Origen affirms that Γερασηνῶν was the ancient reading (*Opp.* iv. p. 140). [GADARA.]

It is not known when or by whom Gerasa was founded. It is first mentioned by Josephus as having been captured by Alexander Jannæus (*circ.* B. C. 85; Joseph. *B. J.* i. 4, § 8). It was one of the cities the Jews burned in revenge for the massacre of their countrymen at Cæsarea, at the commencement of their last war with the Romans; and it had scarcely recovered from this calamity when the Emperor Vespasian despatched Annius, his general, to capture it. Annius, having carried the city at the first assault, put to the sword one thousand of the youth who had not effected their escape, enslaved their families, and plundered their dwellings (Joseph. *B. J.* iv. 9, § 1). It appears to have been nearly a century subsequent to this period that Gerasa attained its greatest prosperity, and was adorned with those monuments which give it a place among the proudest cities of Syria. History tells us nothing of this, but the fragments of inscriptions found among its ruined palaces and temples, show that it is indebted for its architectural splendor to the age and genius of the Antonines (A. D. 138–80). It subsequently became the seat of a bishopric. There is no evidence that the city was ever occupied by the Saracens. There are no traces of their architecture — no mosques, no inscriptions, no reconstruction of old edifices, such as are found in most other great cities in Syria. All here is Roman, or at least ante-Islamic; every structure remains as the hand of the destroyer or the earthquake shock left it — ruinous and deserted.

The ruins of Gerasa are by far the most beautiful and extensive east of the Jordan. They are situated on both sides of a shallow valley that runs from north to south through a high undulating plain, and falls into the *Zurka* (the ancient Jabbok) at the distance of about 5 miles. A little rivulet, thickly fringed with oleander, winds through the valley, giving life and beauty to the deserted city. The first view of the ruins is very striking; and such as have enjoyed it will not soon forget the impression made upon the mind. The long colonnade running through the centre of the city, terminating at one end in the graceful circle of the forum; the groups of columns clustered here and there round the crumbling walls of the temples the heavy masses of masonry that distinguish the positions of the great theatres; and the vast field of shapeless ruins rising gradually from the green banks of the rivulet to the battlemented heights on each side — all combine in forming a picture such as is rarely equaled. The form of the city is an irregular square, each side measuring nearly a mile. It was surrounded by a strong wall, a large portion of which, with its flanking towers at intervals, is in a good state of preservation. Three gateways are still nearly perfect; and within the city upwards of *two hundred and thirty* columns remain on their pedestals. (Full descriptions of Gerasa are given in the *Handbook for Syr. and Pal.*; Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria*; Buckingham's *Arab Tribes*; Ritter's *Pal. und Syr.*) J. L. P.

GERGESE'NES, Matt. viii. 28. [GADARA.]

GER'GESITES, THE (οἱ Γεργεσαῖοι: Vulg. omits), Jud. v. 16. [GIRGASHITES.]

GERI'ZIM (always הַר־גְּרִזִים, *har-Gerizim*, the mountain of the Gerizzites, from גְּרִזִי, *G'rizzi*, dwellers in a shorn (*i. e.* desert) land, from גָּרַז, *gâraz*, to cut off; possibly the tribe subdued by David, 1 Sam. xxvii. 8: Γαριζίν, [Vat. Alex. -ζειν, exc. Alex. Deut. xi. 29, Γαζιρειν:] *Garizim*), a mountain designated by Moses, in conjunction with Mount Ebal, to be the scene of a great solemnity upon the entrance of the children of Israel into the promised land. High places had a peculiar charm attached to them in these days of external observance. The law was delivered from Sinai: the blessings and curses affixed to the performance or neglect of it were directed to be pronounced upon Gerizim and Ebal. Six of the tribes — Simeon, Levi (but Joseph being represented by two tribes, Levi's actual place probably was as assigned below), Judah, Issachar, Joseph, and Benjamin were to take their stand upon the former to bless; and six, namely — Reuben, Gad, Asher, Zebulun, Dan, and Naphtali — upon the latter to curse (Deut. xxvii. 12–13). Apparently, the Ark halted mid-way between the two mountains, encompassed by the priests and Levites, thus divided by it into two bands, with Joshua for their coryphæus. He read the blessings and cursings successively (Josh. viii. 33, 34), to be re-echoed by the Levites on either side of him, and responded to by the tribes in their double array with a loud Amen (Deut. xxvii. 14). Curiously enough, only the formula for the curses is given (*ibid.* ver. 14–26); and it was upon Ebal, and not Gerizim, where the altar of whole unwrought stone was to be built, and where the huge plastered stones, with the words of the law (Josh. viii. 32; Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 8, § 44, limits them to the blessings and curses just pronounced) written upon them, were to be set up (Deut. xxvii. 4–6) — a significant omen for a people entering joyously upon their new inheritance and yet the song of Moses abounds with forebodings still more sinister and plain-spoken (Deut. xxxii. 5, 6, and 15–28).

The next question is, Has Moses defined the lo

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alities of Ebal and Gerizim? Standing on the eastern side of the Jordan, in the land of Moab (Deut. i. 5), he asks: "Are they not on the other side Jordan, by the way where the sun goeth down (i. e. at some distance to the W.), in the land of the Canaanites, which dwell in the champaign over against Gilgal (i. e. whose territory — not these mountains — commenced over against Gilgal — see Patrick on Deut. xi. 30), beside the plains of Moreh?" . . . These closing words would seem to mark their site with unusual precision: for in Gen. xii. 6 "the plain (LXX. 'oak') of Moreh" is expressly connected with "the place of Sichem or Shechem" (N. T. "Sychem" or "Sychar," which last form is thought to convey a reproach. Reland, *Dissert. on Gerizim*, in Ugol. *Thesaur.* p. dccxxv., in Josephus the form is "Sicima"), and accordingly Judg. ix. 7, Jotham is made to address his celebrated parable to the men of Shechem from "the top of Mount Gerizim." The "hill of Moreh," mentioned in the history of Gideon his father, may have been a mountain overhanging the same plain, but certainly could not have been further south (comp. c. vi. 33, and vii. 1). Was it therefore prejudice, or neglect of the true import of these passages, that made Eusebius and Epiphanius, both natives of Palestine, concur in placing Ebal and Gerizim near Jericho, the former charging the Samaritans with grave error for affirming them to be near Neapolis? (Reland. *Dissert.*, as above, p. dccxx.). Of one thing we may be assured, namely, that their Scriptural site must have been, in the fourth century, lost to all but the Samaritans; otherwise these two fathers would have spoken very differently. It is true that they consider the Samaritan hypothesis irreconcilable with Deut. xi. 30, which it has already been shown not to be. A more formidable objection would have been that Joshua could not have marched from Ai to Shechem, through a hostile country, to perform the above solemnity, and retraced his steps so soon afterwards to Gilgal, as to have been found there by the Gibeonites (Josh. ix. 6; comp. viii. 30–35). Yet the distance between Ai and Shechem is not so long (under two days' journey). Neither can the interval implied in the context of the former passage have been so short, as even to warrant the modern supposition that the latter passage has been misplaced. The remaining objection, namely, "the wide interval between the two mountains at Shechem" (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 238, note), is still more easily disposed of, if we consider the blessings and curses to have been pronounced by the Levites, standing in the midst of the valley — thus abridging the distance by one half — and not by the six tribes on either hill, who only responded. How indeed could 600,000 men and upwards, besides women and children (comp. Num. ii. 32 with Judg. xx. 2 and 17), have been accommodated in a smaller space? Besides in those days of assemblies "sub dio," the sense of hearing must have been necessarily more acute, just as, before the aids of writing and printing, memories were much more retentive. We may conclude, therefore, that there is no room for doubting the Scriptural position of Ebal and Gerizim to have been — where they are now placed — in the territory of the tribe of Ephraim; the latter of them overhanging the city of Shechem or Sicima, as Josephus, following the Scriptural narrative, asserts. Even Eusebius, in another work of his (*Præp. Evang.* ix. 22), quotes some lines from Theodotus, in which the true position of Ebal and Gerizim is described with great force and accuracy and St. Jerome, while following Eusebius in the Onomasticon, in his ordinary correspondence does not hesitate to connect Sichem or Neapolis, the well of Jacob, and Mount Gerizim (*Ep.* cviii. c. 13, ed. Migne). Procopius of Gaza does nothing more than follow Eusebius, and that clumsily (Reland, *Palæst.* lib. ii. c. 13, p. 503); but his more accurate namesake of Cæsarea expressly asserts that Gerizim rose over Neapolis (*De Ædif.* v. 7) — that Ebal was not a peak of Gerizim (v. Quaresm. *Elucid. T. S.* lib. vii. Per. i. c. 8), but a distinct mountain to the N. of it, and separated from it by the valley in which Shechem stood, we are not called upon here to prove; nor again, that Ebal was entirely barren, which it can scarce be called now; while Gerizim was the same proverb for verdure and gushing rills formerly, that it is now, at least where it descends towards *Nablûs*. It is a far more important question whether Gerizim was the mountain on which Abraham was directed to offer his son Isaac (Gen. xxii. 2 ff.). First, then, let it be observed that it is *not* the mountain, but the district which is there called Moriah (of the same root with Moreh: see Corn. a Lapid. on Gen. xii. 6), and that *antecedently* to the occurrence which took place "upon one of the mountains" in its vicinity — a consideration which of itself would naturally point to the locality, *already* known to Abraham, as the plain or plains of Moreh, "the land of vision," "the high land;" and therefore consistently "the land of adoration," or "religious worship," as it is variously explained That all these interpretations are incomparably more applicable to the natural features of Gerizim and its neighborhood, than to the hillock (in comparison) upon which Solomon built his temple, none can for a moment doubt who have seen both. Jerusalem unquestionably stands upon high ground: but owing to the hills "round about" it cannot be seen on any side from any great distance; nor, for the same reason, could it ever have been a land of vision, or extensive views. Even from Mount Olivet, which must always have towered over the small eminences at its base to the S. W., the view cannot be named in the same breath with that from Gerizim, which is one of the finest in Palestine, commanding, as it does, from an elevation of nearly 2,500 feet (Arrowsmith, *Geograph. Dict. of the H. S.* p. 145), "the Mediterranean Sea on the W., the snowy heights of Hermon on the N., on the E. the wall of the trans-Jordanic mountains, broken by the deep cleft of the Jabbok" (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 235), and the lovely and tortuous expanse of plain (the *Mukhna*) stretched as a carpet of many colors beneath its feet.[a] Neither is the appearance, which it would "present to a traveller advancing up the Philistine plain" (*ibid.* p. 252) — the direction from which Abraham came — to be overlooked. It is by no means necessary, as Mr. Porter thinks (*Handbook of S. & P.* i. 339), that he should have *started* from Beer-sheba (see Gen. xxi. 34 — "the whole land being before him," c. xx. 15). Then, "on the morning of the third day, he would arrive in the plain of Sharon, exactly where the massive height of Gerizim is visible afar off" (ibid p. 251), and from thence, with the mount always

a "From the top of Gerizim the traveller enjoys a prospect unique in the Holy Land." See it well described in Tristram's *Land of Israel* p. 151, 1st ed. H.

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in view, he would proceed to the exact "place which God had told him of" in all solemnity — for again, it is not necessary that he should have arrived on the actual spot during the third day. All that is said in the narrative, is that, from the time that it hove in sight, he and Isaac parted from the young men, and went on together alone. The Samaritans, therefore, through whom the tradition of the true site of Gerizim has been preserved, are probably not wrong when they point out still — as they have done from time immemorial — Gerizim as the hill upon which Abraham's "faith was made perfect;" and it is observable that no such spot is attempted to be shown on the rival hill of Jerusalem, as distinct from Calvary. Different reasons in all probability caused these two localities to be so named: the first, not a mountain, but a land, district, or plain (for it is not intended to be asserted that Gerizim itself ever bore the name of Moriah; though a certain spot upon it was ever afterwards to Abraham personally "Jehovah-jireh"), called Moreh, or Moriah, from the noble vision of nature, and therefore of natural religion, that met the eye; the second, a small hill deriving its name from a special revelation or vision, as the express words of Scripture say, which took place "by the threshing floor of Araunah the Jebusite" (2 Chr. iii. 1; comp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 16). If it be thought strange that a place once called by the "Father of the faithful" Jehovah-jireh, should have been merged by Moses, and ever afterwards, in a general name so different from it in sense and origin as Gerizim; it would be still more strange, that, if Mount Moriah of the book of Chronicles and Jehovah-jireh were one and the same place, no sort of allusion should have been made by the inspired historian to the prime event which had caused it to be so called. True it is that Josephus, in more than one place, asserts that where Abraham offered, there the temple was afterwards built (*Ant.* i. 13, § 2, and vii. 13, § 9). Yet the same Josephus makes God bid Abraham go to the mountain — not the land — of Moriah; having omitted all mention of the plains of Moreh in his account of the preceding narrative. Besides, in more than one place he shows that he bore no love to the Samaritans (*ibid.* xi. 8, § 6, and xii. 5, § 5). St. Jerome follows Josephus (*Quæst.* in Gen. xxii. 5, ed. Migne), but with his uncertainty about the site of Gerizim, what else could he have done? Besides it appears from the *Onomasticon* (s. v.) that he considered the hill of Moreh (Judg. vii. 1) to be the same with Moriah. And who that is aware of the extravagance of the Rabbinical traditions respecting Mount Moriah can attach weight to any one of them? (Cunæus, *De Republ. Heb.* lib. ii. 12). Finally, the Christian tradition, which makes the site of Abraham's sacrifice to have been on Calvary, will derive countenance from neither Josephus nor St. Jerome, unless the sites of the Temple and of the Crucifixion are admitted to have been the same.

Another tradition of the Samaritans is far less trustworthy; namely, that Mount Gerizim was the spot where Melchisedech met Abraham — though there certainly was a Salem or Shalem in that neighborhood (Gen. xxxiii. 18; Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 247 ff.). The first altar erected in the land of Abraham, and the first appearance of Jehovah to him in it, was in the plain of Moreh near Sichem (Gen. xii. 6); but the mountain overhanging that city (assuming our view to be correct) had not yet been hallowed to him for the rest of his life by the decisive trial of his faith, which was made there subsequently. He can hardly therefore be supposed to have deviated from his road so far, which lay through the plain of the Jordan; nor again is it likely that he would have found the king of Sodom so far away from his own territory (Gen. xiv. 17 ff.). Lastly, the altar which Jacob built was not *on* Gerizim, as the Samaritans contend, though probably about its base, at the head of the plain between it and Ebal, "in the parcel of a field" which that patriarch purchased from the children of Hamor, and where he spread his tent (Gen. xxxiii. 18–20). Here was likewise his well (John iv. 6); and the tomb of his son Joseph (Josh. xxiv. 32), both of which are still shown: the former surmounted by the remains of a vaulted chamber, and with the ruins of a church hard by (Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* ii. 283) the latter, with "a fruitful vine" trailing over its white-washed inclosure, and before it two dwarf pillars, hollowed out at the top to receive lamps, which are lighted every Friday or Mohammedan sabbath. There is, however, another Mohammedan monument claiming to be the said tomb (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 241, note). The tradition (Robinson, ii. 283, note) that the twelve patriarchs were buried there likewise (it should have made them eleven without Joseph, or thirteen, including his two sons), probably depends upon Acts vii. 16, where, unless we are to suppose confusion in the narrative, *αὐτός* should be read for *Ἀβραάμ*, which may well have been suggested to the copyist from its recurrence, v. 17; while *αὐτός*, from having already occurred, v. 15, might have been thought suspicious.

We now enter upon the second phase in the history of Gerizim. According to Josephus, a marriage contracted between Manasseh, brother of Jaddua, the then high-priest, and the daughter of Sanballat the Cuthæan (comp. 2 K. xvii. 24), having created a great stir amongst the Jews, who had been strictly forbidden to contract alien marriages (Ezr. ix. 2; Neh. xiii. 23) — Sanballat, in order to reconcile his son-in-law to this unpopular affinity, obtained leave from Alexander the Great to build a temple upon Mount Gerizim, and to inaugurate a rival priesthood and altar there to those of Jerusalem (*Ant.* xi. 8, §§ 2–4, and for the harmonizing of the names and dates, Prideaux, *Connect.* i. 396 ff., M'Caul's ed.). "Samaria thenceforth," says Prideaux, "became the common refuge and asylum of the refractory Jews" (*ibid.*; see also Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8, § 7), and for a time, at least, their temple seems to have been called by the name of a Greek deity (*Ant.* xii. 5, § 5). Hence one of the first acts of Hyrcanus, when the death of Antiochus Sidetes had set his hands free, was to seize Shechem, and destroy the temple upon Gerizim, after it had stood there 200 years (*Ant.* xiii. 9, § 1). But the destruction of their temple by no means crushed the rancor of the Samaritans. The road from Galilee to Judæa lay then, as now, through Samaria, skirting the foot of Gerizim (John iv. 4). Here was a constant occasion for religious controversy and for outrage. "How is it that Thou, being a Jew, askest to drink of me, which am a woman of Samaria?" said the female to our Lord at the well of Jacob, where both parties would always be sure to meet. "Our fathers worshipped in *this* mountain, and ye say that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship?" . . . Subsequently we read of the depredations committed on that road

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upon a party of Galilæans (*Ant.* xx. 6, § 1). The liberal attitude, first of the Saviour, and then of his disciples (Acts viii. 14), was thrown away upon all those who would not abandon their creed. And Gerizim continued to be the focus of outbreaks through successive centuries. One, under Pilate, while it led to their severe chastisement, procured the disgrace of that ill-starred magistrate, who had crucified "Jesus, the king of the Jews," with impunity (*Ant.* xviii. 4, § 1). Another hostile gathering on the same spot caused a slaughter of 10,600 of them under Vespasian. It is remarkable that, in this instance, want of water is said to have made them easy victims; so that the deliciously cold and pure spring on the summit of Gerizim must have failed before so great a multitude (*B. J.* iii. 7, § 32). At length their aggressions were directed against the Christians inhabiting Neapolis — now powerful, and under a bishop — in the reign of Zeno. Terebinthus at once carried the news of this outrage to Byzantium: the Samaritans were forcibly ejected from Gerizim, which was handed over to the Christians, and adorned with a church in honor of the Virgin; to some extent fortified, and even guarded. This not proving sufficient to repel the foe, Justinian built a second wall round the church, which his historian says defied all attacks (Procop. *De Ædif.* v. 7). It is probably the ruins of these buildings which meet the eye of the modern traveller (*Handb. of S. & P.* ii. 339). Previously to this time, the Samaritans had been a numerous and important sect — sufficiently so, indeed, to be carefully distinguished from the Jews and Cœlicolists in the Theodosian code. This last outrage led to their comparative disappearance from history. Travellers of the 12th, 14th, and 17th centuries take notice of their existence, but extreme paucity (*Early Travels*, by Wright, pp. 81, 181, and 432), and their number now, as in those days, is said to be below 200 (Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* ii. 282, 2d ed.). We are confined by our subject to Gerizim, and therefore can only touch upon the Samaritans, or their city Neapolis, so far as their history connects directly with that of the mountain. And yet we may observe that as it was undoubtedly this mountain of which our Lord had said, "Woman, believe me, the hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem (*i. e.* exclusively), worship the Father" (John iv. 21) — so likewise it is a singular historical fact, that the Samaritans have continued on this self-same mountain century after century, with the briefest interruptions, to worship according to their ancient custom ever since to the present day. While the Jews — expelled from Jerusalem, and therefore no longer able to offer up bloody sacrifices according to the law of Moses — have been obliged to adapt their ceremonial to the circumstances of their destiny: here the Paschal Lamb has been offered up in all ages of the Christian era by a small but united nationality (the spot is accurately marked out by Dr. Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* ii. 277).[a] Their copy of the Law, probably the work of Manasseh, and known to the fathers of the 2d and 3d centuries (Prideaux, *Connect.* i. 600; and Robinson, ii. 297–301), was, in the 17th, vindicated from oblivion by Scaliger, Usher, Morinus, and others; and no traveller now visits Palestine without making a sight of it one of his prime objects. Gerizim is likewise still to the Samaritans what Jerusalem is to the Jews, and Mecca to the Mohammedans. Their prostrations are directed towards it wherever they are; its holiest spot in their estimation being the traditional site of the tabernacle, near that on which they believe Abraham to have offered his son. Both these spots are on the summit; and near them is still to be seen a mound of ashes, similar to the larger and more celebrated one N. of Jerusalem; collected, it is said, from the sacrifices of each successive age (Dr. Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* ii. 202 and 299, evidently did not see this *on* Gerizim). Into their more legendary traditions respecting Gerizim, and the story of their alleged worship of a dove, — due to the Jews, their enemies (Reland, *Diss. ap. Ugolin. Thesaur.* vii. pp. dccxxix.–xxxiii.), — it is needless to enter.

E. S. Ff.

* The theory that Gerizim is "the mountain on which Abraham was directed to offer his son Isaac," advocated by Dean Stanley (*S. & P.* p. 248) and controverted by Dr. Thomson (*Land and Book*, ii. 212), is brought forward by the writer of the above, on grounds which appear to us wholly unsubstantial.

(1.) The assumed identity of Moreh and Moriah cannot be admitted. There is a radical difference in their roots (Robinson's Gesen. *Heb. Lex.* s. vv.), which is conceded by Stanley; and the reasoning about "the plains of Moreh, the land of vision," "called Moreh, or Moriah, from the noble vision of nature," etc., is irrelevant. Murphy (*Comm.* in loc.) justly observes: "As the two names occur in the same document, and differ in form, they naturally denote different things."

(2.) The distance of Gerizim from Beer-sheba is fatal to this hypothesis. The suggestion that Abraham need not have "*started* from Beer-sheba," is gratuitous — the narrative fairly conveying the impression that he started from his residence, which was then at that place. [BEER-SHEBA.] From this point Jerusalem is three days, and Gerizim two days still further, north. The journey could not have been completed, with a loaded ass, "on the third day;" and the route by which this writer, following Stanley, sends the party to Gerizim, is an unknown and improbable route.

(3.) The suggestion of Mr. Ffoulkes above, and of Mr. Grove [MORIAH], that the patriarch only came in sight of the mountain on the third day, and had an indefinite time for the rest of the journey, and the similar suggestion of Dr. Stanley, that after coming in sight of the mountain he had "half a day" for reaching it, are inadmissible. Acknowledging "that from the time it hove in sight, he and Isaac parted from the young men and went on together alone," these writers all overlook the fact that from this point the wood for the burnt-offering was laid upon Isaac. Thus far the needed materials had been carried by the servants and the ass. That the young man could bear the burden for a short distance alone, does not warrant the supposition that he could have borne it for a day's journey, or a half-day's — in which case it would seem that the donkey and servants might have

a * The reader will find under PASSOVER (Amer. ed., particular account of the manner in which the Samaritans celebrate that great festival on Gerizim. On Gerizim and the modern Samaritans interesting information will be found in Mills's *Three Months' Residence at Nablus*, Lond. 1864; and in Mr. Grove's paper *On the Modern Samaritans* in *Vacation Tourists* for 1861

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been left at home. The company halted, apparently, not very far from the spot of the intended sacrifice.

(4.) The commanding position of Gerizim, with the wide prospect from its summit, is not a necessary, nor probable, element in the decision of the question. It was to *the land* of Moriah that the patriarch was directed, some one of the eminences of which, apparently not yet named, the Lord was to designate as his destination. In favor of Gerizim as an elevated site, Stanley lays stress upon the phrase, "*lifted up* his eyes," forgetting that this identical phrase had been applied (Gen. xiii. 10) to Lot's survey of the plain of the Jordan *below* him.

(5.) The Samaritan tradition is unreliable. From the time that a rival temple to that on Moriah was erected on Gerizim, the Samaritans felt a natural desire to invest the spot with some of the sanctities of the earlier Jewish history. Their substitution of Moreh for Moriah (Gen. xxii. 2) in their version, is of the same character with this claim. Had this been the traditionary site of the scene in question, Josephus would hardly have ventured to advance the claim for Jerusalem; and though sharing the prejudices of his countrymen, his general fairness as a historian forbids the intimation that he was capable of robbing this community of a cherished site, and transferring it to another. Moreover, the improbable theory that Gerizim, and not Jerusalem, was the scene of the meeting between Abraham and Melchisedec, which, though held by Prof. Stanley, Mr. Ffoulkes is compelled to reject, has the same authority of Samaritan tradition.

The objections to the Moriah of Jerusalem as the site in question, need not be considered here. The theory which claims that locality for this sacrificial scene, has its difficulties, which will be examined in their place. [MORIAH, Amer. ed.] Whether that theory be accepted or rejected, the claims of Gerizim appear to us too slightly supported to entitle them to any weight in the discussion. S. W.

GERIZITES, 1 Sam. xxvii. 8. [GERZITES.]

GERRHE'NIANS, THE (ἕως τῶν Γερρηνῶν; Alex. Γερρηνων: *ad Gerrenos*), named in 2 Macc. xiii. 24 only, as one limit of the district committed by Antiochus Eupator to the government of Judas Maccabæus, the other limit being Ptolemais (Accho). To judge by the similar expression in defining the extent of Simon's government in 1 Macc. xi. 59, the specification has reference to the sea-coast of Palestine, and, from the nature of the case, the Gerrhenians, wherever they were, must have been south of Ptolemais. Grotius seems to have been the first to suggest that the town Gerrhon or Gerrha was intended, which lay between Pelusium and Rhinocolura (*Wady el-Arish*). But it has been pointed out by Ewald (*Geschichte*, iv. 365, note) that the coast as far north as the latter place was at that time in possession of Egypt, and he thereon conjectures that the inhabitants of the ancient city of GERAR, S. E. of Gaza, the residence of Abraham and Isaac, are meant. In support of this Grimm (*Kurzg. Handb.* ad loc.) mentions that at least one MS. reads Γεραρηνῶν, which would without difficulty be corrupted to Γερρηνῶν.

It seems to have been overlooked that the Syriac version (early, and entitled to much respect) has Gozor (ܓܙܪ). By this may be intended either (*a*) the ancient GEZER, which was near the sea somewhere about Joppa; or (*b*) Gaza, which appears sometimes to take that form in these books. In the former case the government of Judas would contain half, in the latter the whole, of the coast of Palestine. The latter is most probably correct, as otherwise the important district of Idumæa, with the great fortress of BETHSURA, would have been left unprovided for. G.

GER'SHOM (in the earlier books גֵּרְשֹׁם, in Chr. generally גֵּרְשׁוֹם). 1. (Γηρσάμ; in Judg. Γηρσών, [Vat. M. Γηρσομ, Vat. H.] and Alex. Γηρσωμ; Joseph. Γῆρσος: *Gersam, Gersom.*) The first-born son of Moses and Zipporah (Ex. ii. 22; xviii. 3). The name is explained in these passages as if גֵּר שָׁם (*Ger sham*) = *a stranger there*, in allusion to Moses' being a foreigner in Midian — "For he said, I have been a stranger (*Ger*) in a foreign land." This signification is adopted by Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 13, § 1), and also by the LXX. in the form of the name which they give — Γηρσάμ; but according to Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 306 b), its true meaning, taking it as a Hebrew word, is "expulsion," from a root גָּרַשׁ, being only another form of GERSHON (see also Fürst, *Handwb.*). The circumcision of Gershom is probably related in Ex. iv. 25. He does not appear again in the history in his own person, but he was the founder of a family of which more than one of the members are mentioned later. (*a.*) One of these was a remarkable person — "Jonathan the son of Gershom," the "young man the Levite," whom we first encounter on his way from Bethlehem-Judah to Micah's house at Mount Ephraim (Judg. xvii. 7), and who subsequently became the first priest to the irregular worship of the tribe of Dan (xviii. 30). The change of the name "Moses" in this passage, as it originally stood in the Hebrew text, to "Manasseh," as it now stands both in the text and the A. V., is explained under MANASSEH. (*b.*) But at least one of the other branches of the family preserved its allegiance to Jehovah, for when the courses of the Levites were settled by king David, the "sons of Moses the man of God" received honorable prominence, and SHEBUEL chief of the sons of Gershom was appointed ruler (נָגִיד) of the treasures. (1 Chr. xxiii. 15–17; xxvi. 24–28.)

2. The form under which the name GERSHON — the eldest son of Levi — is given in several passages of Chronicles, namely, 1 Chr. vi. 16, 17, 20 43, 62, 71; xv. 7. The Hebrew is almost alternately גֵּרְשֹׁם, and גֵּרְשׁוֹם; the LXX. adhere to their ordinary rendering of Gershon; [Rom.] Vat Γεδσών, Alex. Γηρσων, [exc. vi. 43, Vat. Γεεδσων, and xv. 7, Alex. Βηρσων, Vat. FA. Γηρσαμ:] Vulg. *Gerson* and *Gersom.*

3. (גֵּרְשֹׁם: Γηρσών, [Vat.] Alex. Γηρσωμ *Gersom*), the representative of the priestly family of Phinehas, among those who accompanied Ezra from Babylon (Ezr. viii. 2). In Esdras the name is GERSON. G.

GER'SHON (גֵּרְשׁוֹן: in Gen. Γηρσών, in other books uniformly Γεδσών; and so also Alex with three exceptions; Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 7, § 4 Γηρσόμης: [*Gerson*]), the eldest of the three sons

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of Levi, born before the descent of Jacobs' family into Egypt (Gen. xlvi. 11; Ex. vi. 16). But though the eldest born, the families of Gershon were outstripped in fame by their younger brethren of Kohath, from whom sprang Moses and the priestly line of Aaron.[a] Gershon's sons were LIBNI and SHIMI (Ex. vi. 17; Num. iii. 18, 21; 1 Chr. vi. 17), and their families were duly recognized in the reign of David, when the permanent arrangements for the service of Jehovah were made (1 Chr. xxiii. 7–11). At this time Gershon was represented by the famous Asaph "the seer," whose genealogy is given in 1 Chr. vi. 39–43, and also in part, 20, 21. The family is mentioned once again as taking part in the reforms of king Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxix. 12, where it should be observed that the sons of Asaph are reckoned as distinct from the Gershonites). At the census in the wilderness of Sinai the whole number of the males of the Bene-Gershon was 7,500 (Num. iii. 22), midway between the Kohathites and the Merarites. At the same date the efficient men were 2,630 (iv. 40). On the occasion of the second census the numbers of the Levites are given only in gross (Num. xxvi. 62). The sons of Gershon had charge of the fabrics of the Tabernacle — the coverings, curtains, hangings, and cords (Num. iii. 25, 26; iv. 25, 26); for the transport of these they had two covered wagons and four oxen (vii. 3, 7). In the encampment their station was behind (אַחֲרֵי) the Tabernacle, on the west side (Num. iii. 23). When on the march they went with the Merarites in the rear of the first body of three tribes, — Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, — with Reuben behind them. In the apportionment of the Levitical cities, thirteen fell to the lot of the Gershonites. These were in the northern tribes — two in Manasseh beyond Jordan; four in Issachar; four in Asher; and three in Naphtali. All of these are said to have possessed "suburbs," and two were cities of refuge (Josh. xxi. 27–33; 1 Chr. vi. 62, 71–76). It is not easy to see what special duties fell to the lot of the Gershonites in the service of the Tabernacle after its erection at Jerusalem, or in the Temple. The sons of Jeduthun "prophesied with a harp," and the sons of Heman "lifted up the horn," but for the sons of Asaph no instrument is mentioned (1 Chr. xxv. 1–5). They were appointed to "prophesy" (that is, probably, to utter, or sing, inspired words, נִבָּא), perhaps after the special prompting of David himself (xxv. 2). Others of the Gershonites, sons of Laadan, had charge of the "treasures of the house of God, and over the treasures of the holy things" (xxvi. 20–22), among which precious stones are specially named (xxix. 8).

In Chronicles the name is, with two exceptions (1 Chr. vi. 1; xxiii. 6), given in the slightly different form of Gershom. [GERSHOM, 2.] See also GERSHONITES. G.

GER'SHONITES, THE (הַגַּרְשֻׁנִּי, *i. e.* the Gershunnite: ὁ Γεδσών, ὁ Γεδσωνί [Vat. -νει]; ὁ τοῦ Γεδσωνί [Vat. -νει]; Alex. [... Josh. and 1 Chr.,] Γηρσων: [*Gersonita, Gerson, filii Gerson* or *Gersom*]), the family descended from GERSHON or GERSHOM, the son of Levi (Num. iii. 21, 23, 24 iv. 24, 27, xxvi. 57; Josh. xxi. 33; 1 Chr. xxiii 7; 2 Chr. xxix. 12).

"THE GERSHONITE" [Γηρσωνι, Γεδσωνι; Vat Γηρσωνει, Γηρσομμει; Alex. Γηρσωνει, Γηρσωνι *Gersonni, Gersonites*], as applied to individuals, occurs in 1 Chr. xxvi. 21 (Laadan), xxix. 8 (Jehiel). G.

GER'SON (Γηρσών; [Vat. corrupt:] *Gersomus*), 1 Esdr. viii. 29. [GERSHOM, 3.]

GER'ZITES, THE (הַגִּרְזִי, or הַגִּרְזִי — (Ges. *Thes.* p. 301) — the Girzite, or the Gerizzite: Vat. omits, Alex. τον Γεζριον: *Gerzi* and *Gezri* [?], but in his *Quæst. Hebr.* Jerome has *Getri*: Syr. and Arab. *Godola*), a tribe who with the Geshurites and the Amalekites occupied the land between the south of Palestine[b] and Egypt in the time of Saul (1 Sam. xxvii. 8). They were rich in Bedouin treasures — "sheep, oxen, asses, camels, and apparel" (ver. 9; comp. xv. 3; 1 Chr. v. 21). The name is not found in the text of the A. V. but only in the margin. This arises from its having been corrected by the Masorets (*Keri*) into GIZRITES, which form [or rather GEZRITES] our translators have adopted in the text. The change is supported by the Targum, and by the Alex. MS. of the LXX. as above. There is not, however, any apparent reason for relinquishing the older form of the name, the interest of which lies in its connection with that of Mount Gerizim. In the name of that ancient mountain we have the only remaining trace of the presence of this old tribe of Bedouins in central Palestine. They appear to have occupied it at a very early period, and to have relinquished it in company with the Amalekites, who also left their name attached to a mountain in the same locality (Judg. xii. 15), when they abandoned that rich district for the less fertile but freer South. Other tribes, as the Avvim and the Zemarites, also left traces of their presence in the names of towns of the central district (see pp. 201 a, 277, note *b*).

The connection between the Gerizites and Mount Gerizim appears to have been first suggested by Gesenius. [Fürst accepts the same view.] It has been since adopted by Stanley (*S. & P.* p. 237, note). Gesenius interprets the name as "dwellers in the dry, barren country." G.

GE'SEM, THE LAND OF (γῆ Γεσέμ: *terra Jesse*), the Greek form of the Hebrew name GOSHEN (Jud. i. 9).

GE'SHAM (גֵּיחָם, *i. e.* Geshan [*filthy*, Ges.]. Χοργάρ, Alex. Γηρσαμ: *Gesan*), one of the sons of JAHDAI, in the genealogy of Judah and family of Caleb (1 Chr. ii. 47). Nothing further concerning him has been yet traced. The name, as it stands in our present Bibles, is a corruption of the A. V. of 1611, which has, accurately, GESHAM. Burrington, usually very careful, has Geshur (Table xi. 1, 230), but without giving any authority.

[a] See an instance of this in 1 Chr. vi. 2–15, where the line of Kohath is given, to the exclusion of the other two families.

[b] The LXX. has rendered the passage referred to as follows: — καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡ γῆ κατῳκεῖτο ἀπὸ διηκόντων ἀπὸ Γελαμουὴρ (Alex. Γελαμουὴρ) τετειχισμένων καὶ ἕως γῆς Αἰγύπτου. The word *Gelamouur* may be a corruption of the Hebrew *msolam* . . *Shurah* (A. V "of old . . to Shur"), or it may contain a mention of the name Telem or Telaim, a place in the extreme south of Judah (Josh. xv. 24), which bore a prominent part in a former attack on the Amalekites (1 Sam. xv 4). In the latter case Γ has been read for Τ. (See Langerbe; Fürst's *Handwb.* &c.).

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* **GE'SHAN** (1 Chr. ii. 47), the correct form of a name for which GESHAM has been improperly substituted in modern editions of the A. V.

A.

GE'SHEM, and GASH'MU (גֶּשֶׁם, גַּשְׁמוּ [*corporeality, firmness*, Fürst]: Γησάμ: [*Gosem,*] *Gossem*), an Arabian, mentioned in Neh. ii. 19, and vi. 1, 2, 6, who, with "Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobiah, the servant, the Ammonite," opposed Nehemiah in the repairing of Jerusalem. Geshem, we may conclude, was an inhabitant of Arabia Petræa, or of the Arabian Desert, and probably the chief of a tribe which, like most of the tribes on the eastern frontier of Palestine, was, in the time of the Captivity and the subsequent period, allied with the Persians or with any peoples threatening the Jewish nation. Geshem, like Sanballat and Tobiah, seems to have been one of the "governors beyond the river," to whom Nehemiah came, and whose mission "grieved them exceedingly, that there was come a man to seek the welfare of the children of Israel" (Neh. ii. 10); for the wandering inhabitants of the frontier doubtless availed themselves largely, in their predatory excursions, of the distracted state of Palestine, and dreaded the re-establishment of the kingdom; and the Arabians, Ammonites, and Ashdodites, are recorded as having "conspired to fight against Jerusalem, and to hinder" the repairing. The endeavors of these confederates and their failure are recorded in chapters iii., iv., and vi. The Arabic name corresponding to Geshem cannot easily be identified. Jásim (or Gásim, جاسم) is one of very remote antiquity; and Jashum (جشم) is the name of an historical tribe of Arabia Proper; the latter may more probably be compared with it.

E. S. P.

GE'SHUR (גְּשׁוּר and גְּשׁוּרִי, *a bridge:* [Γεδσούδ, exc. 2 Sam. iii. 3, Γεσσάρ, Vat. Γεσειρ; 1 Chr. ii. 23, Alex. Γεσσουρ, iii. 2, Γεσουρ: *Gessur:*] Arab. جسر, *Jessur*), a little principality in the northeastern corner of Bashan, adjoining the province of Argob (Deut. iii. 14), and the kingdom of Aram (Syria in the A. V.; 2 Sam. xv. 8; comp. 1 Chr. ii. 23). It was within the boundary of the allotted territory of Manasseh, but its inhabitants were never expelled (Josh. xiii. 13; comp. 1 Chr. ii. 23). King David married "the daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur" (2 Sam. iii. 3); and her son Absalom sought refuge among his maternal relatives after the murder of his brother. The wild acts of Absalom's life may have been to some extent the results of maternal training; they were at least characteristic of the stock from which he sprung. He remained in "Geshur of Aram" until he was taken back to Jerusalem by Joab (2 Sam. xiii. 37, xv. 8). It is highly probable that Geshur was a section of the wild and rugged region, now called *el-Lejah*, among whose rocky fastnesses the Geshurites might dwell in security while the whole surrounding plains were occupied by the Israelites. On the north the *Lejah* borders on the territory of Damascus, the ancient Aram; and in Scripture the name is so intimately connected with Bashan and Argob, that one is led to suppose it formed part of them (Deut. iii. 13, 14; 1 Chr. ii. 23; Josh. xiii. 12, 13). [ARGOB.]

J. L. P.

* The bridge over the Jordan above the sea of Galilee no doubt stands where one must have stood in ancient times. [BRIDGE, Amer. ed.] It may be, says Robinson (*Phys. Geogr.* p. 155), "that the adjacent district on the east of the Jordan took the name of Geshur (גְּשׁוּר), as if 'Bridge-land'; at any rate Geshur and the Geshurites were in this vicinity."

H.

GESH'URI and GESH'URITES (גְּשׁוּרִי: [in Deut., Γαργασι, Vat. Alex. -σει; Comp. Γεσσουρί; in Josh., Alex. Γεσουρι; xii. 5, Γεργεσί, Vat. -σει; xiii. 2, 11, 13, Γεσιρί, Vat. Γεσειρει; 1 Sam., Γεσιρι, Vat. -σει-; Alex. Γεσερει: *Gesuri.*] 1. The inhabitants of Geshur, which see (Deut. iii. 14; Jos. xii. 5, xiii. 11).

2. An ancient tribe which dwelt in the desert between Arabia and Philistia (Josh. xiii. 2; 1 Sam. xxvii. 8); they are mentioned in connection with the Gezrites and Amalekites. [GEZER, p. 909.]

J. L. P.

GE'THER (גֶּתֶר: Γατέρ; [Alex. Γαθερ:] *Gether*), the third, in order, of the sons of Aram (Gen. x. 23). No satisfactory trace of the people sprung from this stock has been found. The theories of Bochart and others, which rest on improbable etymologies, are without support; while the suggestions of Carians (Hieron.), Bactrians (Joseph. *Ant.*), and جرامقة (Saad.), are not better founded. (See Bochart, *Phaleg*, ii. 10, and Winer, *s. v.*). Kalisch proposes GESHUR; but he does not adduce any argument in its favor, except the similarity of sound, and the permutation of Aramæan and Hebrew letters.

The Arabs write the name غاثر (Ghâthir); and, in the mythical history of their country, it is said that the probably aboriginal tribes of Thamood, Tasur, Jadces, and 'Ad (the last, in the second generation, through 'Ood), were descended from Ghâthir (Caussin [de Perceval], *Essai*, i. 8, 9, 23; Abul-Fidà, *Hist. Anteisl.* 16). These traditions are in the highest degree untrustworthy; and, as we have stated in ARABIA, the tribes referred to were, almost demonstrably, not of Semitic origin. See ARABIA, ARAM, and NABATHÆANS.

E. S. P.

GETHSEM'ANE (גַּת, *gath*, a "wine-press," and שֶׁמֶן, *shemen*, "oil;" Γεθσημανεί [so Tisch.; Lachm. Treg. -νεῖ], or more generally Γεθσημανῆ), a small "farm," as the French would say, "*un bien aux champs*" (χωρίον = *ager, prædium*; or as the Vulgate, *villa*; A. V. "place;" Matt. xxvi. 36; Mark xiv. 32), situated across the brook Kedron (John xviii. 1), probably at the foot of Mount Olivet (Luke xxii. 39), to the N. W., and about ½ or ¾ of a mile English from the walls of Jerusalem. There was a "garden," or rather orchard (κῆπος), attached to it, to which the olive, fig, and pomegranate doubtless invited resort by their "hospitable shade." And we know from the Evangelists SS. Luke (xxii. 39) and John (xviii. 2) that our Lord ofttimes resorted thither with his disciples. "It was on the road to Bethany," says Mr. Greswell (*Harm. Diss.* xlii.), "and the family of Lazarus might have possessions there;" but, if so, it should have been rather on the S. E. side of the mountain where Bethany lies: part of which, it

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may be remarked, being the property of the village still as it may well have been then, is even now called Bethany (*el-Azariyeh*) by the natives.[a] Hence the expressions in S. Luke xxiv. 50 and Acts i. 12 are quite consistent. According to Josephus, the suburbs of Jerusalem abounded with gardens and pleasure-grounds (παραδείσοις, *B. J.* vi. 1, § 1; comp. v. 3, § 2): now, with the exception of those belonging to the Greek and Latin convents, hardly the vestige of a garden is to be seen. There is indeed a favorite paddock or close, half-a-mile or more to the north, on the same side of the continuation of the valley of the Kedron, the property of a wealthy Turk, where the Mohammedan ladies pass the day with their families, their bright flowing costume forming a picturesque contrast to the stiff sombre foliage of the olive-grove beneath which they cluster. But Gethsemane has not come down to us as a scene of mirth; its inexhaustible associations are the offspring of a single event — the Agony of the Son of God on the evening preceding His Passion. Here emphatically, as Isaiah had foretold, and as the name imports, were fulfilled those dark words, "I have trodden the wine-press alone" (lxiii. 3; comp. Rev. xiv. 20, "the wine-press . . . *without the city*"). "The period of the year," proceeds Mr. Greswell, "was the Vernal Equinox: the day of the month about two days before the full of the moon —in which case the moon would not be now very far past her meridian; and the night would be enlightened until a late hour towards the morning" — the day of the week Thursday, or rather, according to the Jews, Friday — for the sun had set. The time, according to Mr. Greswell, would be the last watch of the night, between our 11 and 12 o'clock. Any recapitulation of the circumstances of that ineffable event would be unnecessary; any comments upon it unseasonable. A modern garden, in which are eight venerable olive-trees, and a grotto to the north, detached from it, and in closer connection with the Church of the Sepulchre of the Virgin — in fact with the road to the summit of the mountain running between them, as it did also in the days of



Old Olive-Trees in Gethsemane, from S. E.

the Crusaders (Sanuti *Secret. Fidel. Cruc.* lib. iii. p. xiv. c. 9) — both securely inclosed, and under lock and key, are pointed out as making up the true Gethsemane. These may, or may not, be the spots which Eusebius, St. Jerome (*Liber de Situ et Nominibus*, s. v.), and Adamnanus mention as such; but from the 4th century downwards some such localities are spoken of as known, frequented, and even built upon. Every generation dwells most upon what accords most with its instincts and predilections. Accordingly the pilgrims of antiquity say nothing about those time-honored olive-trees, whose age the poetic minds of a Lamartine or a Stanley shrink from criticising — they were doubtless not so imposing in the 6th century; still, had they been noticed, they would have afforded undying witness to the locality — while, on the other hand, few modern travellers would inquire for, and adore, with Antoninus, the three precise spots where our Lord is said to have fallen upon His face. Against the contemporary antiquity of the olive trees, it has been urged that Titus cut down all the trees round about Jerusalem; and certainly this is no more than Josephus states in express

[a] "*El-Azariyeh* is the Arabic name, derived from Lazarus. Bethany is current only among foreigners, or those of foreign origin. In this instance the native language adopts the more distinctive Christian appellation. H

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terms (see particularly *B. J.* vi. 1, § 1, a passage which must have escaped Mr. Williams, *Holy City*, vol. ii. p. 437, 2d ed., who only cites v. 3, § 2, and vi. 8, § 1). Besides, the 10th legion, arriving from Jericho, were posted about the Mount of Olives (v. 2, § 3; and comp. vi. 2, § 8), and, in the course of the siege, a wall was carried along the valley of the Kedron to the fountain of Siloam (v. 10, § 2). The probability, therefore, would seem to be, that they were planted by Christian hands to mark the spot: unless, like the sacred olive of the Acropolis (Bähr *ad Herod.* viii. 55), they may have reproduced themselves. Maundrell (*Early Travels in Pal.* by Wright, p. 471) and Quaresmius (*Elucid. T. S.* lib. iv. per. v. ch. 7) appear to have been the first to notice them, not more than three centuries ago; the former arguing against, and the latter in favor of, their reputed antiquity: but nobody reading their accounts would imagine that there were then no more than eight, the locality of Gethsemane being supposed the same. Parallel claims, to be sure, are not wanting in the cedars of Lebanon, which are still visited with so much enthusiasm: in the terebinth, or oak of Mamre, which was standing in the days of Constantine the Great, and even worshipped (Vales. ad Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 53), and the fig-tree (*Ficus elastica*) near Nerbudda in India, which native historians assert to be 2,500 years old (Patterson's *Journal of a Tour in Egypt, &c.*, p. 202, note). Still more appositely there were olive-trees near Linternum 250 years old, according to Pliny, in his time, which are recorded to have survived to the middle of the tenth century (*Nouveau Dict. d'Hist. Nat.* Paris, 1846, vol. xxix. p. 61).

E. S. Ff.

* Gethsemane, which means "olive-press" (see above) is found according to the narrative in the proper place; for Olivet, as the name imports, was famous for its olive-trees, still sufficiently numerous there to justify its being so called, though little cultivation of any sort appears now on that mount. The place is called also "a garden" (κῆπος), but we are not by any means to transfer to that term our ideas of its meaning. It is to be remembered, as Stanley remarks (*S. & P.* p. 187, 1st ed.), that "Eastern gardens are not flower-gardens nor private gardens, but the orchards, vineyards, and fig-enclosures" near the towns. The low wall, covered with white stucco, which incloses the reputed Gethsemane, is comparatively modern. A series of rude pictures (utterly out of place there, where the memory and the heart are the only prompters required) are hung up along the face of the wall, representing different scenes in the history of Christ's passion, such as the scourging, the mockery of the soldiers, the sinking beneath the cross, and the like. The eight olive-trees here, though still verdant and productive, are so decayed as to require to be propped up with heaps of stones against their trunks in order to prevent their being blown down by the wind. Trees of this class are proverbially long-lived. Schubert, the celebrated naturalist, decides that those in Gethsemane are old enough to have flourished amid a race of contemporaries that perished long centuries ago (*Reise in das Morgenland*, ii. 521).[a] Stanley also speaks of them "as the most venerable of their race on the face of the earth . . . the most affecting of the sacred memorials in or about Jerusalem." (*S. & P.* p. 450, 1st ed.)

There are two or three indications in the Gospel history which may guide us as to the general situation of this ever memorable spot to which the Saviour repaired on the night of his betrayal. It is quite certain that Gethsemane was on the western slope of Olivet, and near the base of that mountain where it sinks down into the valley of the Kedron. When it is said that "Jesus went forth with his disciples beyond the brook Kedron, where was a garden" (John xviii. 1), it is implied that he did not go far up the Mount of Olives, but reached the place which he had in view soon after crossing the bed of that stream. The garden, it will be observed, is named in that passage with reference to the brook, and not the mountain. This result agrees also with the presumption from the Saviour's abrupt summons to his disciples recorded in Matt. xxvi. 46: "Arise, let us be going; see, he is at hand that doth betray me." The best explanation of this language is that his watchful eye, at that moment, caught sight of Judas and his accomplices, as they issued from one of the eastern gates, or turned round the northern or southern corner of the walls, in order to descend into the valley. The night, with the moon then near its full, and about the beginning of April, must have been clear, or if exceptionally dark, the torches (John xviii. 13) would have left no doubt as to the object of such a movement at that unseasonable hour. It may be added that in this neighborhood also are still to be seen caverns and deserted tombs into which his pursuers may have thought that he would endeavor to escape and conceal himself, and so came prepared with lights to follow him into these lurking-places.

The present inclosure known as Gethsemane fulfills all these conditions; and so also, it may be claimed, would any other spot similarly situated across the brook, and along the western declivity in front of Jerusalem. Tischendorf (*Reise in den Orient*, i. 312) finds the traditionary locality "in perfect harmony with all that we learn from the Evangelists." Thomson (*Land and Book*, ii. 284) thinks it should be sought "rather in a secluded vale several hundred yards to the northeast of the present Gethsemane." Robinson alleges no positive reasons against the common identification. "The authenticity of the sacred garden," says Williams (*Holy City*, ii. 437), "I choose rather to believe than to defend." But such differences of opinion as these involve an essential agreement. The original garden may have been more or less extensive than the present site, or have stood a few hundred rods further to the north or the south; but far, certainly, from that spot it need not be supposed to have been. We may sit down there, and read the narrative of what the Saviour endured for our redemption, and feel assured that we are near the place where he prayed, "Saying, Father, not my will, but thine be done;" and where, "being in an agony, he sweat as it were great drops of blood, falling down to the ground." It is altogether probable that the disciples in going back to Jerusalem from Bethany after having seen the Lord taken up into heaven passed Gethsemane on the way. What new thoughts must have arisen in their minds

[a] * An argument for the great age of these trees has been drawn from the fact that a *medino* (an old Turkish coin) is the governmental tax paid on each one of this group, which was the tax on trees at the time of the Saracenic conquest of Jerusalem, A. D. 636. Since that period the Sultan receives half of the fruits of every tree as his tribute. (See Raumer, *Palästina* p. 309, 4te Aufl.)

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that deeper insight into the mystery of the agony must have flashed upon them, as they looked once more upon that scene of the sufferings and humiliation of the crucified and ascended One. H.

GEU'EL (גְּאוּאֵל, Sam. גואל [*God's exaltation*, Ges.]: Γουδιηλ; [Vat. Τουδιηλ:] *Guel*), son of Machi; ruler of the tribe of Gad, and its representative among the spies sent from the wilderness of Paran to explore the Promised Land (Num. xiii. 15).

GE'ZER (גֶּזֶר, in pause גָּזֵר [*steep place, precipice*, Fürst, Ges.]: Γαζέρ, Γεζερ [Alex. 1 K. ix. 15, 16], Γάζαρα, [Γαζηρά; Josh. x. 33. Vat. Γαζης; 1 Chr. xiv. 16, FA. Γαζαραν:] *Gazer*, [*Gezer. Gazera*]), an ancient city of Canaan, whose king, Horam, or Elam, coming to the assistance of Lachish, was killed with all his people by Joshua (Josh. x. 33; xii. 12). The town, however, is not said to have been destroyed; it formed one of the landmarks on the south boundary of Ephraim,[a] between the lower Beth-horon and the Mediterranean (xvi. 3), the western limit of the tribe (1 Chr. vii. 28). It was allotted with its suburbs to the Kohathite Levites (Josh. xxi. 21; 1 Chr. vi. 67); but the original inhabitants were not dispossessed (Judg. i. 29); and even down to the reign of Solomon the Canaanites, or (according to the LXX. addition to Josh. xvi. 10) the Canaanites and Perizzites, were still dwelling there, and paying tribute to Israel (1 K. ix. 16). At this time it must in fact have been independent of Israelite rule, for Pharaoh had burnt it to the ground and killed its inhabitants, and then presented the site to his daughter, Solomon's queen. But it was immediately rebuilt by the king; and though not heard of again till after the Captivity, yet it played a somewhat prominent part in the later struggles of the nation. [GAZERA.]

Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 280; comp. ii. 427) takes Gezer and Geshur to be the same, and sees in the destruction of the former by Pharaoh, and the simultaneous expedition of Solomon to Hamath-sobah in the neighborhood of the latter, indications of a revolt of the Canaanites, of whom the Geshurites formed the most powerful remnant, and whose attempt against the new monarch was thus frustrated. But this can hardly be supported.

In one place Gob is given as identical with Gezer (1 Chr. xx. 4, comp. 2 Sam. xxi. 18). The exact site of Gezer has not been discovered; but its general position is not difficult to infer. It must have been between the lower Beth-horon and the sea (Josh. xvi. 3; 1 K. ix. 17); therefore on the great maritime plain which lies beneath the hills of which *Beit'ûr et-tahta* is the last outpost, and forms the regular coast road of communication with Egypt (1 K. ix. 16). It is therefore appropriately named as the last point to which David's pursuit of the Philistines extended (2 Sam. v. 25; 1 Chr. xiv. 16 [b]), and as the scene of at least one sharp encounter (1 Chr. xx. 4), this plain being their own peculiar territory (comp. Jos. *Ant.* viii. 6, § 1, Γαζαρά, τὴν τῆς Παλαιστίνων χώρας ὑπάρχουσαν) and as commanding the communication between Egypt and the new capital, Jerusalem, it was an important point for Solomon to fortify. By Eusebius it is mentioned as four miles north of Nicopolis (*Amwâs*); a position exactly occupied by the important town *Jimzu*, the ancient Gimzo, and corresponding well with the requirements of Joshua. But this hardly agrees with the indications of the 1st book of Maccabees, which speak of it as between Emmaus (*Amwâs*) and Azotus and Jamnia; and again as on the confines of Azotus. In the neighborhood of the latter there is more than one site bearing the name *Yasûr*; but whether this Arabic name can be derived from the Hebrew Gezer, and also whether so important a town as Gazara was in the time of the Maccabees can be represented by such insignificant villages as these, are questions to be determined by future investigation. If it can, then perhaps the strongest claims for identity with Gezer are put forward by a village called *Yasûr*, 4 or 5 miles east of Joppa, on the road to *Ramleh* and *Lydd*.

From the occasional occurrence of the form Gazer, and from the LXX. version being almost uniformly Gazera or Gazer, Ewald infers that this was really the original name. G.

GEZ'RITES, THE (הַגִּזְרִי, accur. *the Gizrite*: [Vat. omits; Alex.] τον Γεζραιον: *Gezri*). The word which the Jewish critics have substituted in the margin of the Bible for the ancient reading, "the Gerizzite" (1 Sam. xxvii. 8), and which has thus become incorporated in the text of the A. V. If it mean anything — at least that we know — it must signify the dwellers in Gezer. But GEZER was not less than 50 miles distant from the "south of Judah, the south of the Jerahmeelites, and the south of the Kenites," the scene of David's inroad; a fact which stands greatly in the way of our receiving the change. [GERZITES, THE.]

GI'AH (גִּיחַ [*water-fall*, Fürst; *fountain*, Ges.]: Γαί; [Comp. Γιέ:] *vallis*), a place named only in 2 Sam. ii. 24, to designate the position of the hill Ammah — "which faces Giah by the way of the wilderness of Gibeon." No trace of the situation of either has yet been found. By the LXX. the name is read as if גַּיְא, i. e. a ravine or glen; a view also taken in the Vulgate.

GIANTS. The frequent allusion to giants in Scripture, and the numerous theories and disputes which have arisen in consequence, render it necessary to give a brief view of some of the main opinions and curious inferences to which the mention of them leads.

1. They are first spoken of in Gen. vi. 4, under the name *Nephilim* (נְפִלִים): LXX. γιγαντες Aquil. ἐπιπλῆκτοντες; Symm. βιαῖοι: Vulg. *gigan-*

[a] If Lachish be where Van de Velde and Porter would place it, at *Um Lâkis*, near Gaza, at least 40 miles from the southern boundary of Ephraim, there is some ground for suspecting the existence of two Gezers, and this is confirmed by the order in which it is mentioned in the list of Josh. xii. with Hebron, Eglon, and Debir. There is not, however, any means of determining this

[b] In these two places the word, being at the end of a period, has, according to Hebrew custom its first vowel lengthened, and stands in the text as Gazer and in these two places only the name is so transferred to the A. V. But, to be consistent, the same change should have been made in several other passages, where it occurs in the Hebrew: *e. g.* Judg. i. 29, Josh. xvi. 3, 10; 1 K. ix. 15, &c. It would seem better to render [represent] the Hebrew name always by the same English one, when the difference arises from nothing but an emphatic accent.

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ves; Onk. גִּבָּרַיָּא: Luther, *Tyrannen*). The word is derived either from פָּלַח, or פָּלָא (= "marvelous"), or, as is generally believed, from נָפַל, either in the sense to throw down, or to fall (= fallen angels, Jarchi, cf. Is. xiv. 12; Luke x. 18); or meaning "ἥρωες ἐπιπτωκότες" (Gesen.), or *collapsi* (by euphemism, Boettcher, *de Inferis*, p. 92); but certainly not "because men fell from terror of them" (as R. Kimchi). That the word means "*giant*" is clear from Num. xiii. 32, 33, and is confirmed by נְפִילָא, the Chaldee name for "the aery giant" Orion (Job. ix. 9, xxxviii. 31; Is. xiii. 10; Targ.), unless this name arise from the *obliquity* of the constellation (*Gen. of Earth*, p. 35).

But we now come to the remarkable conjectures about the origin of these *Nephilim* in Gen. vi. 1–4. (An immense amount has been written on this passage. See Kurtz, *Die Ehen der Söhne Gottes*, &c., Berlin, 1857; Ewald, *Jahrb.* 1854, p. 126; Govett's *Judah Unfulfilled*; Faber's *Many Mansions*, in the *Journal of Sac. Lit.*, Oct. 1858, &c.) We are told that "there *were* Nephilim in the earth," and that "afterwards (καὶ μέτ' ἐκεῖνο, LXX.) the "sons of God" mingling with the beautiful "daughters of men" produced a race of violent and insolent *Gibborim* (גִּבֹּרִים). This latter word is also rendered by the LXX. γίγαντες, but we shall see hereafter that the meaning is more general. It is clear however that *no statement* is made that the Nephilim themselves sprang from this unhallowed union. Who then were they? Taking the usual derivation (נָפַל), and explaining it to mean "fallen spirits," the Nephilim seem to be identical with the "sons of God;" but the verse before us militates against this notion as much as against that which makes the Nephilim the same as the Gibborim, namely, the *offspring* of wicked marriages. This latter supposition can only be accepted if we admit either (1) that there were two kinds of Nephilim, — those who existed before the unequal intercourse, and those produced by it (Heidegger, *Hist Patr.* xi.), or (2) by following the Vulgate rendering, *postquam enim ingressi sunt*, etc. But the common rendering seems to be correct, nor is there much probability in Aben Ezra's explanation, that אַחֲרֵי־כֵן ("after that") means אחר חמבול (*i. e.* "after the deluge"), and is an allusion to the Anakims.

The genealogy of the Nephilim then, or at any rate of *the earliest Nephilim*, is not recorded in Scripture, and the name itself is so mysterious that we are lost in conjecture respecting them.

2. The sons of the marriages mentioned in Gen. vi. 1–4, are called *Gibborim* (גִּבֹּרִים, from גָּבַר, *to be strong*), a general name meaning *powerful* ἔνδοξοι καὶ πανταχοῦ ὑπερφυεῖς καλοῦ, Joseph. *Ant.* i. 3, § 1; γῆς παῖδες τὸν νοῦν ἐκβιβάσαντες τοῦ λογίζεσθαι κ.τ.λ., Philo *de Gigant.*, p. 270; comp. Is. iii. 2, xlix. 24; Ez. xxxii. 21). They were not necessarily giants in our sense of the word (Theodoret, *Quæst.* 48). Yet, as was natural, these powerful chiefs were almost universally represented as men of extraordinary stature. The LXX. render the word γίγαντες, and call Nimrod a γίγας ενωπιος (1 Chr. i. 10); Augustine calls them *Stature* (*de Civ. Dei*, xv. 4); Chrysostom ἥρωες. εὐμηκεῖς, Theodoret παμμεγέθεις (comp. Bar. iii 26, εὐμεγέθεις, ἐπιστάμενοι πόλεμον).

But who were the parents of these giants; who are "the sons of God" (בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים)? The opinions are various: (1.) *Men of power* (υἱοὶ δυνασευόντων, Symm., Hieron. *Quæst. Heb.* ad loc., בְּנֵי שִׁלְמָנִית, Onk.; בני שלמניח, Samar. so too Selden, Vorst, &c.), (comp. Ps. ii. 7, lxxxii. 6, lxxxix. 27; Mic. v. 5, &c.). The expression will then exactly resemble Homer's Διογενεῖς βασιλῆες, and the Chinese *Tiân-tseù*, "son of heaven," as a title of the Emperor (Gesen. *s. v.* בֵּן). But why should the union of the high-born and low-born produce offspring unusual for their size and strength? (2.) *Men* with great gifts, "in the image of God" (Ritter, Schumann); (3.) Calnites arrogantly assuming the title (Paulus); or (4.) the pious Sethites (comp. Gen. iv. 26; Maimon. *Mor. Neboch.* i. 14; Suid. *s. vv.* Σήθ and μαγαμίας; Cedren. *Hist. Comp.* p. 10; Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xv. 23; Chrysost. *Hom.* 22, *in Gen.*; Theod. *in Gen. Quæst.* 47; Cyril, *c. Jul.* ix., &c.). A host of modern commentators catch at this explanation, but Gen. iv. 26 has probably no connection with the subject. Other texts quoted in favor of the view are Deut. xiv. 1, 2; Ps. lxxiii. 15; Prov. xiv. 26; Hos. i. 10; Rom. viii. 14, &c. Still the mere antithesis in the verse, as well as other considerations, tend strongly against this gloss, which indeed is built on a foregone conclusion. Compare however the Indian notion of the two races of men Suras and Asuras (children of the sun and of the moon, Nork, *Bram. und Rabb.* p. 204 ff.), and the Persian belief in the marriage of Djemshid with the sister of a *dev*, whence sprang black and impious men (Kalisch, *Gen.* p. 175). (5.) Worshippers of false gods (παῖδες τῶν θεῶν, Aqu.) making בְּנֵי = "servants" (comp. Deut. xiv. 1; Prov. xiv. 26; Ex. xxxii. 1; Deut. iv. 28, &c.). This view is ably supported in *Genesis of Earth and Man*, p. 39 f. (6.) Devils, such as the Incubi and Succubi. Such was the belief of the Cabbalists (Valesius, *de S. Philosoph.* cap. 8). That these beings can have intercourse with women St. Augustine declares it would be folly to doubt, and it was the universal belief in the East. Mohammed makes one of the ancestors of Balkis Queen of Sheba a demon, and Damir says he had heard a Mohammedan doctor openly boast of having married in succession four demon wives (Bochart, *Hieroz.* i. p. 747). Indeed the belief still exists (Lane's *Mod. Egypt.* i. ch. x. ad in.) (7.) Closely allied to this is the oldest opinion, that they were *angels* (ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, LXX., for such was the old reading, not υἱοί, Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xv. 23; so too Joseph. *Ant.* i. 3, § 1; Phil. *de Gig.* ii. 353; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 7, § 69; Sulp. Sever. *Hist. Script. in Orthod.* l. i. &c.; comp. Job i. 6, ii. 1; Ps. xxix. 1, Job iv. 18). The rare expression "sons of God" certainly means angels in Job xxxviii. 7, i. 6, ii. 1 and that such is the meaning in Gen. vi. 4 also was the most prevalent opinion both in the Jewish and early Christian Church.

It was probably this very ancient view which gave rise to the spurious book of Enoch and the notion quoted from it by St. Jude (6), and alluded to by St. Peter (2 Pet. ii. 4; comp. 1 Cor. xi. 10 Tert. *de Virg. Vel.* 7). According to this book

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certain angels, sent by God to guard the earth (Ἐγρήγοροι, φύλακες), were perverted by the beauty of women, "went after strange flesh," taught sorcery, finery (*lumina lapillorum, circulos ex aure*, Tert., etc.), and being banished from heaven had sons 3,000 cubits high, thus originating a celestial and terrestrial race of demons — "Unde modo vagi subvertunt corpora multa" (Commodiani *Instruct. III., Cultus Dæmonum*) i. e. they are still the source of epilepsy, etc. Various names were given at a later time to these monsters. Their chief was Leuixas, and of their number were Machsael, Aza, Shemchozai, and (the wickedest of them) a goat-like demon Azael (comp. Azazel, Lev. xvi. 8, and for the very curious questions connected with this name, see Bochart, *Hieroz.* i. p. 652 ff.; Rab. Eliezer, cap. 22; *Bereshith Rab. ad* Gen. vi. 2; Sennert, *de Gigantibus*, iii.).

Against this notion (which Hävernick calls "the silliest whim of the Alexandrian Gnostics and Cabalistic Rabbis") Heidegger (*Hist. Patr.* l. c.) quotes Matt. xxii. 30; Luke xxiv. 39, and similar testimonies. Philastrius (*Adv. Hæres.* cap. 108) characterizes it as a heresy, and Chrysostom (*Hom.* 22) even calls it τὸ βλάσφημα ἐκεῖνο. Yet Jude is explicit, and the question is not so much what *can* be, as what *was* believed. The fathers almost unanimously accepted these fables, and Tertullian argues warmly (partly on *expedient* grounds!) for the genuineness of the book of Enoch. The angels were called Ἐγρήγοροι, a word used by Aquil. and Symm. to render the Chaldee עִיר (Dan. iv. 13 ff.: Vulg. *Vigil*: LXX. ἐφ; Lex. Cyrilli, ἄγγελοι ἢ ἄγρυπνοι; Fabric. *Cod. Pseudepigr.* V. T. p. 180), and therefore used, as in the Zend-Avesta, of good guardian angels, and applied especially to archangels in the Syriac liturgies (cf. עִיִּירִין, Is. xxi. 11), but more often of evil angels (Castelli *Lex. Syr.* p. 649; Scalig. *ad Euseb. Chron.* p. 403; Gesen. *s. v.* עִיר). The story of the Egregori is given at length in Tert. *de Cult. Fem.* i. 2, ii. 10; Commodianus, *Instruct.* iii.; Lactant. *Div. Inst.* ii. 14; *Testam. Patriarch.* [*Ruben,*] c. v., etc. Every one will remember the allusions to the same interpretation in Milton, *Par. Reg.* ii. 179 —

> "Before the Flood, thou with thy lusty crew,
> False-titled sons of God, roaming the earth,
> Cast wanton eyes on the daughters of men,
> And coupled with them, and begat a race."

The use made of the legend in some modern poems cannot sufficiently be reprobated.

We need hardly say how closely allied this is to the Greek legends which connected the ἄγρια φῦλα γιγάντων with the gods (Hom. *Od.* vii. 205; Pausan. viii. 29), and made δαίμονες *sons* of the gods (Plat. *Apolog.* ἡμίθεοι; Cratyl. § 32). Indeed the whole heathen tradition resembles the one before us (Cumberland's *Sanchoniatho*, p. 24; Hom. *Od.* xi. 306 ff.; Hes. *Theog.* 185, *Opp et D.* 144; Plat. *Rep.* ii. § 17, p. 604 E; *de Legg.* iii. § 16, p. 805 A; Ov. *Metam.* i. 151; Luc. iv. 593; Lucian, *de Dea Syr.*, &c.; cf. Grot. *de Ver.* i. 6); and the Greek translators of the Bible make the resemblance still more close by introducing such words as δεκαπέχοι, γηγενεῖς, and even Τιτᾶνες, to which last Josephus (*l. c.*) expressly compares the giants of Genesis (LXX. Prov. ii. 18; Ps. xlviii. 2 [xlix. 2]; 2 Sam. v. 18; Judith xvi. 7). The fate too of these demon-chiefs is identical with that of heathen story (Job xxvi. 5; Ecclus. xvi. 7; Bar. iii. 26–28 Wisd. xiv. 6; 3 Macc. ii. 4; 1 Pet. iii. 19).

These legends may therefore be regarded as distortions of the Biblical narrative, handed down by tradition, and embellished by the fancy and imagination of eastern nations. The belief of the Jews in later times is remarkably illustrated by the story of Asmodeus in the book of Tobit. It is deeply instructive to observe how wide and marked a contrast there is between the incidental allusion of the sacred narrative (Gen. vi. 4), and the minute frivolities or prurient follies which degrade the heathen mythology, and repeatedly appear in the groundless imaginings of the Rabbinic interpreters. If there were fallen angels whose lawless desires gave birth to a monstrous progeny, both they and their intolerable offspring were destroyed by the deluge, which was the retribution on their wickedness, and they have no existence in the baptized and renovated earth.

Before passing to the other giant-races we may observe that all nations have had a dim fancy that the aborigines who preceded them, and the earliest men generally, were of immense stature. Berosus says that the ten antediluvian kings of Chaldea were giants, and we find in all monkish historians a similar statement about the earliest possessors of Britain (comp. Hom. *Od.* x. 119; Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xv. 9; Plin. vii. 16; Varr. *ap. Aul. Gell.* iii. 10; Jer. on Matt. xxvii.). The great size decreased gradually after the deluge (2 Esdr. v. 52–55). That we are dwarfs compared to our ancestors was a common belief among the Latin and Greek poets (*Il.* v. 302 ff.; Lucret. ii. 1151; Virg. *Æn.* xii. 900; Juv. xv. 69), although it is now a matter of absolute certainty from the remains of antiquity, reaching back to the very earliest times, that in old days men were no taller than ourselves. On the origin of the mistaken supposition there are curious passages in Natalis Comes (*Mytholog.* vi. 21), and Macrobius (*Saturn.* i. 20).

The next race of giants which we find mentioned in Scripture is —

3. The Rephaim, a name which frequently occurs, and in some remarkable passages. The earliest mention of them is the record of their defeat by Chedorlaomer and some allied kings at Ashteroth Karnaim (Gen. xiv. 5). They are again mentioned (Gen. xv. 20), their dispersion recorded (Deut. ii. 10, 20), and Og the giant king of Bashan said to be "the only remnant of them" (Deut. iii 11; Jos. xii. 4, xiii. 12, xvii. 15). Extirpated, however, from the east of Palestine, they long found a home in the west, and in connection with the Philistines, under whose protection the small remnant of them may have lived, they still employed their arms against the Hebrews (2 Sam. xxi. 18 ff.; 1 Chr. xx. 4). In the latter passage there seems however to be some confusion between the Rephaim and the sons of a particular giant of Gath, named Rapha. Such a name may have been conjectured as that of a founder of the race, like the names Ion, Dorus, Teut, etc. (Boettcher, *de Inferis*, p. 96, n.; Rapha occurs also as a proper name, 1 Chr. vii. 25, viii. 2, 37). It is probable that they had possessed districts west of the Jordan in early times, since the "Valley of Rephaim" (κοιλὰς τῶν Τιτάνων, 2 Sam. v 18; 1 Chr. xi. 15; Is. xvii. 5; κ. τῶν γιγάντων Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 4, § 1), a rich valley S. W. of Jerusalem, derived its name from them.

That they were not Canaanites is clear from

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there being no allusion to them in Gen. x. 15–19. They were probably one of those aboriginal people to whose existence the traditions of many nations testify, and of whose genealogy the Bible gives us no information. The few names recorded have, as Ewald remarks, a Semitic aspect (*Geschich. des Volkes Isr.* i. 311), but from the hatred existing between them and both the Canaanites and Hebrews, some suppose them to be Japhethites, "who comprised especially the inhabitants of the coasts and islands" (Kalisch *on Gen.* p. 351).

רְפָאִים is rendered by the Greek versions very variously (Ῥαφαείμ, γίγαντες, γηγενεῖς, θεομάχοι, Τιτᾶνες, and ἰατροί, Vulg. *medici*; LXX. Ps. lxxxvii. 10; Is. xxvi. 14, where it is confused with רוֹפְאִים; cf. Gen. l. 2, and sometimes νεκροί, τεθνηκότες, especially in the *later* versions). In A. V. the words used for it are "Rephaim," "giants," and "the dead." That it has the latter meaning in many passages is certain (Ps. lxxxviii. 10; Prov. ii. 18, ix. 18, xxi. 16; Is. xxvi. 19, 14). [DEAD, THE, Amer. ed.] The question arises, how are these meanings to be reconciled? Gesenius gives no derivation for the national name, and derives רְ = *mortui*, from רָפָא, *sanavit*, and the proper name Rapha from an Arabic root signifying "tall," thus seeming to sever *all* connection between the meanings of the word, which is surely most unlikely. Masius, Simonis, &c., suppose the second meaning to come from the fact that both spectres and giants strike terror (accepting the derivation from רָפָה, *remisit*, "unstrung with fear," R. Bechai on Deut. ii.); Vitringa and Hiller from the notion of *length* involved in stretching out a corpse, or from the fancy that spirits appear in more than human size (Hiller, *Syntagm. Hermen.* p. 205; Virg. *Æn.* ii. 772, &c.). J. D. Michaelis (*ad Lowth s. Poes.* p. 466) endeavored to prove that the Rephaim, &c., were Troglodytes, and that hence they came to be identified with the dead. Passing over other conjectures, Boettcher sees in רָפָא and רָפָה a double root, and thinks that the giants were called רְפָאִים (*languefacti*) by an euphemism; and that the dead were so called by a title which will thus exactly parallel the Greek καμόντες, κεκμηκότες (comp. Buttmann, *Lexil.* ii. 237 ff.). His arguments are too elaborate to quote, but see Boettcher, pp. 94–100. An attentive consideration seems to leave little room for doubt that the dead were called Rephaim (as Gesenius also hints) from some notion of Sheol being the residence of the fallen spirits or buried giants. The passages which seem most strongly to prove this are Prov. xxi. 16 (where obviously something more than mere physical death is meant, since that is the common lot of all); Is. xxvi. 14, 19, which are difficult to explain without some such supposition; Is. xiv. 9, where the word עֲתוּדֵי (οἱ ἄρξαντες τῆς γῆς, LXX.) if taken in its literal meaning of *goats*, may mean evil spirits represented in that form (cf. Lev. xvii. 7); and especially Job xxvi. 5, 6. "Behold the gyantes (A. V. 'dead things') grown under the waters" (Douay version), where there seems to be clear allusion to some subaqueous prison of rebellious spirits like that in which (according to the Hindoo legend) Vishnu the water-god confines a race of giants (cf. πυλάοχος, as a title of Neptune, Hes. *Theog.* 732; Nork, *Bram. und Rabb.* p. 315 ff.). [OG; GOLIATH.]

Branches of this great unknown people were called Emim, Anakim, and Zuzim.

* In Prov. xxi. 16, it is said of the man who wanders from the ways of wisdom, that "he shall remain in the congregation of the dead" (properly of the *shades*, that is, disembodied spirits; see art. DEAD). The meaning is, — that shall be the end of his wanderings; there he shall find his abode, though not the one he seeks. But, as is said in the preceding paragraph, "something more than physical death is meant, since that is the lot of all." This is well illustrated in Ps. xlix. 14, 15, 19. Of the wicked it is there said: "Like sheep they are laid in the grave;" like brute beasts, having no hope beyond it. "But God," says the righteous, "will redeem my soul from the power of the grave" (certainly, not from subjection to physical death, for no one could make so absurd a claim); while of the wicked it is said (v. 19), "they shall never see light."

In Is. xxvi. 14, it is affirmed of the tyrannical oppressors, whom God had cut off, that they "shall live no more," "shall not rise again," to continue their work of devastation and oppression on the earth; while in ver. 19 is expressed the confident hope of God's people, on behalf of its own slain.

Job xxvi. 5 should be translated thus: —

> The shades tremble,
> Beneath the waters and their inhabitants.

It is here affirmed, that God's dominion, with the dread it inspires, extends even to the abodes of departed spirits, beneath the earth, and lower than the ocean depths, which are no barrier to the exercise of his power.

We need not, therefore, resort to fabulous legends, for the explanation of these passages.

T. J. C.

4. EMIM (אֵימִים: LXX. Ὀμμίν, Ἰμμαῖοι), smitten by Chedorlaomer at Shaveh Kiriathaim (Gen. xiv. 5), and occupying the country afterwards held by the Moabites (Deut. ii. 10), who gave them the name אֵימִים, "terrors." The word rendered "tall" may perhaps be merely "haughty" (ἰσχύοντες). [EMIM.]

5. ANAKIM (עֲנָקִים). The imbecile terror of the spies exaggerated their proportions into something superhuman (Num. xiii. 28, 33), and their name became proverbial (Deut. ii. 10. ix. 2). [ANAKIM.]

6. ZUZIM (זוּזִים), whose principal town was Ham (Gen. xiv. 5), and who lived between the Arnon and the Jabbok, being a northern tribe of Rephaim. The Ammonites, who defeated them, called them זַמְזֻמִּים (Deut. ii. 20 ff. which is, however, probably an early gloss).

We have now examined the main names applied to giant-races in the Bible, but except in the case of the two first (Nephilim and Gibborim) there is no necessity to suppose that there was anything very *remarkable* in the size of these nations, beyond the general fact of their being finely proportioned. Nothing can be built on the exaggeration of the spies (Num. xiii. 33), and Og, Goliath, Ishbi-benob, etc. (see under the names themselves) are obviously mentioned as exceptional cases. The

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Jews however (misled by supposed relics) thought otherwise (Joseph. *Ant.* v. 2, § 3).

No one has yet proved by experience the possibility of giant races, materially exceeding in size the average height of man. There is no great variation in the ordinary standard. The most stunted tribes of Esquimaux are at least four feet high, and the tallest races of America (*e. g.* the Guayaquilists and people of Paraguay) do not exceed six feet and a half. It was long thought that the Patagonians were men of enormous stature, and the assertions of the old voyagers on the point were positive. For instance Pigafetta (*Voyage Round the World*, Pinkerton, xi. 314) mentions an individual Patagonian so tall, that they "hardly reached to his waist." Similar exaggerations are found in the Voyages of Byron, Wallis, Carteret, Cook, and Forster; but it is now a matter of certainty from the recent visits to Patagonia (by Winter, Capt. Snow, and others), that there is nothing at all extraordinary in their size.

The general belief (until very recent times) in the existence of fabulously enormous men, arose from fancied giant-graves (see De la Valle's *Travels in Persia*, ii. 89), and above all from the discovery of huge bones, which were taken for those of men, in days when comparative anatomy was unknown. Even the ancient Jews were thus misled (Joseph. *Ant.* v. 2, § 3). Augustin appeals triumphantly to this argument, and mentions a molar tooth which he had seen at Utica a hundred times larger than ordinary teeth (*De Civ. Dei*, xv. 9). No doubt it once belonged to an elephant. Vives, in his commentary on the place, mentions a tooth as big as a fist, which was shown at St. Christopher's. In fact this source of delusion has only very recently been dispelled (Sennert, *De Gigant.* passim; Martin's *West. Islands*, in Pinkerton, ii. 691). Most bones, which have been exhibited, have turned out to belong to whales or elephants, as was the case with the vertebra of a supposed giant, examined by Sir Hans Sloane in Oxfordshire.

On the other hand, isolated instances of monstrosity are sufficiently attested to prove that beings like Goliath and his kinsmen may have existed. Columella (*R. R.* iii. 8, § 2) mentions Navius Pollio as one, and Pliny says that in the time of Claudius Cæsar there was an Arab named Gabbaras nearly ten feet high, and that even he was not so tall as Pusio and Secundilla in the reign of Augustus, whose bodies were preserved (vii. 16). Josephus tells us that, among other hostages, Artabanus sent to Tiberius a certain Eleazar, a Jew, surnamed "the Giant," seven cubits in height (*Ant.* xviii. 4, § 5). Nor are well-authenticated instances wanting in modern times. O'Brien, whose skeleton is preserved in the Museum of the College of Surgeons, must have been 8 feet high, but his unnatural height made him weakly. On the other hand the blacksmith Parsons, in Charles II.'s reign, was 7 feet 2 inches high, and also remarkable for his strength (Fuller's *Worthies*, Staffordshire).

For information on the various subjects touched upon in this article, besides minor authorities quoted in it, see Grot. *de Veritat.* i. 16; Nork, *Bram. und Rabb.* p. 210 *ad fin.*; Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 305–312; Winer, s. v. *Riesen*, etc.; Geset. *s. v.* רְפָאִים: Rosenmüller, Kalisch, et Comment. *ad loca cit.*; Rosenm. *Alterthumsk.* ii.; Boettcher, *de Inferis*, p. 95 f.; Heidegger, *Hist. Patr.* xi., Hävernick's *Introd. to Pentat.* p. 345 f.; Horne's *Introd.* i. 143; Faber's *Dampt. Lect.* iii. 7; Maitland's *Erroun; Orig. of Pagan Idol.* i. 217, in Maitland's *False Worship*, 1–67; Pritchard's *Nat. Hist. of Man*, v. 489 f.; Hamilton *On the Pentat.* pp. 189–201; Papers on the Rephaim by Miss F. Corbaux, *Journ. of Sacr. Lit.* 1851. There are also monographs by Cassanion, Sangutelli, and Sennert; we have only met with the latter (*Dissert. Hist. Phil. de Gigantibus*, Vittemb. 1663); it is interesting and learned, but extraordinarily credulous. F. W. F.

GIB'BAR (גִּבָּר) [*hero*, or *high*, *gigantic*]: Γαβέρ; [Vat. Ταβερ:] *Gebbar*). Bene-Gibbar, to the number of ninety-five, returned with Zerubbabel from Babylon (Ezr. ii. 20). In the parallel list of Neh. vii. the name is given as GIDDEL.

GIB'BETHON (גִּבְּתוֹן) [*eminence*, *hill:* in Josh.,] Βεγεθών, Γεθεθών, Alex. Γαβαθων, Γαβεθων; [in 1 K., Γαβαθών, Vat. 1 K. xv. 27, Γαβαων: *Gebbethon*,] *Gabathon*), a town allotted to the tribe of Dan (Josh. xix. 44), and afterwards given with its "suburbs" to the Kohathite Levites (xxi. 23). Being, like most of the towns of Dan, either in or close to the Philistines' country, it was no doubt soon taken possession of by them; at any rate they held it in the early days of the monarchy of Israel, when king Nadab "and all Israel," and after him Omri, besieged it (1 K. xv. 27; xvi. 17). What were the special advantages of situation or otherwise which rendered it so desirable as a possession for Israel are not apparent. In the *Onomasticon* (Gabathon) it is quoted as a small village (κωλίχνη) called Gabe, in the 17th mile from Cæsarea. This would place it nearly due west of Samaria, and about the same distance therefrom. No name at all resembling it has, however, been discovered in that direction.

GIB'EA (גִּבְעָא) [*hill-inhabitant*, Fürst; *hill*, Gesen.]: Γαιβάλ: Alex. Γαιβαα: *Gabaa*). Sheva "the father of Machenah," and "father of Gibea," is mentioned with other names unmistakably those of places and not persons, among the descendants of Judah (1 Chr. ii. 49, comp. 42). [FATHER.] This would seem to point out Gibea (which in some Hebrew MSS. is Gibeah; see Burrington, i. 216) as the city GIBEAH in Judah. The mention of Madmannah (49, comp. Josh. xv. 31), as well as of Ziph (42) and Maon (45), seems to carry us to a locality considerably south of Hebron. [GIBEAH, 1.] On the other hand Madmannah recalls Madmenah, a town named in connection with Gibeah of Benjamin (Is. x. 31), and therefore lying somewhere north of Jerusalem.

GIB'EAH (גִּבְעָה, derived, according to Gesenius (*Thes.* pp. 259, 260), from a root, גָּבַע, signifying to be round or humped; comp. the Latin *gibbus*, English *gibbous;* the Arabic جَبَل, *jebel*, a mountain, and the German *gipfel*). A word employed in the Bible to denote a "hill" — that is, an eminence of less considerable height and extent than a "mountain," the term for which is הָר *har*. For the distinction between the two terms, see Ps. cxlviii. 9; Prov. viii. 25; Is. ii. 2, xl. 4, &c. In the historical books *gibeah* is commonly applied to the bald rounded hills of central Palestine, especially in the neighborhood of Jerusalem (Stanley, App. § 25). Like most words of this kind it gave its name to several towns and places in Palestine

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which would doubtless be generally on or near a hill. They are —

1. GIB'EAH (Γαβαά: *Gabaa*), a city in the mountain-district of Judah, named with Maon and the southern Carmel (Josh. xv. 57; and comp. 1 Chr. ii. 49, &c.). In the *Onomasticon* a village named Gabatha is mentioned as containing the monument of Habakkuk the prophet, and lying twelve miles from Eleutheropolis. The direction, however, is not stated. Possibly it was identical with Keilah, which is given as eastward from Eleutheropolis (Eusebius says seventeen, Jerome eight miles) on the road to Hebron, and is also mentioned as containing the monument of Habakkuk. But neither of these can be the place intended in Joshua, since that would appear to have been to the S. E. of Hebron, near where Carmel and Maon are still existing. For the same reason this Gibeah cannot be that discovered by Robinson as *Jeba'h* in the *Wady Musûr*, not far west of Bethlehem, and ten miles north of Hebron (Rob. ii. 6, 16). Its site is therefore yet to seek.

2. GIB'EATH (גִּבְעָת: Γαβαάθ; Alex. Γαβααθ: *Gabaath*). This is enumerated among the last group of the towns of Benjamin, next to Jerusalem (Josh. xviii. 28). It is generally taken to be the place which afterwards became so notorious as "Gibeah-of-Benjamin" or "of-Saul." But this, as we shall presently see, was five or six miles north of Jerusalem, close to Gibeon and Ramah, with which, in that case, it would have been mentioned in ver. 25. The name being in the "construct state," — Gibeath and not Gibeah, — may it not belong to the following name, Kirjath (*i. e.* Kirjath-jearim, as some MSS. actually read), and denote the hill adjoining that town (see below, No. 3)? The obvious objection to this proposal is the statement of the number of this group of towns as fourteen, but this is not a serious objection, as in these catalogues discrepancies not unfrequently occur between the numbers of the towns, and that stated as the sum of the enumeration (comp. Josh. xv. 32, 36; xix. 6, &c.). In this very list there is reason to believe that Zelah and ha-Eleph are not separate names, but one. The lists of Joshua, though in the main coeval with the division of the country, must have been often added to and altered before they became finally fixed as we now possess them,[a] and the sanctity conferred on the "hill of Kirjath" by the temporary sojourn of the Ark there in the time of Saul would have secured its insertion among the lists of the towns of the tribe.

3. (הַגִּבְעָה: ἐν τῷ βουνῷ; [Alex. ἐν βουνω:] *in Gabaa*), the place in which the Ark remained from the time of its return by the Philistines till its removal by David (2 Sam. vi. 3, 4; comp. 1 Sam. vii. 1, 2). The name has the definite article, and in 1 Sam. vii. 1 [as here in the margin of the A V.] it is translated "the hill." (See No 2 above.)

4. GIB'EAH-OF-BEN'JAMIN. This town does not appear in the lists of the cities of Benjamin in Josh. xviii. (1.) We first encounter it in the tragical story of the Levite and his concubine, when it brought all but extermination on the tribe (Judg xix., xx.). It was then a "city" (עִיר) with the usual open street (רְחוֹב) or square (Judg. xix. 15 17, 20), and containing 700 "chosen men" (xx 15), probably the same whose skill as slingers is preserved in the next verse. Thanks to the precision of the narrative, we can gather some general knowledge of the position of Gibeah. The Levite and his party left Bethlehem in the "afternoon" — when the day was coming near the time at which the tents would be pitched for evening. It was probably between two and three o'clock. At the ordinary speed of eastern travellers they would come "over against Jebus" in two hours, say by five o'clock, and the same length of time would take them an equal distance, or about four miles, to the north of the city on the *Nablûs* road, in the direction of Mount Ephraim (xix. 13, comp. 1). Ramah and Gibeah both lay in sight of the road, Gibeah apparently the nearest; and when the sudden sunset of that climate, unaccompanied by more than a very brief twilight, made further progress impossible, they "turned aside" from the beaten track to the town where one of the party was to meet a dreadful death (Judg. xix. 9–15). Later indications of the story seem to show that a little north of the town the main track divided into two — one, the present *Nablûs* road, leading up to Bethel, the "house of God," and the other taking to Gibeah-in-the-field (xx. 31), possibly the present *Jeba*. Below the city, probably, —about the base of the hill which gave its name to the town, — was the "cave[b] of Gibeah," in which the liers in wait concealed themselves until the signal was given[c] (xx. 33).

During this narrative the name is given simply as "Gibeah," with a few exceptions; at its introduction it is called "Gibeah which belongeth to Benjamin" (xix. 14, and so in xx. 4). In xx. 10 we have the expression "Gibeah of Benjamin," but here the Hebrew is not Gibeah, but Geba — גֶּבַע. The same form of the word is found in xx. 33, where the meadows, or cave, "of Gibeah," should be "of Geba."

In many of the above particulars Gibeah agrees very closely with *Tuleil el-F'ûl* ["hill of beans"], a conspicuous eminence just four miles north of

[a] For instance, Beth-marcaboth, "house of chariots," and Hazar-susah, "village of horses" (Josh. xix. 5), would seem to date from the time of Solomon, when the traffic in these articles began with Egypt.

[b] מְעָרֹת, A. V. "meadows of Gibeah," taking the word [after the Targum and R. Kimchi] as *Maarâh*, an open field (Stanley, App. § 19); the LXX. [Rom. Vat.] transfers the Hebrew word literally, Μααγαβέ; [6 MSS. read Μααὰ Γαβαὰ or τῆς Γ.; but Comp. Ald., with Alex. and about 15 other MSS., ἀπὸ δυσμῶν τῆς Γαβαά;] the Syriac has ܡܥܪܬܐ = cave. The Hebrew word for cave, *Mearâh*, differs from that adopted in the A V. only in the vowel-points; and there seems a certain consistency in an ambush concealing themselves in a cave, which in an open field would be impossible.

[c] Bertheau (*Buch der Richter u. Rut*, p. 224) objects to the meaning "cave" that the liers-in-wait are said (ver. 29) to have been set "*round about* Gibeah." He understands the last part of ver. 33 to mean that the men of Israel came forth from their ambush *wegen der Entblössung von Geba'*, "on account of the complete exposure of Geba" by the withdrawal of the Benjamites (vv. 31, 32). Buxtorf, Tremellius and others give nearly the same interpretation, rendering the last clause of the verse "post denudationem Gibeæ." A.

[c] Josephus, *Ant.* v. 2, § 11.

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Jerusalem to the right of the road. Two miles beyond it and full in view is *er-Ram*, in all probability the ancient Ramah, and between the two the main road divides, one branch going off to the right to the village of *Jeba*, while the other continues its course upwards to *Beitîn*, the modern representative of Bethel. (See No. 5 below.)

(2.) We next meet with Gibeah of Benjamin during the Philistine wars of Saul and Jonathan (1 Sam. xiii., xiv.). It now bears its full title. The position of matters seems to have been this: The Philistines were in possession of the village of Geba, the present *Jeba* on the south side of the *Wady Suweinit*. In their front, across the wady, which is here about a mile wide, and divided by several swells lower than the side eminences, was Saul in the town of Michmash, the modern *Mukhmâs*, and holding also "Mount Bethel," that is, the heights on the north of the great wady — *Deir Diwân*, *Burka*, *Tell el-Hajar*, as far as *Beitîn* itself. South of the Philistine camp, and about three miles in its rear, was Jonathan, in Gibeah-of-Benjamin, with a thousand chosen warriors (xiii. 2). The first step was taken by Jonathan, who drove out the Philistines from Geba, by a feat of arms which at once procured him an immense reputation. But in the meantime it increased the difficulties of Israel, for the Philistines (hearing of their reverse) gathered in prodigious strength, and advancing with an enormous armament, pushed Saul's little force before them out of Bethel and Michmash, and down the eastern passes, to Gilgal, near Jericho in the Jordan valley (xiii. 4, 7). They then established themselves at Michmash, formerly the headquarters of Saul, and from thence sent out their bands of plunderers, north, west, and east (vv. 17, 18). But nothing could dislodge Jonathan from his main stronghold in the south. As far as we can disentangle the complexities of the story, he soon relinquished Geba, and consolidated his little force in Gibeah, where he was joined by his father, with Samuel the prophet, and Ahiah the priest, who, perhaps remembering the former fate of the Ark, had brought down the sacred Ephod[a] from Shiloh. These three had made their way up from Gilgal, with a force sorely diminished by desertion to the Philistine camp (xiv. 21), and flight (xiii. 7) — a mere remnant (*κατάλειμμα*) of the people following in the rear of the little band (LXX.). Then occurred the feat of the hero and his armor-bearer. In the stillness and darkness of the night they descended the hill of Gibeah, crossed the intervening country to the steep terraced slope of *Jeba*, and threading the mazes of the ravine below, climbed the opposite hill, and discovered themselves to the garrison of the Philistines just as the day was breaking.[b]

No one had been aware of their departure, but it was not long unknown. Saul's watchmen at *Tuleil el-Fûl* were straining their eyes to catch a glimpse in the early morning of the position of the foe; and as the first rays of the rising sun on their right broke over the mountains of Gilead, and glittered on the rocky summit of Michmash, their practiced eyes quickly discovered the unusual stir in the camp: they could see "the multitude melting away, and beating down one another." Through the clear air, too, came, even to that distance, the unmistakable sounds of the conflict. The muster-roll was hastily called to discover the absentees. The oracle of God was consulted, but so rapidly did the tumult increase that Saul's impatience would not permit the rites to be completed, and soon he and Ahiah (xiv. 36) were rushing down from Gibeah at the head of their hungry warriors, joined at every step by some of the wretched Hebrews from their hiding places in the clefts and holes of the Benjamite hills, eager for revenge, and for the recovery of the "sheep, and oxen, and calves" (xiv. 32), equally with the arms, of which they had been lately plundered. So quickly did the news run through the district that — if we may accept the statements of the LXX. — by the time Saul reached the Philistine camp his following amounted to 10,000 men. On every one of the heights of the country (*βαμάθ*) the people rose against the hated invaders, and before the day was out there was not a city, even of Mount Ephraim, to which the struggle had not spread. [JONATHAN.]

(3.) As "Gibeah of Benjamin" this place is referred to in 2 Sam. xxiii. 29 [LXX. Γαβαέθ: Vulg. *Gabaath*] (comp. 1 Chr. xi. 31 [*βουνός*: *Gabaath*]), and as "Gibeah" it is mentioned by Hosea (v. 8, ix. 9, x. 9 [LXX. *οἱ βουνοί*, *ὁ βουνός*]), but it does not again appear in the history. It is, however, almost without doubt identical with —

5. GIB'EAH-OF-SAUL (גִּבְעַת שָׁאוּל: the LXX. do not recognize this name except in 2 Sam. xxi. 6, where they have Γαβαὼν Σαούλ, and Is. x. 30, πόλις Σαούλ [Vulg. *Gabaath Saulis*], elsewhere simply Γαβαάδ or [Alex.] Γαβααθά). This is not mentioned as Saul's city till after his anointing (1 Sam. x. 26), when he is said to have gone "home" (Hebr. "to his house," as in xv. 34) to Gibeah, "to which," adds Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 4, § 6), "he belonged." In the subsequent narrative the town bears its full name (xi. 4), and the king is living there, still following the avocations of a simple farmer, when his relations[c] of Jabesh-Gilead beseech his help in their danger. His Ammonite expedition is followed by the first Philistine war, and by various other conflicts, amongst others an expedition against Amalek in the extreme south of Palestine. But he returns, as before, "to his house" at Gibeah-of-Saul (1 Sam. xv. 34). Again we encounter it, when the seven sons of the king were hung there as a sacrifice to turn away the anger of Jehovah (2 Sam. xxi. 6[d]). The name of Saul has not been found in connection with any place of modern Palestine, but it existed as late as the days of Josephus, and an allusion of his has fortunately given the clew to the identification of the town with the spot which now bears the name of *Tuleil el-Fûl*. Josephus (*B. J.* v. 2, § 1), describing Titus's march from Cæsarea to Jerusalem,

[a] 1 Sam. xiv. 3. In ver. 18 the ark is said to have been at Gibeah; but this is in direct contradiction to the statement of vii. 1, compared with 2 Sam. vi. 3, 4, and 1 Chr. xiii. 3; and also to those of the LXX. and Josephus at this place. The Hebrew words for ark and ephod — אָרוֹן and אֵפוֹד — are very similar, and may have been mistaken for one another (Ewald, Gesch. iii. 46. note; Stanley, p. 205).

[b] We owe this touch to Josephus: ὑποφαινούσης ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας (*Ant.* vi. 6, § 2).

[c] This is a fair inference from the fact that the wives of 400 out of the 600 Benjamites who escaped the massacre at Gibeah came from Jabesh-Gilead (Judg. xxi. 12).

[d] The word in this verse rendered "hill" is not *gibeah* but *har*, i. e. "mountain," a singular change and not quite intelligible.

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gives his route as though Samaria to Gophna, thence a day's march to a valley "called by the Jews the Valley of Thorns, near a certain village called Gabathsaoule, distant from Jerusalem about thirty stadia," *i. e.* just the distance of *Tuleil el-Fûl*. Here he was joined by a part of his army from Emmaus (Nicopolis), who would naturally come up the road by Beth-horon and Gibeon, the same which still falls into the northern road close to *Tuleil el-Fûl*. In both these respects therefore the agreement is complete, and Gibeah of Benjamin must be taken as identical with Gibeah of Saul. The discovery is due to Dr. Robinson (i. 577–79), though it was partly suggested by a writer in *Stud. und Kritiken*.

This identification of Gibeah, as also that of Geba with *Jeba*, is fully supported by Is. x. 28–32, where we have a specification of the route of Sennacherib from the north through the villages of the Benjamite district to Jerusalem. Commencing with Ai, to the east of the present *Beitin*, the route proceeds by *Mukhmâs*, across the "passages" of the *Wady Suweinit* to *Jeba* on the opposite side; and then by *er-Ram* and *Tuleil el-Fûl*, villages actually on the present road, to the heights north of Jerusalem, from which the city is visible. Gallim, Madmenah, and Gebim, none of which have been yet identified, must have been, like Anathoth (*Anata*), villages on one side or the other of the direct line of march. The only break in the chain is Migron, which is here placed between Ai and Michmash, while in 1 Sam. xiv. 2 it appears to have been five or six miles south, at Gibeah. One explanation that presents itself is, that in that uneven and rocky district the name "Migron," "precipice," would very probably, like "Gibeah," be borne by more than one town.

In 1 Sam. xxii. 6, xxiii. 19, xxvi. 1, "Gibeah" [LXX. *βουνός*: Vulg. *Gabaa*] doubtless stands for G. of Saul.

6. GIB'EAH-IN-THE FIELD (גִּבְעַת בַּשָּׂדֶה: Γαβαὰ ἐν ἀγρῷ; [Alex. Γ. ἐν τῳ ἀγρῳ:] *Gabaa*), named only in Judg. xx. 31, as the place to which one of the "highways" (מְסִלּוֹת) led from Gibeah-of-Benjamin, — "of which one goeth up to Bethel, and one to Gibeah-in-the-field." *Sâdeh*, the word here rendered "field," is applied specially to cultivated ground, "as distinguished from town, desert, or garden" (Stanley, App. § 15). Cultivation was so general throughout this district, that the term affords no clew to the situation of the place. It is, however, remarkable that the north road from Jerusalem, shortly after passing *Tuleil el-Fûl*, separates into two branches, one running on to *Beitin* (Bethel), and the other diverging to the right to *Jeba* (Geba). The attack on Gibeah came from the north (comp. xx. 18, 19, and 26, in which "the house of God" is really Bethel), and therefore the divergence of the roads was north of the town. In the case of Gibeah-of-Benjamin we have seen that the two forms "Geba" and 'Gibeah" appear to be convertible, the former for the latter. If the identification now proposed for Gibeah-in-the-field be correct, the case is here reversed, and 'Gibeah" is put for "Geba."

The "meadows of Gaba" (גֶּבַע: A. V. Gibeah; Judg. xx. 33) have no connection with the "field," the Hebrew words being entirely different. As stated above, the word rendered "meadows" is probably accurately "cave." [GEBA, p. 877 *a*.]

7. There are several other names compounds of Gibeah, which are given in a translated form in the A. V., probably from their appearing not to belong to towns. These are: —

(1.) The "hill of the foreskins" (Josh. v. 3) between the Jordan and Jericho; it derives its name from the circumcision which took place there, and seems afterwards to have received the name of GILGAL.

(2.) [Γαβαὰρ Φινεές (Vat. Φεε-); Alex. Ald. Γαβαὰθ Φ.: *Gabaath Phinees*.] The "hill of PHINEHAS" in Mount Ephraim (Josh. xxiv. 33). This may be the *Jibia* on the left of the *Nablûs* road, half-way between Bethel and Shiloh; or the *Jeba* north of *Nablûs* (Rob. ii. 265 note, 312). Both would be "in Mount Ephraim," but there is nothing in the text to fix the position of the place, while there is no lack of the name among the villages of Central Palestine.

(3.) The "hill of MOREH" (Judg. vii. 1).

(4.) The "hill of God" — Gibeath ha-Elohim (1 Sam. x. 5); one of the places in the route of Saul, which is so difficult to trace. In verses 10 and 13, it is apparently called "the hill," and "the high place."

(5.) [Vulg. 1 Sam. xxvi. 3, *Gabaa Hachila*.] The "hill of HACHILAH" (1 Sam. xxiii. 19, xxvi. 1, [3]).

(6.) The "hill of AMMAH" (2 Sam. ii. 24).

(7.) The "hill GAREB" (Jer. xxxi. 39).

GIB'EATH, Josh. xviii. 28. [GIBEAH, 2.]

GIB'EATHITE, THE (הַגִּבְעָתִי · Γαβαθίτης; [Vat. FA. Γεβωθε-της; Alex. Γαβαθ-της:] *Gabaathites*), i. e. the native of Gibeah (1 Chr. xii. 3); in this case Shemaah, or "the Shemaah," father of two Benjamites, "Saul's brethren," who joined David.

GIB'EON (גִּבְעוֹן, i. e. *belonging to a hill*: Γαβαών; [Vat. 1 K. ix. 2, Γαβαωθ, Jer. xli. 12, Γαβαω:] Joseph. Γαβαώ: *Gabaon*), one of the four[a] cities of the HIVITES, the inhabitants of which made a league with Joshua (ix. 3–15), and thus escaped the fate of Jericho and Ai (comp. xi. 19). It appears, as might be inferred from its taking the initiative in this matter, to have been the largest of the four — "a great city, like one of the royal cities" — larger than Ai (x. 2). Its men too were all practiced warriors (*Gibborim*, גִּבֹּרִים). Gibeon lay within the territory of Benjamin (xviii. 25), and with its "suburbs" was allotted to the priests (xxi. 17), of whom it became afterwards a principal station. Occasional notices of its existence occur in the historical books, which are examined more at length below; and after the Captivity we find the "men of Gibeon" returning with Zerubbabel (Neh. vii. 25: in the list of Ezra the name is altered to Gibbar), and assisting Nehemiah in the repair of the wall of Jerusalem (iii. 7). In the post-biblical times it was the scene of a victory by the Jews over the Roman troops under Cestius Gallus, which offers in many respects a close parallel to that of Joshua over the Canaanites (Jos. *B. J.* ii. 19, § 7; Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 212).

The situation of Gibeon has fortunately been recovered with as great certainty as any ancient site in Palestine. The traveller who pursues the northern camel-road from Jerusalem, turning off to

[a] So Josh. ix. 17. Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, § 19) omits Beeroth

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the left at *Tuleil el-Fûl* (Gibeah) on that branch of it which leads westward to Jaffa, finds himself, after crossing one or two stony and barren ridges, in a district of a more open character. The hills are rounder and more isolated than those through which he has been passing, and rise in well-defined mamelons from broad undulating valleys of tolerable extent and fertile soil. This is the central plateau of the country, the "land of Benjamin;" and these round hills are the Gibeahs, Gebas, Gibeons, and Ramahs, whose names occur so frequently in the records of this district. Retaining its ancient name almost intact, *el-Jîb* stands on the northernmost of a couple of these mamelons, just at the place where the road to the sea parts into two branches, the one by the lower level of the *Wady Suleimân*, the other by the heights of the Beth-horons, to Gimzo, Lydda, and Joppa. The road passes at a short distance to the north of the base of the hill of *el-Jîb*. The strata of the hills in this district lie much more horizontally than those further south. With the hills of Gibeon this is peculiarly the case, and it imparts a remarkable precision to their appearance, especially when viewed from a height such as the neighboring eminence of *Neby Samwîl*. The natural terraces are carried round the hill like contour lines; they are all dotted thick with olives and vines, and the ancient-looking houses are scattered over the flattish summit of the mound. On the east side of the hill is a copious spring which issues in a cave excavated in the limestone rock, so as to form a large reservoir. In the trees further down are the remains of a pool or tank of considerable size, probably, says Dr. Robinson, 120 feet by 100, *i. e.* of rather smaller dimensions than the lower pool at Hebron. This is doubtless the "pool of Gibeon" at which Abner and Joab met together with the troops of Ish-bosheth and David, and where



Gibeon and Nebi Samwîl, from N. W.

that sharp conflict took place which ended in the death of Asahel, and led at a later period to the treacherous murder of Abner himself. Here or at the spring were the "great waters (or the many waters, מַיִם רַבִּים) of Gibeon," [a] at which Johanan the son of Kareah found the traitor Ishmael (Jer. xli. 12). Round this water also, according to the notice of Josephus (ἐπί τινι πηγῇ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἄπωθεν, *Ant.* v. 1, § 17), the five kings of the Amorites were encamped when Joshua burst upon them from Gilgal. The "wilderness of Gibeon" (2 Sam. ii. 24 — the *Midbar*, i. e. rather the waste pasture-grounds — must have been to the east, beyond the circle or suburb of cultivated fields, and towards the neighboring swells, which bear the names of *Jedireh* and *Bir Neballah*. Such is the situation of Gibeon, fulfilling in position every requirement of the notices of the Bible, Josephus Eusebius, and Jerome. Its distance from Jerusalem by the main road is as nearly as possible 6½ miles; but there is a more direct road reducing it to 5 miles.

The name of Gibeon is most familiar to us in connection with the artifice by which its inhabitants obtained their safety at the hands of Joshua, and with the memorable battle which ultimately resulted therefrom. This transaction is elsewhere examined, and therefore requires no further reference here. [JOSHUA; BETH-HORON.]

We next hear of it at the encounter between the men of David and of Ish-bosheth under their respective leaders Joab and Abner (2 Sam. ii. 12-17). The meeting has all the air of having been

[a] Beth here and in 1 K. iii. 4, Josephus substitutes Hebron for Gibeon (*Ant.* x. 9, § 5, viii. 4, § 1).

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premeditated by both parties, unless we suppose that Joab had heard of the intention of the Benjamites to revisit from the distant Mahanaim their native villages, and had seized the opportunity to try his strength with Abner. The details of this disastrous encounter are elsewhere given. [JOAB.] The place where the struggle began received a name from the circumstance, and seems to have been long afterwards known as the "field of the strong men." [HELKATH-HAZZURIM.]

We again meet with Gibeon in connection with Joab; this time as the scene of the cruel and revolting death of Amasa by his hand (2 Sam. xx. 5–10). Joab was in pursuit of the rebellious Sheba the son of Bichri, and his being so far out of the direct north road as Gibeon may be accounted for by supposing that he was making a search for this Benjamite among the towns of his tribe. The two rivals met at "the great stone [a] which is in Gibeon" — some old landmark now no longer recognizable, at least not recognized — and then Joab repeated the treachery by which he had murdered Abner, but with circumstances of a still more revolting character. [JOAB; ARMS, p. 159.]

It is remarkable that the retribution for this crowning act of perfidy should have overtaken Joab close to the very spot on which it had been committed. For it was to the tabernacle at Gibeon (1 K. ii. 28, 29; comp. 1 Chr. xvi. 39) that Joab fled for sanctuary when his death was pronounced by Solomon, and it was while clinging to the horns of the brazen altar there that he received his death-blow from Benaiah the son of Jehoiada (1 K. ii. 28. 30, 34; and LXX. 29).

Familiar as these events in connection with the history of Gibeon are to us, its reputation in Israel was due to a very different circumstance — the fact that the tabernacle of the congregation and the brazen altar of burnt-offering were for some time located on the "high place" attached to or near the town. We are not informed whether this "high place" had any fame for sanctity before the tabernacle came there; but if not, it would have probably been erected elsewhere. We only hear of it in connection with the tabernacle, nor is there any indication of its situation in regard to the town. Professor Stanley has suggested that it was the remarkable hill of *Neby Samuil*, the most prominent and individual eminence in that part of the country, and to which the special appellation of "the great high-place" (1 K. iii. 4; הַבָּמָה הַגְּדוֹלָה) would perfectly apply. And certainly, if "great" is to be understood as referring to height or size, there is no other hill which can so justly claim the distinction (*Sinai and Pal.* p. 216). But the word has not always that meaning, and may equally imply eminence in other respects, *e. g.* superior sanctity to the numerous other high places — Rachel, Ramah, Mizpeh, Gibeah — which surrounded it on every side. The main objection to this identification is the distance of *Neby Samwil* from Gibeon — more than a mile — and the absence of any closer connection therewith than with any other of the neighboring places. The most natural position for the high place of Gibeon is the twin mount immediately south of *el-Jib* — so close as to be all but a part of the town, and yet quite separate and distinct. The testimony of Epiphanius, by which Mr. Stanley supports his conjecture, namely, that the "Mount of Gabaon" was the highest round Jerusalem (*Adv. Hæreses*, i. 394), should be received with caution, standing as it does quite alone, and belonging to an age which, though early, was marked by ignorance, and by the most improbable conclusions.

To this high place, wherever situated, the "tabernacle of the congregation" — the sacred tent which had accompanied the children of Israel through the whole of their wanderings — had been transferred from its last station at Nob.[b] The exact date of the transfer is left in uncertainty. It was either before or at the time when David brought up the ark from Kirjath-jearim, to the new tent which he had pitched for it on Mount Zion, that the original tent was spread for the last time at Gibeon. The expression in 2 Chr. i. 5, "the brazen altar he put before the tabernacle of Jehovah," at first sight appears to refer to David. But the text of the passage is disputed, and the authorities are divided between שָׂם = "he put," and שָׁם = "was there." Whether king David transferred the tabernacle to Gibeon or not, he certainly appointed the staff of priests to offer the daily sacrifices there on the brazen altar of Moses, and to fulfill the other requirements of the law (1 Chr. xvi. 40), with no less a person at their head than Zadok the priest (39), assisted by the famous musicians Heman and Jeduthun (41).

One of the earliest acts of Solomon's reign — it must have been while the remembrance of the execution of Joab was still fresh — was to visit Gibeon. The ceremonial was truly magnificent: he went up with all the congregation, the great officers of the state — the captains of hundreds and thousands, the judges, the governors, and the chief of the fathers — and the sacrifice consisted of a thousand burnt-offerings [c] (1 K. iii. 4). And this glimpse of Gibeon in all the splendor of its greatest prosperity — the smoke of the thousand animals rising from the venerable altar on the commanding height of "the great high place" — the clang of "trumpets and cymbals and musical instruments of God" (1 Chr. xvi. 42) resounding through the valleys far and near — is virtually the last we have of it. In a few years the temple at Jerusalem was completed, and then the tabernacle was once more taken down and removed. Again "all the men of Israel assembled themselves" to king Solomon, with the "elders of Israel," and the priests and the Levites brought up both the tabernacle and the

[a] The Hebrew preposition (עִם) almost implies that they were on or touching the stone.

[b] The various stations of the Tabernacle and the Ark, from their entry on the Promised Land to their final deposition in the Temple at Jerusalem, will be examined under TABERNACLE. Meantime, with reference to the above, it may be said that though not expressly stated to have been at Nob, it may be conclusively inferred from the mention of the "shew bread" (1 Sam xxi. 6). The "ephod" (9) and the expression "before Jehovah" (6) prove nothing either way. Josephus throws no light on it.

[c] It would be very satisfactory to believe, with Thomson (*Land and Book*, ii. 547), that the present *Wady Suleimân*, i. e. "Solomon's valley," which commences on the west side of Gibeon, and leads down to the Plain of Sharon, derived its name from this visit. But the modern names of places in Palestine often spring from very modern persons or circumstances, and, without confirmation or investigation, this can not be received.

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ark, and "all the holy vessels that were in the tabernacle" (1 K. viii. 3: Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 4, § 1), and placed the venerable relics in their new home, there to remain until the plunder of the city by Nebuchadnezzar. The introduction of the name of Gibeon in 1 Chr. ix. 35, which seems so abrupt, is probably due to the fact that the preceding verses of the chapter contain, as they appear to do, a list of the staff attached to the "Tabernacle of the congregation" which was erected there; or if these persons should prove to be the attendants on the "new tent" which David had pitched for the ark on its arrival in the city of David, the transition to the place where the old tent was still standing is both natural and easy. G.

GIBEONITES, THE (הַגִּבְעֹנִים: *οἱ ἐκ Βαανίτου* [Vat. -νει-]: *Gabaonitæ*), the people of Gibeon, and perhaps also of the three cities associated with Gibeon (Josh. ix. 17) — Hivites; and who, on the discovery of the stratagem by which they had obtained the protection of the Israelites, were condemned to be perpetual bondmen, hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation, and for the house of God and altar of Jehovah (Josh. ix. 23, 27). Saul appears to have broken this covenant, and in a fit of enthusiasm or patriotism to have killed some and devised a general massacre of the rest (2 Sam. xxi. 1, 2, 5). This was expiated many years after by giving up seven men of Saul's descendants to the Gibeonites, who hung them or crucified them "before Jehovah" — as a kind of sacrifice — in Gibeah, Saul's own town (4, 6, 9).[a] At this time, or at any rate at the time of the composition of the narrative, the Gibeonites were so identified with Israel, that the historian is obliged to insert a note explaining their origin and their non-Israelite extraction (xxi. 2). The actual name "Gibeonites" appears only in this passage of 2 Sam. [NETHINIM.]

Individual Gibeonites named are (1) ISMAIAH, one of the Benjamites who joined David in his difficulties (1 Chr. xii. 4); (2) MELATIAH, one of those who assisted Nehemiah in repairing the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 7); (3) HANANIAH, the son of Azur, a false prophet from Gibeon, who opposed Jeremiah, and shortly afterwards died (Jer. xxviii. 1, 10, 13, 17). G.

GIBLITES, THE (הַגִּבְלִי, *i. e.* singular, *the Giblite*: Γαλιὰθ Φυλιστιείμ; Alex. Γαβλι [Φ.:] *confinia*). The "land of the Giblite" is mentioned in connection with Lebanon in the enumeration of the portions of the Promised Land remaining to be conquered by Joshua (Josh. xiii. 5). The ancient versions, as will be seen above, give no help, but there is no reason to doubt that the allusion is to the inhabitants of the city GEBAL, which was on the sea-coast at the foot of the northern slopes of Lebanon. The one name is a regular derivative from the other (see Gesenius, *Thes.* p. 258 *b*). We have here a confirmation of the identity of the Aphek mentioned in this passage with *Afka*, which was overlooked by the writer when examining the latter name [APHEK, 2]; and the whole passage is instructive, as showing how very far the limits of the country designed for the Israelites exceeded those which they actually occupied.

The Giblites are again named (though not in the A. V. [except in the margin]) in 1 K. v. 18 (הַגִּבְלִים: [Rom. Vat. omit;] Alex. *οἱ Βιβλιοι Giblii*) as assisting Solomon's builders and Hiram's builders to prepare the trees and the stones for building the Temple. That they were clever artificers is evident from this passage (and comp. Ex. xxvii. 9); but why our translators should have so far improved on this as to render the word by "stone-squarers" [so the Bishops' Bible; the Genevan version has "masons"] is not obvious. Possibly they followed the Targum, which has a word of similar import in this place. G.

GIDDALTI (גִּדַּלְתִּי [*I have praised*]. Γοδολλαθί; [Vat. Γοδολλαθει, Γοδομαθει;] Alex. Γεδολλαθι, Γεδδελθι: *Geddelthi, Gedelthi*]), one of the sons of Heman, the king's seer, and therefore a Kohathite Levite (1 Chr. xxv. 4; comp. vi. 33): his office was with thirteen of his brothers to sound the horn in the service of the tabernacle (5, 7). He had also charge of the 22d division or course (29).

GIDDEL (גִּדֵּל [*very great, gigantic*]: Γεδήλ, [Γαδήλ; in Ezr., Vat. Κεδεδ; in Neh., Alex. Καδηλ:] *Gaddel*, [*Geddel*]). 1. Children of Giddel (*Bene-Giddel*) were among the Nethinim who returned from the Captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 47; Neh. vii. 49). In the parallel lists of 1 Esdras the name is corrupted to CATHUA.

2. [Γεδήλ, Γαδαήλ; Vat. Γεδηα, Γαδηλ (so FA. in Neh.); Alex. Γεδδηλ, Γαδδηλ: *Geddel, Jeddel.*] Bene-Giddel were also among the "servants of Solomon" who returned to Judæa in the same caravan (Ezr. ii. 56; Neh. vii. 58). In 1 Esdras this is given as ISDAEL.

GIDEON (גִּדְעוֹן, from גָּדַע, *a sucker*, or better = *a hewer*, i. e. a brave warrior; comp. Is. x. 33; Γεδεών: *Gedeon*), a Manassite, youngest son of Joash of the Abiezrites, an undistinguished family, who lived at Ophrah, a town probably on this side Jordan (Judg. vi. 15), although its exact position is unknown. He was the fifth recorded Judge of Israel, and for many reasons the greatest of them all. When we first hear of him he was grown up and had sons (Judg. vi. 11, viii. 20), and from the apostrophe of the angel (vi. 12) we may conclude that he had already distinguished himself in war against the roving bands of nomadic robbers who had oppressed Israel for seven years, and whose countless multitudes (compared to locusts from their terrible devastations, vi. 5) annually destroyed all the produce of Canaan, except such as could be concealed in mountain-fastnesses (vi. 2). It was probably during this disastrous period that the emigration of Elimelech took place (Ruth i. 1, 2; Jahn's *Hebr. Comm.* § xxi.). Some have identified the angel who appeared to Gideon (*φάντασμα νεανίσκου μορφῇ*, Jos. *Ant.* v. 6) with the prophet mentioned in vi. 8, which will remind the reader of the legends about Malachi in Origen and other commentators. Paulus (*Exeg. Conserv.* ii. 190 ff.) endeavors to give the narrative a subjective coloring, but rationalism is of little value in accounts like this. When the angel appeared, Gideon was threshing wheat with a flail (ἔκοπτε, LXX.) in the wine-

[a] Dean Stanley describes the artifice of the aboriginal Gibeonites, and the acts of revenge of their descendants against the family of Saul, with his wonted vividness and skill (*History of the Jewish Church*, i 262, and ii. 36). See also REMAB. H

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press, to conceal it from the predatory tyrants. After a natural hesitation he accepted the commission of a deliverer, and learned the true character of his visitant from a miraculous sign (vi. 12–23); and being reassured from the fear which first seized him (Ex. xx. 19; Judg. xiii. 22), built the altar Jehovah-shalom, which existed when the book of Judges was written (vi. 24). In a dream the same night he was ordered to throw down the altar of Baal and cut down the Asherah (A. V. "grove") upon it [ASHERAH], with the wood of which he was to offer in sacrifice his father's "second bullock of seven years old," an expression in which some see an allusion to the seven years of servitude (vi. 26, 1). Perhaps that particular bullock is specified because it had been reserved by his father to sacrifice to Baal (Rosenmüller, *Schol.* ad loc.), for Joash seems to have been a priest of that worship. Bertheau can hardly be right in supposing that Gideon was to offer *two* bullocks (*Richt.* p. 115). At any rate the minute touch is valuable as an indication of truth in the story (see Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 498, and *note*). Gideon, assisted by ten faithful servants, obeyed the vision, and next morning ran the risk of being stoned: but Joash appeased the popular indignation by using the common argument that Baal was capable of defending his own majesty (comp. 1 K. xviii. 27). This circumstance gave to Gideon the surname of יְרֻבַּעַל ("Let Baal plead," vi. 32; LXX. Ἱεροβδαλ), a standing instance of national irony, expressive of Baal's impotence. Winer thinks that this irony was increased by the fact that ירבעל was a surname of the Phœnician Hercules (comp. Movers, *Phönix.* i. 434). We have similar cases of contempt in the names Sychar, Baal-zebul, etc. (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. ad Matt.* xii. 24). In consequence of this name some have identified Gideon with a certain priest Ἱερόμβαλος, mentioned in Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* i. 10) as having given much accurate information to Sanchoniatho the Berytian (Bochart, *Phaleg*, p. 776; Huetius, *Dem. Evang.* p. 84, &c.), but this opinion cannot be maintained (Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 494; Gesen. *s. v.*). We also find the name in the form Jerubbesheth (2 Sam. xi. 21; comp. Esh-baal, 1 Chr. viii. 33 with Ish-bosheth 2 Sam. ii. ff.). Ewald (p. 495, *n.*) brings forward several arguments against the supposed origin of the name.

2. After this begins the second act of Gideon's life. "Clothed" by the Spirit of God (Judg. vi. 34; comp. 1 Chr. xii. 18; Luke xxiv. 49), he blew a trumpet; and, joined by "Zebulun, Naphtali, and even the reluctant Asher" (which tribes were chiefly endangered by the Midianites), and possibly also by some of the original inhabitants, who would suffer from these predatory "sons of the East" no less than the Israelites themselves, he encamped on the slopes of Gilboa, from which he overlooked the plains of Esdraelon covered by the tents of Midian (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 243). Strengthened by a double sign from God (to which Ewald gives a strange figurative meaning, *Gesch.* ii. 500), he reduced his army of 32,000 by the usual proclamation (Deut. xx. 8; comp. 1 Macc. iii. 56). The expression "let him depart from Mount Gilead" is perplexing; Dathe would render it "*to* Mount Gilead" – on the other side of Jordan; and Clericus reads גִּלְבֹּעַ, Gilboa; but Ewald is probably right in regarding the name as a sort of war-cry and general designation of the Manassites. (See, too, Gesen. *Thes.* p. 804, *n.*) By a second test at "the spring of trembling" (now probably *'Ain Jálúd*, on which see Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 342), he again reduced the number of his followers to 300 (Judg. vii. 5 f.), whom Josephus explains to have been the *most* cowardly in the army (*Ant.* v. 6, § 3). Finally, being encouraged by words fortuitously overheard (what the later Jews termed the Bath Kol; comp. 1 Sam. xiv. 9, 10, Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. ad Matt.* iii. 14) in the relation of a significant dream, he framed his plans, which were admirably adapted to strike a panic terror into the huge and undisciplined nomad host (Judg. viii. 15–18). We know from history that large and irregular oriental armies are especially liable to sudden outbursts of uncontrollable terror, and when the stillness and darkness of the night were suddenly disturbed in three different directions by the flash of torches and by the reverberating echoes which the trumpets and the shouting woke among the hills, we cannot be astonished at the complete rout into which the enemy were thrown. It must be remembered, too, that the sound of 300 trumpets would make them suppose that a corresponding number of *companies* were attacking them.[a] For specimens of similar stratagems see Liv. xxii. 16; Polyæn. *Strateg.* ii. 37; Frontin. ii. 4; Sall. *Jug.* 99; Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Arabie*, p. 304; *Journ. As* 1841, ii. 516 (quoted by Ewald, Rosenmüller, and Winer). The custom of dividing an army into three seems to have been common (1 Sam. xi. 11; Gen. xiv. 15), and Gideon's war-cry is not unlike that adopted by Cyrus (Xenoph. *Cyr.* iii. 28). He adds his own name to the war-cry,[b] as suited both to inspire confidence in his followers and strike terror in the enemy. His stratagem was eminently successful, and the Midianites, breaking into their wild peculiar cries, fled headlong "down the descent to the Jordan," to the "house of the Acacia" (Beth-shittah) and the "meadow of the dance" (Abel-meholah), but were intercepted by the Ephraimites (to whom notice had been sent, vii. 24) at the fords of Bethbarah, where, after a *second* fight, the princes Oreb and Zeeb ("the Raven" and "the Wolf") were detected and slain — the former at a rock, and the latter concealed in a wine-press, to which their names were afterwards given. Meanwhile the "higher sheykhs Zebah and Zalmunna had already escaped," and Gideon (after pacifying — by a soft answer which became proverbial — the haughty tribe of Ephraim, viii. 1–3) pursued them into eastern Manasseh, and, bursting upon them in their fancied security among the tents of their Bedouin countrymen (see KARKOR), won his *third* victory, and avenged on the Midianitish emirs the massacre of

[a] It is curious to find "lamps and pitchers" in use for a similar purpose at this very day in the streets of Cairo. The *Zabit* or *Agha* of the police carries with him at night "a torch which burns, soon after it is lighted, without a flame, excepting when it is waved through the air, when it suddenly blazes forth: it therefore answers the same purpose as our dark lantern. The burning end is sometimes concealed in a *small pot or jar*, or covered with something else, when not required to give light" (Lane's *Mod. Egypt.* i. ch. iv.).

[b] The war-cry was properly, "For Jehovah and for Gideon." The A. V. inserts "the sword," but this has no warrant, and restricts too much the idea.

R

his kingly brethren whom they had slain at Tabor (viii. 18 f.). In these three battles only 15,000 out of 120,000 Midianites escaped alive. It is indeed stated in Judg. viii. 10, that 120,000 Midianites had already *fallen;* but here as elsewhere, it may merely be intended that such was the original number of the routed host. During his triumphal return Gideon took signal and appropriate vengeance on the coward and apostate towns of Succoth and Peniel. The memory of this splendid deliverance took deep root in the national traditions (1 Sam. xii. 11; Ps. lxxxiii. 11; Is. ix. 4, x. 26; Heb. xi. 32).

3. After this there was a peace of 40 years, and we see Gideon in peaceful possession of his well-earned honors, and surrounded by the dignity of a numerous household (viii. 29–31). It is not improbable that, like Saul, he had owed a part of his popularity to his princely appearance (Judg. viii. 18). In this third stage of his life occur alike his most noble and his most questionable acts, namely, the refusal of the monarchy on theocratic grounds, and the irregular consecration of a jeweled ephod, formed out of the rich spoils of Midian, which proved to the Israelites a temptation to idolatry, although it was doubtless intended for use in the worship of Jehovah. Gesenius and others (*Thes.* p. 135; Bertheau, p. 133 f.) follow the Peshito in making the word Ephod here mean an idol, chiefly on account of the vast amount of gold (1,700 shekels) and other rich material appropriated to it. But it is simpler to understand it as a significant symbol of an unauthorized worship.

Respecting the chronology of this period little certainty can be obtained. Making full allowance for the use of round numbers, and even admitting the improbable assertion of some of the Rabbis that the period of oppression is counted in the years of rest (*vide* Rosenmüller, *On Judg.* iii. 11), insuperable difficulties remain. If, however, as has been suggested by Lord A. Hervey, several of the judgeships really synchronize instead of being successive, much of the confusion vanishes. For instance, he supposes (from a comparison of Judg. iii., viii., and xii.) that there was a *combined* movement under three great chiefs, Ehud, Gideon, and Jephthah, by which the Israelites emancipated themselves from the dominion of the Moabites, Ammonites, and Midianites (who for some years had occupied their land), and enjoyed a long term of peace through all their coasts. "If," he says, "we string together the different accounts of the different parts of Israel which are given us in that miscellaneous collection of ancient records called the book of Judges, and treat them as connected and successive history, we shall fall into as great a chronographical error as if we treated in the same manner the histories of Mercia, Kent, Essex, Wessex, and Northumberland, before England became one kingdom" (*Genealog. of our Lord*, p. 238). It is now well known that a similar source of error has long existed in the chronology of Egypt. F. W. F.

GIDEONI (גִּדְעֹנִי, or once גִּדְעוֹנִי [*a prostrator, warrior*]: Γαδεωνί; [Vat. Γεδεωνει, Γαδεωνει, etc.:] *Gedeonis* [gen.]). Abidan, son of Gideoni, was the chief man of the tribe of Benjamin at the time of the census in the wilderness of Sinai (Num. i. 11; ii. 22; vii. 60, 65; x. 24).

GIDOM (גִּדְעָם [*a cutting down, desolating*]: Γεδάμ; Alex. Γιλααδ; [Comp. Ald. Γαδαδμ]), a place named only in Judg. xx. 45, as the limit to which the pursuit of Benjamin extended after the final battle of Gibeah. It would appear to have been situated between Gibeah (*Tuleil el-Fûl*) and the cliff Rimmon (probably *Rûmmon*, about three miles E. of Bethel); but no trace of the name, nor yet of that of Menucah, if indeed that was a place (Judg. xx. 43; A. V. "with ease" — but see margin), has yet been met with. [MENUCAH, Amer. ed.] The reading of the Alex. LXX., "Gilead," can hardly be taken as well founded. In the Vulgate the word does not seem to be represented. G.

GIER-EAGLE (רָחָם, *râchâm;* רָחָמָה, *râchâmâh:* κύκνος, πορφυρίων: *porphyrio*), an unclean bird mentioned in Lev. xi. 18 and Deut. xiv. 17. There is no reason to doubt that the *râchâm* of the Hebrew Scriptures is identical in reality as in name with the *racham* (רְחָם) of the Arabs, namely, the Egyptian vulture (*Neophron percnopterus*); see Gesner, *De Arib.* p. 176; Bochart, *Hieroz.* iii. 56; Hasselquist, *Trav.* p. 195, and Russell's *Natural Hist. of Aleppo*, ii. 195, 2d ed. The LXX. in Lev. *l. c.* renders the Hebrew term by "swan" (κύκνος), while in Deut. *l. c.* the "purple water-hen" (*Porphyrio hyacinthinus*) is given as its representative. There is too much discrepancy in the LXX. translations of the various birds mentioned in the Levitical law to allow us to attach much weight to its authority. The Hebrew term etymologically signifies "a bird which is very *affectionate* to its young," which is perfectly true of the Egyptian vulture, but not more so than of other birds. The Arabian writers relate many fables of the *Racham*, some of which the reader may see in the *Hieroxoicon* of Bochart (iii. p. 56). The Egyptian vulture, according to Bruce, is called by the Europeans in Egypt "Pharaoh's Hen." It



Egyptian Vulture.

is generally distributed throughout Egypt, and Mr Tristram says it is common in Palestine, and breeds in great numbers in the valley of the Cedron (*Ibis*, i. 23). Though a bird of decidedly unprepossessing appearance and of disgusting habits, the Egyptians, like all other Orientals, wisely protect so efficient a scavenger, which rids them of putrefying carcases that would otherwise breed a pestilence in their towns. Near Cairo, says Shaw (*Trav.* p. 388, folio), there are several flocks of the *Ach Bobba*, "white father," — a name given it by the Turks.

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partly out of the reverence they have for it, partly from the color of its plumage, — "which, like the ravens about our metropolis, feed upon the carrion and nastiness that is thrown without the city." Young birds are of a brown color with a few white feathers; adult specimens are white, except the primary and a portion of the secondary wing-feathers, which are black. Naturalists have referred this vulture to the περκνόπτερος or δρεπέλαργος of Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.* ix. 22, § 2, ed. Schneid.).

W. H.

* There are two birds known as רָחָם among the Arabs in Egypt. The first is the vulture known as *Neophron percnopterus*. It is found extensively in all parts of Egypt, and is common in Palestine and Syria. The adult has the front of the head and the upper part of the throat and cere naked, and of a bright lemon yellow. The plumage is a dirty white, with the exception of the quill-feathers, which are a grayish black. The appearance of this bird soaring (in circles) over and around the towns in Egypt, with its bright yellow beak and neck and crop, and white body, and dark wing-feathers, is exceedingly beautiful.

The second is the *Pelecanus onocrotalus*, found in large numbers in Egypt, and about Lake Hûleh in Palestine. This is probably the bird intended by רָחָם in Lev. xi. 18 and Deut. xiv. 17, while the bird there translated "pelican" should be "cormorant." This seems altogether more natural when we consider the context, and that it is grouped with the large water-fowl. The word יַנְשׁוּף, translated "cormorant" in Lev. xi. 17 and Deut. xiv. 17 more properly suits the Diver (*Colymbus*), of which there is a large species in Egypt.

G. E. P.

GIFT. The giving and receiving of presents has in all ages been not only a more frequent, but also a more formal and significant proceeding in the East than among ourselves. It enters largely into the ordinary transactions of life: no negotiation, alliance, or contract of any kind can be entered into between states or sovereigns without a previous interchange of presents: none of the important events of private life, betrothal, marriage, coming of age, birth, take place without presents: even a visit, if of a formal nature, must be prefaced by a present. We cannot adduce a more remarkable proof of the important part which presents play in the social life of the East, than the fact that the Hebrew language possesses no less than fifteen different expressions for the one idea. Many of these expressions have specific meanings: for instance, *minchah* (מִנְחָה) applies to a present from an inferior to a superior, as from subjects to a king (Judg. iii. 15; 1 K. x. 25; 2 Chr. xvii. 5); *maseth* (מַשָּׂאת) expresses the converse idea of a present from a superior to an inferior, as from a king to his subjects (Esth. ii. 18); hence it is used of a portion of food sent by the master of the house to his inferior guests (Gen. xliii. 34; 2 Sam. xi. 8); *nisseth* (נְשׂוֹאת) has very much the same sense (2 Sam. xix. 42); *berâcah* (בְּרָכָה), literally a "blessing," is used where the present is one of a complimentary nature, either accompanied with good wishes, or given as a token of affection (Gen. xxxiii. 11; Judg. xv. 19; 1 Sam. xxv. 27, xxx. 26; 2 K. v. 15); and *agalu*, *shochad* (שֹׁחַד) is a gift for the purpose of escaping punishment, presented either to a judge (Ex. xxiii. 8; Deut. x. 17), or to a conqueror (2 K. xvi. 8). Other terms, as *mattân* (מַתָּן), were used more generally. The extent to which the custom prevailed admits of some explanation from the peculiar usages of the East; it is clear that the term "gift" is frequently used where we should substitute "tribute," or "fee." The tribute of subject states was paid not in a fixed sum of money, but in kind, each nation presenting its particular product — a custom which is frequently illustrated in the sculptures of Assyria and Egypt; hence the numerous instances in which the present was no voluntary act, but an exaction (Judg. iii. 15–18; 2 Sam. viii. 2, 6; 1 K. iv. 21; 2 K. xvii. 3; 2 Chr. xvii. 11, xxvi. 8); and hence the expression "to bring presents" = to own submission (Ps. lxviii. 29, lxxvi. 11; Is. xviii. 7). Again, the present taken to a prophet was viewed very much in the light of a consulting "fee," and conveyed no idea of bribery (1 Sam. ix. 7, comp. xii. 3; 2 K. v. 5, viii. 9): it was only when false prophets and corrupt judges arose that the present was prostituted, and became, instead of a *minchah* (as in the instances quoted), a *shochad*, or bribe (Is. i 23, v. 23; Ez. xxii. 12; Mic. iii. 11). But even allowing for these cases, which are hardly "gifts" in our sense of the term, there is still a large excess remaining in the practice of the East: friends brought presents to friends on any joyful occasion (Esth. ix. 19, 22), those who asked for information or advice to those who gave it (2 K. viii. 8), the needy to the wealthy from whom any assistance was expected (Gen. xliii. 11; 2 K. xv. 19, xvi. 8), rulers to their favorites (Gen. xlv. 22; 2 Sam. xi. 8), especially to their officers (Esth. ii. 18; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 2, § 15), or to the people generally on festive occasions (2 Sam. vi. 19); on the occasion of a marriage, the bridegroom not only paid the parents for his bride (A. V. "dowry"), but also gave the bride certain presents (Gen. xxxiv. 12; comp. Gen. xxiv. 22), while the father of the bride gave her a present on *sending her away*, as is expressed in the term *shilluchim* (שִׁלֻּחִים) (1 K. ix. 16); and again, the portions of the sons of concubines were paid in the form of presents (Gen. xxv. 6).

The nature of the presents was as various as were the occasions: food (1 Sam. ix. 7, xvi. 20, xxv. 11), sheep and cattle (Gen. xxxii. 13–15; Judg. xv. 8), gold (2 Sam. xviii. 11; Job xlii. 11; Matt. ii. 11), jewels (Gen. xxiv. 53), furniture, and vessels for eating and drinking (2 Sam. xvii. 28), delicacies, such as spices, honey, etc. (Gen. xxiv. 53; 1 K. x. 25, xiv. 3), and robes (1 K. x. 25; 2 K. v. 22), particularly in the case of persons inducted into high office (Esth. vi. 8; Dan. v. 16; comp. Herod. iii. 20). The mode of presentation was with as much parade as possible; the presents were conveyed by the hands of servants (Judg. iii. 18), or still better on the backs of beasts of burden (2 K. viii. 9), even when such a mode of conveyance was unnecessary. The refusal of a present was regarded as a high indignity, and this constituted the aggravated insult noticed in Matt. xxii. 11, the marriage robe having been offered and refused (Trench, *Parables*). No less an insult was it, not to bring a present when the position of the parties demanded it (1 Sam. x. 27).

W. L. B.

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GIHON (גִּיחוֹן [*stream*]: Γεών; Alex. Γηών: *Gehon*). 1. The second river of Paradise (Gen. ii. 13). The name does not again occur in the Hebrew text of the O. T.; but in the LXX. it [Γηών] is used in Jer. ii. 18, as an equivalent for the word Shichor or Sihor, *i. e.* the Nile, and in Ecclus. xxiv. 27 (A. V. "Geon"). All that can be said upon it will be found under EDEN, p. 658 f.

2. (גִּחוֹן, and in Chron. גִּיחוֹן: [in 1 K.,] ἡ Γιών, [Vat. Γειων, Alex. ο Γιων; in 2 Chr. xxxii. 30,] Γειών, [Vat. Σειων, Alex. Γιων; in 2 Chr. xxxiii. 14, κατὰ νότον, Comp. τοῦ Γειών:] *Gihon.*) A place near Jerusalem, memorable as the scene of the anointing and proclamation of Solomon as king (1 K. i. 33, 38, 45). From the terms of this passage, it is evident it was at a lower level than the city — "bring him down (וְהוֹרַדְתֶּם) upon (עַל) Gihon" — "they are come up (עָלָה) from thence." With this agrees a later mention (2 Chr. xxxiii. 14), where it is called "Gihon-in-the-valley," the word rendered valley being *nachal* (נַחַל). In this latter place Gihon is named to designate the direction of the wall built by Manasseh — "outside the city of David, from the west of Gihon-in-the-valley to the entrance of the Fish-gate." It is not stated in any of the above passages that Gihon was a spring; but the only remaining place in which it is mentioned suggests this belief, or at least that it had given its name to some water — "Hezekiah also stopped the upper source or issue (מוֹצָא, from יָצָא, to rush forth; incorrectly "watercourse" in A. V.) of the waters of Gihon" (2 Chr. xxxii. 30). If the place to which Solomon was brought down on the king's mule was Gihon-in-the-valley — and from the terms above noticed it seems probable that it was — then the "upper source" would be some distance away, and at a higher level.

The locality of Gihon will be investigated under JERUSALEM; but in the mean time the following facts may be noticed in regard to the occurrences of the word. (1.) Its low level; as above stated. (2.) The expression "Gihon-in-the-valley;" where it will be observed that *nachal* ("torrent" or "wady") is the word always employed for the valley of the Kedron, east of Jerusalem — the so-called Valley of Jehoshaphat; *ge* ("ravine" or "glen") being as constantly employed for the Valley of Hinnom, south and west of the town. In this connection the mention of Ophel (2 Chr. xxxiii. 14) with Gihon should not be disregarded. In agreement with this is the fact that (3) the Targum of Jonathan, and the Syriac and Arabic Versions, have *Shiloha*, i. e. Siloam (Arab. *Ain*-Shiloha) for Gihon in 1 K. i. In Chronicles they agree with the Hebrew text in having Gihon. If Siloam be Gihon, then (4) "from the west of Gihon to the Fish-gate" — which we know from St. Jerome to have been near the present "Jaffa-gate," would answer to the course of a wall inclosing "the city of David" (2 Chr. xxxiii. 14); and (5) the omission of Gihon from the very detailed catalogue of Neh. iv. is explained. G.

GIL'ALAI [3 syl.] (גִּלַּלַי [perb. *weighty powerful*, Fürst]: [Rom.] Γελώλ; [Vat. Alex FA.] omit: *Galalai*]), one of the party of priests' sons who played on David's instruments at the consecration of the wall of Jerusalem, in the company at whose head was Ezra (Neh. xii. 36).

GILBO'A (גִּלְבֹּעַ, *bubbling fountain*, from גַּל and בּוּעַ: Γελβουέ; [Alex. 2 Sam. i. 6, Γεβουε:] *Gelboe*), a mountain range on the eastern side of the plain of Esdraelon, rising over the city of Jezreel (comp. 1 Sam. xxviii. 4 with xxix. 1). It is only mentioned in Scripture in connection with one event in Israelitish history, the defeat and death of Saul and Jonathan by the Philistines (1 Sam. xxxi. 1; 2 Sam. i. 6, xxi. 12; 1 Chr. x. 1, 8). The latter had encamped at Shunem, on the northern side of the valley of Jezreel; the former took up a position round the fountain of Jezreel, on the southern side of the valley, at the base of Gilboa. The result is well known. Saul and Jonathan, with the flower of their army, fell upon the mountain. When the tidings were carried to David, he broke out into this pathetic strain: "Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no rain upon you, neither dew, nor field of offering" (2 Sam. i. 21). Of the identity of Gilboa with the ridge which stretches eastward, from the ruins of Jezreel, no doubt can be entertained. At the northern base, half a mile from the ruins, is a large fountain, called in Scripture both the "Well of Harod" (Judg. vii. 1), and "The fountain of Jezreel" (1 Sam. xxix. 1), and it was probably from it the name Gilboa was derived. Eusebius places Gilboa at the distance of six miles from Scythopolis, and says there is still a village upon the mountain called Gelbus (*Onom.* s. v. Γεβουέ). The village is now called *Jelbôn* (Robinson, ii. 316), and its position answers to the description of Eusebius: it is situated on the top of the mountain. The range of Gilboa extends in length some ten miles from W. to E. The sides are bleak, white, and barren; they look, in fact, as if the pathetic exclamation of David had proved prophetic. The greatest height is not more than 500 or 600 feet above the plain. Their modern local name is *Jebel Fukûah*, and the highest point is crowned by a village and wely called *Wezar* (Porter, *Handbook*, p. 353). J. L. P.

* The mention of Gilboa, in David's touching elegy on Saul and Jonathan, has given an imperishable name to that mountain. The account of the battle which was so disastrous to the Hebrew king, designates not merely the general scene of the action, but various places connected with the movements of the armies, and introduced in such a way as to be in some measure strategetically related to each other. It is worthy of notice, as a corroboration of the Scripture narrative, that all these places, except possibly one of them, are still found to exist under their ancient names, and to occupy precisely the situation with reference to each other which the requirements of the history imply. We have the name of the ridge Gilboa, on which the battle was fought, transmitted to us in that of *Jelbûn*, applied to a village on the southern slope of this ridge, known to travellers as Little Hermon,[a] but among

* This name arose from a misapprehension of Ps. xxxix. 12 (12), as if Hermon and Tabor, being there spoken of together, must have been near each other. This *Jebel ed-Dâhy* is not mentioned in the Bible, unless it be the Hill of Moreh (Judg. vii 1). Jerome, in the 4th century, is the first who speaks of it as Hermon. (See Rob. *Phys. Geogr.* p. 27.)

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the natives as *Jebel ed-Dâhy*. The ridge rises out of the plain of Esdraelon, and, running eastward, sinks down into the valley of the Jordan. The Israelites at first pitched their tents at Jezreel, the present *Zer'in* on the western declivity of Gilboa, and near a fountain (1 Sam. xxix. 1), undoubtedly the present *'Ain Jâlûd*, exactly in the right position, and forming naturally one inducement for selecting that spot. The "high places" on which Saul and Jonathan were slain would be the still higher summits of the ridge up which their forces were driven as the tide of battle turned against them in the progress of the fight. The Philistines encamped at first at Shunem (1 Sam. xxviii. 4), now called *Solâm*, on the more northern, but parallel, ridge opposite to Jezreel, where they could overlook and watch the enemy, and at the same time were protected against any surprise by the still higher ground behind them. On the other hand, the camp of the Philistines was visible, distant only eight or ten miles, from the camp of Israel. Hence when "Saul saw the host of the Philistines, he was afraid, and his heart greatly trembled." The Philistines, in their proper home, dwelt in the country south of Judah, and having in all probability marched north along the coast as far as Carmel, had then turned across the plain of Esdraelon, and had thus reached this well-chosen camping-ground at Shunem.[a] The Philistines are next mentioned as rallying their forces at Aphek (1 Sam. xxix. 1). No place of this name has yet been discovered in that neighborhood. Some suppose that it was only another name for Shunem; but it is more likely to be the name of a different place, situated nearer Jezreel, perhaps the one from which the Philistines made their direct attack on the Israelites. Further, we read that the conquerors, after the battle, carried the bodies of Saul and his sons to Beth-shean, and hung them up on the walls of that city. Beth-shean was a stronghold of the Philistines which the Israelites had never wrested from them. That place, evidently, reappears in the present *Beisân*, which is on the eastern slope of the Gilboa range, visible in fact from Jezreel, and still remarkable for its strength of position as well as the remains of ancient fortifications.

The strange episode of Saul's nocturnal visit to the witch of Endor illustrates this same feature of the narrative. It is evident that Saul was absent on that errand but a few hours, and the place must have been near his encampment. This Endor, as no one can doubt, must be the present *Endor*, with its dreary caverns (Thomson's *Land and Book*, ii. 161), a fitting abode of such a necromancer, on the north side of *Dâhy*, at the west end of which was Shunem. Hence Saul, leaving his camp at Jezreel, could steal his way under cover of the night across the intervening valley, and over the moderate summit which he would have to ascend, and then, after consulting the woman with "a familiar spirit" at Endor, could return to his forces without his departure being known to any except those in the secret. All these places, so interwoven in the network of the story, and clearly identified after the lapse of so many centuries, lie almost within sight of each other. A person may start from any one of them and make the circuit of them all in a few hours. The date assigned to this battle is B. C. 1055, later but a little than the traditional age of the siege of Troy. It is seldom that a record of remote events can be subjected to so severe a scrutiny as this.

For other sketches which reproduce more or less fully the occurrences of this battle, the reader may see Van de Velde (*Travels in Syr. & Pal.* ii. 368 ff.); Stanley (*S. & P.* p. 339 f., Amer. ed.); Robinson (*Bib. Res.* iii. 173 ff., 1st ed.); and Porter (*Handbook*, ii. 355 ff.). Some of the writers differ as to whether the final encounter took place at Jezreel or higher up the mountain. Stanley has drawn out the personal incidents in a striking manner (*Jewish Church*, ii. 30 ff.). For geographical information respecting this group of places, see especially Rob. *Phys. Geogr.* pp. 26–28, and Ritter's *Geogr. of Palestine*, Gage's transl., ii. 321–336.

H.

GIL'EAD (גִּלְעָד [see below]: Γαλαάδ: *Galaad*), a mountainous region east of the Jordan; bounded on the north by Bashan, on the east by the Arabian plateau, and on the south by Moab and Ammon (Gen. xxxi. 21; Deut. iii. 12–17). It is sometimes called "Mount Gilead" (Gen. xxxi 25, הַר הַגִּלְעָד), sometimes "the land of Gilead" (Num. xxxii. 1, אֶרֶץ גִּלְעָד); and sometimes simply "Gilead" (Is. lx. 7; Gen. xxxvii 25); but a comparison of the several passages shows that they all mean the same thing. There is no evidence, in fact, that any particular mountain was meant by Mount Gilead more than by Mount Lebanon (Judg. iii. 3)—they both comprehend the whole range, and the range of Gilead embraced the whole province. The name Gilead, as is usual in Palestine, describes the physical aspect of the country. It signifies "a hard, rocky region;" and it may be regarded as standing in contrast to Bashan, the other great trans-Jordanic province, which is, as the name implies, a "level, fertile tract."

The statements in Gen. xxxi. 48 are not opposed to this etymology. The old name of the district was גַּל עֵד (Gilead), but by a slight change in the pronunciation, the radical letters being retained, the meaning was made beautifully applicable to the "heap of stones" Jacob and Laban had built up—"and Laban said, this *heap* (גַּל) is a *witness* (עֵד) between me and thee this day. Therefore was the name of it called *Gal-eed*" (גַּלְעֵד, the *heap of witness*). Those acquainted with the modern Arabs and their literature will see how intensely such a play upon the word would be appreciated by them. It does not appear that the interview between Jacob and his father-in-law took place on any particular mountain peak. Jacob, having passed the Euphrates, "set his face toward Mount Gilead;" he struck across the desert by the great fountain at Palmyra; then traversed the eastern part of the plain of Damascus, and the plateau of Bashan, and entered Gilead from the northeast. "In the Mount Gilead Laban overtook him"—apparently soon after he entered the district; for when they separated again, Jacob went on his way and arrived at Mahanaim, which must have been considerably north of the river Jabbok (Gen. xxxii 1, 2, 22).

The extent of Gilead we can ascertain with tolerable exactness from incidental notices in the Holy Scriptures. The Jordan was its western border (1

[a] Possibly the Philistines, instead of taking the maritime route, may have crossed the Jordan and marched north on that side of the river. H.

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Sam. xiii. 7; 2 K. x. 33). A comparison of a number of passages shows that the river Hieromax, the modern *Sheriat el-Mandhûr*, separated it from Bashan on the north. "Half Gilead" is said to have been possessed by Sihon king of the Amorites, and the other half by Og king of Bashan; and the river Jabbok was the division between the two kingdoms (Deut. iii. 12; Josh. xii. 1–5). The half of Gilead possessed by Og must, therefore, have been north of the Jabbok. It is also stated that the territory of the tribe of Gad extended along the Jordan valley to the Sea of Galilee (Josh. xiii. 27); and yet "*all* Bashan" was given to Manasseh (ver. 30). We, therefore, conclude that the deep glen of the Hieromax, which runs eastward, on the parallel of the south end of the Sea of Galilee, was the dividing line between Bashan and Gilead. North of that glen stretches out a flat, fertile plateau, such as the name *Bashan* (בָּשָׁן, like the Arabic بَثَنَة, signifies "soft and level soil") would suggest; while on the south we have the rough and rugged, yet picturesque hill country, for which Gilead is the fit name. (See Porter in *Journal of Sac. Lit.* vi. 284 ff.) On the east the mountain range melts away gradually into the high plateau of Arabia. The boundary of Gilead is here not so clearly defined, but it may be regarded as running along the foot of the range. The southern boundary is less certain. The tribe of Reuben occupied the country as far south as the river Arnon, which was the border of Moab (Deut. ii. 36, iii. 12). It seems, however, that the southern section of their territory was not included in Gilead. In Josh. xiii. 9–11 it is intimated that the "plain of Medeba" ("the Mishor" it is called), north of the Arnon, is not in Gilead; and when speaking of the cities of refuge, Moses describes Bezer, which was given out of the tribe of Reuben, as being "in the wilderness, in the *plain country* (*i. e.* in the country of the *Mishor*," אֶרֶץ הַמִּישׁוֹר), while Ramoth is said to be in Gilead (Deut. iv. 43). This southern plateau was also called "the land of Jazer" (Num. xxxii. 1; 2 Sam. xxiv. 5; compare also Josh. xiii. 16–25). The valley of Heshbon may therefore, in all probability, be the southern boundary of Gilead. Gilead thus extended from the parallel of the south end of the Sea of Galilee to that of the north end of the Dead Sea — about 60 miles; and its average breadth scarcely exceeded 20.

While such were the proper limits of Gilead, the name is used in a wider sense in two or three parts of Scripture. Moses, for example, is said to have seen, from the top of Pisgah, "all the land of Gilead unto Dan" (Deut. xxxiv. 1); and in Judg. xx. 1, and Josh. xxii. 9, the name seems to comprehend the whole territory of the Israelites beyond the Jordan. A little attention shows that this is only a vague way of speaking, in common use everywhere. We, for instance, often say "England" when we mean "England and Wales." The section of Gilead lying between the Jabbok and the Hieromax is now called *Jebel Ajlûn;* while that to the south of the Jabbok constitutes the modern province of *Belka*. One of the most conspicuous peaks in the mountain range still retains the ancient name, being called *Jebel Jil'âd*, "Mount Gilead."[a] It is about 7 miles south of the Jabbok, and commands a magnificent view over the whole Jordan valley, and the mountains of Judah and Ephraim. It is probably the site of Ramath-Mizpeh of Josh. xiii. 26; and the "Mizpeh of Gilead," from which Jephthah "passed over unto the children of Ammon" (Judg. xi. 29). The spot is admirably adapted for a gathering place in time of invasion, or aggressive war. The neighboring village of *es-Salt* occupies the site of the old "city of refuge" in Gad, Ramoth-Gilead. [RAMOTH-GILEAD.]

We have already alluded to a special descriptive term, which may almost be regarded as a proper name, used to denote the great plateau which borders Gilead on the south and east. The refuge-city Bezer is said to be "in the country of the *Mishor*" (Deut. iv. 43); and Jeremiah (xlviii. 21) says, "judgment is come upon the country of the *Mishor*" (see also Josh. xiii. 9, 16, 17, 21, xx. 8). *Mishor* (מִישׁוֹר and מֵישָׁר) signifies a "level plain," or "table-land;" and no word could be more applicable. This is one among many examples of the minute accuracy of Bible topography.

The mountains of Gilead have a real elevation of from two to three thousand feet; but their apparent elevation on the western side is much greater, owing to the depression of the Jordan valley, which averages about 1,000 feet. Their outline is singularly uniform, resembling a massive wall running along the horizon. From the distant east they seem very low, for on that side they meet the plateau of Arabia, 2,000 ft. or more in height. Though the range appears bleak from the distance, yet on ascending it we find the scenery rich, picturesque, and in places even grand. The summit is broad, almost like table-land "tossed into wild confusion of undulating downs" (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 320). It is everywhere covered with luxuriant herbage. In the extreme north and south there are no trees; but as we advance toward the centre they soon begin to appear, at first singly, then in groups, and at length, on each side of the Jabbok, in fine forests chiefly of prickly oak and terebinth. The rich pasture land of Gilead presents a striking contrast to the nakedness of western Palestine. Except among the hills of Galilee, and along the heights of Carmel, there is nothing to be compared with it as "a place for cattle" (Num. xxxii. 1). Gilead anciently abounded in spices and aromatic gums which were exported to Egypt (Gen. xxxvii. 25; Jer. viii. 22, xlvi. 11).

The first notice we have of Gilead is in connection with the history of Jacob (Gen. xxxi. 21 ff.); but it is possibly this same region which is referred to under the name *Ham*, and was inhabited by the giant Zuzims. The kings of the East who came to punish the rebellious "cities of the plain," first attacked the Rephaims in Ashteroth Karnaim, *i. e.* in the country now called *Haurân;* then they advanced southwards against the "Zuzims in Ham;" and next against the Emims in Shaveh-Kiriathaim, which was subsequently possessed by the Moabites (Gen. xiv. 5; Deut. ii. 9–19). [See EMIMS; REPHAIM.] We hear nothing more of

[a] Mr. Tristram regards the peak called *Jebel Osha*, as the ancient Mount Gilead, said by the people of the country to contain the tomb of Hosea. For a description of the magnificent view from that summit, see *Land of Israel*, p. 556, 1st ed.

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Gilead till the invasion of the country by the Israelites. One half of it was then in the hands of Sihon king of the Amorites, who had a short time previously driven out the Moabites. Og, king of Bashan, had the other section north of the Jabbok. The Israelites defeated the former at Jahaz, and the latter at Edrei, and took possession of Gilead and Bashan (Num. xxi. 23 ff.). The rich pasture land of Gilead, with its shady forests, and copious streams, attracted the attention of Reuben and Gad, who "had a very great multitude of cattle," and was allotted to them. The future history and habits of the tribes that occupied Gilead were greatly affected by the character of the country. Rich in flocks and herds, and now the lords of a fitting region, they retained, almost unchanged, the nomad pastoral habits of their patriarchal ancestors. Like all Bedawin they lived in a constant state of warfare, just as Jacob had predicted of Gad — "a troop shall *plunder* him: but he shall *plunder* at the last" (Gen. xlix. 19). The sons of Ishmael were subdued and plundered in the time of Saul (1 Chr. v. 9 ff.); and the children of Ammon in the days of Jephthah and David (Judg. xi. 32 ff.; 2 Sam. x. 12 ff.). Their wandering tent life, and their almost inaccessible country, made them in ancient times what the Bedawy tribes are now — the protectors of the refugee and the outlaw. In Gilead the sons of Saul found a home while they vainly attempted to reëstablish the authority of their house (2 Sam. ii. 8 ff.). Here, too, David found a sanctuary during the unnatural rebellion of a beloved son; and the surrounding tribes, with a characteristic hospitality, carried presents of the best they possessed to the fallen monarch (2 Sam. xvii. 22 ff.). Elijah the Tishbite was a Gileadite (1 K. xvii. 1); and in his simple garb, wild aspect, abrupt address, wonderfully active habits, and movements so rapid as to evade the search of his watchful and bitter foes, we see all the characteristics of the genuine Bedawy, ennobled by a high prophetic mission. [GAD.]

Gilead was a frontier land, exposed to the first attacks of the Syrian and Assyrian invaders, and to the unceasing raids of the desert tribes — "Because Machir the first-born of Manasseh was a man of war, therefore he had Bashan and Gilead" (Josh. xvii. 1). Under the wild and wayward Jephthah, Mizpeh of Gilead became the gathering place of the trans-Jordanic tribes (Judg. xi. 29); and in subsequent times the neighboring stronghold of Ramoth-Gilead appears to have been considered the key of Palestine on the east (1 K. xxii. 3, 4, 6; 2 K. viii. 28, ix. 1).

The name Galaad (Γαλαάδ) occurs several times in the history of the Maccabees (1 Macc. v. 9 ff.); and also in Josephus, but generally with the Greek termination — Γαλααδῖτις or Γαλαδηνή (*Ant.* xiii. 14, § 2; *B. J.* i. 4, § 3). Under the Roman dominion the country became more settled and civilized; and the great cities of Gadara, Pella, and Gerasa, with Philadelphia on its southeastern border, speedily rose to opulence and splendor. In one of these (Pella) the Christians of Jerusalem found a sanctuary when the armies of Titus gathered round the devoted city (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 5). Under Mohammedan rule the country has again lapsed into semi-barbarism. Some scattered villages amid the fastnesses of *Jebel Ajlûn*, and a few fierce wandering tribes, constitute the whole population of Gilead. They are nominally subject to the Porte but their allegiance sits lightly upon them.

For the scenery, products, antiquities, and history of Gilead, the following works may be consulted. Burckhardt's *Trav. in Syr.*; Buckingham's *Arab Tribes*; Irby and Mangles, *Travels*; Porter's *Handbook*, and *Five Years in Damascus*; Stanley's *Sin. and Pal.*; Ritter's *Pal. and Syria*.

2. Possibly the name of a mountain west of the Jordan, near Jezreel (Judg. vii. 3). We are inclined, however, to agree with the suggestion of Clericus and others, that the true reading in this place should be גִּלְבֹּעַ, *Gilboa*, instead of גִּלְעָד. Gideon was encamped at the "spring of Harod," which is at the base of Mount Gilboa. A copyist would easily make the mistake, and ignorance of geography would prevent it from being afterwards detected. For other explanations, see Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 500; Schwarz, p. 164, *note*; Gesen. *Thes.* p. 804, *note*.

* As regards Gilead (2), Bertheau also (*Buch der Richter*, p. 120), would substitute Gilboa for that name in Judg. vii. 3. Keil and Delitzsch hesitate between that view and the conclusion that there may have been a single mountain or a range so called near Jezreel, just as in Josh. xv. 10, we read of a Mount Seir in the territory of Judah otherwise unknown (*Com. on Joshua, Judges, and Ruth*, p. 341). Dr. Wordsworth has the following note on this perplexed question: "Probably the western half-tribe of Manasseh expressed its connection with the eastern half-tribe by calling one of its mountains by the same name, Mount Gilead, as the famous mountain bearing that name in the eastern division of their tribe (Gen. xxxi. 21–25, xxxvii. 25; Num. xxxii. 1, 40, &c.). May we not see 'a return of the compliment' (if the expression may be used) in another name which has perplexed the commentators, namely, the Wood of Ephraim on the eastern side of Jordan (2 Sam. xviii. 6)? Ephraim was on the west of Jordan, and yet the Wood of Ephraim was on the east. Perhaps that half-tribe of Manasseh, which was in the east, marked its connection with Ephraim, its brother tribe, by calling a wood in its own neighborhood by that name." (See his *Holy Bible with Notes*, ii. pt. i. p. 111.) Cassel (*Richter*, p. 71) thinks that Gilead here may denote in effect character rather than locality: *the Mount of Gilead* = the community of the warlike Manassites (Josh. xvii. 1), now so fitly represented by Gideon, sprung from that tribe (Judg. vi. 15). The cowardly deserve no place in the home of such heroes, and should separate themselves from them. H.

3. The name of a son of Machir, grandson of Manasseh (Num. xxvi. 29, 30).

4. The father of Jephthah (Judg. xi. 1, 2). It is difficult to understand (comp. ver. 7, 8) whether this Gilead was an individual or a personification of the community.[a]

* 5. One of the posterity of Gad, through whom the genealogy of the Gadites in Bashan is traced (1 Chr. v. 14). H.

GILEADITES, THE (הַגִּלְעָדִי Judg. xii

[a] * Probably a patronymic = גִּלְעָדִי, a Gileadite, as Jephthah is called both when first and last mentioned (Judg. xi. 1, and xii. 7). The personal name of the father being unknown, that of his country stands in place of it. See Cassel, *Richter u. Ruth* in Lange's *Bibelwerk*, p. 102. H

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ל, ם, הַגִּלְעָדִי: Judg. xii. 4, 5, Γαλααδ; Num. xxvi. 29, Γαλααδ [Vat. -δει]; Judg. x. 3, ὁ Γαλααδ; [Judg. xi. 1, 40, xii. 7; 2 Sam. xvii. 27, xix. 31; 1 K. ii. 7; Ezr. ii. 61; Neh. vii. 63,] ὁ Γαλααδίτης [Vat. -δει-, exc. Judg. xi. 40, Vat. Γαλααδ]; Alex. ὁ Γαλααδιτις, ὁ Γαλααδειτης, [and Judg. xii. 5, ανδρες Γαλααδ:] *Galaadita, Galaadites, viri Galaad*). A branch of the tribe of Manasseh, descended from Gilead. There appears to have been an old standing feud between them and the Ephraimites, who taunted them with being deserters. See Judg. xii. 4, which may be rendered, "And the men of Gilead smote Ephraim, because they said, Runagates of Ephraim are ye (Gilead is between Ephraim and Manasseh);" the last clause being added parenthetically. In 2 K. xv. 25 for "of the Gileadites" the LXX. have ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων [Vulg. *de filiis Galaaditarum*].

GIL'GAL (always with the article but once, הַגִּלְגָּל, [*the circuit, the rolling*, see below]: Γαλγαλα (plural); [in Deut. xi. 30, Γολγδα; Josh. xiv. 6, Rom. Vat. Γαλγδλ:] *Galgala* [sing. and plur.]). By this name were called at least two places in ancient Palestine.

1. The site of the first camp of the Israelites on the west of the Jordan, the place at which they passed the first night after crossing the river, and where the twelve stones were set up which had been taken from the bed of the stream (Josh. iv. 19, 20, comp. 3); where also they kept their first passover in the land of Canaan (v. 10). It was in the "end of the east of Jericho" (בְּקָצֵה מִזְרַח יְרֵחוֹ: A. V. "in the east border of Jericho"), apparently on a hillock or rising ground (v. 3, comp. 9) in the Arboth-Jericho (A. V. "the plains"), that is, the hot depressed district of the Ghor which lay between the town and the Jordan (v. 10). Here the Israelites who had been born on the march through the wilderness were circumcised; an occurrence from which the sacred historian derives the name: "'This day I have rolled away (*galliothi*) the reproach of Egypt from off you.' Therefore the name of the place is called Gilgal[a] to this day." By Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, § 11) it is said to signify "freedom" (ἐλευθέριον). The camp thus established at Gilgal remained there during the early part of the conquest (ix. 6, x. 6, 7, 9, 15, 43); and we may probably infer from one narrative that Joshua retired thither at the conclusion of his labors (xiv. 6, comp. 15).

We again encounter Gilgal in the time of Saul, when it seems to have exchanged its military associations for those of sanctity. True, Saul, when driven from the highlands by the Philistines, collected his feeble force at the site of the old camp (1 Sam. xiii. 4, 7); but this is the only occurrence at all connecting it with war. It was now one of the "holy cities" (οἱ ἡγιασμένοι) — if we accept the addition of the LXX. — to which Samuel regularly resorted, where he administered justice (1 Sam. vii. 16), and where burnt-offerings and peace-offerings were accustomed to be offered "before Jehovah" (x. 8, xi. 15, xiii. 8, 9–12, xv. 21); and on one occasion a sacrifice of a more terrible description than either (xv. 33). The air of the narrative all through leads to the conclusion that at the time of these occurrences it was the chief sanctuary of the central portion of the nation (see x. 8, xi. 14, xv. 12, 21). But there is no sign of its being a town; no mention of building, or of its being allotted to the priests or Levites, as was the case with other sacred towns, Bethel, Shechem, etc.

We again have a glimpse of it, some sixty years later, in the history of David's return to Jerusalem (2 Sam. xix.). The men of Judah came down to Gilgal to meet the king to conduct him over Jordan, as if it was close to the river (xix. 15) and David arrived there immediately on crossing the stream, after his parting with Barzillai the Gileadite.

How the remarkable sanctity of Gilgal became appropriated to a false worship we are not told, but certainly, as far as the obscure allusions of Hosea and Amos can be understood (provided that they refer to this Gilgal), it was so appropriated by the kingdom of Israel in the middle period of its existence (Hos. iv. 15, ix. 15, xii. 11; Amos iv. 4, v. 5).

Beyond the general statements above quoted, the sacred text contains no indications of the position of Gilgal. Neither in the Apocrypha nor the N. T. is it mentioned. Later authorities are more precise, but unfortunately discordant among themselves. By Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, § 4) the encampment is given as fifty stadia, rather under six miles, from the river, and ten from Jericho. In the time of Jerome the site of the camp and the twelve memorial stones were still distinguishable, if we are to take literally the expression of the *Epit. Paulæ* (§ 12). The distance from Jericho was then two miles. The spot was left uncultivated, but regarded with great veneration by the residents; "locus desertus . . . ab illius regionis mortalibus miro cultu habitus" (*Onom.* Galgala). When Arculf was there at the end of the seventh century the place was shown at five miles from Jericho. A large church covered the site, in which the twelve stones were ranged. The church and stones were seen by Willibald, thirty years later, but he gives the distance as five miles from the Jordan, which again he states correctly as seven from Jericho. The stones are mentioned also by Thietmar,[c] A. D. 1217, and lastly by Ludolf de Suchem a century later. No modern traveller has succeeded in eliciting the name, or in discovering a probable site. In Van de Velde's map (1858) a spot named *Mohurfer*, a little S. E. of *er-Riha*, is marked as possible; but no explanation is afforded either in his *Syria*, or his *Memoir*.

2. But this was certainly a distinct place from the Gilgal which is connected with the last scene in the life of Elijah, and with one of Elisha's miracles. The chief reason for believing this is the impossibility of making it fit into the notice of Elijah's translation. He and Elisha are said to "go down" (יֵרְדוּ) from Gilgal to Bethel (2 K. ii. 1), in opposition to the repeated expressions of the narratives in Joshua and 1 Samuel, in which the way from Gilgal to the neighborhood of Bethel is always spoken of as an ascent, the fact being that the former is nearly 1,200 feet below the latter. Thus there must have been a second Gilgal at a

[a] This derivation of the name cannot apply in the case of the other Gilgals mentioned below. May it not be the adaptation to Hebrew of a name previously existing in the former language of the country?

[b] Such is the real force of the Hebrew text (xix. 40).

[c] According to this pilgrim, it was to these that John the Baptist pointed when he said that God was "able of *these stones* to raise up children unto Abraham" (Thietmar, *Peregr.* 31).

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higher level than Bethel, and it was probably that at which Elisha worked the miracle of healing on the poisonous pottage (2 K. iv. 38). Perhaps the expression of 2 K. ii. 1, coupled with the "came again" of iv. 38, may indicate that Elisha resided there. The mention of Baal-shalisha (iv. 42) gives a clew to its situation, when taken with the notice of Eusebius (*Onom.* Bethsarisa) that that place was fifteen miles from Diospolis (Lydda) towards the north. In that very position stand now the ruins bearing the name of *Jiljilieh*, i. e. Gilgal. (See Van de Velde's *map*, and Rob. iii. 139.)

3. The "KING OF THE NATIONS OF GILGAL," or rather perhaps the "king of Goim-at-Gilgal" (מֶלֶךְ־גּוֹיִם לְנִלְגָּל: [βασιλεὺς Γεὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας; Alex. β. Γωειμ της Γελγεα (comp. Ald. Γαλγέλ): *rex gentium Galgal*]), is mentioned in the catalogue of the chiefs overthrown by Joshua (Josh. xii. 23). The name occurs next to DOR in an enumeration apparently proceeding southwards, and therefore the position of the *Jiljilieh* just named is not wholly inappropriate, though it must be confessed its distance from Dor — more than twenty-five miles — is considerable: still it is nearer than any other place of the name yet known. Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.* Gelgel) speak of a "Galgulis" six miles N. of Antipatris. This is slightly more suitable, but has not been identified. What these *Goim* were has been discussed under HEATHEN. By that word (Judg. iv. 2) or "nations" (Gen. xiv. 1) the name is usually rendered in the A. V. as in the well-known phrase, "Galilee of the nations" (Is. ix. 1; comp. Matt. iv. 15). Possibly they were a tribe of the early inhabitants of the country, who, like the Gerizites, the Avim, the Zemarites, and others, have left only this faint casual trace of their existence there.

A place of the same name has also been discovered nearer the centre of the country, to the left of the main north road, four miles from Shiloh (*Seilûn*), and rather more than the same distance from Bethel (*Beitîn*). This suits the requirements of the story of Elijah and Elisha even better than the former, being more in the neighborhood of the established holy places of the country, and, as more central, and therefore less liable to attack from the wanderers in the maritime plain, more suited for the residence for the sons of the prophets. In position it appears to be not less than 500 or 600 feet above Bethel (Van de Velde, *Memoir*, p. 179). It may be the Beth-Gilgal of Neh. xii. 29; while the *Jiljilieh* north of Lydd may be that of Josh. xii. 23. Another Gilgal, under the slightly different form of *Kilkilieh*, lies about two miles E. of *Kefr Saba*.

4. [Γαλγάλ; Vat. τα Αγαδ: *Galgala.*] A Gilgal is spoken of in Josh. xv. 7, in describing the north border of Judah. In the parallel list (Josh. xviii. 17) it is given as GELILOTH, and under that word an attempt is made to show that Gilgal, *i. e.* the Gilgal near Jericho, is probably correct. G.

GI'LOH (גִּלֹה [*exile*, Ges.; or, *castle, mount*, Dietr.]: Γηλώμ, Alex. Γηλων; [Vat. om.; Comp. Γιλώ;] in Sam. Γωλά, [Comp. Γελώ: *Gilo*]), a town in the mountainous part of Judah, named in the first group, with Debir and Eshtemoh (Josh. xv. 51). Its only interest to us lies in the fact of its having been the native place of the famous Ahithophel (2 Sam. xv. 12), where he was residing when Absalom sent for him to Hebron, and whither he returned to destroy himself after his counsel had been set aside for that of Hushai (xvii. 23). The site has not yet been met with.

GI'LONITE, THE (הַגִּילֹנִי and הַגִּלֹנִי Θεκωνί [Vat. -νει], Γελωνίτης [Vat. -νει-], Alex Γιλωναιος, [Γειλωνιτης: *Gilonites*]), *i. e.* the native of Giloh (as Shilonite, from Shiloh): applied only to Ahithophel the famous counsellor (2 Sam. xv. 12; xxiii. 34).

GIM'ZO (גַּמְזוֹ [*place of sycamores*]: ἡ Γαμζώ; Alex. Γαμαζαί: [*Gamzo*]), a town which with its dependent villages (Hebrew "daughters") was taken possession of by the Philistines in the reign of Ahaz (2 Chr. xxviii. 18). The name — which occurs nowhere but here — is mentioned with Timnath, Socho, and other towns in the northwest part of Judah, or in Dan. It still remains attached to a large village between two and three miles S. W. of Lydda, south of the road between Jerusalem and Jaffa, just where the hills of the highland finally break down into the maritime plain. *Jimzu* is a tolerably large village, on an eminence, well surrounded with trees, and standing just beyond the point where the two main roads from Jerusalem (that by the Beth-horons, and that by *Wady Suleiman*), which parted at Gibeon, again join and run on as one to *Jaffa*. It is remarkable for nothing but some extensive corn magazines underground, unless it be also for the silence maintained regarding it by all travellers up to Dr. Robinson (ii. 249). G.

GIN, a trap for birds or beasts: it consisted of a net (פַּח), and a stick to act as a springe (מוֹקֵשׁ); the latter word is translated "gin" in the A. V. Am. iii. 5, and the former in Is. viii. 14, the term "snare" being in each case used for the other part of the trap. In Job xl. 24 (marginal translation) the second of these terms is applied to the ring run through the nostrils of an animal. W. L. B.

GI'NATH (גִּינַת [*protection*, Fürst; or, *garden*, Gesen.]: Γωνάθ: *Gineth*), father of TIBNI, who after the death of Zimri disputed the throne of Israel with Omri (1 K. xvi. 21, 22).

GIN'NETHO (גִּנְּתוֹי [*gardener*], *i. e.* Ginnethoi: [Rom. Vat. Alex. omit; FA.^{3} Γεννηθον, Comp. Γεναθών:] *Genthon*), one of the "chief" (רָאשֵׁי = heads) of the priests and Levites who returned to Judæa with Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 4). He is doubtless the same person as

GIN'NETHON (גִּנְּתוֹן [as above]: Γανναθών, Γαναθώθ; [in x. 6, Vat. Τναταθ, Alex. Γαανναθων, FA. Ανατωθ; in xii. 16, Vat. Alex. FA.^{1} omit:] *Genthon*), a priest who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 6). He was head of a family, and one of his descendants is mentioned in the list of priests and Levites at a later period (xii. 16). He is probably the same person as the preceding.

GIRDLE, an essential article of dress in the East, and worn both by men and women. The corresponding Hebrew words are: (1.) חֲגוֹר or חֲגוֹרָה, which is the general term for a girdle of any kind, whether worn by soldiers, as 1 Sam. xviii. 4, 2 Sam. xx. 8, 1 K. ii. 5, 2 K. iii. 21; or by women, Is. iii. 24. (2.) אֵזוֹר, especially used of the girdles worn by men; whether by prophets

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2 K. i. 8, Jer. xiii. 1; soldiers, Is. v. 27; Ex. xxiii. 15, of kings in their military capacity, Job xii. 18.

(3.) מְזִיחַ or מְזִיחָה, used of the girdle worn by men alone, Job xii. 21, Ps. cix. 19, Is. xxiii. 10.

(4.) אַבְנֵט, the girdle worn by the priests and state officers. In addition to these, פְּתִיגִיל, Is. iii. 24, is a costly girdle worn by women. The Vulgate renders it *fascia pectoralis*. It would thus seem to correspond with the Latin *strophium*, a belt worn by women about the breast. In the LXX. however, it is translated χιτὼν μεσοπόρφυρος, "a tunic shot with purple," and Gesenius [*Thes.*] has "*buntes Feyerkleid*" (comp. Schroeder, *de Vest. Mul.* pp. 137, 138, 404). The שְׁתִירִים mentioned in Is. iii. 20, Jer. ii. 32, were probably girdles, although both Kimchi and Jarchi consider them as fillets for the hair. In the latter passage the Vulgate has again *fascia pectoralis*, and the LXX. στηθοδεσμίς, an appropriate bridal ornament.

The common girdle was made of leather (2 K. i. 8; Matt. iii. 4), like that worn by the Bedouins of the present day, whom Curzon describes as "armed with a long crooked knife, and a pistol or two stuck in a red leathern girdle" (*Monast. of the Levant*, p. 7). In the time of Chardin the nobles of Mingrelia wore girdles of leather, four fingers broad, and embossed with silver. A finer girdle was made of linen (Jer. xiii. 1; Ez. xvi. 10), embroidered with silk, and sometimes with gold and silver thread (Dan. x. 5; Rev. i. 13, xv. 6), and frequently studded with gold and precious stones or pearls (Le Bruyn, *Voy.* iv. 170; comp. Virg. *Æn.* ix. 359).[a] Morier (*Second Journey*, p. 150), describing the dress of the Armenian women, says, "they wear a silver girdle which rests on the hips, and is generally curiously wrought." The manufacture of these girdles formed part of the employment of women (Prov. xxxi. 24).

The girdle was fastened by a clasp of gold or silver, or tied in a knot so that the ends hung down in front, as in the figures on the ruins of Persepolis. It was worn by men about the loins, hence the expressions אֵזוֹר מָתְנַיִם, Is. xi. 5; אֵזוֹר חֲלָצַיִם Is. v. 27. The girdle of women was generally looser than that of the men, and was worn about the hips, except when they were actively engaged (Prov. xxxi. 17). Curzon (p. 58), describing the dress of the Egyptian women, says, "not round the waist, but round the hips a large and heavy Cashmere shawl is worn over the yelek, and the whole gracefulness of an Egyptian dress consists in the way in which this is put on." The military girdle was worn about the waist, the sword or dagger was suspended from it (Judg. iii. 16; 2 Sam. xx. 8; Ps. xlv. 3). In the Nineveh sculptures the soldiers are represented with broad girdles, to which the sword is attached, and through which even two or three daggers in a sheath are passed. Q. Curtius (iii. 3) says of Darius, "zona aurea muliebriter cinctus acinacem suspenderat, cui ex gemma erat vagina." Hence girding up the loins denotes preparation for battle or for active exertion. In times of mourning, girdles of sackcloth were worn as marks of humiliation and sorrow (Is. iii. 24; xxii. 12).

In consequence of the costly materials of which girdles were made, they were frequently given as presents (1 Sam. xviii. 4; 2 Sam. xviii. 11), as is still the custom in Persia (cf. Morier, p. 93). Villages were given to the queens of Persia to supply them with girdles (Xenoph. *Anab.* i. 4, § 9; Plut. *Alc.* i. p. 123).

They were used as pockets, as among the Arabs still (Niebuhr, *Descr.* p. 56), and as purses, one end of the girdle being folded back for the purpose (Matt. x. 9; Mark vi. 8). Hence "zonam perdere," "to lose one's purse" (Hor. *Epist.* ii. 2, 40; comp. Juv. xiv. 297). Inkhorns were also carried in the girdle (Ez. ix. 2).

The אַבְנֵט, or girdle worn by the priests about the close-fitting tunic (Ex. xxviii. 39; xxix. 29), is described by Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7, § 2) as made of linen so fine of texture as to look like the slough of a snake, and embroidered with flowers of scarlet, purple, blue, and fine linen. It was about four fingers' broad, and was wrapped several times round the priest's body, the ends hanging down to the feet. When engaged in sacrifice, the priest threw the ends over his left shoulder. According to Maimonides (*de Vas. Sanct.* c. 8), the girdle worn both by the high-priest and the common priests was of white linen embroidered with wool; but that worn by the high-priest on the day of Atonement was entirely of white linen. The length of it was thirty-two cubits, and the breadth about three fingers. It was worn just below the armpits to avoid perspiration (comp. Ex. xliv. 18). Jerome (*Ep. ad Fabiolam, de Vest. Sac.*) follows Josephus. With regard to the manner in which the girdle was embroidered, the "needlework" (מַעֲשֵׂה רֹקֵם, Ex. xxviii. 39) is distinguished in the Mishna from the "cunning-work" (מַעֲשֵׂה חֹשֵׁב, Ex. xxvi. 31) as being worked by the needle with figures on one side only, whereas the latter was woven work with figures on both sides (*Cod. Joma*, c. 8). So also Maimonides (*de Vas. Sanct* viii. 15). But Jarchi on Ex. xxvi. 31, 36, explains the difference as consisting in this, that in the former case the figures on the two sides are the same, whereas in the latter they are different. [EMBROIDERER.]

In all passages, except Is. xxii. 21, אַבְנֵט is used of the girdle of the priests only, but in that instance it appears to have been worn by Shebna, the treasurer, as part of the insignia of his office; unless it be supposed that he was of priestly rank, and wore it in his priestly capacity. He is called "high-priest" in the *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 115 *a*, and in the Jewish tradition quoted by Jarchi *in loc.*

The "curious girdle" (חֵשֶׁב, Ex. xxviii. 8) was made of the same materials and colors as the ephod, that is of "gold, blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen." Josephus describes it as sewn to the breastplate. After passing once round it was tied in front upon the seam, the ends hanging down (*Ant.* iii. 7, § 5). According to Maimonides it was of woven work.

"Girdle" is used figuratively in Ps. cix. 19, Is. xi. 5; cf. 1 Sam. ii. 4; Ps. xxx. 11, lxv. 12; Eph. vi. 14. W. A. W.

GIRGASHITES, THE (הַגִּרְגָּשִׁי, *i. e.*

[a] In contrast with such girdles, John's was "a leathern girdle" (Matt. iii. 4), in conformity with the simple habits which characterised the stern reformer. H.

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cording to the Hebrew usage, singular — "the Girgashite;" in which form, however, it occurs in the A. V. but twice, 1 Chr. i. 14, and Gen. x. 16; in the latter THE GIRGASITE; elsewhere uniformly plural, as above: ὁ Γεργεσαῖος, and so also Josephus: *Gergesæus* [but Deut. vii. 1, *Gergezæus*]), one of the nations who were in possession of Canaan before the entrance thither of the children of Israel. The name occurs in the following passages: Gen. x. 16, xv. 21; Deut. vii. 1 (and xx. 17 in Samaritan and LXX.); Josh. iii. 10, xxiv. 11; 1 Chr. i. 14; Neh. ix. 8. In the first of these "the Girgasite" is given as the fifth son of Canaan; in the other places the tribe is merely mentioned, and that but occasionally, in the formula expressing the doomed country; and it may truly be said in the words of Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, § 2) that we possess the name and nothing more; not even the more definite notices of position, or the slight glimpses of character, general or individual, with which we are favored in the case of the Amorites, Jebusites, and some others of these ancient nations. The expression in Josh. xxiv. 11 would seem to indicate that the district of the Girgashites was on the west of Jordan; nor is this invalidated by the mention of "Gergesenes" in Matt. viii. 28 (Γεργεσηνῶν in Rec. Text, and in a few MSS. mentioned by Epiphanius and Origen, Γεργεσαίων), as on the east side of the Sea of Galilee, since that name is now generally recognized as Γερασηνῶν, — "Gerasenes," — and therefore as having no connection with the Girgashites. G.

GIR'GASITE, THE (Gen. x. 16). See the foregoing.

* **GIS'CHALA** [Γίσχαλα: Rabb. גוש חלב, *Gush Chalab:* Arab. جِشْ, *el-Jish*), a village in Galilee on a hill about two hours northwest from *Safed*. It was fortified by order of Josephus, and was the last fortress in Galilee to surrender to the Roman arms (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 20, § 6; iv. 2, §§ 1–5). It has been identified by Dr. Robinson as the modern *el-Jish*, which was destroyed by an earthquake in 1837 (*Bibl. Res.* iii. 368 ff., 1st ed.). It must have been one of the towns in the circuit of Christ's labors, and well known to his Galilean disciples. There was a tradition that the parents of Paul emigrated from this place to Tarsus. [See AHLAB.] S. W.

GIS'PA (גִּשְׁפָּא [*hearkening*]: [FA.^{5}] Γεσφά; [Comp. Γεσφάς; Rom. Vat. Alex. FA.^{1} omit:] *Gaspha*), one of the overseers of the Nethinim, in "the Ophel," after the return from Captivity (Neh. xi. 21). By the LXX. the name appears to have been taken as a place.

GIT'TAH-HE'PHER, Josh. xix. 13. [GATH-HEPHER.]

GITTA'IM (גִּתַּיִם, i. e. *two wine-presses:* [in 2 Sam., Γεθαίμ, [Vat. Γεθαι,] Alex. Γεθθειμ; [in Neh. xi. 33, Rom. Vat. Alex. FA.^{1} omit; FA.^{3} Γεθθιμ:] *Gethaim*), a place incidentally mentioned in 2 Sam. iv. 3, where the meaning appears to be that the inhabitants of Beeroth, which was allotted to Benjamin, had been compelled to fly from that place, and had taken refuge at Gittaim. Beeroth was one of the towns of the Gibeonites (Josh. ix. 17); and the cause of the flight of its people may have been (though this is but conjecture) Saul's persecution of the Gibeonites alluded to in 2 Sam. xxi. 2. Gittaim is again mentioned [Neh. xi. 33] in the list of places inhabited by the Benjamites after their return from the Captivity, with Ramah, Neballat, Lod, and other known towns of Benjamin to the N. W. of Jerusalem. The two may be the same; though, if the persecution of the Berothites proceeded from Benjamin, as we must infer it did, they would hardly choose as a refuge a place within the limits of that tribe. Gittaim is the dual form of the word Gath, which suggests the Philistine plain as its locality. But there is no evidence for or against this.

Gittaim occurs in the LXX. version of 1 Sam. xiv. 33 — "out of Getthaim roll me a great stone." But this is not supported by any other of the ancient versions, which unanimously adhere to the Hebr. text, and probably proceeds from a mistake or corruption of the Hebrew word תִּבְגַּדְתֶּם: A. V. "ye have transgressed." It further occurs in the LXX. in Gen. xxxvi. 35 and 1 Chr. i. 46, as the representative of AVITH, a change not so intelligible as the other, and equally unsupported by the other old versions. G.

GIT'TITES (גִּתִּים, patron. from גַּת: [Γεθαῖοι, Alex. Γεθθαιοι: *Gethæi*]), the 600 men who followed David from Gath, under Ittai the Gittite (הַגִּתִּי, 2 Sam. xv. 18, 19), and who probably acted as a kind of body-guard. Obed-edom the Levite, in whose house the Ark was for a time placed (2 Sam. vi. 10), and who afterwards served in Jerusalem (1 Chr. xvi. 38), is called "the Gittite" (הַגִּתִּי). We can scarcely think, however, that he was so named from the royal city of the Philistines. May he not have been from the town of Gittaim in Benjamin (2 Sam. iv. 3; Neh. xi. 33), or from Gath-rimmon, a town of Dan allotted to the Kohathite Levites (Josh. xxi. 24), of whom Obed-edom seems to have been one (1 Chr. xxvi. 4)? J. L. P.

GIT'TITH (גִּתִּית) [see *infra*], a musical instrument, by some supposed to have been used by the people of Gath, and thence to have been adopted by David and used in worship; and by others, who identify גִּתִּית with גַּת, a wine-press, or trough, in which the grapes were trodden with the feet) to have been employed at the festivities of the vintage. The Chaldee paraphrase of עַל הַגִּתִּית, occasionally found in the heading of Psalms, is, "On the instrument כִּינוֹרָא (Cinora), which was brought from Gath." Rashi, whilst he admits Gittith to be a musical instrument, in the manufacture of which the artisans of Gath excelled, quotes a Talmudic authority which would assign to the word a different meaning. "Our sages," says he, "have remarked '*On the nations who are in future to be trodden down like a wine-press.*'" (Comp. Is. lxiii. 3.) But neither of the Psalms, viii., lxxxi., or lxxxiv., which have Gittith for a heading, contains any thing that may be connected with such an idea. The interpretation of the LXX. ὑπὲρ τῶν ληνῶν, "for the wine-presses," is condemned by Aben-Ezra and other eminent Jewish scholars. Fürst (*Concordance*) describes *Gittith* as a hollow instrument, from גָּתַת, to deepen (synonymous with חָלַל). D. W. M.

GI'ZONITE, THE (הַגִּזְרֹנִי: ὁ Γιζωνίτης,

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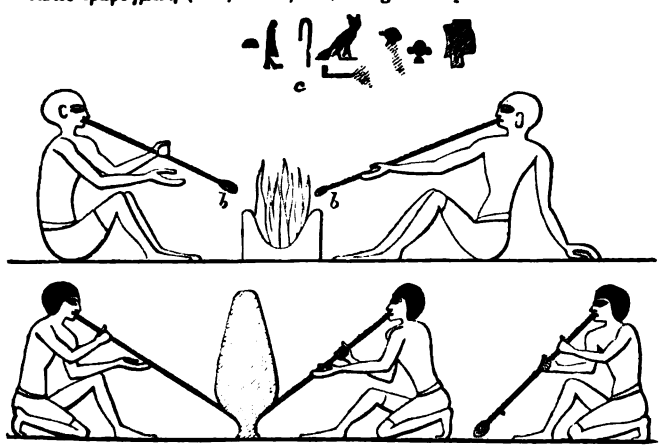
Vat corrupt;] Alex. ὁ Γωυνι: *Gezonites*). "The sons of Hashem the Gizonite" are named amongst the warriors of David's guard (1 Chr. xi. 34). In the parallel list of 2 Sam. xxiii. the word is entirely omitted; and the conclusion of Kennicott, who examines the passage at length, is that the name should be GOUNI [see GUNI], a proper name, and not an appellative (*Dissert.* pp. 199–203). [No place corresponding to the name is known.]

* GIZ'RITES. [GERZITES.]

GLASS (זְכוּכִית: ὕαλος: *vitrum*). The word occurs only in Job xxviii. 17, where in the A. V. it is rendered "crystal." It comes from זָכַךְ (*to be pure*), and according to the best authorities means a kind of glass which in ancient days was held in high esteem (J. D. Michaelis, *Hist. Vitri apud Hebr.*; and Hamberger, *Hist. Vitri ex antiquitate eruta*, quoted by Gesen. *s. v.*). Symmachus renders it κρύσταλλος, but that is rather intended by גָּבִישׁ (Job xxviii. 18, A. V. "pearls," LXX. γάβις, a word which also means "ice;" cf. Plin. *H. N.* xxxvii. 2), and קֶרַח (Ez. i. 22). It seems then that Job xxviii. 17 contains the only allusion to glass found in the O. T., and even this reference is disputed. Besides Symmachus, others also render it διαυγῆ κρύσταλλον (Schleusner, *Thesaur. s. v.* ὕαλος), and it is argued that the word ὕαλος frequently means crystal. Thus the Schol. on Aristoph. *Nub.* 764, defines ὕαλος (when it occurs in old writers) as διαφανὴς λίθος ἐοικὼς ὑάλῳ, and Hesychius gives as its equivalent λίθος τίμιος. In Herodotus (iii. 24) it is clear that ὕελος must mean crystal, for he says, ἡ δέ σφι πολλὴ καὶ εὔεργος ὀρύσσεται, and Achilles Tatius speaks of crystal as ὕαλος ὀρυσσομένη (ii. 3; Baehr, *On Herod.* ii. 44; Heeren, *Ideen*, ii. 1, 335). Others consider זְכוּכִית to be amber, or electrum, or alabaster (Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. vi. 872).

In spite of this absence of specific allusion to glass in the sacred writings, the Hebrews must have been aware of the invention. There has been a violent modern prejudice against the belief that glass was early known to, or extensively used by, the ancients, but both facts are now certain. From paintings representing the process of glassblowing which have been discovered in paintings at Beni-Hassan, and in tombs at other places, we know that the invention is at least as remote as the age of Osirtasen the first (perhaps a contemporary of Joseph), 3,500 years ago. A bead as old as 1500 B. C. was found by Captain Hervey at Thebes. "the specific gravity of which, 25° 30′, is precisely the same as that of the crown glass now made in England." Fragments too of wine-vases as old as the Exodus have been discovered in Egypt. Glass beads known to be ancient have been found in Africa, and also (it is said) in Cornwall and Ireland, which are in all probability the relics of an old Phœnician trade (Wilkinson, in *Rawlinson's Herod.* ii. 50, i. 475; *Anc. Egypt.* iii. 88–112). The art was also known to the ancient Assyrians (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 42), and a glass bottle was found in the N. W. palace of Nimroud, which has on it the name of Sargon, and is therefore probably older than B. C. 702 (id. *Nin. and Bab.* p. 197, 503). This is the earliest known specimen of *transparent* glass.

The disbelief in the antiquity of glass (in spite of the distinct statements of early writers) is difficult to account for, because the invention must almost naturally arise in making bricks or pottery, during which processes there must be at least a



Egyptian Glass Blowers. (Wilkinson.)

superficial vitrification. There is little doubt that the honor of the discovery belongs to the Egyptians. Pliny gives no date for his celebrated story of the discovery of glass from the solitary accident of some Phœnician sailors using blocks of natron to support their saucepans when they were unable to find stones for the purpose (*H. N.* xxxvi. 65). But this account is less likely than the supposition that nitrous matter first attracted observation from the custom of lighting fires on the sand, "in a country producing natron or subcarbonate of soda" (Rawlinson's *Herod.* ii. 82). It has been pointed out that Pliny's story may have originated in the fact that the sand of the Syrian river Belus,[a] at the mouth of which the incident is supposed to have occurred, "was esteemed peculiarly suitable for glass-making, and exported in great quantities to the workshops of Sidon and Alexandria, long the

[a] * This Belus is the modern *Nahr Na'mân* which flows into the Mediterranean just south of *Akka*, the O. T. Accho and the N. T. Ptolemais.

most famous in the ancient world" (*Dict. of Ant.* art. *Vitrum*, where everything requisite to the illustration of the classical allusions to glass may be found). Some find a remarkable reference to this little river (respecting which see Plin. *H. N.* v. 17, xxxvi. 65; Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 10, § 2; Tac. *Hist.* v. 7) in the blessing to the tribe of Zebulun, "they shall suck of the abundance of the seas, and of treasures hid in the sand" (Deut. xxxiii. 19). Both the name Belus (Reland, quoted in *Dict. of Geogr.* s. v. and the Hebrew word חוֹל, "sand" (Calmet, *s. v.*) have been suggested as derivations for the Greek ϑαλος, which is however, in all probability, from an Egyptian root.

Glass was not only known to the ancients, but used by them (as Winckelmann thinks) far more extensively than in modern times. Pliny even tells us that it was employed in wainscoting (vitreæ cameræ, *H. N.* xxxvi. 64; Stat. *Sylv.* i. v. 42). The Egyptians knew the art of cutting, grinding, and engraving it, and they could even inlay it with gold or enamel, and "permeate opaque glass with designs of various colors." Besides this they could color it with such brilliancy as to be able to imitate precious stones in a manner which often defied detection (Plin. *H. N.* xxxvii. 26, 33, 75). This is probably the explanation of the incredibly large gems which we find mentioned in ancient authors; *e. g.* Larcher considers that the emerald column alluded to by Herodotus (ii. 44) was "du verre coloré dont l'intérieur était éclairé par des lampes." Strabo was told by an Alexandrian glass-maker that this success was partly due to a rare and valuable earth found in Egypt (Beckmann, *History of Inventions*, "Colored Glass," i. 195 f. Eng. Transl., also iii. 208 f., iv. 54). Yet the perfectly clear and transparent glass was considered the most valuable (Plin. xxxvi. 26).

Some suppose that the proper name מִשְׂרְפוֹת מָיִם (*burnings by the waters*) contains an allusion to Sidonian glass-factories (Meier on Jos. xi. 8, xiii. 6), but it is much more probable that it was so called from the burning of Jabin's chariots at that place (Lord A. Hervey, *On the Genealogies*, p. 228), or from hot springs.

In the N. T. glass is alluded to as an emblem of brightness (Rev iv. 6, xv. 2, xxi. 18). The three other places where the word occurs in the A. V. (1 Cor. xiii. 12; 2 Cor. iii. 18; Jam. i. 23), as also the word "glasses" (Is. iii. 23), are considered under MIRRORS. For, strange to say, although the ancients were aware of the reflective power of glass, and although the Sidonians used it for mirrors (Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 66), yet for some unexplained reason mirrors of glass must have proved unsuccessful, since even under the empire they were universally made of metal, which is at once less perfect, more expensive, and more difficult to preserve (*Dict. of Ant.* art. *Speculum*).

F. W. F.

GLEANING (עֳלֵלוֹת as applied to produce generally, לֶקֶט rather to corn). The remarks under CORNER on the definite character of the rights of the poor, or rather of poor relations and dependants, to a share of the crop, are especially exemplified in the instance of Ruth gleaning in the field of Boaz. Poor young women, recognized as being "his maidens," were gleaning his field, and on her claim upon him by near affinity being made known, she was bidden to join them and not go to any other field; but for this, the reapers it seems would have driven her away (Ruth ii. 6, 8, 9). The gleaning of fruit trees, as well as of cornfields, was reserved for the poor. Hence the proverb of Gideon, Judg. viii. 2. Maimonides indeed lays down the principle (*Constitutiones de donis pauperum*, cap ii. 1), that whatever crop or growth is fit for food, is kept, and gathered all at once, and carried into store, is liable to that law. See for further remarks, Maimon. *Constitutiones de donis pauperum*, cap. iv.

H. H.

GLEDE, the old name for the common kite (*Milvus ater*), occurs only in Deut. xiv. 13 (רָאָה) among the unclean birds of prey, and if רָאָה be the correct reading, we must suppose the name to have been taken from the bird's acuteness of vision; but as in the parallel passage in Lev. xi. 14 we find דָּאָה, *vultur*, it is probable that we should read דָּאָה in Deut. also. The LXX. have γλὶψ in both places.

W. D.

GNAT (κώνωψ), mentioned only in the proverbial expression used by our Saviour in Matt. xxiii. 24, "Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat and swallow a camel." "Strain *at*, in the A. V., seems to be a typographical error, since the translations before the A. V. had "strain *out*," the Greek word διυλίζω signifying *to strain through* (a sieve, etc.), to filter (see Trench, *On the Auth. Vers.*, 1st ed. p. 131) [2d ed. p. 172]. The Greek κώνωψ is the generic word for gnat.

W. D.

GOAD. The equivalent terms in the Hebrew are (1) מַלְמָד (Judg. iii. 31), and (2) דָּרְבָן (1 Sam. xiii. 21; Eccl. xii. 11). The explanation given by Jahn (*Archæol.* i. 4, § 59) is that the former represents the pole, and the latter the iron spike with which it was shod for the purpose of goading. With regard to the latter, however, it may refer to anything pointed, and the tenor of Eccl. xii. requires rather the sense of a peg or nail, anything in short which can be *fastened*; while in 1 Sam. xiii. the point of the *ploughshare* is more probably intended. The former does probably refer to the goad, the long handle of which might be used as a formidable weapon (comp. Hom. *Il.* vi. 135), though even this was otherwise understood by the LXX. as a ploughshare (ἐν τῷ ἀροτρόποδι): it should also be noted that the etymological force of the word is that of *guiding* (from לָמַד, *to teach*) rather than *goading* (Saalschütz, *Archäol.* i. 105). There are undoubted references to the use of the goad in driving oxen in Ecclus. xxxviii. 25, and Acts xxvi. 14. The instrument, as still used in the countries of southern Europe and western Asia, consists of a rod about eight feet long, brought to a sharp point and sometimes cased with iron at the head (Harmer's *Observations*, iii. 348). The expression "to kick against the goads" (Acts ix. 5; A. V. "the pricks"), was proverbially used by the Greeks for unavailing resistance to superior power (comp. Æsch. *Agam.* 1633, *Prom.* 323; Eurip. *Bacch.* 791).

W. L. B.

* The use of the goad in driving animals, which is still common in the East, is implied in 2 K. iv 24, where it explains a slight obscurity in the verse as given in the A. V. Mounted on her donkey –

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the favorite mode of travelling with oriental ladies — the Shunammite, intent on the utmost dispatch, directs her servant, running by her side, to urge the animal with the goad to its full speed.

The long ox-goad, used in the field, with an iron point at one end, and an iron paddle at the other to clean the plough in the furrows, often was, and still is, a massive implement. In the hands of a strong and valiant man, like Shamgar, as represented in Judg. iii. 31, it would be a destructive weapon. (See Hackett's *Illustr. of Scripture*, p. 155.) S. W.

GOAT. 1. Of the Hebrew words which are translated *goat* and *she-goat* in A. V., the most common is עֵז = Syr. ܥܙܐ, Arab. عنز, Phœn. ἄζα. The Indo-Germanic languages have a similar word in Sanskr. *ag'a* = goat, *ag'á* = she-goat, Germ. *geis* or *gems*, Greek *αἴξ*, *αἰγός*. The derivation from עָזַז, *to be strong*, points to *he-goat* as the original meaning, but it is also specially used for *she-goat*, as in Gen. xv. 9, xxxi. 38, xxxii. 14; Num. xv. 27. In Judg. vi. 19 גְּדִי עִזִּים is rendered *kid*, and in Deut. xiv. 4 שֵׂה עִזִּים is rendered *the goat*, but properly signifies *flock of goats*. עִזִּים is used elliptically for *goats' hair* in Ex. xxvi. 7, xxxvi. 14, &c., Num. xxxi. 2 , and in 1 Sam. xix. 13.

2. יְעֵלִים are wild or mountain goats, and are rendered *wild goats* in the three passages of Scripture in which the word occurs, namely, 1 Sam. xxiv. 2, Job xxxix. 1, and Ps. civ. 18. The word is from a root יָעַל, *to ascend* or *climb*, and is the Heb. name of the *ibex*, which abounds in the mountainous parts of the ancient territory of Moab. In Job xxxix. 1, the LXX. have τραγελάφων πέτρας.

3. אַקּוֹ is rendered *the wild goat* in Deut. xiv. 5, and occurs only in this passage. It is a contracted form of אַנְקוֹה, according to Lee, who renders it *gazelle*, but it is more properly the *tragelaphus* or *goat-deer* (Shaw. *Suppl.* p. 76).

4. עַתּוּד, a *he-goat*, as Gesenius thinks, of four months old — strong and vigorous. It occurs only in the plural, and is rendered by A. V. indifferently *goats* and *he-goats* (see Ps. l. 9 and 13). In Jer. l. 8 it signifies *he-goats*, leaders of the flock, and hence its metaphorical use in Is. xiv. 9 for *chief ones of the earth*, and in Zech. x. 3, where *goats* = principal men, chiefs. It is derived from the root עָתַד, *to set, to place, to prepare*.

5 עֻפָּיר occurs in 2 Chr. xxix. 21, and in Dan. viii. 5, 8 — it is followed by הָעִזִּים, and signifies a *he-goat of the goats*. Gesenius derives it from עָפַר, *to leap*. It is a word found only in the later books of the O. T. In Ezr. vi. 17 we find the Chald. form of the word, עֻפָּיִר.

6. שָׂעִיר is translated *goat*, and signifies properly a he-goat, being derived from שָׂעַר, *to stand on end, to bristle*. It occurs frequently in Leviticus and Numbers (שְׂעִיר הַחַטָּאת), and is the goat of the sin-offering, Lev. ix. 3, 15, x. 16. The word is used as an adjective with צָפִיר in Dan. viii. 21. "— and the goat, the rough one, is the king of Javan."

7. תַּיִשׁ is from a root תָּיַשׁ, *o stride*. It is rendered *he-goat* in Gen. xxx. 35, xxxii. 15, Prov. xxx. 31, and 2 Chr. xvii. 11. It does not occur elsewhere.

8. עֲזָאזֵל, *scape-goat* in Lev. xvi. 8, 10, 26 On this word see ATONEMENT, DAY OF, p. 197.

In the N. T. the words rendered *goats* in Matt. xxv. 32, 33, are ἔριφος and ἐρίφιον = a young goat, or kid; and in Heb. ix. 12, 13, 19, and x. 4, τράγος = he-goat. *Goat-skins*, in Heb. xi. 37, are in the Greek, ἐν αἰγείοις δέρμασιν; and in Judg. ii. 17 *alyas* is rendered *goats*. W. D.

There appear to be two or three varieties of the common goat (*Hircus ægagrus*) at present bred in Palestine and Syria, but whether they are identical with those which were reared by the ancient Hebrews it is not possible to say. The most marked varieties are the Syrian goat (*Capra Mambrica*, Linn.), with long thick pendent ears, which are often, says Russell (*Nat. Hist. of Aleppo*, ii. 150, 2d ed.), a foot long, and the Angora goat (*Capra Angorensis*, Linn.), with fine long hair. The Syrian goat is mentioned by Aristotle (*Hist. An.* ix. 27, § 3). There is also a variety that differs but little from British specimens. Goats have from the earliest ages been considered important animals in rural economy, both on account of the milk they afford, and the excellency of the flesh of the young animals. The goat is figured on the Egyptian monuments (see Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.* i. 223). Col. Ham. Smith (Griffith's *An. King.* iv. 308) describes three Egyptian breeds: one with long hair, depressed horns, ears small and pendent; another with horns very spiral, and ears longer than the head; and a third, which occurs in Upper Egypt, without horns.

Goats were offered as sacrifices (Lev. iii. 12, ix. 15; Ex. xii. 5, etc.); their milk was used as food (Prov. xxvii. 27); their flesh was eaten (Deut. xiv. 4; Gen. xxvii. 9); their hair was used for the curtains of the tabernacle (Ex. xxvi. 7, xxxvi. 14), and for stuffing bolsters (1 Sam. xix. 13); their skins were sometimes used as clothing (Heb. xi. 37).

The passage in Cant. iv. 1, which compares the hair of the beloved to "a flock of goats that eat of Mount Gilead," probably alludes to the fine hair of the Angora breed. Some have very plausibly supposed that the prophet Amos (iii. 12), when he speaks of a shepherd "taking out of the mouth of the lion two legs or a *piece of an ear*," alludes to the long pendulous ears of the Syrian breed (see Harmer's *Obser.* iv. 162). In Prov. xxx. 31, a he-goat is mentioned as one of the "four things which are comely in going;" in allusion, probably, to the stately march of the leader of the flock, which was always associated in the minds of the Hebrews with the notion of dignity. Hence the metaphor in Is. xiv. 9, "all the chief ones (margin, 'great goats') of the earth." So the Alexandrine version of the LXX. understands the allusion. καὶ τράγος ἡγούμενος αἰπολίου.[a]

As to the *ye'élim* (יְעֵלִים): τραγέλαφοι, ἐλα-

[a] Comp. Theocritus, *Id.* viii. 49, Ὦ τράγε, τᾶν λευκᾶν ἀγέλαν ἐπινέρ; and Virg. *Ecl.* vii. 7, "Vir gregis ipse caper

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ibices: "wild goats," A. V.), it is not at all improbable, as the Vulg. interprets the word, that some species of *ibex* is denoted, perhaps the *Capra Sinaitica* (Ehrenb.), the Beden or Jaela of Egypt and Arabia. This ibex was noticed at Sinai by Ehrenberg and Hemprich (*Sym. Phys.* t. 18), and by Burckhardt (*Trav.* p. 526), who (p. 405) thus



Long-eared Syrian goat.

speaks of these animals: "In all the valleys south of the Modjeb, and particularly in those of Modjeb and El Ahsa, large herds of mountain goats, called by the Arabs *Beden* (بدن), are met with. This is the steinbock[a] or bouquetin of the Swiss and Tyrol Alps. They pasture in flocks of forty and fifty together. Great numbers of them are killed by the people of Kerek and Tafyle, who hold their flesh in high estimation. They sell the large knotty horns to the Hebrew merchants, who carry them to Jerusalem, where they are worked into handles for knives and daggers. The Arabs told me that it is difficult to get a shot at them, and that the hunters hide themselves among the reeds on the banks of streams where the animals resort in the evening to drink. They also asserted that, when pursued, they will throw themselves from a height of fifty feet and more upon their heads without receiving any injury." Hasselquist (*Trav.* p. 190) speaks of rock goats (*Capra cervicapra*, Linn.) which he saw hunted with falcons near Nazareth. But the *C. cervicapra* of Linnæus is an antelope (*Antilope cervicapra*, Pall.).

There is considerable difficulty attending the identification of the *akkô* (אַקּוֹ), which the LXX. render by τραγέλαφος, and the Vulg. *tragelaphus*. The word, which occurs only in Deut. xiv. 5 as one of the animals that might be eaten, is rendered "wild goat" by the A. V. Some have referred the *akkô* to the *ahu* of the Persians, *i. e.* the *Cervicapra pygargus*, or the "tailless roe" (Shaw, *Zoöl.* ii. 287), of Central Asia. If we could satisfactorily establish the identity of the Persian word with the Hebrew, the animal in question might represent the *akkô* of the Pentateuch, which might formerly have inhabited the Lebanon, though it is not found in Palestine now. Perhaps the paseng (*Cap. ægagrus*, Cuv.) which some have taken to be the parent stock of the common goat, and which at present inhabits the mountains of Persia and Caucasus, may have in Biblical times been found in Palestine, and may be the *akkô* of Scripture. But we allow this is mere conjecture. W. H



Goat of Mount Sinai.

[a] The *Capra Sinaitica* is not identical with the Swiss ibex or steinbock (*C. Ibex*), though it is a closely allied species.

GOAT, SCAPE. [Atonement, Day of.]

GO'ATH (גֹּעָה [see *infra*]: the LXX. seem to have had a different text, and read ἐξ ἐκλεκτῶν λίθων: *Goatha*), a place apparently in the neighborhood of Jerusalem, and named, in connection with the hill Gareb, only in Jer. xxxi. 39. The name (which is accurately Goah, as above, the *th* being added to connect the Hebrew particle of motion,—Goathah) is derived by Gesenius from גָּעָה, "to low," as a cow. In accordance with this is the rendering of the Targum, which has for Goah, בֵּרֵיכַת עֶגְלָא = *the heifer's pool*. The Syriac, on the other hand, has לְצַפְתָּא, *leromto*, "to the eminence," perhaps reading גַּבְעָה (Fürst, *Handwb.* p. 269 *b*).[b] Owing to the presence of the letter *Ain* in Goath, the resemblance between it and Golgotha does not exist in the original to the same degree as in English. [Golgotha.] G.

GOB (לֹב, and גֹּב, perhaps = *a pit* or *ditch*; Γέθ, Ῥόμ, Alex. [in ver. 19] Γοβ; [Comp. Νόβ:] *Gob*), a place mentioned only in 2 Sam. xxi. 18, 19, as the scene of two encounters between David's warriors and the Philistines. In the parallel account — of the first of these only = in 1 Chr. xx. 4, the name is given as Gezer, and this, as well as the omission of any locality for the second event, is supported by Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 12, § 2). On the other hand the LXX. and Syriac have Gath in the first case, a name which in Hebrew much resembles Gob; and this appears to be borne out

[b] * Fürst makes the Syriac = Felshügel, *rock-hill* (not as above). H.

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by the account of a third and subsequent fight, which all agree happened at Gath (2 Sam. xxi. 20; 1 Chr. xx. 6), and which, from the terms of the narrative, seems to have occurred at the same place as the others. The suggestion of Nob — which Davidson (*Hebr. Text*) reports as in many MSS. and which is also found in copies of the LXX. — is not admissible on account of the situation of that place. G.

GOBLET (אַגָּן: κρατήρ: *crater*; joined with סָהַר to express roundness, Cant. vii. 2; Gesen. *Thes.* pp. 22, 39; in plur. Ex. xxiv. 6, A. V. "basons;" Is. xxii. 24, LXX. literally ἀγγεῖα: *craterae*: A. V. "cups"), a circular vessel for wine or other liquid. [BASIN.] H. W. P.

* GODLINESS, MYSTERY OF. [BAPTISM, vii. 5, p. 239.]

* GOD SPEED is the translation of χαίρειν in 2 John 10, 11, the Greek form of salutation. It has been transferred from the Anglo-Saxon *gódspédig*, but with a different meaning there, namely, "good-speed." H.

GOG. 1. (גּוֹג: Γούγ; [Comp. Ald. Γώγ:] *Gog.*). A Reubenite (1 Chr. v. 4); according to the Hebrew text son of Shemaiah. The LXX. have a different text throughout the passage.

2. [MAGOG.]

3. In the Samarit. Codex and LXX. of Num. xxiv. 7, Gog is substituted for AGAG.

GOLAN (גּוֹלָן [*a circle, region*, Dietr. Fürst; *migration*, Ges.]: Γαυλάν, [in 1 Chr. vi. 71, Γωλάν; Alex. also in Josh. Γωλαν: *Gaulon*, exc. Deut. *Golan*]), a city of Bashan (גּוֹלָן בַּבָּשָׁן, Deut. iv. 43) allotted out of the half tribe of Manasseh to the Levites (Josh. xxi. 27), and one of the three cities of refuge east of the Jordan (xx. 8). We find no further notice of it in Scripture; and though Eusebius and Jerome say it was still an important place in their time (*Onom.* s. v.; Reland, p. 815), its very site is now unknown. Some have supposed that the village of *Nawa*, on the eastern border of *Jaulân*, around which are extensive ruins (see *Handbook for Syr. and Pal.*), is identical with the ancient Golan; but for this there is not a shadow of evidence; and *Nawa* besides is much too far to the eastward.

The city of Golan is several times referred to by Josephus (Γαυλάνη, *B. J.* i. 4, § 4, and 8); he, however, more frequently speaks of the province which took its name from it, Gaulanitis (Γαυλανῖτις). When the kingdom of Israel was overthrown by the Assyrians, and the dominion of the Jews in Bashan ceased, it appears that the aboriginal tribes, before kept in subjection, but never annihilated, rose again to some power, and rent the country into provinces. Two of these provinces at least were of ancient origin [TRACHONITIS and HAURAN], and had been distinct principalities previous to the time when Og or his predecessors united them under one sceptre. Before the Babylonish captivity Bashan appears in Jewish history as one kingdom; but subsequent to that period it is spoken of as divided into four provinces — Gaulanitis, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Batanea (Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 5, § 3, and 7, § 4, i. 6, § 4, xvi. 9, § 1; *B. J.* i. 20, § 4, iii. 3, § 1, iv. 1, § 1). It seems that when the city of Golan rose to power it became the head of a large province, the extent of which is pretty accurately given by Josephus, especially when his statements are compared with the modern divisions of Bashan. It lay east of Galilee, and north of Gadaritis (GADARA, Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 3, § 1). Gamala, an important town on the eastern bank of the Sea of Galilee, now called *El-Husn* (see *Handbook for Syr. and Pal.*), and the province attached to it, were included in Gaulanitis (*B. J.* iv. 1, § 1). But the boundary of the provinces of Gadara and Gamala must evidently have been the river Hieromax, which may therefore be regarded as the south border of Gaulanitis. The Jordan from the Sea of Galilee to its fountains at Dan and Cæsarea-Philippi, formed the western boundary (*B. J.* iii. 3, § 5). It is important to observe that the boundaries of the modern province of *Jaulân* (جولان is the Arabic form of the Hebrew גּוֹלָן, from which is derived the Greek Γαυλανῖτις) correspond so far with those of Gaulanitis; we may, therefore, safely assume that their northern and eastern boundaries are also identical. Jaulân is bounded on the north by *Jedûr* (the ancient *Iturœa*), and on the east by Haurân [HAURAN]. The principal cities of Gaulanitis were Golan, Hippos, Gamala, Julias or Bethsaida (Mark viii. 22), Seleucia, and Sogane (Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 3, § 1, and 5, iv. 1, § 1). The site of Bethsaida is at a small *tell* on the left bank of the Jordan [BETHSAIDA]; the ruins of *Kul'at el-Husn* mark the place of Gamala; but nothing definite is known of the others.

The greater part of Gaulanitis is a flat and fertile table-land, well-watered, and clothed with luxuriant grass. It is probably to this region the name *Mishor* (מִישׁוֹר) is given in 1 K. xx. 23, 25 — "the plain" in which the Syrians were overthrown by the Israelites, near Aphek, which perhaps stood upon the site of the modern *Fik* (Stanley, App. § 6; *Handbook for S. and P.* p. 425). The western side of Gaulanitis, along the Sea of Galilee, is steep, rugged, and bare. It is upwards of 2,500 feet in height, and when seen from the city of Tiberias resembles a mountain range, though in reality it is only the supporting wall of the plateau. It was this remarkable feature which led the ancient geographers to suppose that the mountain range of Gilead was joined to Lebanon (Reland, p. 342). Further north, along the bank of the upper Jordan, the plateau breaks down in a series of terraces, which, though somewhat rocky, are covered with rich soil, and clothed in spring with the most luxuriant herbage, spangled with multitudes of bright and beautiful flowers. A range of low, round-topped, picturesque hills, extends southwards for nearly 20 miles from the base of Hermon along the western edge of the plateau. These are in places covered with noble forests of prickly oak and terebinth. Gaulanitis was once densely populated, but it is now almost completely deserted. The writer has a list of the towns and villages which it once contained; and in it are the names of 127 places, all of which, with the exception of about *eleven*, are now uninhabited. Only a few patches of its soil are cultivated; and the very best of its pasture is lost — the tender grass of early spring. The flocks of the Turkmâns and *el-Fudhl* Arabs — the only tribes that remain permanently in this region — are not able to consume it; and the *'Anazeh*, those "children of the East" who spread over the land like locusts, and "whose camels are without number" (Judg. vii. 12), only arrive about

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the beginning of May. At that season the whole country is covered with them — their black tents pitched in circles near the fountains; their cattle thickly dotting the vast plain; and their fierce cavaliers roaming far and wide, "their hand against every man, and every man's hand against them."

For fuller accounts of the scenery, antiquities, and history of Gaulanitis, see Porter's *Handbook for Syr. and Pal.* pp. 295, 424, 461, 531; *Five Years in Damascus*, ii. 250; *Journal of Sac. Lit.* vi. 282; Burckhardt's *Trav. in Syr.* p. 277.

J. L. P.

GOLD, the most valuable of metals, from its color, lustre, weight, ductility, and other useful properties (Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 19). Hence it is used as an emblem of purity (Job xxiii. 10) and nobility (Lam. iv. 1). There are six Hebrew words used to denote it, and four of them occur in Job xxviii. 15, 16, 17. These are:

1. זָהָב, the common name, connected with צָהַב (*to be yellow*), as *geld*, from *gel*, yellow. Various epithets are applied to it: as, "fine" (2 Chr. iii. 5), "refined" (1 Chr. xxviii. 18), "pure" (Ex. xxv. 11). In opposition to these, "beaten" gold (זְהַב שְׁחוּטִים) is probably *mixed* gold; LXX. ἐλατός; used of Solomon's shields (1 K. x. 16).

2. כֶּתֶם (κειμήλιον) treasured, *i. e.* fine gold (1 K. vi. 20, vii. 49, &c.). Many names of precious substances in Hebrew come from roots signifying concealment, as מַטְמוֹן (Gen. xliii. 23, A. V. "treasure").

3. פָּז, pure or native gold (Job xxviii. 17; Cant. v. 15; probably from פָּזַז, *to separate*). Rosenmüller (*Alterthumsk.* iv. p. 49) makes it come from a Syriac root meaning *solid* or massy; but מְדָהוֹר (2 Chr. ix. 17) corresponds to מוּפָז (1 K. x. 18). The LXX. render it by λίθος τίμιος, χρύσιον ἄπυρον (Is. xiii. 12; Theodot. ἄπεφθον; comp. Thuc. ii. 13; Plin. xxxiii. 19, *obrussa*). In Ps. cxix. 127, the LXX. render it τοπάζιον (A. V. "fine gold"); but Schleusner happily conjectures τὸ πάζιον, the Hebrew word being adopted to avoid the repetition of χρύσος (Thes. *s. v.* τόπαζ; Hesych. *s. v.* πάζιον).

4. גֶּצֶם, gold earth, or a mass of raw ore (Job xxii. 24, ἄπυρον, A. V. "gold as dust").

The poetical names for gold are:

1. עֶדְיָם (also implying something concealed); LXX. χρύσιον; and in Is. xiii. 12, λίθος πολυτελής. In Job xxxvii. 22, it is rendered in A. V. "fair weather;" LXX. νέφη χρυσαυγοῦντα. (Comp. Zech. iv. 12.)

2. חָרוּץ, = *dug out* (Prov. viii. 10), a general name, which has become special, Ps. lxviii. 13, where it cannot mean gems, as some suppose (Bochart, *Hieroz.* tom. ii. p. 9). Michaelis connects the word *chârûtz* with the Greek χρύσος.

Gold was known from the very earliest times (Gen. ii. 11). Pliny attributes the discovery of it (at Mount Pangæus), and the art of working it, to Cadmus (*H. N.* vii. 57); and his statement is adopted by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* i. 363, ed. Pott.). It was at first chiefly used for ornaments, etc. (Gen. xxiv. 22); and although Abraham is said to have been "very rich in cattle, in silver and in gold" (Gen. xiii. 2), yet no mention of it, as used in *purchases*, is made till after his return from Egypt. Coined money was not known to the ancients (*e. g.* Hom. *Il.* vii. 473) till a comparatively late period; and on the Egyptian tombs gold is represented as being weighed in rings for commercial purposes. (Comp. Gen. xliii. 21.) No coins are found in the ruins of Egypt or Assyria (Layard's *Nin.* ii. 418). "Even so late as the time of David gold was not used as a standard of value, but was considered merely as a very precious article of commerce, and was *weighed* like other articles" (Jahn. *Arch. Bibl.* § 115, 1 Chr. xxi. 25).

Gold was extremely abundant in ancient times (1 Chr. xxii. 14; 2 Chr. i. 15, ix. 9; Neh. ii. 9; Dan. iii. 1); but this did not depreciate its value, because of the enormous quantities consumed by the wealthy in furniture, etc. (1 K. vi. 22, x. passim; Cant. iii. 9, 10; Esth. i. 6; Jer. x. 9; comp. Hom. *Od.* xix. 55; Herod. ix. 82). Probably too the art of gilding was known extensively, being applied even to the battlements of a city (Herod. i. 98, and other authorities quoted by Layard, ii. 264).

The chief countries mentioned as producing gold are Arabia, Sheba, and Ophir (1 K. ix. 28, x. 1; Job xxviii. 16: in Job xxii. 24, the word *Ophir* is used for gold). Gold is not found in Arabia now (Niebuhr's *Travels*, p. 141), but it used to be (Artemidor. ap. Strab. xvi. 3, 18, where he speaks of an Arabian river ψῆγμα χρυσοῦ καταφέρων). Diodorus also says that it was found there native (ἄπυρον) in good-sized nuggets (βωλάρια). Some suppose that Ophir was an Arabian port to which gold was brought (comp. 2 Chr. ii. 7, ix. 10). Other gold-bearing countries were Uphaz (Jer. x. 9; Dan. x. 5) and Parvaim (2 Chr. iii. 6).

Metallurgic processes are mentioned in Ps. lxvi 10, Prov. xvii. 3, xxvii. 21; and in Is. xlvi. 6, the trade of goldsmith (cf. Judg. xvii. 4, צוֹרֵף) is alluded to in connection with the overlaying of idols with gold-leaf (Rosenmüller's *Minerals of Script.* pp. 46–51). [HANDICRAFT.] F. W. F.

* GOLDSMITH. [HANDICRAFT.]

GOL'GOTHA (Γολγοθᾶ [*a skull*]: *Golgotha*), the Hebrew name of the spot at which our Lord was crucified (Matt. xxvii. 33; Mark xv. 22; John xix. 17). By these three Evangelists it is interpreted to mean the "place of a skull." St. Luke, in accordance with his practice in other cases (compare Gabbatha, Gethsemane, etc.), omits the Hebrew term and gives only its Greek equivalent, κρανίον. The word Calvary, which in Luke xxiii. 33 is retained in the A. V. from the Vulgate, as the rendering of κρανίον, obscures the statement of St. Luke, whose words are really as follows: "the place which is called 'a skull'" — not, as in the other Gospels, κρανίον, "of a skull;" thus employing the Greek term exactly as they do the Hebrew one. [CALVARY, Amer. ed.]. This Hebrew, or rather Chaldee, term, was doubtless גֻּלְגַּלְתָּא, *Gulgolta*, in pure Hebrew גֻּלְגֹּלֶת, applied to the skull on account of its round globular form, that being the idea at the root of the word.

Two explanations of the name are given: (1) that it was a spot where executions ordinarily took place and therefore abounded in skulls; but according to the Jewish law these must have been buried, and

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therefore were no more likely to confer a name on the spot than any other part of the skeleton. In this case too the Greek should be *κρανίων*, "of skulls," instead of *κρανίου*, "of a skull," still less "a skull" as in the Hebrew, and in the Greek of St. Luke. Or (2) it may come from the look or form of the spot itself, bald, round, and skull-like, and therefore a mound or hillock, in accordance with the common phrase — for which there is no direct authority — "Mount Calvary." Whichever of these is the correct explanation — and there is apparently no means of deciding with certainty — Golgotha seems to have been a known spot. This is to be gathered from the way in which it is mentioned in the Gospels, each except St. Matthew[a] having the definite article — "the place Golgotha" — "the place which is called a skull" — "the place (A. V. omits the article) called of, or after, a skull." It was "outside the gate," *ἔξω τῆς πύλης* (Heb. xiii. 12) but close to the city, *ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως* (John xix. 20); apparently near a thoroughfare on which there were passers-by. This road or path led out of the "country"[b] (*ἀγρός*). It was probably the ordinary spot for executions. Why should it have been otherwise? To those at least who carried the sentence into effect, Christ was but an ordinary criminal; and there is not a word to indicate that the soldiers in "leading Him away" went to any other than the usual place for what must have been a common operation. However, in the place (*ἐν τῷ τόπῳ*) itself — at the very spot — was a garden or orchard (*κῆπος*).

These are all the indications of the nature and situation of Golgotha which present themselves in the N. T. Its locality in regard to Jerusalem is fully examined in the description of the city. [JERUSALEM.]

A tradition at one time prevailed that Adam was buried on Golgotha, that from his skull it derived its name, and that at the Crucifixion the drops of Christ's blood fell on the skull and raised Adam to life, whereby the ancient prophecy quoted by St. Paul in Eph. v. 14 received its fulfillment — "Awake, thou Adam that sleepest," — so the old versions appear to have run — "and arise from the dead, for Christ shall touch thee" (*ἐπιψαύσει* for *ἐπιφαύσει*). See Jerome, *Comm. on Matt.* xxvii. 33, and the quotation in Reland, *Pal.* p. 860; also Saewulf, in *Early Travels*, p. 39. The skull commonly introduced in early pictures of the Crucifixion refers to this.

A connection has been supposed to exist between GOATH and Golgotha, but at the best this is mere conjecture, and there is not in the original the same similarity between the two names — געת and גלגלתא — which exists in their English or Latin garb, and which probably occasioned the suggestion. G.

GOLI'ATH (גָּלְיָת [*splendor, brilliant*, Dietr.; but see below]: Γολιάθ: *Goliath*), a famous giant of Gath, who "morning and evening for forty days" defied the armies of Israel (1 Sam. xvii.). He was possibly descended from the old Rephaim, of whom a scattered remnant took refuge with the Philistines after their dispersion by the Ammonites (Deut. ii. 20, 21; 2 Sam. xxi. 22). Some trace of this tradition may be preserved in the giant's name, if it be connected with גּוֹלָה, an exile. Simonis, however, derives it from an Arabic word meaning "stout" (Gesen. *Thes.* s. v.). His height was "six cubits and a span," which, taking the cubit at 21 inches, would make him 10¼ feet high. But the LXX. and Josephus read "*four* cubits and a span" (1 Sam. xvii. 4; Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 9, § 1). This will make him about the same size as the royal champion slain by Antimenidas, brother of Alcæus (*ἀπολείποντα μίαν μόνον πηχέων ἀπὸ πέμπων*, ap. Strab. xiii. p. 617, with Müller's emendation). Even on this computation Goliath would be, as Josephus calls him, *ἀνὴρ παμμεγεθέστατος* — a truly enormous man.

The circumstances of the combat are in all respects Homeric; free from any of the puerile legends which oriental imagination subsequently introduced into it — as for instance that the stones used by David called out to him from the brook, "By our means you shall slay the giant," etc. (Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.* i. 3, p. 111 ff.; D'Herbelot, s. v. *Gialut*). The fancies of the Rabbis are yet more extraordinary. After the victory David cut off Goliath's head (1 Sam. xvii. 51; comp Herod. iv. 6; Xenoph. *Anab.* v. 4, § 17; Niebuhr mentions a similar custom among the Arabs, *Descr.* Winer, *s. v.*), which he brought to Jerusalem (probably after his accession to the throne, Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 94), while he hung the armor in his tent.

The scene of this famous combat was the Valley of the Terebinth, between Shochoh and Azekah, probably among the western passes of Benjamin, although a confused modern tradition has given the name of *'Ain Jâlûd* (spring of Goliath) to the spring of Harod, or "trembling" (Stanley, p. 342; Judg. vii. 1). [ELAH, VALLEY OF.]

In 2 Sam. xxi. 19, we find that another Goliath of Gath, of whom it is also said that "the staff of his spear was like a weaver's beam," was slain by Elhanan, also a Bethlehemite. St. Jerome (*Quæst. Hebr.* ad loc.) makes the unlikely conjecture that Elhanan was another name of David. The A. V. here interpolates the words "the brother of," from 1 Chr. xx. 5, where this giant is called "Lahmi.' This will be found fully examined under ELHANAN.

In the title of the Psalm added to the Psalter in the LXX. we find *τῷ Δαυὶδ πρὸς τὸν Γολιάδ*; and although the allusions are vague, it is perhaps possible that this Psalm may have been written after the victory. This Psalm is given at length under DAVID, p. 554 *b*. It is strange that we find no more definite allusions to this combat in Hebrew poetry; but it is the opinion of some that the song now attributed to Hannah (1 Sam. ii. 1–10) was originally written really in commemoration of David's triumph on this occasion (Thenius, *die Bücher Sam.* p. 8; comp. Bertholdt, *Einl.* iii. 915; Ewald, *Poet. Bücher des A. B.* i. 111).

By the Mohammedans Saul and Goliath are called Taluth and Galuth (Jalut in Koran), perhaps for the sake of the *homoioteleuton*, of which they are so fond (Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.* i. 3, p. 28). Abulfeda mentions a Canaanite king of the name Jalut (*Hist. Anteislam.* p. 176, in Winer *s. v.*); and, according to Ahmed al-Fassi, Gialout was a dynastic name of the old giant-chiefs (D'Herbelot, s. v. *Fe'lasthin*). [GIANTS.] F. W. F.

[a] St. Matthew too has the article in Codex B.

[b] But the Vulgate has *de villa*.

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GOMER (גֹּמֶר) [*completeness*]: Γαμέρ; [in Ezek., Γομέρ:] *Gomer*). 1. The eldest son of Japheth, and the father of Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah (Gen. x. 2, 3; [1 Chr. i. 5, 6]). His name is subsequently noticed but once (Ez. xxxviii. 6) as an ally or subject of the Scythian king Gog. He is generally recognized as the progenitor of the early Cimmerians, of the later Cimbri and the other branches of the Celtic family, and of the modern Gael and Cymry, the latter preserving with very slight deviation the original name. The Cimmerians, when first known to us, occupied the Tauric Chersonese, where they left traces of their presence in the ancient names, Cimmerian Bosphorus, Cimmerian Isthmus, Mount Cimmerium, the district Cimmeria, and particularly the Cimmerian walls (Her. iv. 12, 45, 100; Æsch. *Prom. Vinct.* 729), and in the modern name *Crimea*. They forsook this abode under the pressure of the Scythian tribes, and during the early part of the 7th century B. C. they poured over the western part of Asia Minor, committing immense devastation, and defying for more than half a century the power of the Lydian kings. They were finally expelled by Alyattes, with the exception of a few, who settled at Sinope and Antandrus. It was about the same period that Ezekiel noticed them, as acting in conjunction with Armenia (Togarmah) and Magog (Scythia). The connection between Gomer and Armenia is supported by the tradition, preserved by Moses of Chorene (i. 11), that Gamir was the ancestor of the Haichian kings of the latter country. After the expulsion of the Cimmerians from Asia Minor their name disappears in its original form; but there can be little reasonable doubt that both the name and the people are to be recognized in the Cimbri, whose abodes were fixed during the Roman Empire in the north and west of Europe, particularly in the Cimbric Chersonese (*Denmark*), on the coast between the *Elbe* and *Rhine*, and in *Belgium*, whence they had crossed to Britain, and occupied at one period the whole of the British isles, but were ultimately driven back to the western and northern districts, which their descendants still occupy in two great divisions, the Gael in Ireland and Scotland, the Cymry in Wales. The latter name preserves a greater similarity to the original Gomer than either of the classical forms, the consonants being identical. The link to connect Cymry with Cimbri is furnished by the forms *Cambria* and *Cumber*-land. The whole Celtic race may therefore be regarded as descended from Gomer, and thus the opinion of Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, § 1), that the Galatians were sprung from him, may be reconciled with the view propounded. Various other conjectures have been hazarded on the subject: Bochart (*Phaleg*, iii. 81) identifies the name on etymological grounds with Phrygia; Wahl (*Asien*, i. 274) proposes Cappadocia; and Kalisch (*Comm.* on Gen.) seeks to identify it with the Jhomari, a nation in Bactriana, noticed by Ptolemy (vi. 11, § 6).

2. [Γόμερ.] The daughter of Diblaim, and concubine of Hosea (i. 3). The name is significant of a maiden, *ripe* for marriage, and connects well with the name DIBLAIM, which is also derived from the subject of *fruit*. W. L. B.

GOMORRAH (עֲמֹרָה, *Gh'morah*, probably *submersion*, from עָמַר, an unused root; in Arabic غمر, *ghamara*, is to "overwhelm with water": Γόμορρα: *Gomorrha*), one of the five "cities of the plain," or "vale of Siddim," that under their respective kings joined battle there with Chedorlaomer (Gen. xiv. 2–8) and his allies, by whom they were discomfited till Abram came to the rescue. Four out of the five were afterwards destroyed by the Lord with fire from heaven (Gen. xix. 23–29). One of them only, Zoar or Bela, which was its original name, was spared at the request of Lot, in order that he might take refuge there. Of these Gomorrah seems to have been only second to Sodom in importance, as well as in the wickedness that led to their overthrow. What that atrocity was may be gathered from Gen. xix. 4–8. Their miserable fate is held up as a warning to the children of Israel (Deut. xxix. 23); as a precedent for the destruction of Babylon (Is. xiii. 19, and Jer. l. 40), of Edom (Jer. xlix. 18), of Moab (Zeph. ii. 9), and even of Israel (Am. iv. 11). By St. Peter in the N. T., and by St. Jude (2 Pet. ii. 6; Jude, vv. 4–7), it is made "an ensample unto those that after should live ungodly," or "deny Christ." Similarly their wickedness rings as a proverb throughout the prophecies (e. *g.* Deut. xxxii. 32; Is. i. 9, 10; Jer. xxiii. 14). Jerusalem herself is there unequivocally called Sodom, and her people Gomorrah, for their enormities; just in the same way that the corruptions of the Church of Rome have caused her to be called Babylon. On the other hand, according to the N. T., there is a sin which exceeds even that of Sodom and Gomorrah, that, namely of which Tyre and Sidon, Capernaum, Chorazin, and Bethsaida were guilty, when they "repented not," in spite of "the mighty works" which they had witnessed (Matt. x. 15); and St. Mark has ranged under the same category all those who would not receive the preaching of the Apostles (vi. 11).

To turn to their geographical position, one passage of Scripture seems expressly to assert that the vale of Siddim had become the "salt," or dead, "sea" (Gen. xiv. 3), called elsewhere too the "sea of the plain" (Josh. xii. 3); the expression, however, occurs antecedently to their overthrow.[a] Josephus (*Ant.* i. 9) says that the lake Asphaltites or Dead Sea, was formed out of what used to be the valley where Sodom stood; but elsewhere he declares that the territory of Sodom was not submerged in the lake (*B. J.* iv. 8, § 4), but still existed parched and burnt up, as is the appearance of that region still; and certainly nothing in Scripture would lead to the idea that they were destroyed by submersion — though they may have been submerged afterwards when destroyed — for their destruction is expressly attributed to the brimstone and fire rained upon them from heaven (Gen. xix. 24; see also Deut. xxix. 23, and Zeph. ii. 9; also St. Peter and St. Jude before cited). And St Jerome in the *Onomasticon* says of Sodom, "civitas

[a] * This view, we think, is incorrect. We have no reason to regard the record (Gen. xiv. 3), at least in the form in which we have it, as older than the date of the destruction of the cities. The next remark also in regard to Josephus must be an inadvertence. Josephus does not affirm that Sodom was in the vale of Siddim. He says that it lay near it, and his two testimonies, quoted in the article above, are entirely consistent. E. W.

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amplorum divino igne consumpta juxta mare mortuum," and so of the rest (*ibid.* s. v.). The whole subject is ably handled by Cellarius (ap. *Ugol. Thesaur.* vii. pp. dccxxxix.–lxxviii.), though it is not always necessary to agree with his conclusions. Among modern travellers, Dr. Robinson shows that the Jordan could not have ever flowed into the gulf of *'Akabah;* on the contrary that the rivers of the desert themselves flow northwards into the Dead Sea. [ARABAH.] And this, added to the configuration and deep depression of the valley, serves in his opinion to prove that there must have been always a lake there, into which the Jordan flowed; though he admits it to have been of far less extent than it now is, and even the whole southern part of it to have been added subsequently to the overthrow of the four cities, which stood, according to him, at the original south end of it, Zoar probably being situated in the mouth of *Wady Kerak*, as it opens upon the isthmus of the peninsula. In the same plain, he remarks, were slime pits, or wells of bitumen (Gen. xiv. 10; "salt-pits" also, Zeph. ii. 9); while the enlargement of the lake he considers to have been caused by some convulsion or catastrophe of nature connected with the miraculous destruction of the cities — volcanic agency, that of earthquakes and the like (*Bibl. Res.* ii. 187–192, 2d ed.). He might have adduced the great earthquake at Lisbon as a case in point. The great difference of level between the bottoms of the northern and southern ends of the lake, the former 1,300, the latter only 13 feet below the surface, singularly confirms the above view (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 287, 2d ed.). Pilgrims of Palestine formerly saw, or fancied that they saw, ruins of towns at the bottom of the sea, not far from the shore (see Maundrell, *Early Travels*, p. 454). M. de Saulcy was the first to point out ruins along the shores (the *Redjom-el-Mezorrhel;* and more particularly apropos to our present subject, *Goumran* on the N. W.). Both perhaps are right. Gomorrah (as its very name implies) may have been more or less submerged with the other three, subsequently to their destruction by fire; while the ruins of Zoar, inasmuch as it did not share their fate, would be found, if found at all, upon the shore. (See generally Mr. Isaac's *Dead Sea.*) [SODOM, Amer. ed.]

E. S. Ff.

GOMOR'RHA, the manner in which the name GOMORRAH is written in the A. V. of the Apocryphal books and the New Testament, following the Greek form of the word, Γόμορρα (2 Esdr. ii. 8; Matt. x. 15; Mark vi. 11; Rom. ix. 29; Jude 7; 2 Pet. ii. 6).

***GOODMAN OF THE HOUSE** (*οἰκοδεσπότης*), employed in the A. V. of the master of the house (Matt. xx. 11), and simply equivalent to that expression, without any reference to moral character. This was a common usage when the A. V. was made. The Greek term being the same, there was no good reason for saying "goodman of the house" in that verse, and "house holder" at the beginning of the parable (ver. 1). See Trench, *Authorized Version*, p. 96 (1859). H.

GOPHER WOOD. Only once in Gen. vi. 14. The Hebrew עֲצֵי גֹפֶר, trees of Gopher, does not occur in the cognate dialects. The A. V. has made no attempt at translation: the LXX (*ξύλα τετράγωνα*) and Vulgate (*ligna lævigata*) elicited by metathesis of ר and ף (גפר = גרף), the former having reference to square blocks, cut by the axe, the latter to planks smoothed by the plane, have not found much favor with modern commentators.

The conjectures of *cedar* (Aben Ezra, Onk Jonath. and Rabbins generally), *wood most proper to float* (Kimchi), the Greek *κεδρελάτη* (Jun Tremell.; Buxt.), *pine* (Avenar.; Munst.), *turpentine* (Castalio), are little better than gratuitous. The rendering *cedar* has been defended by Pelletier, who refers to the great abundance of this tree in Asia, and the durability of its timber.

The Mohammedan equivalent is *sag*, by which Herbelot understands the Indian plane-tree. Two principal conjectures, however, have been proposed: (1.) By Is. Vossius (*Diss. de LXX. Interp.* c. 12) that גֹפֶר = כֹּפֶר, *resin;* whence עֲצֵי גֹ, meaning any trees of the resinous kind, such as pine, fir, etc. (2.) By Fuller (*Miscell. Sac.* iv. 5), Bochart (*Phaleg*, i. 4), Celsius (*Hierobot.* pt. i. p. 328), Hasse (*Entdeckungen*, pt. ii. p. 78), that Gopher is cypress, in favor of which opinion (adopted by Gesen. *Lex.*) they adduce the similarity in sound of gopher and cypress (*κυπαρ = γοφερ*); the suitability of the cypress for ship-building; and the fact that this tree abounded in Babylonia, and more particularly in Adiabene, where it supplied Alexander with timber for a whole fleet (Arrian. vii. p. 161, ed. Steph.).

A tradition is mentioned in Eutychius (*Annals*, p. 34) to the effect that the Ark was made of the wood *Sadj*, by which is probably meant not the ebony, but the *Juniperus Sabina*, a species of cypress (Bochart and Cels.; Rosenm. *Schol. ad Gen.* vi. 14, and *Alterthumsk.* vol. iv. pt. 1). T. E. B.

GOR'GIAS (Γοργίας; [Alex. 1 Macc. iii. 38, 2 Macc. xii. 35, 37, Γοργείας; 1 Macc. iv. 5, Κοργίας]), a general in the service of Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Macc. iii. 38, *ἀνὴρ δυνατὸς τῶν φίλων τοῦ βασιλέως*; cf. 2 Macc. viii. 9), who was appointed by his regent Lysias to a command in the expedition against Judæa B. C. 166, in which he was defeated by Judas Maccabæus with great loss (1 Macc. iv. 1 ff.). At a later time (B. C. 164) he held a garrison in Jamnia, and defeated the forces of Joseph and Azarias, who attacked him contrary to the orders of Judas (1 Macc. v. 56 ff.; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8, § 6; 2 Macc. xii. 32). The account of Gorgias in 2 Macc. is very obscure. He is represented there as acting in a military capacity (2 Macc. x. 14, *στρατηγὸς τῶν τόπων* (?), hardly of Cœle-Syria, as Grimm (*l. c.*) takes it), apparently in concert with the Idumæans, and afterwards he is described, according to the present text as, "governor of Idumæa" (2 Macc. xii. 32), though it is possible (Grotius, Grimm, *l. c.*) that the reading is an error for "governor of Jamnia" (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8, § 6, *ὁ τῆς Ἰαμνείας στρατηγός*). The hostility of the Jews towards him is described in strong terms (2 Macc. xii. 35. *τὸν κατάρατον*, A. V. "that cursed man"); and while his success is only noticed in passing, his defeat and flight are given in detail, though confusedly (2 Macc. xii. 34–38; cf. Joseph. *l. c.*).

The name itself was borne by one of Alexander's generals, and occurs at later times among the eastern Greeks. B. F. W.

GORTY'NA (Γόρτυνα; [Γόρτυνα in 1 Macc.] in classical writers, Γόρτυνα or Γορτύν; [*Gortyna*]), a city of Crete, and in ancient times its most im

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portant city, next to Cnossus. The only direct Biblical interest of Gortyna is in the fact that it appears from 1 Macc. xv. 23 to have contained Jewish residents. [CRETE.] The circumstance alluded to in this passage took place in the reign of Ptolemy Physcon; and it is possible that the Jews had increased in Crete during the reign of his predecessor Ptolemy Philometor, who received many of them into Egypt, and who also rebuilt some parts of Gortyna (Strab. x. p. 478). This city was nearly half-way between the eastern and western extremities of the island; and it is worth while to notice that it was near Fair Havens; so that St. Paul may possibly have preached the gospel there, when on his voyage to Rome (Acts xxvii. 8, 9). Gortyna seems to have been the capital of the island under the Romans. For the remains on the old site and in the neighborhood, see the *Museum of Classical Antiquities*, ii. 277–286.

J. S. H.

GO'SHEN (גֹּשֶׁן: Γεσέμ; [Gen. xlvi. 29, Ἡρώων πόλις; for ver. 28 see below:] *Gessen*), a word of uncertain etymology, the name of a part of Egypt where the Israelites dwelt for the whole period of their sojourn in that country. It is usually called the "land of Goshen," אֶרֶץ גֹּשֶׁן, but also Goshen simply. It appears to have borne another name, "the land of Rameses," אֶרֶץ רַעַמְסֵס (Gen. xlvii. 11), unless this be the name of a district of Goshen. The first mention of Goshen is in Joseph's message to his father: "Thou shalt dwell in the land of Goshen, and thou shalt be near unto me" (Gen. xlv. 10). This shows that the territory was near the usual royal residence or the residence of Joseph's Pharaoh. The dynasty to which we assign this king, the fifteenth [EGYPT; JOSEPH], appears to have resided part of the year at Memphis, and part of the year, at harvest-time, at Avaris on the Bubastite or Pelusiac branch of the Nile: this, Manetho tells us, was the custom of the first king (Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. 14). In the account of the arrival of Jacob it is said of the patriarch: "He sent Judah before him unto Joseph, to direct his face unto Goshen; and they came into the land of Goshen. And Joseph made ready his chariot, and went up to meet Israel his father, to Goshen" (Gen. xlvi. 28, 29). This land was therefore between Joseph's residence at the time and the frontier of Palestine, and apparently the extreme province towards that frontier. The advice that Joseph gave his brethren as to their conduct to Pharaoh further characterizes the territory: "When Pharaoh shall call you, and shall say, What [is] your occupation? Then ye shall say, Thy servants have been herdsmen of cattle (אַנְשֵׁי מִקְנֶה) from our youth even until now, both we [and] also our fathers: that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen; for every shepherd (רֹעֵה צֹאן) [is] an abomination unto the Egyptians" (xlvi. 33, 34). It is remarkable that in Coptic ϣⲁⲛⲉ signifies both "a shepherd" and "disgrace" and the like (Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, i. 177). This passage shows that Goshen was scarcely regarded as a part of Egypt Proper, and was not peopled by Egyptians — characteristics that would positively indicate a frontier province. But it is not to be inferred that Goshen had no Egyptian inhabitants at this period: at the time of the ten plagues such are distinctly mentioned. That there was, moreover, a foreign population besides the Israelites, seems evident from the account of the calamity of Ephraim's house [BERIAH] and the mention of the עֶרֶב רַב who went out at the Exodus (Ex. xii. 38), notices referring to the earlier and the later period of the sojourn. The name Goshen itself appears to be Hebrew or Semitic — although we do not venture with Jerome to derive it from גֶּשֶׁם — for it also occurs as the name of a district and of a town in the south of Palestine (*infra*, 2), where we could scarcely expect an appellation of Egyptian origin unless given after the Exodus, which in this case does not seem likely. It is also noticeable that some of the names of places in Goshen or its neighborhood, as certainly Migdol and Baal-zephon, are Semitic [BAAL-ZEPHON], the only positive exceptions being the cities Pithom and Rameses, built during the oppression. The next mention of Goshen confirms the previous inference that its position was between Canaan and the Delta (Gen. xlvii. 1). The nature of the country is indicated more clearly than in the passage last quoted in the answer of Pharaoh to the request of Joseph's brethren, and in the account of their settling: "And Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, saying, Thy father and thy brethren are come unto thee: the land of Egypt [is] before thee; in the best of the land make thy father and brethren to dwell: in the land of Goshen let them dwell: and if thou knowest [any] men of activity among them, then make them rulers over my cattle. . . . And Joseph placed his father and his brethren, and gave them a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses, as Pharaoh had commanded" (Gen. xlvii. 5, 6, 11). Goshen was thus a pastoral country where some of Pharaoh's cattle were kept. The expression "in the best of the land," בְּמֵיטַב הָאָרֶץ (ἐν τῇ βελτίστῃ γῇ, *in optimo loco*), must, we think, be relative, the best of the land for a pastoral people (although we do not accept Michaelis' reading מִטְעוֹת "pastures" by comparison with מִטְעוֹת, *Suppl.* p. 1072; see Gesen. *Thes.* s. v. מיטב), for in the matter of fertility the richest parts of Egypt are those nearest to the Nile, a position which, as will be seen, we cannot assign to Goshen. The sufficiency of this tract for the Israelites, their prosperity there, and their virtual separation, as is evident from the account of the plagues, from the great body of the Egyptians, must also be borne in mind. The clearest indications of the exact position of Goshen are those afforded by the narrative of the Exodus. The Israelites set out from the town of Rameses in the land of Goshen, made two days' journey to "the edge of the wilderness," and in one day more reached the Red Sea. At the starting-point two routes lay before them, "the way of the land of the Philistines . . . that [was] near," and "the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea" (Ex. xiii. 17, 18). From these indications we infer that the land of Goshen must have in part been near the eastern side of the ancient Delta, Rameses lying within the valley now called the *Wâdi-t-Tumeylât*, about thirty miles in a direct course from the ancient western shore of the Arabian Gulf [EXODUS, THE].

The results of the foregoing examination of Biblical evidence are that the land of Goshen lay

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between the eastern part of the ancient Delta and the western border of Palestine, that it was scarcely a part of Egypt Proper, was inhabited by other foreigners besides the Israelites, and was in its geographical names rather Semitic than Egyptian; that it was a pasture-land, especially suited to a shepherd-people, and sufficient for the Israelites, who there prospered, and were separate from the main body of the Egyptians; and lastly, that one of its towns lay near the western extremity of the *Wádi-t-Tumeylát*. These indications, except only that of sufficiency, to be afterwards considered, seem to us decisively to indicate the *Wádi-t-Tumeylát*, the valley along which anciently flowed the canal of the Red Sea. Other identifications seem to us to be utterly untenable. If with Lepsius we place Goshen below Heliopolis, near Bubastis and Bilbeys, the distance from the Red Sea of three days' journey of the Israelites, and the separate character of the country, are violently set aside. If we consider it the same as the Bucolia, we have either the same difficulty as to the distance, or we must imagine a route almost wholly through the wilderness, instead of only for the last third or less of its distance.

Having thus concluded that the land of Goshen appears to have corresponded to the *Wádi-t-Tumeylát*, we have to consider whether the extent of this tract would be sufficient for the sustenance of the Israelites. The superficial extent of the *Wádi-t-Tumeylát*, if we include the whole cultivable part of the natural valley, which may somewhat exceed that of the tract bearing this appellation, is probably under 60 square geographical miles. If we suppose the entire Israelite population at the time of the Exodus to have been 1,800,000, and the whole population, including Egyptians and foreigners other than the Israelites, about 2,000,000, this would give no less than between 30,000 and 40,000 inhabitants to the square mile, which would be half as dense as the ordinary population of an eastern city. It must be remembered, however, that we need not suppose the Israelites to have been limited to the valley for pasture, but like the Arabs to have led their flocks into fertile tracts of the deserts around, and that we have taken for our estimate an extreme sum, that of the people at the Exodus. For the greater part of the sojourn their numbers must have been far lower, and before the Exodus they seem to have been partly spread about the territory of the oppressor, although collected at Rameses at the time of their departure. One very large place, like the Shepherd-stronghold of Avaris, which Manetho relates to have had at the first a garrison of 240,000 men, would also greatly diminish the disproportion of population to superficies. The very small superficial extent of Egypt in relation to the population necessary to the construction of the vast monuments, and the maintenance of the great armies of the Pharaohs, requires a different proportion to that of other countries — a condition fully explained by the extraordinary fertility of the soil. Even now, when the population is almost at the lowest point it has reached in history, when villages have replaced towns, and hamlets villages, it is still denser than that of our rich and thickly-populated Yorkshire. We do not think, therefore, that the small superficies presents any serious difficulty.

Thus far we have reasoned alone on the evidence of the Hebrew text. The LXX. version, however, presents some curious evidence which must not be passed by unnoticed. The testimony of this version in any Egyptian matter is not to be disregarded, although in this particular case too much stress should not be laid on it, since the tradition of Goshen and its inhabitants must have become very faint among the Egyptians at the time when the Pentateuch was translated, and we have no warrant for attributing to the translator or translators any more than a general and popular knowledge of Egyptian matters. In Gen. xlv. 10, for גֹּשֶׁן the LXX. has Γεσεμ 'Αραβίας. The explanatory word may be understood either as meaning that Goshen lay in the region of Lower Egypt to the east of the Delta, or else as indicating that the Arabian Nome was partly or wholly the same. In the latter case it must be remembered that the Nomes very anciently were far more extensive than under the Ptolemies. On either supposition the passage is favorable to our identification. In Gen. xlvi. 28, instead of אַרְצָה גֹּשֶׁן, the LXX. has κατ' Ἡρώων πόλιν, ἐν γῇ Ῥαμεσσῇ (or εἰς γῆν Ῥαμεσσῆ), seemingly identifying Rameses with Heroöpolis. It is scarcely possible to fix the site of the latter town, but there is no doubt that it lay in the valley not far from the ancient head of the Arabian Gulf. Its position is too near the gulf for the Rameses of Scripture, and it was probably chosen merely because at the time when the translation was made it was the chief place of the territory where the Israelites had been. It must be noted, however, that in Ex. i. 11, the LXX., followed by the Coptic, reads, instead of "Pithom and Raamses," τὴν τε Πιθώ, καὶ Ῥαμεσσῆ, καὶ Ὦν, ἥ ἐστιν Ἡλιούπολις. Eusebius identifies Rameses with Avaris, the Shepherd-stronghold on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile (ap. Cramer, *Anecd.* Paris, ii. p. 174). The evidence of the LXX. version therefore lends a general support to the theory we have advocated. [See EXODUS, THE.] R. S. P.

2. (גֹּשֶׁן: Γοσόμ: [*Gosen*; Josh. x. 41, in Vulg. ed. 1590,] *Gessen*, [ed. 1593,] *Gozen*) the "land" or the "country (both אֶרֶץ) of Goshen," is twice named as a district in Southern Palestine (Josh. x. 41, xi. 16). From the first of these it would seem to have lain between Gaza and Gibeon, and therefore to be some part of the maritime plain of Judah; but in the latter passage, that plain — the *Shefelah*, is expressly specified in addition to Goshen (here with the article). In this place too the situation of Goshen — if the order of the statement be any indication — would seem to be between the "south" and the *Shefelah* (A. V. "valley"). If Goshen was any portion of this rich plain, is it not possible that its fertility may have suggested the name to the Israelites? but this is not more than mere conjecture. On the other hand the name may be far older, and may retain a trace of early intercourse between Egypt and the south of the promised land. For such intercourse comp. 1 Chr. vii. 21.

3. [Γοσομ: *Gosen.*] A town of the same name is once mentioned in company with Debir, Socoh, and others, as in the mountains of Judah (Josh. xv. 51). There is nothing to connect this place with the district last spoken of. It has not yet been identified. G.

GOSPELS. The name Gospel (from *god* and *spell*, Ang. Sax. *good message* or *news*, which is a translation of the Greek εὐαγγέλιον) is applied to the four inspired histories of the life and teaching

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of Christ contained in the New Testament, of which separate accounts will be given in their place. [MATTHEW; MARK; LUKE; JOHN.] It may be fairly said that the genuineness of these four narratives rests upon better evidence than that of any other ancient writings. They were all composed during the latter half of the first century: those of St. Matthew and St. Mark some years before the destruction of Jerusalem; that of St. Luke probably about A. D. 64; and that of St. John towards the close of the century. Before the end of the second century, there is abundant evidence that the four Gospels, as one collection, were generally used and accepted. Irenæus, who suffered martyrdom about A. D. 202, the disciple of Polycarp and Papias, who, from having been in Asia, in Gaul, and in Rome, had ample means of knowing the belief of various churches, says that the authority of the four Gospels was so far confirmed that even the heretics of his time could not reject them, but were obliged to attempt to prove their tenets out of one or other of them (*Contr. Hær.* iii. 11, § 7). Tertullian, in a work written about A. D. 208, mentions the four Gospels, two of them as the work of Apostles, and two as that of the disciples of Apostles (*apostolici*); and rests their authority on their apostolic origin (*Adv. Marcion.* lib. iv. c. 2). Origen, who was born about A. D. 185, and died A. D. 253, describes the Gospels in a characteristic strain of metaphor as "the [four] elements of the Church's faith, of which the whole world, reconciled to God in Christ, is composed" (*In Johan.* [tom. i. § 6]). Elsewhere, in commenting on the opening words of St. Luke, he draws a line between the inspired Gospels and such productions as "the Gospel according to the Egyptians," "the Gospel of the Twelve," and the like (*Homil. in Luc.*, Opp. iii. 932 f.). Although Theophilus, who became sixth (seventh?) bishop of Antioch about A. D. 168, speaks only of "the Evangelists," without adding their names (*Ad Autol.* iii. pp. 124, 125), we might fairly conclude with Gieseler that he refers to the collection of four, already known in his time.[a] But from Jerome we know that Theophilus arranged the records of the four Evangelists into one work (*Epist. ad Algas.* iv. p. 197). Tatian, who died about A. D. 170 (?), compiled a *Diatessaron*, or Harmony of the Gospels. The Muratorian fragment (Muratori, *Antiq. It.* iii. p. 854; Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* vol. iv. [vol. i. ed. alt.]), which, even if it be not by Caius and of the second century, is at least a very old monument of the Roman Church, describes the Gospels of Luke and John; but time and carelessness seem to have destroyed the sentences relating to Matthew and Mark.[b] Another source of evidence is open to us, in the citations from the Gospels found in the earliest writers. Barnabas, Clemens Romanus, and Polycarp, quote passages this exception, there is no express reference to any *written* Gospel in the remains of the so-called Apostolical Fathers. Clement of Rome (*Epist.* cc. 13, 46) and Polycarp (*Epist.* cc. 2, 7), using the expression, "The Lord said," or its equivalent, quote sayings of Christ in a form agreeing in essential meaning, but not verbally, with passages in Matthew and Luke; except that in Polycarp two short sentences, "Judge not, that ye be not judged," and "The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak," are given precisely as we have them in Matthew. The epistles attributed to Ignatius have a considerable number of expressions which appear to imply an acquaintance with words of Christ preserved by Matthew and John; but they contain no formal quotation of the Gospels; and the uncertainty respecting both the authorship and the text of these epistles is such as to make it unsafe to rest any argument on them. In regard to the Apostolical Fathers in general, it is obvious that the words of Jesus and the facts in his history which they have recorded *may* have been derived by them from oral tradition. Their writings serve to confirm the truth of the Gospels, but cannot be appealed to as affording direct proof of their genuineness.

When we come to Justin Martyr, however, we stand on firmer ground. He, indeed, does not name the Evangelists; and it cannot be said that "many of his quotations are found verbatim in the Gospel of John." His quotations, however, from the "Memoirs of the Apostles," or "Memoirs composed by the Apostles, *which are called Gospels*" (*Apol.* i. c. 66), or as he describes them in one place more particularly, "Memoirs composed by Apostles of Christ and their companions" (*Dial. c. Tryph.* c. 103), are such as to leave no reasonable doubt of his use of the first three Gospels; and his use of the fourth Gospel, though contested by most of the critics of the Tübingen school is now conceded even by Hilgenfeld (*Zeitschr. f. wiss Theol.* 1865, p 336). The subject of Justin Martyr's quotations is discussed in a masterly manner by Mr. Norton in his *Genuineness of the Gospels*, i. 200–239, and with fuller detail by Semisch, *Die apostol. Denkwürdigkeiten des Märtyrers Justinus* (Hamb. 1848); and Westcott (*History of the Canon of the N. T.*, 2d ed., pp. 83-145). It must not be forgotten that the "Memoirs of the Apostles" used by Justin Martyr were sacred books

[a] Theophilus does not use the term "Evangelists," but speaks of "the Prophets" of the Old Testament and "the Gospels" as alike divinely inspired (*Ad Autol.* lib. iii. c. 12, p. 218, ed. Otto), and expressly names John as among those "moved by the Spirit," quoting John i. 1 (*ibid.* ii. 22, p. 120). After citing a passage from the Book of Proverbs on the duty of chastity, he says, "But the Evangelic voice teaches purity yet more imperatively," quoting Matt. v. 28, 32 (*ibid.* iii. 13). Further on, he introduces a quotation from Matthew with the expression, "The Gospel says" (*ibid.* iii. 14).

Among the writers who bear testimony to the general reception of the Gospels by Christians before the close of the second century, Clement might well have been mentioned, who succeeded Pantænus as president of the celebrated Catechetical School at Alexandria about A. D. 190, and was one of the most learned men of his age. His citations from all the Gospels as authoritative are not only most abundant, but he expressly speaks of "the *four Gospels* which *have been handed down* to us," in contrast with an obscure apocryphal book, "The Gospel according to the Egyptians," used by certain heretics (*Strom.* iii. 13, Opp. p. 558, ed. Potter). A.

[b] The Muratorian fragment expressly designates the Gospels of Luke and John as the "third" and fourth" in order; and the imperfect sentence with which it begins applies to Mark. A note of time in the document itself appears to indicate that it was composed not far from A. D. 170, perhaps earlier; but the question of the date is not wholly free from difficulty. Recent critical editions and discussions of this interesting relic of Christian antiquity may be found in Credner's *Gesch. des Neutest. Kanon, herausg. von Volkmar* (Berl. 1860), pp. 141–170, 841–864; Hilgenfeld's *Der Kanon u. die Kritik des N. T.* (Halle, 1863), pp. 39–43; and Westcott's *Hist. of the Canon of the N. T.*, 2d ed. (Lond. 1866), pp. 184–198, 466–490.

The statements that follow in the text in regard to early citations from the Gospels require some modification. The earliest formal quotation from any of the Gospels appears to be found in the epistle ascribed to Barnabas (see BARNABAS), where the saying "Many are called, but few chosen" is introduced by ὡς γέγραπται, "as it is written" (Barnab. c. 4; Matt. xxii. 14). With

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ages from them, but not with verbal exactness. The testimony of Justin Martyr (born about A. D. 99, martyred A. D. 165) is much fuller; many of his quotations are found verbatim in the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John, and possibly of St Mark also, whose words it is more difficult to separate. The quotations from St. Matthew are the most numerous. In historical references, the mode of quotation is more free, and the narrative occasionally unites those of Matthew and Luke: in a very few cases he alludes to matters not mentioned in the canonical Gospels. Besides these, St. Matthew appears to be quoted by the author of the Epistle to Diognetus, by Hegesippus, Irenæus, Tatian, Athenagoras, and Theophilus. Eusebius records that Pantænus found in India (? the south of Arabia ?) Christians who used the Gospel of St. Matthew. All this shows that long before the end of the second century the Gospel of St. Matthew was in general use. From the fact that St. Mark's Gospel has few places peculiar to it, it is more difficult to identify citations not expressly assigned to him; but Justin Martyr and Athenagoras appear to quote his Gospel, and Irenæus does so by name. St. Luke is quoted by Justin, Irenæus, Tatian, Athenagoras, and Theophilus; and St. John by all of these, with the addition of Ignatius, the Epistle to Diognetus, and Polycrates. From these we may conclude that before the end of the second century the Gospel collection was well known and in general use. There is yet another line of evidence. The heretical sects, as well as the Fathers of the Church, knew the Gospels; and as there was the greatest hostility between them, if the Gospels had become known in the Church *after* the dissension arose, the heretics would never have accepted them as genuine from such a quarter. But the Gnostics and Marcionites arose early in the second century; and therefore it is probable that the Gospels were then accepted, and thus they are traced back almost to the times of the Apostles (Olshausen). Upon a review of all the witnesses, from the Apostolic Fathers down to the Canon of the Laodicean Council in 364, and that of the third Council of Carthage in 397, in both of which the four Gospels are numbered in the Canon of Scripture, there can hardly be room for any candid person to doubt that from the first the four Gospels were recognized as genuine and as inspired; that a sharp line of distinction was drawn between them and the so-called apocryphal Gospels, of which the number was very great; that, from the citations of passages, the Gospels bearing these four names were the same as those which we possess in our Bibles under the same names; that unbelievers, like Celsus, did not deny the genuineness of the Gospels, even when rejecting their contents; and, lastly, that heretics thought it necessary to plead some kind of sanction out of the Gospels for their doctrines: nor could they venture on the easier path of an entire rejection, because the Gospels were everywhere known to be genuine. As a matter of literary history, nothing can be better established than the genuineness of the Gospels; and if in these latest times they have been assailed, it is plain that theological doubts have been concerned in the attack. The authority of the books has been denied from a wish to set aside their contents. Out of a mass of authorities the following may be selected: Norton, *On the Genuineness of the Gospels*, 2 vols. London, 1847, 2d ed. [3 vols. Cambridge and Boston, 1846–48]; Kirchhofer, *Quellensammlung zur Geschichte des N. T. Canons*, Zürich, 1844; De Wette, *Lehrbuch der hist.-krit. Einleitung*, etc., 5th ed., Berlin, 1852 [translated by F. Frothingham, Boston, 1858; 6th ed. of the original, by Messner and Lünemann, Berl. 1860]; Hug's *Einleitung*, etc., Fosdick's [American] translation with Stuart's Notes [Andover, 1836]; Olshausen, *Biblischer Commentar*, Introduction, and his *Echtheit der vier canon. Evangelien*, 1823; Jer. Jones, *Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the N. T.*, Oxford, 1798, 2 vols.; F. C. Baur, *Krit. Untersuchungen über die kanon. Evangelien*, Tübingen, 1847; Reuss, *Geschichte der heiligen Schriften N. T.* [4th ed., Braunschweig, 1864]; Dean Alford's *Greek Testament*, Prolegomena, vol

read in the churches on the Lord's day, in connection with the Prophets of the Old Testament (Justin, *Apol.* i. c. 67). The supposition that in the interval of 25 or 30 years between the time of Justin and Irenæus these books disappeared, and a wholly different set was silently substituted in their place throughout the Christian world, is utterly incredible. The "Memoirs" therefore of which Justin speaks must have been our present Gospels.

The importance of the subject will justify the insertion of the following remarks of Mr. Norton on the peculiar nature of the evidence for the genuineness of the Gospels. He observes:

"The mode of reasoning by which we may establish the genuineness of the Gospels has been regarded as much more analogous than it is to that by which we prove historically the genuineness of other ancient books; that is to say, through the mention of their titles and authors, and quotations from and notices of them, in individual, unconnected writers. This mode of reasoning is, in its nature, satisfactory; and would be so in its application to the Gospels, if the question of their genuineness did not involve the most momentous of all questions in the history of our race,—whether Christianity be a special manifestation of God's love toward man, or only the most remarkable development of those tendencies to fanaticism which exist in human nature. Reasoning in the manner supposed, we find their genuineness unequivocally asserted by Irenæus; and we may satisfy ourselves that they were received as genuine by Justin Martyr; we find the Gospels of Matthew and Mark mentioned in the beginning of the second century by Papias; and to the genuineness of St. Luke's Gospel we have his own attestation in the Acts of the Apostles. Confining ourselves to this narrow mode of proof, we arrive at what in a common case would be a satisfactory conclusion. But when we endeavor to strengthen this evidence by appealing to the writings ascribed to Apostolical Fathers, we in fact weaken its force. At the very extremity of the chain of evidence, where it ought to be strongest, we are attaching defective links which will bear no weight.

But the direct historical evidence for the genuineness of the Gospels . . . is of a very different kind from what we have just been considering. It consists in the indisputable fact, that throughout a community of millions of individuals, scattered over Europe, Asia, and Africa, the Gospels were regarded with the highest reverence, as the works of those to whom they are ascribed, at so early a period that there could be no difficulty in determining whether they were genuine or not, and when every intelligent Christian must have been deeply interested to ascertain the truth. And this fact does not merely involve the testimony of the great body of Christians to the genuineness of the Gospels; it is itself a phenomenon admitting of no explanation, except that the four Gospels had all been handed down as genuine from the Apostolic age, and had every where accompanied our religion as it spread through the world." (*Genuineness of the Gospels* vol. i Additional notes, p. cclxix. f.) A.

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l.; Rev. B. F. Westcott's *History of N. T. Canon*, London, 1859 [2d ed. 1866]; Gieseler, *Historisch-kritischer Versuch über die Entstehung, &c., der schryftlichen Evangelien*, Leipzig, 1818. [For other works on the subject, see the addition to this article.]

On comparing these four books one with another, a peculiar difficulty claims attention, which has had much to do with the controversy as to their genuineness. In the fourth Gospel the narrative coincides with that of the other three in a few passages only. Putting aside the account of the Passion, there are only three facts which John relates in common with the other Evangelists. Two of these are, the feeding of the five thousand, and the storm on the Sea of Galilee (ch. vi.), which appear to be introduced in connection with the discourse that arose out of the miracle, related by John alone. The third is the anointing of His feet by Mary; and it is worthy of notice that the narrative of John recalls something of each of the other three: the actions of the woman are drawn from Luke, the ointment and its value are described in Mark, and the admonition to Judas appears in Matthew; and John combines in his narrative all these particulars. Whilst the three present the life of Jesus in Galilee, John follows him into Judæa; nor should we know, but for him, that our Lord had journeyed to Jerusalem at the prescribed feasts. Only one discourse of our Lord that was delivered in Galilee, that in the 6th chapter, is recorded by John. The disciple whom Jesus loved had it put into his mind to write a Gospel which should more expressly than the others set forth Jesus as the Incarnate Word of God: if he also had in view the beginnings of the errors of Cerinthus and others before him at the time, as Irenæus and Jerome assert, the polemical purpose is quite subordinate to the dogmatic. He does not war against a temporary error, but preaches for all time that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, in order that believing we may have life through His name. Now many of the facts omitted by St. John and recorded by the rest are such as would have contributed most directly to this great design; why then are they omitted? The received explanation is the only satisfactory one, namely, that John, writing last, at the close of the first century, had seen the other Gospels, and purposely abstained from writing anew what they had sufficiently recorded. [JOHN.]

In the other three Gospels there is a great amount of agreement. If we suppose the history that they contain to be divided into sections, in 42 of these all the three narratives coincide, 12 more are given by Matthew and Mark only, 5 by Mark and Luke only, and 14 by Matthew and Luke. To these must be added 5 peculiar to Matthew, 2 to Mark, and 9 to Luke; and the enumeration is complete. But this applies only to general coincidence as to the facts narrated: the amount of verbal coincidence, that is, the passages either verbally the same, or coinciding in the use of many of the same words, is much smaller. "By far the larger portion," says Professor Andrews Norton (*Genuineness*, i. p. 240, 2d ed. [Addit. Notes, p. cvii. f., Amer. ed.]), "of this verbal agreement is found in the recital of the words of others, and particularly of the words of Jesus. Thus, in Matthew's Gospel, the passages verbally coincident with one or both of the other two Gospels amount to less than a sixth part of its contents; and of this about seven eighths occur in the recital of the words of others, and only about one eighth in what, by way of distinction, I may call mere narrative, in which the Evangelist, speaking in his own person, was unrestrained in the choice of his expressions. In Mark, the proportion of coincident passages to the whole contents of the Gospel is about one sixth, of which not one fifth occurs in the narrative. Luke has still less agreement of expression with the other Evangelists. The passages in which it is found amount only to about a tenth part of his Gospel; and but an inconsiderable portion of it appears in the narrative — less than a twentieth part. These proportions should be further compared with those which the narrative part of each Gospel bears to that in which the words of others are professedly repeated. Matthew's narrative occupies about one fourth of his Gospel; Mark's about one half, and Luke's about one third. It may easily be computed, therefore, that the proportion of verbal coincidence found in the narrative part of each Gospel, compared with what exists in the other part, is about in the following ratios: in Matthew as one to somewhat more than two, in Mark as one to four, and in Luke as one to ten."

Without going minutely into the examination of examples, which would be desirable if space permitted, the leading facts connected with the subject may be thus summed up: The verbal and material agreement of the three first Evangelists is such as does not occur in any other authors who have written independently of one another. The verbal agreement is greater where the spoken words of others are cited than where facts are recorded; and greatest in quotations of the words of our Lord. But in some leading events, as in the call of the four first disciples, that of Matthew, and the Transfiguration, the agreement even in expression is remarkable: there are also narratives where there is no verbal harmony in the outset, but only in the crisis or emphatic part of the story (Matt. viii. 3 = Mark i. 41 = Luke v. 13, and Matt. xiv. 19, 20 = Mark vi. 41–43 = Luke ix. 16, 17). The narratives of our Lord's early life, as given by St. Matthew and St. Luke, have little in common; while St. Mark does not include that part of the history in his plan. The agreement in the narrative portions of the Gospels begins with the Baptism of John, and reaches its highest point in the account of the Passion of our Lord and the facts that preceded it; so that a direct ratio might almost be said to exist between the amount of agreement and the nearness of the facts related to the Passion. After this event, in the account of His burial and resurrection, the coincidences are few. The language of all three is Greek, with Hebrew idioms: the Hebraisms are most abundant in St. Mark, and fewest in St. Luke. In quotations from the Old Testament, the Evangelists, or two of them, sometimes exhibit a verbal agreement, although they differ from the Hebrew and from the Septuagint version (Matt. iii. 3 = Mark i. 3 = Luke iii. 4. Matt. iv. 10 = Luke iv 8. Matt. xi. 10 = Mark i. 2 = Luke vii. 27, &c.). Except as to 24 verses, the Gospel of Mark contains no principal facts which are not found in Matthew and Luke; but he often supplies details omitted by them, and these are often such as would belong to the graphic account of an eye-witness. There are no cases in which Matthew and Luke exactly harmonize, where Mark does not also coincide with them. In several places the words of Mark have something in common with each of the other narratives, so as to form a connecting link

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between them, where their words slightly differ. The examples of verbal agreement between Mark and Luke are not so long or so numerous as those between Matthew and Luke, and Matthew and Mark; but as to the arrangement of events Mark and Luke frequently coincide, where Matthew differs from them. These are the leading particulars; but they are very far from giving a complete notion of a phenomenon that is well worthy of that attention and reverent study of the sacred text by which alone it can be fully and fairly apprehended.

These facts exhibit the three Gospels as three distinct records of the life and works of the Redeemer, but with a greater amount of agreement than three wholly independent accounts could be expected to exhibit. The agreement would be no difficulty, without the differences; it would only mark the one divine source from which they are all derived — the Holy Spirit, who spake by the prophets. The difference of form and style, without the agreement, would offer no difficulty, since there may be a substantial harmony between accounts that differ greatly in mode of expression, and the very difference might be a guarantee of independence. The harmony and the variety, the agreement and the differences, form together the problem with which Biblical critics have occupied themselves for a century and a half.

The attempts at a solution are so many, that they can be more easily classified than enumerated. The first and most obvious suggestion would be, that the narrators made use of each other's work. Accordingly Grotius, Mill, Wetstein, Griesbach, and many others, have endeavored to ascertain which Gospel is to be regarded as the first; which is copied from the first; and which is the last, and copied from the other two. It is remarkable that each of the six possible combinations has found advocates; and this of itself proves the uncertainty of the theory (Bp. Marsh's *Michaelis*, iii. p. 172; De Wette, *Handbuch*, § 22 ff.) When we are told by men of research that the Gospel of St. Mark is plainly founded upon the other two, as Griesbach, Büsching, and others assure us; and again, that the Gospel of St. Mark is certainly the primitive Gospel, on which the other two are founded, as by Wilke, Bruno Bauer, and others, both sides relying mainly on facts that lie within the compass of the text, we are not disposed to expect much fruit from the discussion. But the theory in its crude form is in itself most improbable; and the wonder is that so much time and learning have been devoted to it. It assumes that an Evangelist has taken up the work of his predecessor, and without substantial alteration has made a few changes in form, a few additions and retrenchments, and has then allowed the whole to go forth under his name. Whatever order of the three is adopted to favor the hypothesis, the omission by the second or third, of matter inserted by the first, offers a great difficulty; since it would indicate a tacit opinion that these passages are either less useful or of less authority than the rest. The nature of the alterations is not such as we should expect to find in an age little given to literary composition, and in writings so simple and unlearned as these are admitted to be. The replacement of a word by a synonym, neither more nor less apt, the omission of a saying in one place and insertion of it in another, the occasional transposition of events; these are not in conformity with the habits of a time in which composition was little studied, and only practiced as a necessity. Besides, such deviations, which in writers wholly independent of each other are only the guarantee of their independence, cannot appear in those who copy from each other, without showing a certain willfulness — an intention to contradict and alter — that seems quite irreconcilable with any view of inspiration. These general objections will be found to take a still more cogent shape against any particular form of this hypothesis: whether it is attempted to show that the Gospel of St. Mark, as the shortest, is also the earliest and primitive Gospel, or that this very Gospel bears evident signs of being the latest, a compilation from the other two; or that the order in the canon of Scripture is also the chronological order — and all these views have found defenders at no distant date — the theory that each Evangelist only copied from his predecessor offers the same general features, a plausible argument from a few facts, which is met by insuperable difficulties as soon as the remaining facts are taken in (Giesseler, pp. 35, 36; Bp. Marsh's *Michaelis*, vol. iii., part ii. p. 171 ff.).

The supposition of a common original from which the three Gospels were drawn, each with more or less modification, would naturally occur to those who rejected the notion that the Evangelists had copied from each other. A passage of Epiphanius has been often quoted in support of this (*Hæres.* li. 6), but the ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πηγῆς no doubt refers to the inspiring Spirit from which all three drew their authority, and not to any earthly copy, written or oral, of His divine message. The best notion of that class of speculations which would establish a *written document* as the common original of the three Gospels, will be gained perhaps from Bishop Marsh's (*Michaelis*, vol. iii. part ii.) account of Eichhorn's hypothesis, and of his own additions to it. It appeared to Eichhorn that the portions which are common to all the three Gospels were contained in a certain common document, from which they all drew. Niemeyer had already assumed that copies of such a document had got into circulation, and had been altered and annotated by different hands. Now Eichhorn tries to show, from an exact comparison of passages, that "the sections, whether great or small, which are common to St. Matthew and St. Mark, but not to St. Luke, and at the same time occupy places in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark which correspond to each other, were additions made in the copies used by St. Matthew and St. Mark, but not in the copy used by St. Luke; and, in like manner, that the sections found in the corresponding places of the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, but not contained in the Gospel of St. Matthew, were additions made in the copies used by St. Mark and St. Luke" (p. 192). Thus Eichhorn considers himself entitled to assume that he can reconstruct the original document, and also that there must have been four other documents to account for the phenomena of the text. Thus he makes —

1. The original document.
2. An altered copy which St. Matthew used.
3. An altered copy which St. Luke used.
4. A third copy, made from the two preceding, used by St. Mark.
5. A fourth altered copy, used by St. Matthew and St. Luke in common.

As there is no *external* evidence worth considering that this original or any of its numerous copies ever existed, the value of this elaborate hypothesis

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must depend upon its furnishing the only explanation, and that a sufficient one, of the facts of the text. Bishop Marsh, however, finds it necessary, in order to complete the account of the text, to raise the number of documents to eight, still without producing any external evidence for the existence of any of them; and this, on one side, deprives Eichhorn's theory of the merit of completeness, and, on the other, presents a much broader surface to the obvious objections. He assumes the existence of—

1. A Hebrew original.
2. A Greek translation.
3. A transcript of No. 1, with alterations and additions.
4. Another, with another set of alterations and additions.
5. Another, combining both the preceding, used by St. Mark, who also used No. 2.
6. Another, with the alterations and additions of No. 3, and with further additions, used by St. Matthew.
7. Another, with those of No. 4 and further additions, used by St. Luke, who also used No. 2.
8. A wholly distinct Hebrew document, in which our Lord's precepts, parables, and discourses were recorded, but not in chronological order; used both by St. Matthew and St. Luke.

To this it is added, that "as the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke contain Greek translations of Hebrew materials, which were incorporated into St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, the person who translated St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel into Greek frequently derived assistance from the Gospel of St. Mark, where he had matter in connection with St. Matthew: and in those places, but in those places only, where St. Mark had no matter in connection with St. Matthew, he had frequently recourse to St. Luke's Gospel" (p. 361). One is hardly surprised after this to learn that Eichhorn soon after put forth a revised hypothesis (*Einleitung in das N. T.* 1804), in which a supposed Greek translation of a supposed Aramaic original took a conspicuous part; nor that Hug was able to point out that even the most liberal assumption of written documents had not provided for one case, that of the verbal agreement of St. Mark and St. Luke, to the exclusion of St. Matthew; and which, though it is of rare occurrence, would require, on Eichhorn's theory, an additional Greek version.

It will be allowed that this elaborate hypothesis, whether in the form given it by Marsh or by Eichhorn, possesses almost every fault that can be charged against an argument of that kind. For every new class of facts a new document must be assumed to have existed; and Hug's objection does not really weaken the theory, since the new class of coincidences he mentions only requires a new version of the "original Gospel," which can be supplied on demand. A theory so prolific in assumptions may still stand, if it can be proved that no other solution is possible; but since this cannot be shown, even as against the modified theory of Gratz (*Neuer Versuch*, etc., 1812), then we are reminded of the schoolman's caution, *entia non sunt multiplicanda præter necessitatem*. To assume for every new class of facts the existence of another complete edition and recension of the original work is quite gratuitous; the documents might have been as easily supposed to be fragmentary memorials, wrought in by the Evangelists into the web of the original Gospel; or the coincidences might be, as Gratz supposes, cases where one Gospel has been interpolated by portions of another. Then the "original Gospel" is supposed to have been of such authority as to be circulated everywhere: yet so defective, as to require annotation from any hand; so little reverenced, that no hand spared it. If all the Evangelists agreed to draw from such a work, it must have been widely if not universally accepted in the Church; and yet there is no record of its existence. The force of this dilemma has been felt by the supporters of the theory: if the work was of high authority it would have been preserved, or at least mentioned; if of lower authority, it could not have become the basis of three canonical Gospels: and various attempts have been made to escape from it. Bertholdt tries to find traces of its existence in the titles of works other than our present Gospels, which were current in the earliest ages; but Gieseler has so diminished the force of his arguments, that only one of them need here be mentioned. Bertholdt ingeniously argues that a Gospel used by St. Paul, and transmitted to the Christians in Pontus, was the basis of Marcion's Gospel; and assumes that it was also the "original Gospel:" so that in the Gospel of Marcion there would be a transcript, though corrupted, of this primitive document. But there is no proof at all that St. Paul used any written Gospel; and as to that of Marcion, if the work of Hahn had not settled the question, the researches of such writers as Volckmar, Zeller, Ritschl, and Hilgenfeld, are held to have proved that the old opinion of Tertullian and Epiphanius is also the true one, and that the so-called Gospel of Marcion was not an independent work, but an abridged version of St. Luke's Gospel, altered by the heretic to suit his peculiar tenets. (See Bertholdt, iii. 1208–1223; Gieseler, p. 57; Weisse, *Evangelienfrage*, p. 73.) We must conclude then that the work has perished without record. Not only has this fate befallen the Aramaic or Hebrew original, but the translation and the five or six recensions. But it may well be asked whether the state of letters in Palestine at this time was such as to make this constant editing, translating, annotating, and enriching of a history a natural and probable process. With the independence of the Jews their literature had declined; from the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, if a writer here and there arose, his works became known, if at all, in Greek translations through the Alexandrine Jews. That the period of which we are speaking was for the Jews one of very little literary activity, is generally admitted; and if this applies to all classes of the people, it would be true of the humble and uneducated class from which the first converts came (Acts iv. 13; James ii. 5). Even the second law (δευτερώσεις), which grew up after the Captivity, and in which the knowledge of the learned class consisted, was handed down by oral tradition, without being reduced to writing. The theory of Eichhorn is only probable amidst a people given to literary habits, and in a class of that people where education was good and literary activity likely to prevail: the conditions here are the very reverse (see Gieseler's able argument, p. 59 ff.). These are only a few of the objections which may be raised, on critical and historical grounds, against the theory of Eichhorn and Marsh.

But it must not be forgotten that this question reaches beyond history and criticism, and has deep theological interest. We are offered here an

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original Gospel composed by some unknown person; probably not an apostle, as Eichhorn admits, in his endeavor to account for the loss of the book. This was translated by one equally unknown; and the various persons into whose hands the two documents came, all equally unknown, exercised freely the power of altering and extending the materials thus provided. Out of such unattested materials the three Evangelists composed their Gospels. So far as they allowed their materials to bind and guide them, so far their worth as independent witnesses is lessened. But, according to Eichhorn, they all felt bound to admit *the whole* of the original document, so that it is possible to recover it from them by a simple process. As to all the passages, then, in which this document is employed, it is not the Evangelist, but an anonymous predecessor to whom we are listening — not Matthew the Apostle, and Mark the companion of apostles, and Luke the beloved of the Apostle Paul, are affording us the strength of their testimony, but one witness whose name no one has thought fit to record. If, indeed, all three Evangelists confined themselves to this document, this of itself would be a guarantee of its fidelity and of the respect in which it was held; but no one seems to have taken it in hand that did not think himself entitled to amend it. Surely serious people would have a right to ask, if the critical objections were less decisive, with what view of inspiration such a hypothesis could be reconciled. The internal evidence of the truth of the Gospel, in the harmonious and self-consistent representation of the Person of Jesus, and in the promises and precepts which meet the innermost needs of a heart stricken with the consciousness of sin, would still remain to us. But the wholesome confidence with which we now rely on the Gospels as pure, true, and genuine histories of the life of Jesus, composed by four independent witnesses inspired for that work, would be taken away. Even the testimony of the writers of the second century to the universal acceptance of these books would be invalidated, from their silence and ignorance about the strange circumstances which are supposed to have affected their composition.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. — The English student will find in Bp. Marsh's *Translation of Michaelis's Introd. to N. T.* iii. 2, 1803, an account of Eichhorn's earlier theory and of his own. Veysie's *Examination of Mr. Marsh's Hypothesis*, 1808, has suggested many of the objections. In Bp. Thirlwall's *Translation of Schleiermacher on St. Luke*, 1825, Introduction, is an account of the whole question. Other principal works are, an essay of Eichhorn, in the 5th vol. *Allgemeine Bibliothek der biblischen Literatur*, 1794; the Essay of Bp. Marsh, just quoted; Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das N. T.* 1804; Gratz, *Neuer Versuch die Enstehung der drey ersten Evang. zu erklären*, 1812; Bertholdt, *Histor. kritische Einleitung in sämmtliche kanon. und apok. Schriften des A. und N. T.*, 1812–1819; and the work of Gieseler, quoted above. See also De Wette, *Lehrbuch*, and Westcott, *Introduction*, already quoted; also Weisse, *Evangelienfrage*, 1856. [For a fuller account of the literature of the subject, see addition to the present article.]

There is another supposition to account for these facts, of which perhaps Gieseler has been the most acute expositor. It is probable that none of the Gospels was written until many years after the day of Pentecost, on which the Holy Spirit descended on the assembled disciples. From that day commenced at Jerusalem the work of preaching the Gospel and converting the world. So sedulous were the Apostles in this work that they divested themselves of the labor of ministering to the poor in order that they might give themselves "continually to prayer and to the ministry of the word" (Acts vi.). Prayer and preaching were the business of their lives. Now their preaching must have been, from the nature of the case, in great part historical; it must have been based upon an account of the life and acts of Jesus of Nazareth. They had been the eye-witnesses of a wondrous life, of acts and sufferings that had an influence over all the world: many of their hearers had never heard of Jesus, many others had received false accounts of one whom it suited the Jewish rulers to stigmatize as an impostor. The ministry of our Lord went on principally in Galilee; the first preaching was addressed to people in Judæa. There was no written record to which the hearers might be referred for historical details, and therefore the preachers must furnish not only inferences from the life of our Lord, but the facts of the life itself. The preaching, then, must have been of such a kind as to be to the hearers what the reading of lessons from the Gospels is to us. So far as the records of apostolic preaching in the Acts of the Apostles go, they confirm this view. Peter at Cæsarea, and Paul at Antioch, preach alike the facts of the Redeemer's life and death. There is no improbability in supposing that in the course of twenty or thirty years' assiduous teaching, without a written Gospel, the matter of the apostolic preaching should have taken a settled form. Not only might the Apostles think it well that their own accounts should agree, as in substance so in form; but the teachers whom they sent forth, or left behind in the churches they visited, would have to be prepared for their mission; and, so long as there was no written Gospel to put into their hands, it might be desirable that the oral instruction should be as far as possible one and the same to all. It is by no means certain that the interval between the mission of the Comforter and his work of directing the writing of the first Gospel was so long as is here supposed: the date of the Hebrew St. Matthew may be earlier. [MATTHEW.] But the argument remains the same: the preaching of the Apostles would probably begin to take one settled form, if at all, during the first years of their ministry. If it were allowed us to ask why God in his providence saw fit to defer the gift of a written Gospel to his people, the answer would be, that for the first few years the powerful working of the Holy Spirit in the living members of the church supplied the place of those records, which, as soon as the brightness of his presence began to be at all withdrawn, became indispensable in order to prevent the corruption of the Gospel history by false teachers. He was promised as one who should "teach them all things, and bring all things to their remembrance, whatsoever" the Lord had "said unto them" (John xiv. 26). And more than once his aid is spoken of as needful, even for the proclamation of the facts that relate to Christ (Acts i. 8; 1 Pet. i. 12); and he is described as a witness *with* the Apostles, rather than through them, of the things which they had seen during the course of a ministry which they had shared (John xv. 26, 27; Acts v. 32. Compare Acts xv. 28). The personal authority of the Apostles as eye-witnesses of what they preached is not set aside by this divine

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and: again and again they describe themselves as "witnesses" to facts (Acts ii. 32, iii. 15, x. 39, &c.); and when a vacancy occurs in their number through the fall of Judas, it is almost assumed as a thing of course that his successor shall be chosen from those "which had companied with them all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among them" (Acts i. 21). The teachings of the Holy Spirit consisted, not in whispering to them facts which they had not witnessed, but rather in reviving the fading remembrance, and throwing out into their true importance events and sayings that had been esteemed too lightly at the time they took place. But the Apostles could not have spoken of the Spirit as they did (Acts v. 32, xv. 28) unless he were known to be working in and with them and directing them, and manifesting that this was the case by unmistakable signs. Here is the answer, both to the question why was it not the first care of the Apostles to prepare a written Gospel, and also to the scruples of those who fear that the supposition of an oral Gospel would give a precedent for those views of tradition which have been the bane of the Christian church as they were of the Jewish. The guidance of the Holy Spirit supplied for a time such aid as made a written Gospel unnecessary; but the Apostles saw the dangers and errors which a traditional Gospel would be exposed to in the course of time; and, whilst they were still preaching the oral Gospel in the strength of the Holy Ghost, they were admonished by the same divine Person to prepare those written records which were hereafter to be the daily spiritual food of all the church of Christ.[a] Nor is there anything unnatural in the supposition that the Apostles intentionally uttered their witness in the same order, and even, for the most part, in the same form of words. They would thus approach most nearly to the condition in which the church was to be when written books were to be the means of edification. They quote the scriptures of the Old Testament frequently in their discourses; and as their Jewish education had accustomed them to the use of the words of the Bible as well as the matter, they would do no violence to their prejudices in assimilating the new records to the old, and in reducing them to a "*form* of sound words." They were all Jews of Palestine, of humble origin, all alike chosen, we may suppose, for the loving zeal with which they would observe the works of their Master and afterwards propagate his name; so that the tendency to variance, arising from peculiarities of education, taste, and character, would be reduced to its lowest in such a body. The language of their first preaching was the Syro-Chaldaic, which was a poor and scanty language; and though Greek was now widely spread, and was the language even of several places in Palestine (Josephus, *Ant.* xvii. 11, § 4; *B. J.* iii. 9, § 1), though it prevailed in Antioch, whence the first missions to Greeks and Hellenists, or Jews who spoke Greek, proceeded (Acts xi. 20, xiii. 1–3), the Greek tongue, as used by Jews, partook of the poverty of the speech which it replaced; as, indeed, it is impossible to borrow a whole language without borrowing the habits of thought upon which it has built itself. Whilst modern taste aims at a variety of expression, and abhors a repetition of the same phrases as monotonous, the simplicity of the men, and their language, and their education, and the state of literature, would all lead us to expect that the Apostles would have no such feeling. As to this, we have more than mere conjecture to rely on. Occasional repetitions occur in the Gospels (Luke vii. 19, 20; xix. 31, 34), such as a writer in a mere copious and cultivated language would perhaps have sought to avoid. In the Acts, the conversion of St. Paul is three times related (Acts ix., xxii., xxvi.) once by the writer and twice by St. Paul himself; and the two first harmonize exactly, except as to a few expressions, and as to one more important circumstance (ix. 7 = xxii. 9), — which, however, admits of an explanation, — whilst the third deviates somewhat more in expression, and has one passage peculiar to itself. The vision of Cornelius is also three times related (Acts x. 3–6, 30–32; xi. 13, 14), where the words of the angel in the two first are almost precisely alike, and the rest very similar, whilst the other is an abridged account of the same facts. The vision of Peter is twice related (Acts x. 10–16; xi. 5–10), and, except in one or two expressions, the agreement is verbally exact. These places from the Acts, which, both as to their resemblance and their difference, may be compared to the narratives of the Evangelists, show the same tendency to a common form of narrative which, according to the present view, may have influenced the preaching of the Apostles. It is supposed, then, that the preaching of the Apostles, and the teaching whereby they prepared others to preach, as they did, would tend to assume a common form, more or less fixed; and that the portions of the three Gospels which harmonize most exactly owe their agreement not to the fact that they were copied from each other, although it is impossible to say that the later writer made no use of the earlier one, nor to the existence of any original document now lost to us, but to the fact that the apostolic preaching had already clothed itself in a settled or usual form of words, to which the writers inclined to conform without feeling bound to do so; and the differences which occur, often in the closest proximity to the harmonies, arise from the feeling of independence with which each wrote what he had seen and heard, or, in the case of Mark and Luke, what apostolic witnesses had told him. The harmonies, as we have seen, begin with the baptism of John; that is, with the consecration of the Lord to his messianic office; and with this event probably the ordinary preaching of the Apostles would begin, for its purport was that Jesus is the Messiah, and that as Messiah he suffered, died, and rose again. They are very frequent as we approach the period of the Passion, because the sufferings of the Lord would be much in the mouth of every one who preached the Gospel, and all would become familiar with the words in which the Apostles de-

[a] The opening words of St. Luke's Gospel, "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word," appear to mean that many persons who heard the preaching of the Apostles wrote down what they heard, in order to preserve it in a permanent form. The word "many" cannot refer to St. Matthew and St. Mark only; and if the passage implies an intention to supersede the writings alluded to, then these two Evangelists cannot be included under them. Partial and incomplete reports of the preaching of the Apostles, written with a good aim but without authority, are intended; and, if we may argue from St. Luke's sphere of observation, they were probably composed by Greek converts.

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scribed it. But as regards the Resurrection, which differed from the Passion in that it was a fact which the enemies of Christianity felt bound to dispute (Matt. xxviii. 15), it is possible that the divergence arose from the intention of each Evangelist to contribute something towards the weight of evidence for this central truth. Accordingly, all the four, even St. Mark (xvi. 14), who oftener throws a new light upon old ground than opens out new, mention distinct acts and appearances of the Lord to establish that he was risen indeed. The verbal agreement is greater where the words of others are recorded, and greatest of all where they are those of Jesus, because here the apostolic preaching would be especially exact; and where the historical fact is the utterance of certain words, the duty of the historian is narrowed to a bare record of them. (See the works of Gieseler, Norton, Westcott, Weisse, and others already quoted.)

That this opinion would explain many of the facts connected with the text is certain. Whether, besides conforming to the words and arrangement of the apostolic preaching, the Evangelists did in any cases make use of each other's work or not, it would require a more careful investigation of details to discuss than space permits. Every reader would probably find on examination some places which could best be explained on this supposition. Nor does this involve a sacrifice of the independence of the narrator. If each of the three drew the substance of his narrative from the one common strain of preaching that everywhere prevailed, to have departed entirely in a written account from the common form of words to which Christian ears were beginning to be familiar, would not have been independence but willfulness. To follow here and there the words and arrangement of another written Gospel already current would not compromise the writer's independent position. If the principal part of the narrative was the voice of the whole church, a few portions might be conformed to another writer without altering the character of the testimony. In the separate articles on the Gospels it will be shown that, however close may be the agreement of the Evangelists, the independent position of each appears from the contents of his book, and has been recognized by writers of all ages. It will appear that St. Matthew describes the kingdom of Messiah, as founded in the Old Testament and fulfilled in Jesus of Nazareth; that St. Mark, with so little of narrative peculiar to himself, brings out by many minute circumstances a more vivid delineation of our Lord's completely human life; that St. Luke puts forward the work of Redemption as a universal benefit, and shows Jesus not only as the Messiah of the chosen people but as the Saviour of the world; that St. John, writing last of all, passed over most of what his predecessors had related, in order to set forth more fully all that he had heard from the Master who loved him, of his relation to the Father, and of the relation of the Holy Spirit to both. The independence of the writers is thus established; and if they seem to have here and there used each other's account, which it is perhaps impossible to prove or disprove, such cases will not compromise that claim which alone gives value to a plurality of witnesses.

How does this last theory bear upon our belief in the inspiration of the Gospels? This momentous question admits of a satisfactory reply. Our blessed Lord, on five different occasions, promised to the Apostles the divine guidance, to teach and enlighten them in their dangers (Matt. x. 19; Luke xii. 11 12; Mark xiii. 11; and John xiv., xv., xvi.). He bade them take no thought about defending themselves before judges; he promised them the Spirit of Truth to guide them into all truth, to teach them all things, and bring all things to their remembrance. That this promise was fully realized to them the history of the Acts sufficiently shows. But if the divine assistance was given them in their discourses and preaching, it would be rendered equally when they were about to put down in writing the same gospel which they preached; and, as this would be their greatest time of need, the aid would be granted then most surely. So that, as to St. Matthew and St. John, we may say that their Gospels are inspired because the writers of them were inspired, according to their Master's promise; for it is impossible to suppose that He who put words into their mouths when they stood before a human tribunal, with no greater fear than that of death before them, would withhold his light and truth when the want of them would mislead the whole Church of Christ and turn the light that was in it into darkness. The case of the other two Evangelists is somewhat different. It has always been held that they were under the guidance of Apostles in what they wrote — St. Mark under that of St. Peter, and St. Luke under that of St. Paul. We are not expressly told, indeed, that these Evangelists themselves were persons to whom Christ's promises of supernatural guidance had been extended, but it certainly was not confined to the twelve to whom it was originally made, as the case of St. Paul himself proves, who was admitted to all the privileges of an apostle, though, as it were, "born out of due time;" and as St. Mark and St. Luke were the companions of apostles — shared their dangers, confronted hostile tribunals, had to teach and preach — there is reason to think that they equally enjoyed what they equally needed. In Acts xv. 28, the Holy Ghost is spoken of as the common guide and light of all the brethren, not of apostles only; nay, to speak it reverently, as one of themselves. So that the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke appear to have been admitted into the canon of Scripture as written by inspired men in free and close communication with inspired apostles. But supposing that the portion of the three first Gospels which is common to all has been derived from the preaching of the Apostles in general, then it is drawn directly from a source which we know from our Lord himself to have been inspired. It comes to us from those Apostles into whose mouths Christ promised to put the words of his Holy Spirit. It is not from an anonymous writing, as Eichhorn thinks — it is not that the three witnesses are really one, as Story and others have suggested in the theory of copying — but that the daily preaching of all apostles and teachers has found three independent transcribers in the three Evangelists. Now the inspiration of an historical writing will consist in its truth, and in its selection of events. Everything narrated must be substantially and exactly true, and the comparison of the Gospels one with another offers us nothing that does not answer to this test. There are differences of arrangement of events; here some details of a narrative or a discourse are supplied which are wanting there; and if the writer had professed to follow a strict chronological order, or had pretended that his record was not only true but complete, then one inversion of order, or one omission of a

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syllable, would convict him of inaccuracy. But if it is plain — if it is all but avowed — that minute chronological data are not part of the writer's purpose — if it is also plain that nothing but a selection of the facts is intended, or, indeed, possible (John xxi. 25) — then the proper test to apply is, whether each gives us a picture of the life and ministry of Jesus of Nazareth that is self-consistent and consistent with the others, such as would be suitable to the use of those who were to believe on His Name — for this is their evident intention. About the answer there should be no doubt. We have seen that each Gospel has its own features, and that the divine element has controlled the human, but not destroyed it. But the picture which they conspire to draw is one full of harmony. The Saviour they all describe is the same loving, tender guide of his disciples, sympathizing with them in the sorrows and temptations of earthly life, yet ever ready to enlighten that life by rays of truth out of the infinite world where the Father sits upon his throne. It has been said that St. Matthew portrays rather the human side, and St. John the divine; but this holds good only in a limited sense. It is in St. John that we read that "Jesus wept;" and there is nothing, even in the last discourse of Jesus, as reported by St. John, that opens a deeper view of his divine nature than the words in St. Matthew (xi. 25–30) beginning, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent and hast revealed them unto babes." All reveal the same divine and human Teacher; four copies of the same portrait, perhaps with a difference of expression, yet still the same, are drawn here, and it is a portrait the like of which no one had ever delineated before, or, indeed, could have done, except from having looked on it with observant eyes, and from having had the mind opened by the Holy Spirit to comprehend features of such unspeakable radiance. Not only does this highest "harmony of the Gospels" manifest itself to every pious reader of the Bible, but the lower harmony — the agreement of fact and word in all that relates to the ministry of the Lord, in all that would contribute to a true view of his spotless character — exists also, and cannot be denied. For example, all tell us alike that Jesus was transfigured on the mount; that the *shekinah* of divine glory shone upon his face; that Moses the lawgiver and Elijah the prophet talked with him; and that the voice from heaven bare witness to him. Is it any imputation upon the truth of the histories that St. Matthew alone tells us that the witnesses fell prostrate to the earth, and that Jesus raised them? or that St. Luke alone tells us that for a part of the time they were heavy with sleep? Again, one Evangelist, in describing our Lord's temptation, follows the order of the occurrences, another arranges according to the degrees of temptation, and the third, passing over all particulars, merely mentions that our Lord was tempted. Is there anything here to shake our faith in the writers as credible historians? Do we treat other histories in this exacting spirit? Is not the very independence of treatment the pledge to us that we have really three witnesses to the fact that Jesus was tempted like as we are? for if the Evangelists were copyists, nothing would have been more easy than to remove such an obvious difference as this. The histories are true according to any test that should be applied to a history; and the events that they select — though we could not presume to say that they were more important than what are omitted, except from the fact of the omission — are at least such as to have given the whole Christian Church a clear conception of the Redeemer's life, so that none has ever complained of insufficient means of knowing him.

There is a perverted form of the theory we are considering which pretends that the facts of the Redeemer's life remained in the state of an oral tradition till the latter part of the second century and that the four Gospels were not written till that time. The difference is not of degree but of kind between the opinion that the Gospels were written during the lifetime of the Apostles, who were eye-witnesses, and the notion that for nearly a century after the oldest of them had passed to his rest the events were only preserved in the changeable and insecure form of an oral account. But for the latter opinion there is not one spark of historical evidence. Heretics of the second century who would gladly have rejected and exposed a new gospel that made against them never hint that the Gospels are spurious; and orthodox writers ascribe without contradiction the authorship of the books to those whose names they bear. The theory was invented to accord with the assumption that miracles are impossible, but upon no evidence whatever; and the argument when exposed runs in this vicious circle: "There are no miracles, therefore the accounts of them must have grown up in the course of a century from popular exaggeration, and as the accounts are not contemporaneous it is not proved that there are miracles!" That the Jewish mind in its lowest decay should have invented the character of Jesus of Nazareth, and the sublime system of morality contained in his teaching — that four writers should have fixed the popular impression in four plain, simple, unadorned narratives, without any outbursts of national prejudice, or any attempt to give a political tone to the events they wrote of — would be in itself a miracle harder to believe than that Lazarus came out at the Lord's call from his four-days' tomb.

It will be an appropriate conclusion to this imperfect sketch to give a conspectus of the harmony of the Gospels, by which the several theories may be examined in their bearing on the gospel accounts in detail. Let it be remembered, however, that a complete harmony, including the chronological arrangement and the exact succession of all events, was not intended by the sacred writers to be constructed; indeed the data for it are pointedly withheld. Here most of the places where there is some special difficulty, and where there has been a question whether the events are parallel or distinct, are marked by figures in different type. The sections might in many cases have been subdivided but for the limits of space, but the reader can supply this defect for himself as cases arise. (The principal works employed in constructing it are, Griesbach, *Synopsis Evangeliorum*, 1776; De Wette and Lücke, *Syn. Evang.*, [1818,] 1842; Rüdiger, *Syn. Evang.*, 1829; Clausen, *Quatuor Evang. Tabulæ Synopticæ*, 1829; Greswell's *Harmony* [*Harmonia Evangelica*, ed. 5ta, Oxon. 1856] *and Dissertations* [2d ed., 4 vols. in 5, Oxford, 1837], a most important work; the Rev. I. Williams *On the Gospels*. Theile's *Greek Testament*; and Tischendorf's *Syn. Evang.* 1854 [2d ed. 1864]; besides the well-known works of Lightfoot, Macknight, Newcome, and Robinson.) [For other works of this class, see addition to the present article.] W. T.

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TABLE OF THE HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS.

¶ N.B. — In the following Table, where all the references under a given section are printed in heavy type, as under "Two Genealogies," it is to be understood that some special difficulty besets the harmony. Where one or more references under a given section are in light, and one or more in heavy type, it is to be understood that the former are given as in their proper place, and that it is more or less doubtful whether the latter are to be considered as parallel narratives or not.

	St. Matthew.	St. Mark.	St. Luke.	St. John.
"The Word"	. .	. .	. .	i. 1–14
Preface, to Theophilus	. .	. .	i. 1–4	
Annunciation of the Baptist's birth	. .	. .	i. 5–25	
Annunciation of the birth of Jesus	. .	. .	i. 26–38	
Mary visits Elizabeth	. .	.	i. 39–56	
Birth of John the Baptist	. .	.	i. 57–80	
Birth of Jesus Christ	i. 18–25	.	ii. 1–7	
Two Genealogies	i. 1–17	.	iii. 23–38	
The watching Shepherds	. .	. .	ii. 8–20	
The Circumcision	. .	.	ii. 21	
Presentation in the Temple	. .	. .	ii. 22–38	
The wise men from the East	ii. 1–12	. .		
Flight to Egypt	ii. 13–23	. .	ii. 39	
Disputing with the Doctors	. .	.	ii. 40–52	
Ministry of John the Baptist	iii. 1–12	i. 1–8	iii. 1–18	i. 15–31
Baptism of Jesus Christ	iii. 13–17	i. 9–11	iii. 21, 22	i. 32–34
The Temptation	iv. 1–11	i. 12, 13	iv. 1–13	
Andrew and another see Jesus	. .	.	.	i. 35–40
Simon, now Cephas	. .	.	. .	i. 41, 42
Philip and Nathanael	. .		.	i. 43–51
The water made wine	.		. .	ii. 1–11
Passover (1st) and cleansing the Temple	. .	.	. .	ii. 12–22
Nicodemus	. .	. .	. .	ii. 23–iii. 21
Christ and John baptizing	. .	. .	. .	iii. 22–36
The woman of Samaria	. .	. .	. .	iv. 1–42
John the Baptist in prison	iv. 12; xiv. 3	i. 14; vi. 17	iii. 19, 20	iii. 24
Return to Galilee	iv. 12	i. 14, 15	iv. 14, 15	iv. 43–45
The synagogue at Nazareth	. .	. .	iv. 16–30	
The nobleman's son	. .	. .	. .	iv. 46–54
Capernaum. Four Apostles called	iv. 18–22	i. 16–20	v. 1–11	
Demoniac healed there	. .	i. 21–28	iv. 31–37	
Simon's wife's mother healed	viii. 14–17	i. 29–34	iv. 38–41	
Circuit round Galilee	iv. 23–25	i. 35–39	iv. 42–44	
Healing a leper	viii. 1–4	i. 40–45	v. 12–16	
Christ stills the storm	viii. 18–27	iv. 35–41	viii. 22–25	
Demoniacs in land of Gadarenes	viii. 28–34	v. 1–20	viii. 26–39	
Jairus's daughter. Woman healed	ix. 18–26	v. 21–43	viii. 40–56	
Blind men, and demoniac	ix. 27–34	. .	. .	
Healing the paralytic	ix. 1–8	ii. 1–12	v. 17–26	
Matthew the publican	ix. 9–13	ii. 13–17	v. 27–32	
"Thy disciples fast not"	ix. 14–17	ii. 18–22	v. 33–39	
Journey to Jerusalem to 2d Passover	. .	.	. .	v. 1
Pool of Bethesda. Power of Christ	. .	. .	. .	v. 2–47
Plucking ears of corn on Sabbath	xii. 1–8	ii. 23–28	vi. 1–5	
The withered hand. Miracles	xii. 9–21	iii. 1–12	vi. 6–11	
The Twelve Apostles	x. 2–4	iii. 13–19	vi. 12–16	
The Sermon on the Mount	v. 1-vii. 29	. .	vi. 17–49	
The centurion's servant	viii. 5–13	. .	vii. 1–10	iv. 46–54
The widow's son at Nain	. .	. .	vii. 11–17	
Messengers from John	xi. 2–19	.	vii. 18–35	
Woe to the cities of Galilee	xi. 20–24	. .	. .	
Call to the meek and suffering	xi. 25–30	. .	. .	
Anointing the feet of Jesus	. .	. .	vii. 36–50	
Second circuit round Galilee	. .	. .	viii. 1–3	
Parable of the Sower	xiii. 1–23	iv. 1–20	viii. 4–15	
" Candle under a Bushel	. .	iv. 21–25	viii. 16–18	
" the Sower	. .	iv. 26–29	. .	
" the Wheat and Tares	xiii. 24–30	. .	. .	
" Grain of Mustard-seed	xiii. 31, 32	iv. 30–32	xiii. 18, 19	
" Leaven	xiii. 33	. .	xiii. 20, 21	
On teaching by parables	xiii. 34, 35	iv. 33, 34	.	

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TABLE OF THE HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS — (*continued*).

	St. Matthew.	St. Mark.	St. Luke.	St. John.
Wheat and tares explained	xiii. 36–43	. .	. .	
The treasure, the pearl, the net	xiii. 44–52	. .	. .	
His mother and His brethren	xii. 46–50	iii. 31–35	viii. 19–21	
Reception at Nazareth	xiii. 53–58	vi. 1–6	.	
Third circuit round Galilee	ix. 35–38; xi. 1	vi. 6	.	
Sending forth of the Twelve	x.	vi. 7–13	ix. 1–6	
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Approach of Passover (3d)	. .	. .	. .	vi 4
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The washen hands	xv. 1–20	vii. 1–23	. .	
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TABLE OF THE HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS — (*continued.*)

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TABLE OF THE HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS — (continued).

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The Crucifixion	xxvii. 32–38	xv. 21–28	xxiii. 26–34	xix. 17–24
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Mockings and railings	xxvii. 39–44	xv. 29–32	xxiii. 35–39	
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The death	xxvii. 50	xv. 37	xxiii. 46	xix. 28–30
Darkness and other portents	xxvii. 45–53	xv. 33–38	xxiii. 44, 45	
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The side pierced	.	. .	. .	xix. 31–37
The burial	xxvii. 57–61	xv. 42–47	xxiii. 50–56	xix. 38–42
The guard of the sepulchre	xxvii. 62–66, xxviii. 11–15	. .	. .	
The Resurrection	xxviii. 1–10	xvi. 1–11	xxiv. 1–12	xx. 1–18
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Appearances in Jerusalem	. .	xvi. 14–18	xxiv. 36–49	xx. 19–29
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W. T.

* The theory which bears the name of Strauss could hardly have originated anywhere but in Germany, nor is it easy for an Anglo-Saxon mind to conceive of its being seriously propounded and actually believed. It is far from being clearly defined and self-consistent in the author's own statement; and his *Life of Jesus*, while a work of great learning in detail, is singularly deficient in comprehensiveness and unity.

The theory, in brief, is this. Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary. In his childhood he manifested unusual intelligence and promise, as compared with his external advantages, and was the object of admiration in the humble family circle in which his lot was cast. He early became a disciple of John the Baptist; and, from strong sympathy with his enthusiastic expectation of the speedy advent of the Messiah (an expectation vividly entertained by all loyal Jews of that day), he conceived the idea of assuming that character himself, and personated it so successfully as to become his own dupe, and thus to pass unconsciously from imposture to self-delusion. He made proselytes, chose disciples, uttered discourses which impressed themselves profoundly upon the popular mind, and drew upon himself the hostility of the chief men of the nation, especially of the Pharisees. They procured his execution as a traitor; but his disciples, believing that the Messiah could not die, maintained that he must have risen alive from the sepulchre, and, as he had not been seen among men after his crucifixion, that he had ascended to heaven. This simple life-story became the basis of a series of myths — narratives not intentionally false or consciously invented, but some of them the growth of popular credulity, others, symbolical forms in which his disciples sought to embody the doctrines and precepts which had been the staple of his discourses. His miraculous birth was imagined and believed, because it seemed impossible that the Messiah should have been born like other men. Supernatural works were ascribed to him, because the Hebrew legends had ascribed such works to the ancient prophets, and it could not be that he who was greater than they, and of whom they were thought to have written glowing predictions, should not have performed more numerous and more marvellous miracles than any of them. His appearances after his resurrection were inferred, defined as to time and place, and incorporated into the faith of his disciples, because it was inconceivable that he should have returned to life without being seen. These myths had their origin chiefly outside of the circle of the Apostles and the persons most closely intimate with Jesus, and were probably due in great part to the constructive imagination of dwellers in portions of Galilee where he had tarried but a little while, or of admirers who had been his companions but for a brief period. The mythical element, once introduced into his history, had a rapid growth for some thirty, forty, or fifty years after his death, and new incidents in accordance with the Messianic ideal were constantly added to the multiform oral Gospel propagated and transmitted by his disciples. Within that period, various persons, none of them apostles or intimate friends of Jesus, compiled such narratives as had come to their ears; and of these narratives there have come down to us our four Gospels, together with other fragmentary stories of equal authority which bear the popular designation of the Apocryphal Gospels.

Such was the complexion of Strauss's mythical theory, as developed in his *Life of Jesus*,[a] published in 1835–36, repeatedly republished, and sufficiently well known in this country by a cheap reprint of a moderately good English translation. In his new work, issued in 1864, *The Life of Jesus, for the*

[a] *Das Leben Jesu, kritisch bearbeitet.*

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German People[a] he departs from his former position so far as to charge the propagandists and historians of Christianity with willful and conscious falsifications, and to maintain with the critics of the Tübingen school that the four Gospels were written, in great part, to sanction and promote the dogmatic beliefs of their respective authors, and that they thus represent so many divergent theological tendencies. In assuming this ground, Strauss enlarges the definition of the term myth, which no longer denotes merely the fabulous outgrowth or embodiment of an idea without fraudulent intent, but includes such wanton falsehoods as are designed to express, promulgate, or sanction theological dogmas.

We have said that Strauss admits an historical basis for the mythical structure reared by the Evangelists. How is this basis to be determined? How are we to distinguish between facts and myths? (1.) The usual order of nature cannot in any instance, way, or measure, have been interrupted. Therefore every supernatural incident must be accounted as mythical. (2.) Jesus having been regarded as the Messiah, it was inevitable that representations should have been made of him in accordance with the Messianic notions of his time and people, and with the predictions deemed Messianic in the writings of the Hebrew prophets. Consequently, all such representations, though involving nothing supernatural, such as his descent from David and his flight into Egypt, are at least suspicious, and may be safely set down as myths. (3.) His admirers would have been likely to attribute to him sayings and deeds corresponding with those recorded of various distinguished persons in Jewish history. Therefore, every portion of the narrative which bears any resemblance or analogy to any incident related in the Old Testament, is mythical. But (4), on the other hand, Jesus was a Hebrew, confined within the narrow circle of Jewish ideas, and not under any training or influence which could have enlarged that circle. Consequently every alleged utterance of his, and every idea of his mission and character, that is broader and higher than the narrowest Judaism, is also mythical. Thus we have an historical personage, of whom the critic denies at once everything national and everything extra-national. By parity of reasoning, we might, in the biography of Washington, cast suspicion on everything that he is alleged to have said or done as a loyal American, because he was one, and his biographer would of course ascribe to him the attributes of an American; and everything that he is alleged to have said or done from the impulse of a larger humanity, because, being an American, it was impossible that he should have been anything more — a style of criticism which, with reference to any but a sacred personage, the world would regard as simply idiotic. But this is not all. (5.) Though among secular historians, even of well-known periods and events, there are discrepancies in minor details, and these are held to be confirmations of the main facts, as evincing the mutual independence of the writers considered as separate authorities, for some unexplained and to us inscrutable reason, this law does not apply to the Gospels. In their every discrepancy, however minute, casts just suspicion on an alleged fact or a recorded discourse or conversation. This suspicion is extended even to the omission or the varied narration of very slight particulars, without making any allowance for the different points of view which several independent witnesses must of necessity occupy, or for the different portions of a prolonged transaction or discourse which would reach their eyes or ears, according as they were nearer or more remote, earlier or later on the ground, more or less absorbed in what was passing. All, therefore, in which the Evangelists vary from one another, is mythical. But while their variance always indicates a myth (6), their very close agreement demands the same construction; for wherever the several narrators coincide circumstantially and verbally, their coincidence indicates some common legendary source. Thus mutually inconsistent and contradictory are the several tests employed by Strauss to separate myth from fact. Practically, were Strauss's *Life of Jesus* lost to the world, one might reconstruct it, by classing as a myth, under one or more of the heads that we have specified, every fact in the history of Jesus, and every deed or utterance of his, which indicates either the divinity of his mission, his unparalleled wisdom, or the transcendent loveliness, purity, and excellence of his character.

Yet, while Jesus is represented as in part self-deluded, and in part an impostor, and his biography as in all its distinctive features utterly fictitious, strange to say, Strauss recognizes this biography as symbolical of the spiritual history of mankind. What is false of the individual Jesus is true of the race. Humanity is "God manifest in the flesh," the child of the visible mother, Nature, and the invisible father, Spirit. It works miracles; for it subdues Nature in and around itself by the power of the Spirit. It is sinless; for pollution cleaves to the individual, but does not affect the race or its history. It dies, rises, and ascends to heaven; for the suppression of its personal and earthly life — in other words, the annihilation of individual men by death — is a reunion with the All-Father, Spirit. Faith in this metaphysical farrago is justifying and sanctifying Christian faith. Thus a history, which is the joint product of imposture and credulity, by a strange chance, (for providence there is none,) has become a symbolical representation of true spiritual philosophy.

We will now offer some of the leading considerations, which are fairly urged against the mythical theory.

1. This theory assumes that miracles are impossible. But why are they impossible, if there be a God? The power which established the order of nature includes the power to suspend or modify it, as the greater includes the less. If that order was established with a moral and spiritual purpose, for the benefit of reasoning, accountable, immortal beings, and if that same purpose may be served by the suspension of proximate causes at any one epoch of human history, then we may expect to find authentic vestiges of such an epoch. All that is needed in order to make miracles credible is the discovery of an adequate purpose, a justifying end. Such a purpose, such an end, is the development of the highest forms of goodness in human conduct and character; and whether miracles — real or imagined — have borne an essential part in such development, is an historical question which we are competent to answer. Suppose that we write down the names of all the men who have left a reputation for pre-eminent excellence, — Orientals, Greeks, Romans, ancient, modern, the lights of dark ages, the chosen representatives of every philosophical school, the

[a] *Das Leben Jesu für das Deutsche Volk.*

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finished product of the highest civilization of every type, reformers, philanthropists, those who have adorned the loftiest stations, those who have made lowly stations illustrious. Let us then separate the names into two columns, writing the Christians in one column, all the rest in the other. We shall find that we have made a horizontal division, — that the least in the Christian column is greater than the greatest out of it. From Paul, Peter, and John; from Fenelon, Xavier, Boyle, Doddridge, Martyn, Heber, Judson, Channing, men whose genius and culture conspired with their piety to make them greatly good, down to the unlettered Bedford tinker, John Pounds the cobbler, the Dairyman's daughter, with just education enough to read her Bible and to know the will of her Lord, we find traits of character, which in part are not shared in any degree, in part are but remotely approached, by the best men out of the Christian pale. Now when we look into the forming elements and processes of these Christian characters, we shall find that the miracles of the New Testament hold a foremost place, and we shall find it impossible even to conceive of their formation under the mythical theory. It is absurd to think of Paul as compassing sea and land, laying bare his back to the scourge, reaching after the crown of martyrdom, to defend a mythical resurrection and ascension of humanity; of Martyn or Judson as forsaking all the joys of civilized life, and encountering hardships worse than death, to preach Straussianism; of the Gospel according to Strauss as taking the place of Matthew's or John's Gospel in the hands of the tinker or the dairy-maid, developing the saintly spirit, heralding the triumphant deaths, of which we have such frequent record in the annals of the poor. These holy men and women have been guided and sustained in virtue by the authority of a divinely commissioned Lawgiver, whose words they have received because he had been proclaimed and attested as the Son of God by power from on high. They have had a working faith in immortality, — such a faith as no reasoning, or analogy, or instinct has ever given, — because they have stood in thought by the bier at the gates of Nain and by the tomb of Bethany; because they have seen the light that streams from the broken sepulchre of the crucified, and heard the voice of the resurrection-angel. Now if the development of the highest style of human character is a purpose worthy of God, and if in point of fact a belief in miracles has borne an essential part in the development of such characters, then are miracles not only possible, but antecedently probable and intrinsically credible. And this is an argument which cannot be impeached till Straussianism has furnished at least a few finished characters, which we can place by the side of those that have been formed by faith in a miraculously empowered and endowed Teacher and Saviour.

Miracle, lying as it does clearly within the scope of omnipotence, needs only adequate testimony to substantiate it. Human testimony is indeed appealed to in proof of the unbroken order of nature; but, so far as it goes, it proves the opposite. We can trace back no line of testimony which does not reach a miraculous epoch. Nay, if there be any one element of human nature which is universal, with exceptions as rare as idiocy or insanity, it is the appetency for miracle. So strong is this, that at the present day none are so ready to receive the drivellings of hyper-electrified women as utterances from departed spirits, and to accept the absurdities of the newest form of necromancy, as those who set aside the miracles of the New Testament and cast contempt on the risen Saviour. Such being the instinctive craving of human nature for that which is above nature, it is intrinsically probable that God has met this craving by authentic voices from the spirit-realm, by authentic glimpses from behind the veil of sense, by authentic forthreachings of the omnipotent arm from beneath the mantle of proximate causes.

2. Strauss is self-refuted on his own ground. He maintains the uniformity of the law of causation in all time, equally in the material and the intellectual universe, so that no intellectual phenomenon can make its appearance, except from causes and under conditions adapted to bring it into being. Myths, therefore, cannot originate, except from causes and under conditions favorable to their birth and growth. Now, if we examine the undoubted myths connected with the history and religion of the ancient nations, we shall find that they had their origin prior to the era of written literature; that their evident nucleus is to be sought in historical personages and events of a very early date; that they grew into fantastic forms and vast proportions by their transmission from tongue to tongue, whether in story or in song; that their various versions are the result of oral tradition through different channels, as in the separate states of Greece, and among the aboriginal tribes and prehistorical colonists of Italy; and that they received no essential additions or modifications after the age at which authentic history begins. Thus the latest of the gods, demigods and wonder-working heroes of Grecian fable — such of them as ever lived — lived seven centuries before Herodotus, and not less than four centuries before Hesiod and Homer; the various accounts we have of them appear to have been extant in the earliest period of Greek literature; and we have no proof of the origin of any extended fable or of the existence of any personage who became mythical, after that period. The case is similar with the distinctively Roman myths and the mythical portions of Roman history. They are all very considerably anterior to the earliest written history and literature of Rome. The mythical and the historical periods of all nations are entirely distinct, the one from the other. Now the Christian era falls far within the historical period. Single prodigies are indeed related in the history of that age, as they are from time to time in modern and even recent history; but the leading incidents of individual lives and the successive stages of public and national affairs in that age are detailed with the same literalness with which the history of the seventeenth or eighteenth century is written. Yet, had the conditions for the growth of myths existed, there were not wanting, then, personages, whose vast abilities, strange vicissitudes of fortune, and extended fame would have made them mythical. It is hardly possible that there could have been a fuller supply of the material for myths in the life of Hercules, or of Cadmus, or of Medea, than in that of Julius Cæsar, or of Marcus Antonius, or of Cleopatra. Nor can it be maintained that in this respect Judæa was at an earlier and more primitive stage of culture than Rome or Egypt. Josephus, the Jewish historian, was born about the time of the death of Jesus Christ, and wrote very nearly at the period assigned by Strauss for the composition of the earliest of our Gospels. In addition to what we believe to have been the

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miracles of the Old Testament, he records many undoubted myths of the early Hebrew ages; but his history of his own times, with now and then a touch of the marvellous, has no more of the mythical element or tendency than we find in the narratives of the same epoch by Roman historians. In fine, there was nothing in that age more than in this, which could give rise or currency to a mythical history.

3. Myths are vague, dateless, incoherent, dreamy, poetical; while the Gospels are eminently prosaic, circumstantial, abounding in careful descriptions of persons, and designations of places and times. The genealogies given in Matthew and Luke are represented by Strauss as mythical; but nothing could be more thoroughly opposed to our idea of a myth, and to the character of the acknowledged myths of antiquity, than such catalogues of names. We believe both these genealogies to be authentic; for Matthew alone professes to give the natural and actual ancestry of Joseph, while Luke expressly says that he is giving the legal genealogy of Jesus, (*as he was legally reckoned* being the literal rendering of the words employed by the Evangelist, ὡς ἐνομίζετο,) and it is well known that the legal genealogy of a Jew might diverge very widely from the line of his actual parentage. But even were we to admit the alleged inconsistency of the two, they both bear incontestable marks of having been copied from existing documents, and not imagined or invented. All through the Gospels we find, in close connection with the miracles of Christ, details of common Jewish life, often so minute and trivial, that they would have been wholly beneath the aim of ambitious fiction or turnid fancy, and could have found a place in the narrative only because they actually occurred. The miracles are not in a setting of their own kind, as they would have been in a fictitious narrative. They are imbedded in a singularly natural and lifelike, humble and unpretending history. The style of the Evangelists is not that of men who either wondered themselves, or expected others to wonder, at what they related; but it is the unambitious style of men who expected to be believed, and who were perfectly familiar with the marvellous events they described. Had they related these events from rumor, from a heated imagination, or with a disposition to deceive, they must have written in an inflated style, with a profusion of epithets, with frequent appeals to the sentiment of the marvellous, not unmixed with the show of argument to convince the incredulous. When we find on the current of the Gospel history not a ripple of swollen diction, not a quickening of the rhetorical pulse, not a deviation from the quiet, prosaic, circumstantial flow of narrative, in describing such events as the walking upon the sea, the raising of Lazarus, the ascension of Jesus Christ to heaven, we can account for this unparalleled literary phenomenon only by supposing that the writers had become so conversant with miracle, either in their own experience or through their intimacy with eye-witnesses, that events aside from the ordinary course of nature had ceased to be contemplated with amazement.

4. Another conclusive argument against the mythical theory is derived from the sufferings and the martyrdoms of the primitive Christians. Strauss admits that the earliest of our Gospels assumed its present form within thirty or forty years after the death of Jesus. At that time there were still living great multitudes, who must have been contemporary and coeval with Jesus, and who had the means of ascertaining the truth with regard to his personal history. Mere fable, which involved no serious consequences to those who received it, might have passed unquestioned, and might have been devoured by weak men and superstitious women with easy credulity. But men are not wont to stake their reputation, their property, their lives, on stories which they have the means of testing, without looking carefully into the evidence of their truth. Now no fact in history is more certain than that, within forty years from the death of Christ, large numbers of persons, many of them natives of Judæa, suffered the severest persecution, and incurred painful and ignominious death by fire, by crucifixion, and by exposure to wild beasts, in consequence of their professed belief in the divine mission, the miraculous endowments, and the resurrection of Jesus. Many of these persons were men of intelligence and cultivation. They must have known how far the alleged facts of the life of Jesus were confirmed by eye-witnesses, and how far and on what grounds they were called in question. They lived at a time when they could have tried the witnesses, and they must have been more or less than human if they threw away their lives for mere exaggerations or fables. The genuineness of several of Paul's epistles is admitted by Strauss, and neither he nor any one else doubts the fact of Paul's protracted sacrifices and sufferings, and his ultimate martyrdom as a Christian believer. Paul's epistles show him to have been a man of eminent power and culture, — in the opinion of many, the greatest man that God ever made; in the judgment of all, far above mediocrity. Born a Jew, educated in Jerusalem, familiar with the alleged scenes and witnesses of the miracles of Jesus, at first a persecutor of the infant church, he could have become a believer and a champion of the Christian faith only on strong evidence, and with a full knowledge of the grounds for unbelief and doubt; and we have his own statement of what he believed, and especially of his undoubting belief in the crowning miracle of the resurrection of Jesus We know of no man whose testimony as to the state of the argument as it stood in the very lifetime of the coevals of Jesus could be worth so much as his; and it is inconceivable that he, of all men, should have suffered or died in attestation of what he supposed or suspected to be myths. But we must multiply his testimony by hundreds, nay, by thousands, in order to represent the full amount and weight of the testimony of martyrdom. Now while we have not the slightest doubt that our Gospels were written, three of them at least at an earlier date than Strauss assigns to the first, and all of them by the men whose names they bear, we should deem them, if possible, more surely authenticated as to their contents, did we suppose them anonymous works of a later date; for in that case they would embody narratives already sealed by the martyr-blood of a cloud of witnesses, and thus would be not the mere story of their authors, but the story of the collective church.

5. The character of the primitive Christians is an impregnable argument for the truth of the Gospel-history, as opposed to the mythical theory. There is no doubt whatever that from the lifetime of Jesus commenced the moral regeneration of humanity. Virtues which had hardly a name before, sprang into being. Vices which had been embalmed in song and cherished in the heart of the highest civilization of the Roman empire, were con-

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demned and denounced. A loftier ethical standard — a standard which has not yet been improved upon — was held forth by the earliest Christian writers, and recognized in all the Christian communities. There were among the early Christians types of character, which have never been surpassed, hardly equalled since. Strauss maintains that there are no uncaused effects, — no effects which have not causes fully commensurate with themselves. A Jewish youth, half-enthusiast, half-impostor, must have been immeasurably inferior to those great philosophers and moralists of classic antiquity, who hardly made an impression on the depravity of their own and succeeding times. Such a youth must have had very vague notions of morality, and have been a very poor example of it He might have founded a sect of fanatics, but not a body of singularly pure, true and holy men. There is a glaring inadequacy, — nay, an entire and irreconcilable discrepancy between the cause and the effect. We can account for the moral reformation that followed the ministry of Jesus, only by supposing him endowed with a higher and calmer wisdom, with a keener sense of truth and right, with a more commanding influence over the human heart and conscience, than has ever belonged to any other being that the world has seen. Outwardly he was a humbly born, illiterate Jew, in a degenerate age, of a corrupt national stock: and there is no way of accounting for his superiority over all other teachers of truth and duty, unless we believe that he held by the gift of God a preëminence, of which his alleged sway over nature and victory over death were but the natural and fitting expression.

6. Strauss bases his theory on the assumption that our Gospels were not written by the men whose names they bear, but were the productions of authors now unknown, at later and uncertain periods; and he admits that the mythical fabric which he supposes the Gospels to be could not have had its origin under the hands, or with the sanction, of apostles or their companions. But the genuineness of no ancient, we might almost say, of no modern work, rests on stronger evidence than does the authorship of our Gospels by the men whose names they bear. In the earlier ages their composition by their now reputed authors was never denied or called in question, — not even by the heretics who on dogmatical grounds rejected some of them, and would have found it convenient to reject all, — not even by Jewish and Gentile opposers of Christianity, who argued vehemently and bitterly against their contents without impugning their genuineness. Justin Martyr, who wrote about the middle of the second century, speaks repeatedly of Memoirs of the Apostles called Gospels, and in his frequent recapitulation of what he professes to have drawn from this source there are numerous coincidences with our Gospels, not only in the facts narrated, but in words and in passages of considerable length. From his extant works we could almost reproduce the gospel history. He was a man of singularly inquisitive mind, of philosophical training, of large and varied erudition: and it is impossible that he should not have known whether these books were received without question, or whether they rested under the suspicion of spurious authorship. Irenæus, who wrote a little later, gives a detailed description of our four Gospels, naming their respective authors, and stating the order in which and the circumstances under which they were composed; and he writes, not only in his own name, but in that of the whole church, saying that these books were not and had not been called in question by any. These are but specimens of very numerous authorities that might be cited. About the same time, Celsus wrote against Christianity and he drew so largely from our Gospels as the authorized narratives of the life of Christ, that a connected history of that life might almost be made from the extant passages quoted from his writings by his Christian opponents.

In the middle and the latter half of the second century, there were large bodies of Christians in every part of the civilized world, and the copies of the Gospels must have been numbered by many thousands. Their universal reception as the works of the men whose names they now bear can be accounted for only by their genuineness. Suppose that they were spurious, yet written and circulated in the lifetime of the Apostles, — it is impossible that they should not have openly denied their authorship, and that this denial should not have left traces of itself in the days of Justin Martyr and Irenæus. Suppose that they were first put in circulation under the names they now bear, after the death of the Apostles, — it is inconceivable that there should not have been men shrewd enough to ask why they had not appeared while their authors were living, and their late appearance would have given rise to doubts and questions which would not have been quieted for several generations. Suppose that they were first issued and circulated anonymously, — there must have been a time when the names of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John were first attached to them, and it is impossible that the attaching of the names of well-known men as authors to books which had been anonymous should not have been attended by grave doubt.

The statement of Luke in the Introduction of his Gospel, and the very nature of the case render it certain that numerous other accounts, more or less authentic, of the life of Christ were early written, and some such accounts, commonly called the Apocryphal Gospels, are still extant. But we have ample evidence that no such writings were ever received as of authority, read in the churches, or sanctioned by the office-bearers and leading men in the Christian communities; and most of them disappeared at an early date. Now it is impossible to account for the discrediting and suppression of these writings, unless the Church was in the possession of authoritative records. If our Gospels had no higher authority than belonged to those narratives, all the accounts of the life of Jesus would have been received and transmitted with equal credit. But if there were four narratives written by eye-witnesses and their accredited companions, while all the rest were written by persons of inferior means of information and of inferior authority, then may we account, as we can in no other way, for the admitted fact that these four Gospels crowded all others out of the Church, and drove them into discredit, almost into oblivion.

We have then abundant reason to believe, and no reason to doubt, that our present four Gospels were written by the men whose names they bear: and if this be proved, by the confession of Strauss himself the mythical theory is untenable.

A. P. P.

* *Literature.* The preceding article would be incomplete without some further notice of the literature of the subject, which it will be convenient to distribute under several heads.

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1. *Critical history of the Gospels; their origin, mutual relation, and credibility.* In addition to the works referred to above (pp. 943, 947), the following may be mentioned: Tholuck, *Die Glaubwürdigkeit der evang. Geschichte*, 2e Aufl., Hamb. 1838; Ullmann, *Historisch oder Mythisch?* Hamb. 1838; Furness, *Jesus and his Biographers*, Philad. 1838, an enlargement of his *Remarks on the Four Gospels*; Gfrörer, *Die heilige Sage*, 2 Abth., and *Das Heiligthum u. d. Wahrheit*, Stuttg. 1838; C. H. Weisse, *Die evang. Geschichte, krit. u. philos. bearbeitet*, 2 Bde. Leipz. 1838; Wilke, *Der Urevangelist, oder exeg. krit. Untersuchung üb. d. Verwandtschaftsverhältniss der drei ersten Evangelien*, Dresd. 1838; Hennell, *Inquiry concerning the Origin of Christianity* (1st ed. 1838), 2d ed. Lond. 1841; Bruno Bauer, *Kritik der evang. Gesch. der Synoptiker*, 3 Bde. Berl. 1841–42; and *Kritik der Evangelien u. Gesch. ihres Ursprungs*, 4 Bde. Berl. 1850–52; Ebrard, *Wissenschaftliche Kritik d. evang. Geschichte* (1st ed. 1841), 2e umgearb. Aufl. Erlangen, 1850, English translation, *condensed*, Edin. 1863; W. H. Mill, *On the attempted Application of Pantheistic Principles to the Theory and Historic Criticism of the Gospels*, Cambr. (Eng.) 1840–44; Isaac Williams, *Thoughts on the Study of the Gospels*, Lond. 1842; F. J. Schwarz, *Neue Untersuchungen über d. Verwandtschafts-Verhältniss der synopt. Evangelien*, Tüb. 1844; (Anon.) *Die Evangelien, ihr Geist, ihre Verfasser und ihr Verhältniss zu einander*, Leipz. 1845; J. R. Beard, *Voices of the Church in reply to Strauss*, Lond. 1845; C. L. W. Grimm, *Die Glaubwürdigkeit der evang. Geschichte*, Jena, 1845, in opposition to Strauss and Bauer: Thiersch, *Versuch zur Herstellung d. histor. Standpunkts für d. Kritik d. neutest. Schriften*, Erlangen, 1845, comp. Baur, *Der Kritiker u. der Fanatiker*, u. s. w. Stuttg. 1846, and Thiersch, *Einige Worte üb. d. Aechtheit d. neutest. Schriften*, 1846; Schwegler, *Das nachapostolische Zeitalter*, 2 Bde. Tüb. 1846; Bleek, *Beiträge zur Evangelien-Kritik*, Berl. 1846, valuable; Davidson, *Introd. to the New Test.* vol. i. Lond. 1848; Ewald, *Ursprung und wesen der Evangelien*, in his *Jahrb. d. Bibl. wissenschaft*, 1848–1854, namely, i. 113–154; ii. 180–224; iii. 140–183; v. 178–207; vi. 32–72; comp. also ix. 49–87, x. 83–114, xii. 212–224; also his *Die drei ersten Evangelien übersezt u. erklärt*, Gött. 1850; Hilgenfeld, *Krit. Untersuchungen über die Evangelien Justin's*, u. s. w. Halle, 1850; *Das Markus-Evangelium*, Leipz. 1850; arts. in *Theol. Jahrb.* 1852, pp. 102–132, 259–293; *Die Evangelien nach ihrer Entstehung u. gesch. Bedeutung*, Leipz. 1854; arts. in *Theol. Jahrb.* 1857, pp. 381–440, 498–532, and in his *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1859, 1861, and 1862–67, *passim*; Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen üb. d. kanon. Evangelien*, Tüb. 1847, already noticed; *Das Markusevangelium*, Tüb. 1851; arts. in *Theol. Jahrb.* 1853, pp. 54–93; 1854, pp. 196–287, and *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1859; for a summary of results, see his *Das Christenthum der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, 2e Ausg. Tüb. 1860; Ritschl, *Ueber den gegenwärtigen Stand der Kritik der synopt. Evangelien*, in *Theol. Jahrb.* 1851, pp. 480–538; C. E. Stowe, *The Four Gospels, and the Hegelian Assaults upon them*, in the *Bibl. Sacra* for July 1851 and Jan. 1852, reprinted in *Journ. of Sac. Lit.* Oct. 1865 and Jan. 1866; Da Costa, *The Four Witnesses* (trans. from the Dutch), Lond. 1851, reprinted New York, 1855; T. R. Birks, *Horæ Evangelicæ or the Internal Evidence of the Gospel History*, Lond. 1851; C. R. Köstlin, *Der Ursprung u. d. Komposition d. synopt. Evangelien*, Stuttg. 1853; James Smith of Jordanhill, *Diss. on the Origin and Connection of the Gospels*, Edin. 1853; F. X. Patritius (Cath.), *De Evangeliis*, Friburgi, 1853; G. F. Simmons, *The Gospels*, etc. in the (Boston) *Christian Examiner*, May, 1853; J. H. Morison, *Genuineness of the Gospels*, ibid. Jan. 1854; C. F. Ranke, *De Libris histor. Novi Test.*, Berol. 1855; Norton, *Internal Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels*, including "Remarks on Strauss's Life of Jesus," Boston, 1855 (posthumous), — an abridged edition of his admirable work on the external *Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels* (see p. 943), has just been published, Boston, 1867; C. H. Weisse, *Die Evangelienfrage in ihrem gegenwärtigen Stadium*, Leipz. 1856; Reuss, arts. in the Strasbourg *Revue de Théol.* vols. x. xi. xv., and *Nouvelle Revue de Théol.* 1858, ii. 15–72, comp. his *Gesch. d. heiligen Schriften N. T.* 3e Ausg. 1860, § 179 ff.; Volkmar, *Die Religion Jesu*, etc. Leipz. 1857; J. T. Tobler, *Die Evangelienfrage*, Zürich, 1858, comp. Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1859 and 1860; Scherer, *Notes sur les evangiles synoptiques*, 6 articles in the *Nouvelle Rev. de Théol.* (Strasbourg), 1859 and 1860, vols. iii., iv., and v.; I. Nichols, *Hours with the Evangelists*, 2 vols. Boston, 1859–64; Westcott, *Introd. to the Study of the Gospels*, Cambr. 1860, 3d ed. 1867, Amer. reprint, Boston, 1862, 12mo; Furness, *Origin of the Gospels*, in *Christ. Exam.* for Jan. 1861, comp. his *Veil partly lifted* (1864), pp. 227–301; Weiss, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der synopt. Evangelien*, in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1861, pp. 29–100, 646–713, comp. his arts. *Die Redestücke des apostol. Matthäus*, in *Jahrb. f. Deutsche Theol.* 1864, ix. 49–140, and *Die Erzählungsstücke d. apost. Matthäus*, ibid. 1865, x. 319–376; C. Wittichen, *Bemerkungen über die Tendenz und den Lehrgehalt der synopt. Reden Jesu*, in the *Jahrb. f. Deutsche Theol.* 1862, vii. 314–372, and *Ueber den histor. Charakter der synopt. Evangelien*, ibid. 1866, xi. 427–482; Bleek, *Einl. in das N. T.*, Berl. 1862, 2d ed. 1866; Holtzmann, *Die synopt. Evangelien, ihr Ursprung u gesch. Charakter*, Leipz. 1863; Eichthal, *Les Evangiles*, 2 tom. Paris, 1863; G. A. Freytag, *Die Symphonie der Evangelien*, Neu-Ruppin, 1863; Alex. Roberts, *Discussions on the Gospels*, 2d ed., Edin. 1864; G. P. Fisher, *The Mythical Theory of Strauss*, in the *New Englander* for April, 1864, excellent; *Origin of the First Three Gospels*, ibid. Oct. 1864; *Genuineness of the Fourth Gospel*, in *Bibl. Sacra*, April, 1864; all reprinted, with additions, in his *Essays on the Supernatural Origin of Christianity*, New York, 1866; Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen über die evang. Geschichte, ihre Quellen, u. den Gang ihrer Entwickelung*, Gotha, 1864, comp. Weiss's review in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1866, pp. 129–176; M. Nicolas, *Études crit. sur la Bible — Nouveau Testament*, Paris, 1864; the Abbé Meignan, *Les Évangiles et la critique au XIXe siècle*, Paris, 1864; N. C. Burt, *Hours among the Gospels*, Philad. 1865, 12mo; Tischendorf, *Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst?* Leipz. 1865, 4th ed., greatly enlarged, 1866, Eng. trans. by W. L. Gage, Boston, 1868 (Amer. Tract. Soc.); Hilgenfeld, *Constantin Tischendorf als Defensor fidei*, in his *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1865, pp. 329–343; Volkmar, *Der Ursprung unserer Evangelien nach den Urkunden*, Zürich, 1866 (Tisch-

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endorf has replied to Hilgenfeld and Volkmar in his 4th edition); J. H. Scholten, *De oudste Getuigenissen*, etc., Leiden, 1866, trans. by Manchot, *Die ältesten Zeugnisse betreffend die Schriften des N. T. historisch untersucht*, Bremen, 1867, in opposition to Tischendorf; Hofstede de Groot, *Basilides als erster Zeuge f. Alter u. Autorität neutest. Schriften*, u. s. w. Leips. 1868 [1867], against Scholten; J. I. Mombert, *The Origin of the Gospels*, in the *Bibl. Sacra* for July and Oct. 1866, with particular reference to Strauss's *New Life of Jesus*; L. A. Sabatier, *Essai sur les sources de la vie de Jesus*, Paris, 1866; A. Réville, *La question des évangiles devant la critique moderne*, in *Rev. des Deux Mondes*, 1 mai and 1 juin, 1866; H. U. Maijboom, *Geschiedenis en Critiek der Marcus-Hypothese*, Amst. 1866; Klostermann, *Das Marcus-Evangelium nach seinem Quellenwerthe f. d. evang. Geschichte*, Gött. 1867; C. A. Row, *The Historical Character of the Gospels tested by an Examination of their Contents*, in the *Journ. of Sacred Lit.* for July and Oct. 1865, Jan. Apr. and July, 1866, and Jan. 1867, — an original and valuable series of articles, which ought to be published separately. Holtzmann, *Der gegenwärtige Stand der Evangelienfrage*, in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, Bd. viii. (1866), pp. 23-77, gives a good survey of the literature. For other reviews of the literature, see Hilgenfeld's *Der Kanon u. die Kritik des N. T.* (Halle, 1863), and Uhlhorn's article, *Die kirchenhistorischen Arbeiten des Jahrzehents von* 1851–1860, in the *Zeitschrift f. hist. Theol.* for 1866, see esp. pp. 6–19.

2. *Harmonies of the Gospels, and their Chronology.* In addition to the works named above (p. 950), the following deserve mention here: Lachmann, *De Ordine Narrationum in Evangeliis Synopticis*, in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1835, pp. 570–590, comp. his *Nov. Test.* tom. ii. (1850), pp. xiii.-xxv.; Gelpke, *Ueber die Anordn. d. Erzählungen in den synopt. Evangelien. Sendschreiben an K. Lachmann*, Bern, 1839; Lant Carpenter, *Apostolical Harmony of the Gospels*, 2d ed., Lond. 1838; J. G. Sommer, *Synoptische Tafeln* [11] *f. d. Kritik u. Exegese der drei ersten Evangelien*, Bonn, 1842; Wieseler, *Chronol. Synopse der vier Evangelien*, Hamb. 1843, Eng. trans. Lond. 1864, comp. his art. *Zeitrechnung, neutestamentliche*, in Herzog's *Real-Encykl.* xxi. 543 ff.; S. F. Jarvis, *Chronol. Introd. to the Hist. of the Church, containing an Original Harmony of the Four Gospels*, Lond. 1844, and New York, 1845, comp. J. L. Kingsley in the *New Englander* for April, 1847, and July, 1848; H. B. Hackett, *Synoptical Study of the Gospels*, in *Bibl. Sacra* for Feb. 1846; J. C. G. L. Krafft, *Chronol. u. Harm. d. vier Evangelien*, Erlang. 1848; Anger, *Synopsis Evangg. Matt. Marci Lucæ, cum Locis quæ supersunt parallelis Litterarum et Traditionum Irenæo antiquiorum*, Lips. 1852, valuable; James Strong, *New Harmony and Exposition of the Gospels, with Chronol. and Topog. Dissertations*, finely illustrated, New York, 1852, large 8vo; *Harmony of the Gospels, in the Greek of the Received Text*, by the same, New York, 1854, 12mo; Stroud, *New Greek Harm. of the Four Gospels, comprising a Synopsis and a Diatessaron*, Lond. 1853, 4to; Mimpriss, *Treasury Harmony and Practical Exposition of the Four Evangelists*, Lond. 1855, 4to; Lichtenstein, *Lebensgeschichte d. Herrn Jesu Christi in chronologischer Uebersicht*, Erlang. 1856; (E. E. Hale) *Logical Order of the Gospel Narratives*, in the *Christ. Examiner* for Sept. 1858, and *System and Order of Christ's Ministry*, ibid. Jan. 1864; M. H. Schulze, *Evangelientafel als eine übersicht. Darstellung d. synopt. Evv. in ihrem Verwandtschaftsverhältnis zu einander*, u. s. w. Leipz. 1861; Chavannes, *Détermination de quelques dates de l'hist. évangélique*, in the Strasbourg *Rev. de Théol.* 1863, pp. 209–248; Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, Bd. viii. (1866), pp. 115–322, comp. Bd. ix. (*Leben Jesu*); Sevin, *Die drei ersten Evangelien synoptisch zusammengestellt*, Wiesbaden, 1866, Greek after the *Codex Sinaiticus*, with the variations of the Rec. Text; Erni, *Evangelien-Uebersicht: sämmtliche vier kanon. Evv., auf 7 Blättern . . . wörtlich nach der offiziellen Uebersetzung d. Zürcherischen Landeskirche bearbeitet*, u. s. w. Zürich, 1867. A Harmony of the Gospels in Greek (Tischendorf's text), with various readings, notes, tables, etc., by the Rev. Frederic Gardiner, is now in press (New York, 1868).

3. *Commentaries.* Passing by older works, we may notice Campbell, *Four Gospels translated, with Notes*, reprinted Andover, 1837, 2 vols. 8vo, valuable for the Preliminary Dissertations; Kuinoel (Kühnöl), *Comm. in Libr. N. T. historicos*, 4 vols. Lips. (Matt., 4th ed. 1837; Mark and Luke, 4th ed. 1843; John, 3d ed. 1825), often unsound in philology, but still useful; Paulus, *Exeg. Handb. üb. die drei ersten Evv.*, 3 Theile, Heidelb. 1830–33; Baumgarten-Crusius, *Exeg. Schriften zum N. T.* Bd. i. in 2 Th. (Matt., Mark, Luke), Jena, 1844–45, posthumous; his *Theol. Auslegung d. Johan. Schriften* (1844–45) is more important; Olshausen, *Bibl. Comm.* Bde. i. and ii. Abth. 1, 2, 4e Aufl. rev. von Ebrard, Königsb. 1853–62, Eng. trans. revised by A. C. Kendrick, New York, 1856–57; Meyer, *Krit. exeg. Komm. üb. das N. T.* Abth. i., ii. Gött. (Matt., 5th ed. 1864; Mark and Luke 5th ed. 1867; John, 4th ed. 1862); De Wette, *Kurzyef. exeg. Handb. zum N. T.* Bd. i. Th. i.-iii. Leipz. (Matt., 4th ed. by Messner, 1857; Luke and Mark, 3d ed. 1846; John, 5th ed. by Brückner, 1863); Stier, *Die Reden des Herrn Jesu*, 2e Aufl., 7 Theile, Barmen, 1851–55, Eng. trans. 8 vols. Edin. 1855–61; John Brown, *Discourses and Sayings of our Lord Jesus Christ*, 3 vols. Edin. 1850, reprinted in 2 vols. New York, 1864; Ewald, *Die drei ersten Evv. übers. u. erklärt*, Gött. 1850, and *Die Johan. Schriften übers. u. erklärt*, Gött. 1861–62; Norton, *New Translation of the Gospels, with Notes*, 2 vols. Boston, 1855, posthumous; Joel Jones (Judge), *Notes on Scripture*, Philad. 1861; Bleek, *Synopt. Erklärung der drei ersten Evangelien*, 2 Bde. Leipz. 1862; Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, Bd. iv. Th. i. (1862), ed. by Holtzmann, translation with brief notes; and the *Greek Testaments* of Bloomfield (9th ed. 1855), Alford (5th ed. 1863), Webster and Wilkinson (1855), and Wordsworth (4th ed. 1866). Of Lange's great *Bibelwerk*, "critical, theological, and homiletical," the vols. on Matthew, Mark, and Luke have been translated and published in this country, with valuable additions, under the general editorship of Dr. Schaff (New York, 1865–66); the volume on John is in press. Nast's *Commentary* (Matt. and Mark, Cincinnati, 1864) is on a similar plan. This volume has a valuable General Introduction to the Gospels treating of their genuineness, authenticity, harmony etc., which has also been issued separately. Since the publication of the Rev. Albert Barnes's *Notes on the Gospels*, 2 vols. New York, 1832, 17th ed. revised, 1847 (when 32,000 copies had already

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been sold), numerous popular commentaries have appeared in this country, representing more or less the theological views of different religious denominations, as by H. J. Ripley (Baptist), 2 vols. Boston, 1837–38; Jos. Longking (Methodist), 4 vols. 16mo, New York, 1841–44; A. A. Livermore (Unitarian), 2 vols. Boston, 1841–42; L. R. Paige (Universalist), 2 vols. Boston, 1844–45; M. W. Jacobus, 3 vols. New York, 1843–56; C. H. Hall (Episcopalian). 2 vols. New York, 1857; J. J. Owen, 3 vols. New York, 1857–60 D. D. Whedon (Methodist), 2 vols New York, 1860–66; and I. P. Warren, *New Test. with Notes*, vol. i. Boston, 1867 (Amer. Tr. Soc.). Of works illustrating portions of the Gospels, Abp. Trench's *Notes on the Parables* (1841, 9th ed. 1864), *Notes on the Miracles* (1846, 7th ed. 1860), and *Studies in the Gospels* (1867), of all of which we have American editions, deserve particular mention. Wichelhaus has written an elaborate commentary on the history of the Passion Week (*Ausführl. Komm. zu d. Gesch. des Leidens Jesu Christi*, Halle, 1855). Of the works named above, the most valuable in a critical and philological point of view are those of Meyer, De Wette, and Bleek. For treatises on the separate Gospels, see their respective names; see also the article JESUS CHRIST. A.

GOTHOLI'AS. Josias, son of Gotholias (Γοθολίου: *Gotholiæ*), was one of the sons of Elam who returned from Babylon with Esdras (1 Esdr. viii. 33). The name is the same as ATHALIAH, with the common substitution of the Greek G for the Hebrew guttural *Ain* (comp. Gomorrah, Gaza, etc.). This passage compared with 2 K. xi. 1, &c. shows that Athaliah was both a male and female name.

GOTHO'NIEL (Γοθονιήλ, *i. e.* Othniel; [Sin.¹ Γοθονιου, gen.:] *Gothoniel*), father of Chabris, who was one of the governors (ἄρχοντες) of the city of Bethulia (Jud. vi. 15).

GOURD. I. קִיקָיוֹן, only in Jon. iv. 6–10: κολοκύνθη: *hedera*. A difference of opinion has long existed as to the plant which is intended by this word. The argument is as old as Jerome, whose rendering *hedera* was impugned by Augustine as a heresy! In reality Jerome's rendering was not intended to be critical, but rather as a kind of *pis aller* necessitated by the want of a proper Latin word to express the original. Besides he was unwilling to leave it in merely Latinized Hebrew (*kikayon*), which might have occasioned misapprehensions. Augustine, following the LXX. and Syr. Versions, was in favor of the rendering *gourd*, which was adopted by Luther, the A. V., etc. In Jerome's description of the plant called in Syr. *karo*, and Punic *el-keroa*, Celsius recognizes the *Ricinus Palma Christi*, or Castor-oil plant (*Hierobot.* ii. 273 ff.; Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 293, 623). The *Ricinus* was seen by Niebuhr (*Descript. of Arab.* p. 148) at Basra, where it was distinguished by the name *el-keroa*; by Rauwolf (*Trav.* p. 52) it was noticed in great abundance near Tripoli, where the Arabs called it *el-kerua*; while both Hasselquist and Robinson observed very large specimens of it in the neighborhood of Jericho ("Ricinus in altitudinem arboris insignis," Hasselq. p. 555; see also Rob. i. 553).

Niebuhr observes that the Jews and Christians at Mosul (Nineveh) maintained that the tree which sheltered Jonah was not "el-keroa," but "el-kerra," a sort of *gourd*. This revival of the August. rendering has been defended by J. E. Faber (*Notes on Harmer's Observations*, etc. i. 145). And it must be confessed that the evidently miraculous character of the narrative in Jon. deprives the *Palma Christi* of any special claim to identification on the ground of its rapid growth and decay, as described by Niebuhr. Much more important, however, is it to observe the tree-like character of this plant, rendering it more suitable for the purpose which it is stated to have fulfilled; also the authority of the Palestine Jews who were contemporaries of Jerome, as compared with that of the Mosul Jews conversed with by Niebuhr. But most decisive of all seems the derivation of the Hebrew word from the Egyptian *kiki* (Herod. ii. 94; comp. Bähr, *ad loc.*; and Jablonsky, *Opusc.* pt. i. p. 110) established by Celsius, with whose arguments Michaelis declares himself entirely satisfied (J. D. Mich. *Suppl.*); and confirmed by the Talmudical קִיקְיוֹן שֶׁמֶן, kik-oil, prepared from the seeds of the *Ricinus* (Buxt. *Lex. Chald. Talmud.* col. 2029), and Dioscorides, iv. 164, where κρότων (= *Palma Christi*) is described under the name of *κίκι*, and the oil made from its seeds is called *κίκινον ἔλαιον*.

II. פַּקֻּעוֹת, and פָּקָעִים. (1.) In 2 K. iv. 39; a fruit used as food, disagreeable to the taste, and supposed to be poisonous. (2.) In 1 K. vi. 18, vii. 24, as an architectural ornament, where A. V. "knops." In Hebrew the *plant* is described as גֶּפֶן שָׂדֶה: ἄμπελον ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ: *vitem silvestrem*; whence in A. V. "wild vine" [2 K. iv. 39]. The *fruit* is called in Hebrew as above; τολύπη ἀγρία, LXX. = ἀγρία κολοκύνθη, Suid.: *colocynthides agri*; "wild gourds," A. V.

The inconsistency of all these renderings is manifest; but the fact is that the Hebrew name of the *plant* may denote any shrub which grows in tendrils, such as the colocynth, or the cucumber. Rosenmüller and Gesenius pronounce in favor of the *wild cucumber*, *Cucumis agrestis* or *asininus* (Cels. *Hierobot.* i. 393 ff.). This opinion is confirmed by the derivation from פָּקַע, to burst. The wild cucumber bursts at the touch of the finger, and scatters its seeds, which the colocynth does not (Rosenm. *Alterthumsk.* iv. pt. 1, &c.).

T. E. B.

There can, we think, be no reasonable doubt that the *kikáyon* which afforded shade to the prophet Jonah before Nineveh is the *Ricinus communis*, or castor-oil plant, which, formerly a native of Asia, is now naturalized in America, Africa, and the south of Europe. This plant, which varies considerably in size, being in India a tree, but in England seldom attaining a greater height than three or four feet, receives its generic name from the resemblance its fruit was anciently supposed to bear to the *acarus* ("tick") of that name. See Dioscorides (iv. 161, ed. Sprengel) and Pliny (*H. N.* xv. 7). The leaves are large and palmate, with serrated lobes, and would form an excellent shelter for the sun-stricken prophet. The seeds contain the oil so well known under the name of "castor-oil," which has for ages been in high repute as a medicine.

With regard to the "wild gourds" (פַּקֻּעוֹת, *pakkuóth*) of 2 K. iv. 39, which one of "the sons of the prophets" gathered ignorantly, supposing them to be good for food, there can be no doubt

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Castor-oil plant.



Colocynth.

that it is a species of the gourd tribe (*Cucurbitaceæ*), which contain some plants of a very bitter and dangerous character. The leaves and tendrils of this family of plants bear some resemblance to those of the vine. Hence the expression, "wild vine;"[a] and as several kinds of *Cucurbitaceæ*, such as melons, pumpkins, etc., are favorite articles of refreshing food amongst the Orientals, we can easily understand the cause of the mistake.

The plants which have been by different writers identified with the *pakkuôth* are the following: the colocynth, or coloquintida (*Citrullus colocynthis*); the *Cucumis prophetarum*, or globe cucumber; and the *Ecbalium* (*Momordica*) *elaterium*; all of which have claims to denote the plant in question.

The etymology of the word from פָּקַע, "to split or burst open," has been thought to favor the identification of the plant with the *Ecbalium elaterium*,[b] or "squirting cucumber," so called from the elasticity with which the fruit, when ripe, opens and scatters the seeds when touched. This is the ἄγριος σίκυος of Dioscorides (iv. 152) and Theophrastus (vii. 6, § 4, &c.), and the *Cucumis sylvestris* of Pliny (*H. N.* xx. 2). Celsius (*Hierob.* i. 393), Rosenmüller (*Bibl. Bot.* p. 128), Winer (*Bibl. Realw.* i. 525), and Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 1122), are in favor of this explanation, and, it must be confessed, not without some reason. The old versions, however, understand the colocynth, the fruit of which is about the size of an orange. The drastic medicine in such general use is a preparation from this plant. Michaelis (*Suppl. Lex. Heb.* p. 344) and Oedmann (*Verm. Samm.* iv. 88) adopt this explanation; and since, according to Kitto (*Pict. Bibl.* i. c.), the dry gourds of the colocynth, when crushed, burst with a crashing noise, there is much reason for being satisfied with an explanation which has authority, etymology, and general suitableness in its favor. All the above-named plants are found in the East. W. H.

[a] One went out into the field to gather potherbs (אֹרֶת), and found a *wild vine*" (גֶּפֶן שָׂדֶה).

[b] From ἐκβάλλω.

* There is a Letter relating to Jonah's GOURD in the *Bibl. Sacra*, xii. 396 ff., from the late Rev. H. Lobdell, M. D., missionary at *Mosûl* in Mesopotamia. He says that "the Mohammedans, Christians, and Jews *all* agree in referring the plant to the *ker'a*, a kind of pumpkin peculiar to the East. The leaves are large, and the rapidity of the growth of the plant is astonishing. Its fruit is, for the most part, eaten in a fresh state, and is somewhat like the squash. It has no more than a generic resemblance to the gourd of the United States, though I suppose that both are species of the *cucurbita*. It is grown in great abundance on the alluvial banks of the Tigris, and on the plain between the river and ruins of Nineveh, which is about a mile wide." He gives reasons for supposing that the LXX. κολοκύνθη was really meant to designate that plant. Dr. Pusey (*Jonah*, p. 259) follows those who adopt our marginal rendering as correct, namely, *palmcrist* or the castor-oil plant as described above. He remarks concerning this plant (which must be true, perhaps, of any plant with which the *kikâyón* was identical) that while the rapidity of its growth was supernatural, it was a growth in conformity with the natural character of the product. H.

GOVERNOR. In the A. V. this one English word is the representative of no less than ten Hebrew and four [five] Greek words. To discriminate between them is the object of the following article.

1. אַלּוּף, *allûph*, the chief of a tribe or family, אֶלֶף, *eleph* (Judg. vi. 15; Is. lx. 22; Mic. v. 2), and equivalent to the "prince of a thousand" of Ex. xviii. 21, or the "head of a thousand" of Num. i. 16. It is the term applied to the "dukes" of Edom (Gen. xxxiv.). The LXX. have retained the etymological significance of the word in rendering it by χιλίαρχος in Zech. ix. 7; xii. 5, 6 (comp. שָׁלִישׁ, from שָׁלֹשׁ). The usage in other passages seems to imply a more intimate relationship than that which would exist between a chieftain

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and his fellow-clansmen, and to express the closest friendship. *Allûph* is then "a guide, director, counsellor" (Ps. lv. 13; Prov. ii. 17; Jer. iii. 4), the object of confidence or trust (Mic. v. 2).

2. חוֹקֵק, *chôkêk* (Judg. v. 9), and 3. מְחֹקֵק, *m'chôkêk* (Judg. v. 14), denote a ruler in his capacity of *lawgiver* and dispenser of justice (Gen. xlix. 10; Prov. viii. 15; comp. Judg. v. 14, with Is. x. 1).

4. מֹשֵׁל, *môshêl*, a ruler considered especially as having *power* over the property and persons of his subjects; whether his authority were absolute, as in Josh. xii. 2, of Sihon, and in Ps. cv. 20, of Pharaoh; or delegated, as in the case of Abraham's steward (Gen. xxiv. 2), and Joseph as second to Pharaoh (Gen. xlv. 8, 26, Ps. cv. 21). The "governors of the people" in 2 Chr. xxiii. 20 appear to have been the king's body-guard (cf. 2 K. xi. 19).

5. נָגִיד, *nâgîd*, is connected etymologically with נָגַד and נֶגֶב, and denotes a *prominent* personage, whatever his capacity. It is applied to a king as the military and civil chief of his people (2 Sam. v. 2, vi. 21; 1 Chr. xxix. 22), to the general of an army (2 Chr. xxxii. 21), and to the head of a tribe (2 Chr. xix. 11). The heir-apparent to the crown was thus designated (2 Chr. xi. 22), as holding a prominent position among the king's sons. The term is also used of persons who fulfilled certain offices in the temple, and is applied equally to the high-priest (2 Chr. xxxi. 10, 13), as to inferior priests (2 Chr. xxxv. 8) to whose charge were committed the treasures and the dedicated things (1 Chr. xxvi. 24), and to Levites appointed for special service (2 Chr. xxxi. 12). It denotes an officer of high rank in the palace, the lord high chamberlain (2 Chr. xxviii. 7), who is also described as "over the household" (1 K. iv. 6), or "over the house" (1 K. xviii. 3). Such was the office held by Shebna, the scribe, or secretary of state (Is. xxii. 15), and in which he was succeeded by Eliakim (2 K. xviii. 18). It is perhaps the equivalent of *οἰκονόμος*, Rom. xvi. 23, and of *ἐφοτονάρης*, 1 Esdr. vii. 2 (cf. 1 Esdr. i. 8).

6. נָשִׂיא, *nâsî*. The prevailing idea in this word is that of *elevation*. It is applied to the chief of the tribe (Gen. xvii. 20; Num. ii. 3, &c.), to the heads of sections of a tribe (Num. iii. 32, vii. 2), and to a powerful sheykh (Gen. xxiii. 6). It appears to be synonymous with *allûph* in 2 Chr. i. 2, נְשִׂיאֵי אָבוֹת = רָאשֵׁי אָבוֹת (cf. 2 Chr. v. 2). In general it denotes a man of elevated rank. In later times the title was given to the president of the great Sanhedrim (Selden, *De Synedriis*, ii. 6, § 1).

7. פֶּחָה, *pechâh*, is probably a word of Assyrian origin. It is applied in 1 K. x. 15 to the petty chieftains who were tributary to Solomon (2 Chr. x. 14); to the military commander of the Syrians (1 K. xx. 24), the Assyrians (2 K. xviii. 24), the Chaldeans (Jer. li. 23), and the Medes (Jer. li. 28). Under the Persian viceroys, during the Babylonian captivity, the land of the Hebrews appears to have been portioned out among "governors" (פַּחֲוֹת, *pachâth*) inferior in rank to the satraps (Ezr. viii. 36), like the other provinces which were under the dominion of the Persian king (Neh. ii. 7, 9). It is impossible to determine the precise limits of their authority, or the functions which they had to perform. They formed a part of the Babylonian system of government, and are expressly distinguished from the סְגָנִים, *s'gânîm* (Jer. li. 23, 28), to whom, as well as to the satraps, they seem to have been inferior (Dan. iii. 2, 3, 27); as also from the שָׁלִישִׁים, *shârîm* (Esth. iii. 12, viii. 9), who, on the other hand, had a subordinate jurisdiction. Sheshbazzar, the "prince" (נָשִׂיא, Ezr. i. 8) of Judah, was appointed by Cyrus "governor" of Jerusalem (Ezr. v. 14), or "governor of the Jews," as he is elsewhere designated (Ezr. vi. 7), an office to which Nehemiah afterwards succeeded (Neh. v. 14) under the title of Tirshatha (Ezr. ii. 63; Neh. viii. 9). Zerubbabel, the representative of the royal family of Judah, is also called the "governor" of Judah (Hag. i. 1), but whether in consequence of his position in the tribe or from his official rank is not quite clear. Tatnai, the "governor" beyond the river, is spoken of by Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 4, § 4) under the name of Sisines, as *ἔπαρχος* of Syria and Phœnicia (cf. 1 Esd. vi. 3); the same term being employed to denote the Roman proconsul or proprætor as well as the procurator (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8, § 1). It appears from Ezr. vi. 8 that these governors were intrusted with the collection of the king's taxes; and from Neh. v. 18, xii. 26, that they were supported by a contribution levied upon the people, which was technically termed "the bread of the governor" (comp. Ezr. iv. 14). They were probably assisted in discharging their official duties by a council (Ezr. iv. 7, vi. 6). In the Peshito version of Neh. iii. 11, Pahath Moab is not taken as a proper name, but is rendered "chief of Moab;" and a similar translation is given in other passages where the words occur, as in Ezr. ii. 6, Neh. vii. 11, x. 14. The "governor" beyond the river had a judgment-seat at Jerusalem, from which probably he administered justice when making a progress through his province (Neh. iii. 7).

8. פָּקִיד, *pâkîd*, denotes simply a person *appointed* to any office. It is used of the officers proposed to be appointed by Joseph (Gen. xli. 34); of Zebul, Abimelech's lieutenant (Judg. ix. 28); of an officer of the high-priest (2 Chr. xxiv. 11), inferior to the *nâgîd* (2 Chr. xxxi. 12, 13), or *pâkîd nâgîd* (Jer. xx. 1); and of a priest or Levite of high rank (Neh. xi. 14, 22). The same term is applied to the eunuch who was over the men of war (2 K. xxv. 19; Jer. lii. 25), and to an officer appointed for especial service (Esth. ii. 3). In the passage of Jer. xx. above quoted it probably denotes the captain of the temple guard mentioned in Acts iv. 1, v. 24, and by Josephus (*B. J.* vi. 5, § 3).

9. שַׁלִּיט, *shallît*, a man of *authority*. Applied to Joseph as Pharaoh's prime minister (Gen. xlii. 6); to Arioch, the captain of the guard, to the king of Babylon (Dan. ii. 15), and to Daniel as third in rank under Belshazzar (Dan. v. 29).

10. שַׂר, *sar*, a *chief*, in any capacity. The term is used equally of the general of an army (Gen. xxi. 22), or the commander of a division (1 K. xvi. 9, xi. 24), as of the governor of Pharaoh's prison (Gen. xxxix. 21), and the chief of his butlers and bakers (Gen. xl. 2), or herdsmen (Gen. xlvii. 6). The chief officer of a city, in his civic capacity, was thus designated (1 K. xxii. 26; 2 K. xxiii. 8). The same dignitary is elsewhere described as "over

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the city" (Neh. xi. 9). In Judg. ix. 30 *sar* is synonymous with *pâkîd* in ver. 28, and with both *pâkîd* and *nâgîd* in 1 Chr. xxiv. 5. שָׂרֵי הַמְּדִינוֹת, *sârê hamm'dînôth*, "the princes of provinces" (1 K. xx. 14), appear to have held a somewhat similar position to the "governors" under the Persian kings.

11. Ἐθνάρχης, 2 Cor. xi. 32 — an officer of rank under Aretas, the Arabian king of Damascus. It is not easy to determine the capacity in which he acted. The term is applied in 1 Macc. xiv. 47, xv. 1 to Simon the high-priest, who was made general and *ethnarch* of the Jews, as a vassal of Demetrius. From this the office would appear to be distinct from a military command. The jurisdiction of Archelaus, called by Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 6, § 3) an ethnarchy, extended over Idumæa, Samaria, and all Judæa, the half of his father's kingdom, which he held as the emperor's vassal. But, on the other hand, Strabo (xvii. 13), in enumerating the officers who formed part of the machinery of the Roman government in Egypt, mentions ethnarchs apparently as inferior both to the military commanders and to the nomarchs, or governors of districts. Again, the prefect of the colony of Jews in Alexandria (called by Philo γενάρχης, *lib. in Flacc.* § 10) is designated by this title in the edict of Claudius given by Josephus (*Ant.* xix. 5, § 2). According to Strabo (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 7, § 2) he exercised the prerogatives of an ordinary independent ruler. It has therefore been conjectured that the ethnarch of Damascus was merely the governor of the resident Jews, and this conjecture receives some support from the parallel narrative in Acts ix. 24, where the Jews alone are said to have taken part in the conspiracy against the Apostle. But it does not seem probable that an officer of such limited jurisdiction would be styled "the ethnarch of Aretas the king;" and as the term is clearly capable of a wide range of meaning, it was most likely intended to denote one who held the city and district of Damascus as the king's vassal or representative.

12. Ἡγεμών, the *procurator* of Judæa under the Romans (Matt. xxvii. 2, etc.). The verb is employed (Luke ii. 2) to denote the nature of the jurisdiction of Quirinus over the imperial province of Syria.

13. Οἰκονόμος (Gal. iv. 2), a steward; apparently intrusted with the management of a minor's property.

14. Ἀρχιτρίκλινος, John ii. 9, "the *governor* of the feast." It has been conjectured, but without much show of probability, that this officer corresponded to the συμποσίαρχος of the Greeks, whose duties are described by Plutarch (*Sympos. Quæst.* 4), and to the *arbiter bibendi* of the Romans. Lightfoot supposes him to have been a kind of chaplain, who pronounced the blessings upon the wine that was drunk during the seven days of the marriage feast. Again, some have taken him to be equivalent to the τραπεζοποιός, who is defined by Pollux (*Onom.* vi. 1) as one who had the charge of all the servants at a feast, the carvers, cupbearers, cooks, etc. But there is nothing in the narrative of the marriage feast at Cana which would lead to the supposition that the ἀρχιτρίκλινος held the rank of a servant. He appears rather to have been on intimate terms with the bridegroom, and to have presided at the banquet in his stead. The duties of the master of a feast are given at full length in Ecclus. xxxv. (xxxii.).

In the Apocryphal books, in addition to the common words, ἄρχων, δεσπότης, στρατηγός, which are rendered "governor," we find ἐπιστάτης (1 Esdr. i. 8; Jud. ii. 14), which closely corresponds to פָּקִיד: ἔπαρχος used of Zerubbabel and Tatnai (1 Esdr. vi. 3, 29, vii. 1), and προστάτης, applied to Sheshbazzar (1 Esdr. ii. 12), both of which represent פֶּחָה: ἱεροστάτης (1 Esdr. vii. 2) and προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ (2 Macc. iii. 4), "the governor of the temple" = נְגִיד (cf. 2 Chr. xxxv. 8) and σατράπης (1 Esdr. iii. 2, 21), "a satrap," never always used in its strict sense, but as the equivalent of στρατηγός (Jud. v. 2, vii. 8).

W. A. W.

* 15. Ὁ εὐθύνων, *the governor* (*dirigens*, Vulg.), Jas. iii. 4, where the pilot or helmsman is meant. Both κυβερνήτης (Acts xxvii. 11 and Rev. xviii. 17) and the Latin *gubernator*, whence our "governor" is derived, denote the man at the helm of the vessel. H.

GO'ZAN גּוֹזָן [perh. *quarry*, Ges.; *ford*, Fürst]: Γωζάν; [Vat. 2 K. xvii. 6, Γωζάρ, and 1 Chr., Χωζαρ:] *Gozan*, [in Is., *Gozam*]) seems in the A. V. of 1 Chr. v. 26 to be the name of a river; but in Kings (2 K. xvii. 6, and xviii. 11) it is evidently applied not to a river but a country.[a] Where Kings and Chronicles differ, the authority of the latter is weak; and the name Gozan will therefore be taken in the present article for the name of a tract of country.

Gozan was the tract to which the Israelites were carried away captive by Pul, Tiglath-Pileser, and Shalmaneser, or possibly Sargon. It has been variously placed; but it is probably identical with the *Gauzanitis* of Ptolemy (*Geograph.* v. 18), and may be regarded as represented by the Mygdonia of other writers (Strab., Polyb., etc.). It was the tract watered by the Habor (Ἀβόρρας, or Χαβόρας), the modern *Khabour*, the great Mesopotamian affluent of the Euphrates. Mr. Layard describes this region as one of remarkable fertility (*Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 269–313). According to the LXX. Halah and Habor were *both* rivers of Gozan (2 K. xvii. 6); but this is a mistranslation of the Hebrew text, and it is corrected in the following chapter, where we have the term "river" used in the singular of the Habor only. Halah seems to have been a region adjoining Gozan. [Halah.] With respect to the term Mygdonia, which became the recognized name of the region in classic times, and which Strabo (xvi. 1, § 27) and Plutarch (*Lucull.* c. 32) absurdly connect with the Macedonian Mygdones, it may be observed that it is merely Gozan, with the participial or adjectival מ prefixed. The Greek writers always represent the Semitic *z* by their own *d*. Thus Gaza became Cadytis, Achzib became Ecdippa, the river Zab became the Diaba, and Mygdon became Mygdon.

The conjunction of Gozan with Haran or Harran in Isaiah (xxxvii. 12) is in entire agreement with

a * On the contrary, Fürst maintains (*Handw.* * *) that a region and a river bore this name (the latter the Kizel-Ozen, Ritter's *Erdk.* viii. 590, 615). The district was on the river, and a ford there (see above) may have given name to both. H.

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the position here assigned to the former. As Gozan was the district on the *Khabour*, so Harar was that upon the *Bilik*, the next affluent of the Euphrates. [See CHARRAN.] The Assyrian kings, having conquered the one, would naturally go on to the other. G. R.

GRABA ('Αγραβά; [so Ald.; Vat.] Alex. [and 10 other MSS.] 'Αγγραβά: *Armacha*), 1 Esdr. v. 29. [HAGABA.] As is the case with many names in the A. V. of the Apocryphal books, it is not obvious whence our translators got the form they have here employed — without the initial A, which even the corrupt Vulgate retains.

* GRAFT (Rom. xi. 17 ff.). [See OLIVE.]

GRAPE. [VINE.]

GRASS. 1. This is the ordinary rendering of the Heb. word חָצִיר, which signifies properly an inclosed spot, from the root חָצַר, to inclose; but this root also has the second meaning to flourish, and hence the noun frequently signifies "fodder," "food of cattle." In this sense it occurs in 1 K. xviii. 5; Job xl. 15; Ps. civ. 14; Is. xv. 6, &c. As the herbage rapidly fades under the parching heat of the sun of Palestine, it has afforded to the sacred writers an image of the fleeting nature of human fortunes (Job viii. 12; Ps. xxxvii. 2), and also of the brevity of human life (Is. xl. 6, 7; Ps. xc. 5). The LXX. render חָצִיר by *βοτάνη* and *πόα*, but most frequently by *χόρτος*, a word which in Greek has passed through the very same modifications of meaning as its Hebrew representative: *χόρτος* = *gramen*, "fodder," is properly *a court or inclosed space* for cattle to feed in (Hom. *Il.* xi. 774), and then any feeding-place whether inclosed or not (Eur. *Iph. T.* 134, *χόρτοι εὐδένδροι*). Gesenius questions whether חָצִיר, *χόρτος*, and the Sanak. *harit* = "green" may not be traceable to the same root.

2. In Jer. l. 11, A. V. renders כְּעֶגְלָה דָּשָׁא *as the heifer at grass*, and the LXX. *ὡς βοῦδια ἐν βοτάνῃ*. It should be "as the heifer treading out corn" (comp. Hos. x. 11). דֶּשֶׁא comes from דּוּשׁ, *conterere, triturare*, and has been confounded with דֶּשֶׁא, *gramen*, from root דָּשָׁא, to germinate. This is the word rendered *grass* in Gen. i. 11, 12, where it is distinguished from עֵשֶׂב, the latter signifying *herb* suitable for human food, while the former is *herbage* for cattle. Gesenius says it is used chiefly concerning grass, which has no seed (at least none obvious to general observers), and the smaller weeds which spring up spontaneously from the soil. The LXX. render it by *χλόη*, as well as by *χόρτος*, *βοτάνη*, and *πόα*.

3. In Num. xxii. 4, where mention is made of the ox licking up the grass of the field, the Heb. word is יֶרֶק, which elsewhere is rendered *green*, when followed by דֶּשֶׁא or עֵשֶׂב, as in Gen. i. 30, and Ps. xxxvii. 2. It answers to the German *das Grüne*, and comes from the root יָרַק, to flourish like grass.

4. עֵשֶׂב is used in Deut., in the Psalms, and in the Prophets, and, as distinguished from דֶּשֶׁא, signifies *herb* for human food (Gen. i. 30; Ps. civ. 14), but also fodder for cattle (Deut. xi 15; Jer. xiv. 6). It is the grass of the field (Gen. ii. 5 Ex. ix. 22) and of the mountain (Is. xiii. 15 Prov. xxvii. 25).

In the N. T. wherever the word grass occurs it is the representative of the Greek *χόρτος*.[a]

W. D.

* GRASS ON THE HOUSE-TOP. [ANATHOTH, Amer. ed.]

GRASSHOPPER. [LOCUST.]

* GRATE. [ALTAR.]

GRAVE. [BURIAL.]

GREAVES (מִצְחָה). This word occurs in the A. V. only in 1 Sam. xvii. 6, in the description of the equipment of Goliath — "he had greaves of brass upon his legs." Its ordinary meaning is a piece of defensive armor which reached from the foot to the knee, and thus protected the shin of the wearer. This was the case with the *κνημίς* of the Greeks, which derived its name from its covering the *κνήμη*, *i. e.* the part of the leg above-named. But the *Mitzchah* of the above passage can hardly have been armor of this nature. Whatever the armor was, it was not worn on the legs, but on the feet (רגלי) of Goliath. It appears to be derived from a root signifying brightness, as of a star (see Gesenius and Fürst). The word is not in either the dual or plural number, but is singular. It would therefore appear to have been more a kind of shoe or boot than a "greave;" though in our ignorance of the details of the arms of the Hebrews and the Philistines we cannot conjecture more closely as to its nature. At the same time it must be allowed that all the old versions, including Josephus, give it the meaning of a piece of armor for the leg — some even for the thigh. G.

GREECE, GREEKS, GRECIANS. The histories of Greece and Palestine are as little connected as those of any other two nations exercising the same influence on the destinies of mankind could well be.

The Homeric Epos in its widest range does not include the Hebrews, while on the other hand the Mosaic idea of the Western world seems to have been sufficiently indefinite. It is possible that Moses may have derived some geographical outlines from the Egyptians; but he does not use them in Gen. x. 2–5, where he mentions the descendants of Javan as peopling the isles of the Gentiles. This is merely the vaguest possible indication of a geographical locality; and yet it is not improbable that his Egyptian teachers were almost equally in the dark as to the position of a country which had not at that time arrived at a unity sufficiently imposing to arrest the attention of its neighbors. The amount and precision of the information possessed by Moses must be measured by the nature of the relation which we can conceive as existing in his time between Greece and Egypt. Now it appears from Herodotus that prior to the Trojan war the current of tradition, sacred and mythological, set from Egypt towards Greece; and the first quasi-historical event which awakened the curiosity, and stimulated the imagination of the Egyptian priests,

[a] * In Matt. xiii. 26 and Mark iv. 28 *χόρτος* is rendered "blade," and in 1 Cor. iii. 12 "hay." The other translation occurs 12 times.

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was the story of Paris and Helen (Herod. ii. 43, 51, 52, and 112). At the time of the Exodus, therefore, it is not likely that Greece had entered into any definite relation whatever with Egypt. Withdrawn from the sea-coast, and only gradually fighting their way to it during the period of the Judges, the Hebrews can have had no opportunity of forming connections with the Greeks. From the time of Moses to that of Joel, we have no notice of the Greeks in the Hebrew writings, except that which was contained in the word JAVAN (Gen. x. 2); and it does not seem probable that during this period the word had any peculiar significance for a Jew, except in so far as it was associated with the idea of islanders. When, indeed, they came into contact with the Ionians of Asia Minor, and recognized them as the long-lost islanders of the western migration, it was natural that they should mark the similarity of sound between יָוָן = יוֹן and Iones, and the application of that name to the Asiatic Greeks would tend to satisfy in some measure a longing to realize the Mosaic ethnography. Accordingly the O. T. word which is *Grecia*, in A. V. *Greece*, *Greeks*, etc., is in Hebrew יָוָן, *Javan* (Joel iii. 6; Dan. viii. 21): the Hebrew, however, is sometimes retained (Is. lxvi. 19; Ez. xxvii. 13). In Gen. x. 2, the LXX. have καὶ Ἰώναν καὶ Ἐλισά, with which Rosenmüller compares Herod. i. 56–58, and professes to discover the two elements of the Greek race. From Ἰώναν he gets the Ionian or Pelasgian, from Ἐλισά (for which he supposes the Heb. original אֶלִישָׁה), the Hellenic element. This is excessively fanciful, and the degree of accuracy which it implies upon an ethnological question cannot possibly be attributed to Moses, and is by no means necessarily involved in the fact of his divine inspiration.

The Greeks and Hebrews met for the first time in the slave-market. The medium of communication seems to have been the Tyrian slave-merchant. About B. C. 800 Joel speaks of the Tyrians as selling the children of Judah to the Grecians (Joel iii. 6); and in Ez. xxvii. 13 the Greeks are mentioned as bartering their brazen vessels for slaves. On the other hand, Bochart says that the Greek slaves were highly valued throughout the East (*Geogr. Sac.* pt. i. lib. iii. c. 3, p. 175); and it is probable that the Tyrians took advantage of the calamities which befell either nation to sell them as slaves to the other. Abundant opportunities would be afforded by the attacks of the Lydian monarchy on the one people, and the Syrian on the other; and it is certain that Tyre would let slip no occasion of replenishing her slave-market.

Prophetical notice of Greece occurs in Dan. viii. 21, etc., where the history of Alexander and his successors is rapidly sketched. Zechariah (ix. 13) foretells the triumphs of the Maccabees against the Greco-Syrian empire, while Isaiah looks forward to the conversion of the Greeks, amongst other Gentiles, through the instrumentality of Jewish missionaries (lxvi. 19). For the connection between the Jews and the quasi-Greek kingdoms which sprang out of the divided empire of Alexander, reference should be made to other articles.

The presence of Alexander himself at Jerusalem, and his respectful demeanor, are described by Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 8, § 3); and some Jews are even said to have joined him in his expedition against Persia (Hecat. ap. Joseph. *c. Apion.* ii. 4), as the Samaritans had already done in the siege of Tyre (Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8, §§ 4–6). In 1 Macc. xii. 5–21 (about B. C. 180), and Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 4, § 10 we have an account of an embassy and letter sent by the Lacedæmonians to the Jews. [ARIUS ONIAS.] The most remarkable feature in the transaction is the claim which the Lacedæmonians prefer to kindred with the Jews, and which Areus professes to establish by reference to a book. It is by no means unlikely that two declining nations, the one crouching beneath a Roman, the other beneath a Græco-Syrian invader, should draw together in face of the common calamity. This may have been the case, or we may with Jahn (*Heb. Comm.* ix. 91, note) regard the affair as a piece of pompous trifling or idle curiosity, at a period when "all nations were curious to ascertain their origin, and their relationship to other nations."

The notices of the Jewish people which occur in Greek writers have been collected by Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 22). The chief are Pythagoras, Herodotus, Chœrilus, Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Hecatæus. The main drift of the argument of Josephus is to show that the Greek authors derived their materials from Jewish sources, or with more or less distinctness referred to Jewish history. For Pythagoras, he cites Hermippus's life; for Aristotle, Clearchus; but it should be remembered that the Neo-Platonism of these authorities makes them comparatively worthless; that Hermippus in particular belongs to that Alexandrian school which made it its business to fuse the Hebrew traditions with the philosophy of Greece, and propitiated the genius of Orientalism by denying the merit of originality to the great and independent thinkers of the West. This style of thought was further developed by Iamblichus; and a very good specimen of it may be seen in Le Clerc's notes on Grotius, *de Verit.* It has been ably and vehemently assailed by Ritter, *Hist. Phil.* b. i. c. 3.

Herodotus mentions the *Syrians of Palestine* as confessing that they derived the rite of circumcision from the Egyptians (ii. 104). Bähr, however, does not think it likely that Herodotus visited the interior of Palestine, though he was acquainted with the sea-coast. (On the other hand see Dahlmann, pp. 55, 56, Engl. transl.) It is almost impossible to suppose that Herodotus could have visited Jerusalem without giving us some more detailed account of it than the merely incidental notices in ii. 159 and iii. 5, not to mention that the site of Κάδυτις is still a disputed question.

The victory of Pharoah-Necho over Josiah at Megiddo is recorded by Herodotus (comp. Herod ii. 159 with 2 K. xxiii. 29 ff., 2 Chr. xxxv. 20 ff.). It is singular that Josephus should have omitted these references, and cited Herodotus only as mentioning the rite of circumcision.

The work of Theophrastus cited is not extant; he enumerates amongst other oaths that of *Corban*.

Chœrilus is supposed by Josephus to describe the Jews in a by no means flattering portrait of a people who accompanied Xerxes in his expedition against Greece. The chief points of identification are, their speaking the Phœnician language, and dwelling *in the Solymean mountains, near a broad lake*, which according to Josephus was the Dead Sea.

The Hecatæus of Josephus is Hecatæus of Abdera, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, and Ptolemy son of Lagus. The authenticity of the History of the Jews attributed to him by Jose-

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thus has been called in question by Origen and others.

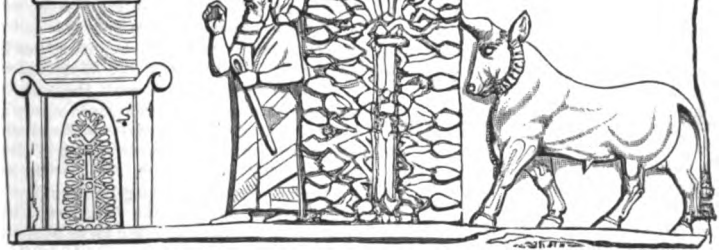
After the complete subjugation of the Greeks by the Romans, and the absorption into the Roman empire of the kingdoms which were formed out of the dominions of Alexander, the political connection between the Greeks and Jews as two independent nations no longer existed.

The name of the country, Greece, occurs once in N. T., Acts xx. 2, Ἑλλάς = Greece, *i. e.* Greece Proper, as opposed to Macedonia.[a] In the A. V. of O. T. the word *Greek* is not found; either Javan is retained, or, as in Joel iii. 6, the word is rendered by *Grecian*. In Maccabees *Greeks* and *Grecians* seem to be used indifferently (comp. 1 Macc. i. 10, vi. 2; also 2 Macc. iv. 10, *Greekish*). In N. T., on the other hand, a distinction is observed, Ἕλλην being rendered *Greek*, and Ἑλληνιστής *Grecian*. The difference of the English terminations, however, is not sufficient to convey the difference of meanings. Ἕλλην in N. T. is either a Greek by race, as in Acts xvi. 1–3, xviii. 17, Rom. i. 14; or more frequently a *Gentile*, as opposed to a Jew (Rom. ii. 9, 10, etc.); so fem. Ἑλληνίς, Mark vii. 26, Acts xvii. 12. Ἑλληνιστής (properly "one who speaks Greek") is a foreign Jew; opposed, therefore, not to Ἰουδαῖος, but to Ἑβραῖος, a home-Jew, one who dwelt in Palestine. So Schleusner, etc.: according to Salmasius, however, the Hellenists were Greek proselytes, who had become Christians; so Wolf, Parkhurst, etc., arguing from Acts xi. 20, where Ἑλληνισταί are contrasted with Ἰουδαῖοι in 19. The question resolves itself partly into a textual one, Griesbach having adopted the reading Ἕλληνας, and so also Lachmann.[b] T. E. B.

* GREEK LANGUAGE. [HELLENIST; LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.]

* GREETING. [SALUTATION.]

GREYHOUND, the translation in the text of the A. V. (Prov. xxx. 31) of the Hebrew words זַרְזִיר מָתְנַיִם (*zarzîr mothnayim*), *i. e.* "one girt about the loins." See margin, where it is conjectured that the "horse" is the animal denoted by this expression. The Alexandrine version of the LXX. has the following curious interpretation, ἀλέκτωρ ἐμπεριπατῶν ἐν θηλείαις εὔψυχος, *i. e.* "a cock as it proudly struts amongst the hens." Somewhat similar is the Vulgate, "gallus succinctus lumbos." Various are the opinions as to what animal "comely in going" is here intended. Some think "a leopard," others "an eagle," or "a man girt with armor," or "a zebra," etc. Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 435), Schultens (*Comment. ad Prov.* l. c.), Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 684), Rosenmüller (*Schol. ad Prov.* l. c., and *Not. ad Boch.* l. c.), Fuller (*Miscell. Sac.* v. 12), are in favor of a "war-horse girt with trappings" being the thing signified. But,



Sacred symbolic Tree of the Assyrians. From Lord Aberdeen's Black Stone.
(Fergusson's *Nineveh and Persepolis*, p. 298.)

later, Maurer (*Comment. Gram. in Vet. Test.* l. c.) decides unhesitatingly in favor of a "wrestler," when girt about the loins for a contest. He refers to Buxtorf (*Lex. Chald. Talm.* p. 692) to show that *zarzîr* is used in the Talmud to express "a wrestler," and thus concludes: "Sed ne opus quidem est hoc loco quanquam minime contemnendo, quum *accinctum esse* in neminem magis cadat quam in luctatorem, ita ut hæc significatio certa sit per se." There is certainly great probability that Maurer is correct. The grace and activity of the practiced athlete agrees well with the notion conveyed by the expression, "comely in going;" and the suitableness of the Hebrew words, *zarzîr mothnayim*, is obvious to every reader. W. H.

* GRINDERS, Eccl. xii. 3. [ALMOND.]

GRINDING. [MILL.]

GROVE. A word used in the A. V., with two exceptions, to translate the mysterious Hebrew term Asherah (אֲשֵׁרָה). This term is examined under its own head (p. 173), where it is observed that almost all modern interpreters agree that an idol or image of some kind must be intended, and not a grove, as our translators render, following the version of the LXX. (ἄλσος) and of the Vulgate (*lucus*). This is evident from many passages, and especially from 2 K. xxiii. 6, where we find that Josiah "brought out the Asherah" (translated by our version "the grove") "from the house of the

[a] * Ἑλλάς stands there for the stricter Ἀχαΐα (see Acts xviii. 12, and xix. 21). Wetstein has shown (*Nov. Test.* ii. 590) that Luke was justified in that use of the term. H.

[b] * Also, Tischendorf, De Wette, Meyer, and others, adopt Ἕλληνας, partly on external, and partly on internal grounds. It is a question of mixed evidence. Without this reading it is impossible to see how the sphere of the preachers in ver. 19 differs from that of those in ver. 20. It would have been nothing new at this time to preach to the Greek-speaking Jews; see *e. g.* Acts ii. 9, and ix. 20. H.

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Lord" (comp. also Judg. iii. 7; 1 K. xiv. 23, xviii. 19). In many passages the "groves" are grouped with molten and graven images in a manner that leaves no doubt that some idol was intended (2 Chr. xxxiii. 19, xxxiv. 3, 4; Is. xvii. 8). There has been much dispute as to what the Asherah was; but in addition to the views set forth under ASHERAH, we must not omit to notice a probable connection between this symbol or image — whatever it was — and the sacred symbolic tree, the representation of which occurs so frequently on Assyrian sculptures, and is shown in the preceding woodcut. The connection is ingeniously maintained by Mr. Fergusson in his *Nineveh and Persepolis restored* (pp. 299–304), to which the reader is referred.

2. The two exceptions noticed above are Gen. xxi. 33 and 1 Sam. xxii. 6 (margin), where "grove" is employed to render the word אֶשֶׁל, *Eshel*, which in the text of the latter passage, and in 1 Sam. xxxi. 13, is translated "tree" Professor Stanley (*S. & P.* § 77; also p. 21, note) would have Eshel to be a tamarisk; but this is controverted by Bonar (*Land of Prom.*), on the ground of the thin and shadeless nature of that tree. It is now, however, generally recognized (amongst others, see Gesen. *Thes.* p. 50 *b*; Stanley, *S. & P.* App. § 76, 3, p. 142 note, 220 note, and *passim*), that the word *Elon*, אֵלוֹן, which is uniformly rendered by the A. V. "plain," signifies a grove or plantation. Such were the Elon of Mamre (Gen. xiii. 18, xiv. 13, xviii. 1); of Moreh (Gen. xii. 6; Deut. xi. 30); of Zaanaim (Judg. iv. 11), or Zaanannim (Josh. xix. 33); of the pillar (Judg. ix. 6); of Meonenim (Judg. ix. 37); and of Tabor (1 Sam. x. 3). In all these cases the LXX. have δρῦς or βάλανος; the Vulgate — which the A. V. probably followed — *vallis* or *convallis*, in the last three, however, *quercus*.

In the religions of the ancient heathen world groves play a prominent part. In old times altars only were erected to the gods. It was thought wrong to shut up the gods within walls, and hence, as Pliny expressly tells us, trees were the first temples (*H. N.* xii. 2; Tac. *Germ.* 9; Lucian, *de Sacrific.* 10; see Carpzov, *App. Crit.* p. 332), and from the earliest times groves are mentioned in connection with religious worship (Gen. xii. 6, 7, xiii. 18; Deut. xi. 30; A. V. "plain;" see above). Their high antiquity, refreshing shade, solemn silence, and awe-inspiring solitude, as well as the striking illustration they afford of natural life, marked them out as the fit localities, or even the actual objects of worship ("Lucos et in iis silentia ipsa adoramus," Plin. xii. 1; "Secretum luci . . . et admiratio umbræ fidem tibi numinis facit," Sen. *Ep.* xli.; "Quo posses viso dicere Numen habet," Ov. *Fast.* iii. 295; "Sacrâ nemus accubet umbrâ," Virg. *Georg.* iii. 334; Ov. *Met.* viii. 743; Ez. vi. 13; Is. vii. 5; Hos. iv. 13). This last passage hints at another and darker reason why groves were opportune for the degraded services of idolatry; their shadow hid the atrocities and obscenities of heathen worship. The groves were generally found connected with temples, and often had the right of affording an asylum (Tac. *Germ.* 9, 40; Herod. ii. 138; Virg. *Æn.* i. 441, ii. 512; Sil. Ital. i. 81). Some have supposed that even the Jewish Temple had a τέμενος planted with palm and cedar (Ps. xcii. 12, 13) and olive (Ps. lii. 8) as the mosque which stands on its site now has. This is more than doubtful; but we know that a celebrated oak stood by the sanctuary at Shechem (Josh. xxiv. 26; Judg. ix. 6; Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 142). We find repeated mention of groves consecrated with deep superstition to particular gods (Liv. vii. 25, xxiv. 3, xxxv 51; Tac. *Ann.* ii. 12, 51, etc., iv. 73, etc.). For this reason they were stringently forbidden to the Jews (Ex. xxxiv. 13; Jer. xvii. 2; Ez. xx. 28), and Maimonides even says that it is forbidden to sit under the shade of any green tree where an idol statue was (Fabric. *Bibl. Antiq.* p. 290). Yet we find abundant indications that the Hebrews felt the influence of groves on the mind ("the spirit in the woods," Wordsworth), and therefore selected them for solemn purposes, such as great national meetings (Judg. ix. 6, 37) and the burial of the dead (Gen. xxxv. 8; 1 Sam. xxxi. 13). Those connected with patriarchal history were peculiarly liable to superstitious reverence (Am. v. 5, viii. 14), and we find that the groves of Mamre were long a place of worship (Sozomen, *H. E.* ii. 4; Euseb. *Vit. Constant.* 81; Reland, *Palæst.* p. 714). There are in Scripture many memorable trees; *e. g.* Allonbachuth (Gen. xxxv. 8), the tamarisk (but see above) in Gibeah (1 Sam. xxii. 6), the terebinth in Shechem (Josh. xxiv. 26, under which the law was set up), the palm-tree of Deborah (Judg. iv. 5), the terebinth of enchantments (Judg. ix. 37), the terebinth of wanderers (Judg. iv. 11) and others (1 Sam. xiv. 2, x. 3, sometimes "plain" in A. V., Vulg. "convallis").

This observation of particular trees was among the heathen extended to a regular worship of them "Tree-worship may be traced from the interior of Africa, not only into Egypt and Arabia, but also onward uninterruptedly into Palestine and Syria, Assyria, Persia, India, Thibet, Siam, the Philippine Islands, China, Japan, and Siberia; also westward into Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, and other countries; and in most of the countries here named it obtains in the present day, combined as it has been in other parts with various forms of idolatry" (*Gen. of Earth and Man*, p. 139). "The worship of trees even goes back among the Iraunians to the rules of Hom, called in the Zend-Avesta the promulgator of the old law. We know from Herodotus the delight which Xerxes took in the great plane-tree in Lydia, on which he bestowed golden ornaments, and appointed for it a sentinel in the person of one of the 'immortal ten thousand.' The early veneration of trees was associated, by the moist and refreshing canopy of foliage, with that of sacred fountains. In similar connection with the early worship of Nature were among the Hellenic nations the fame of the great palm-tree of Delos, and of an aged platanus in Arcadia. The Buddhists of Ceylon venerate the colossal Indian fig-tree of Anurah-depura. . . . As single trees thus became objects of veneration from the beauty of their form, so did also groups of trees, under the name of 'groves of gods.' Pausanias (i. 21, § 9) is full of the praise of a grove belonging to the temple of Apollo at Grynion in Æolis; and the grove of Colone is celebrated in the renowned chorus of Sophocles" (Humboldt, *Cosmos*, ii. 96, Eng. ed.). The custom of adorning trees "with jewels and mantles" was very ancient and universal (Herod vii. 31; Ælian, *V. H.* ii. 14; Theocr. *Id.* xviii. Ov. *Met.* viii. 723, 745; Arnob. *adv. Gentes*, i. 39 and even still exists in the East.

The *oracular* trees of antiquity are well known

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(*Il.* xvi 233; *Od.* v. 237; Soph. *Trach.* 754; Virg. *Georg.* ii. 16; Sil. Ital. iii. 11). Each god had some sacred tree (Virg. *Ecl.* vii. 61 ff.). The Etrurians are said to have worshipped a palm [a holm-tree, *ilex*, Plin. *H. N.* xvi. 44, al. 87], and the Celts an oak (Max. Tyr. *Dissert.* viii. 8, in Godwyn's *Mos. and Aar.* ii. 4). On the Druidic veneration of oak-groves, see Pliny, *H. N.* xvi. 44 [al. 95]; Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 30. In the same way, according to the missionary Oldendorp, the Negroes "have sacred groves, the abodes of a deity, which no Negro ventures to enter except the priests" (Prichard, *Nat. Hist. of Man*, pp. 525–539, 3d ed.; Park's *Travels*, p. 65). So too the ancient Egyptians (Rawlinson's *Herod.* ii. 298). Long after the introduction of Christianity it was found necessary to forbid all abuse of trees and groves to the purposes of superstition (Harduin, *Act. Concil.* i. 988; see Orelli, *ad Tac. Germ.* 9).
F. W. F.

GUARD. The Hebrew terms commonly used had reference to the special duties which the body-guard of a monarch had to perform.

(1.) *Tabbâch* (טַבָּח) originally signified a "cook," and as butchering fell to the lot of the cook in Eastern countries, it gained the secondary sense of "executioner," and is applied to the body-guard of the kings of Egypt (Gen. xxxvii. 36), and Babylon (2 K. xxv. 8; Jer. xxxix. 9, xl. 1; Dan. ii. 14). [EXECUTIONER.]

(2.) *Rûtz* (רָץ) properly means a "runner," and is the ordinary term employed for the attendants of the Jewish kings, whose office it was to run before the chariot (2 Sam. xv. 1; 1 K. i. 5), like the *cursores* of the Roman Emperors (Senec. *Ep.* 87, 126). That the Jewish "runners" superadded the ordinary duties of a military guard, appears from several passages (1 Sam. xxii. 17; 2 K. x. 25, xi. 6; 2 Chr. xii. 10). It was their office also to carry despatches (2 Chr. xxx. 6). They had a guard-room set apart for their use in the king's palace, in which their arms were kept ready for use (1 K. xiv. 28; 2 Chr. xii. 11). [FOOTMAN.]

(3.) The terms *mishmereth* (מִשְׁמֶרֶת) and *mishmâr* (מִשְׁמָר) express properly the *act of watching*, but are occasionally transferred to the persons who kept watch (Neh. iv. 9, 22, vii. 3, xii. 9; Job vii. 12). The A. V. is probably correct in substituting *mishmarto* (מִשְׁמַרְתּוֹ) for the present reading in 2 Sam. xxiii. 23, Benaiah being appointed "captain of the guard," as Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 14, § 4) relates, and not privy councillor: the same error has crept into the text in 1 Sam. xxii. 14, where the words "which goeth at thy bidding" may originally have been "captain of the body-guard." For the duties of the captain of the guard, see CAPTAIN, [and CAPTAIN OF THE GUARD, Amer. ed.]
W. L. B.

GUDGO'DAH (with the art. הַגִּדְגֹּדָה: Γαβγάδ: *Gadgad*), Deut. x. 7. [HOR HAGIDGAD.]

GUEST. [HOSPITALITY.]

* **GUEST-CHAMBER.** [HOUSE.]

* **GUILTY.** The phrase "guilty of death" (A. V.) Num. xxxv. 31; Tob. v. 13; Matt. xxvi. 66, Mark xiv. 64, contrary to the present idiom of our language, signifies "deserving the penalty of death," being perhaps an imitation of the Latin *reus mortis*. "He is guilty" in Matt. xxiii. 1. (A. V.), is the translation of the same Greek word (ὀφείλει) which in ver. 16 is rendered "he is a debtor." A better translation in both cases would be, "he is bound," *i. e.* by his oath.
A.

GUL'LOTH (גְּלוֹת) [*springs, bubblings*], plural of (גַּלָּה), a Hebrew term of unfrequent occurrence in the Bible, and used only in two passages — and those identical relations of the same occurrence — to denote a natural object, namely, the springs added by the great Caleb to the south land in the neighborhood of Debir, which formed the dowry of his daughter Achsah (Josh. xv. 19; Judg. i. 15). The springs were "upper" and "lower" — possibly one at the top and the other the bottom of a ravine or glen; and they may have derived their unusual name from their appearance being different to [from] that of the ordinary springs of the country. The root (גָּלַל) has the force of rolling or tumbling over, and perhaps this may imply that they welled up in that round or mushroom form which is not uncommon here, though apparently most rare in Palestine. The rendering of the Vat. LXX. is singular. In Josh. it has τὴν Βοσθανίς [so Rom.; Vat. Βοσθανεις], and τὴν Γωναθλάν, the latter doubtless a mere corruption of the Hebrew. The Alex. MS., as usual, is faithful to the Hebrew text [reading Γωλαθ]. In Judges both have λύτρωσις. An attempt has been lately made by Dr. Rosen to identify these springs with the *'Ain Nunkur* near Hebron (see *Zeitschrift der D. M. G.* 1857),[a] but the identification can hardly be received without fuller confirmation (Stanley, *S. & P.* App. § 54). [DEBIR.]
G.

GU'NI (גּוּנִי [*sorrowful, afflicted*, Dietz.]: Γωνί [Vat. -νει], ὁ Γαυνί [Vat. -νει]; Alex. Γωυνι: *Guni*). 1. A son of Naphtali (Gen. xlvi. 24; 1 Chr. vii. 13), the founder of the family of the Gunites (Num. xxvi. 48). Like several others of the early Israelite names, Guni is a patronymic — "Gunite;" as if already a family at the time of its first mention (comp. Arodi, Hushim, etc.).

2. [Γουνί.] A descendant of Gad; father of Abdiel, a chief man in his tribe (1 Chr. v. 15).

GU'NITES, THE הַגּוּנִי [*the Gunite*]: ὁ Γαυνί; [Vat. -νει; Alex. ο Γωυνι:] *Gunitæ*), the "family" which sprang from Guni, son of Naphtali (Num. xxvi. 48). There is not in the Hebrew any difference between the two names, of the individual and the family.

GUR, THE GOING UP TO (מַעֲלֵה־גוּר = *the ascent* or *steep of Gur*, or *the lion's whelp*, Ges. *Thes.* p. 275: ἐν τῷ ἀναβαίνειν Γαί; [Comp. ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει Γούρ:] *ascensus Gaver*), an ascent or rising ground, at which Ahaziah received his death-blow while flying from Jehu after the slaughter of Joram (2 K. ix. 27). It is described as at (בְּ) Ibleam, and on the way between Jezreel and Beth-hag-gan (A. V. "the garden-house"). As the latter is identified with tolerable probability with the present *Jenîn*, we may conclude that the ascent of Gur was some place more than usually steep on the difficult road which leads from the plain of Esdraelon to *Jenîn*. By Josephus it is

[a] Dr. Robinson thinks that *'Ain Nunkur* may have some relation to these springs (*Phys. Geogr.* p 242).

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mentioned (*Ant.* ix. 6, § 4) merely as "a certain ascent" (ἔν τινι προσβάσει). Neither it nor Ibleam have been yet recovered.

For the details of the occurrence see JEHU. For other ascents see ADUMMIM, AKRABBIM, ZIZ.

G.

GUR-BA'AL (גּוּר־בַּעַל [*abode of Baal*]: τέρπα: *Gurbaal*), a place or district in which dwelt Arabians, as recorded in 2 Chr. xxvi. 7. It appears from the context to have been in the country lying between Palestine and the Arabian peninsula; but this, although probable, and although the LXX. reading is in favor of the conjecture, cannot be proved, no site having been assigned to it. The Arab geographers mention a place called Baal, on the Syrian road, north of El-Medeeneh (*Marásid*, s. v. بعل). The Targum, as Winer (*s. v.*) remarks, reads ערבאי דיתבין בגרר — "Arabs living in Gerar" — suggesting גרר instead of גור; but there is no further evidence to strengthen this supposition. [See also GERAR.] The ingenious conjectures of Bochart (*Phaleg*, ii. 22) respecting the Mehunim, who are mentioned together with the "Arabians that dwelt in Gur-Baal," may be considered in reference to the Mehunim, although they are far-fetched. [MEHUNIM.] E. S. P.

• **GUTTER.** This word occurs in the difficult passage 2 Sam. v. 6–8, translated in the A. V. as follows: "(6.) And the king and his men went to Jerusalem unto the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land; which spake unto David, saying, Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither; thinking, David cannot come in hither. (7.) Nevertheless, David took the stronghold of Zion; the same is the city of David. (8.) And David said on that day, Whosoever getteth up to the gutter, and smiteth the Jebusites, and the lame, and the blind, *that are* hated of David's soul, *he shall be chief and captain.* Wherefore they said, The blind and the lame shall not come into the house."

So long ago as 1546, Sebastian Münster (*Hebrew Bible*, fol. ed., *in loc.*) said of this passage, "Est locus ille valde obscurus." The lapse of more than 300 years has not much mended the matter, and the passage is still "*valde obscurus.*" Our limits here forbid a full discussion of the points at issue.[a] But without attempting to examine every grammatical difficulty, we may reach a better translation than the above, by attending to the following points: — (1.) The two clauses, "except thou take away the blind and the lame," and "thou shalt not come in hither," are improperly transposed in the above version; and this transposition puts the next following clause out of its proper connection, and makes it meaningless. (2.) The words rendered "except thou take away the blind and the lame," should be translated, "but the blind and the lame will turn thee away."[b] (3.) The apodosis or after-clause, corresponding to the expression, "any one that smites" (= if any one smites), is not expressed in the Hebrew. This is a favorite Hebrew idiom, where for any reason it is felt to be unnecessary to complete the construction. See, *e. g.*, Ex. xxxii. 32, in the A. V. Here, the object was two-fold: first, to state what David proposed to his warriors as the means of capturing the stronghold; and secondly, to account for the proverbial saying that arose from this occurrence. Neither of these objects required the completion of the sentence, which would readily be understood to be the offer of a reward for the service. A dash should therefore be put (as in the A. V. Ex. xxxii. 32) after the word "soul" (omitting the words in italics), to indicate that the sentence is incomplete.[c] (4.) In ver. 8 there is also, as in ver. 6, an improper transposition of two clauses, "whosoever getteth up to the gutter," "and smiteth the Jebusites." (5.) In ver. 8, instead of "the Jebusites (plural with the def. art.), we should translate, "a Jebusite." (6.) The word translated "gutter," צִנּוֹר, is here properly a *water-course.* It is derived from a verb which apparently expresses the sound of rushing water. It occurs in only one other passage, Ps. xlii. 8, and is there applied to a mountain torrent, or a cataract (A. V. "water-spouts"). (7.) The words, "the blind and the lame," may be taken in the same construction as "a Jebusite" (*even the blind and the lame*); or, as the sentence is manifestly left unfinished, they may be regarded as a part of the incomplete construction, having no grammatical relation to the preceding words.

Thus without resorting to the violent method of conjectural emendation of the text, which Maurer, Thenius, Böttcher, and others, think necessary, or to a change of punctuation and an unauthorized sense of the word צִנּוֹר, proposed by Ewald and adopted by Keil, we obtain the following grammatically correct rendering:

"(6.) And the king and his men went to Jerusalem, to the Jebusite inhabiting the land. And he spake to David, saying, Thou shalt not come in hither; but the blind and the lame will turn thee away, saying, David shall not come in hither.

(7.) And David took the stronghold of Zion; that is, the city of David. (8.) And David said on that day, Any one that smites a Jebusite, and gets to the water-course, and the lame and the blind hated of David's soul ——. Therefore they say, Blind and lame shall not come into the house."[d]

The Jebusites, confident in the strength of their

a • See, for the later criticism of the passage, Maurer, *Com. gram. crit.* vol. i. p. 180; Thenius, *die Bücher Samuels erklärt* (Exeget. Handbuch) 2te Aufl. 1864; Bertheau, *die Bücher der Chronik erklärt* (in the same work) 1854; Böttcher, in the *Zeitschrift der D. Morg. Gesellschaft*, 1857, pp. 540–42, and *Neue exeget. krit. Ährenlese*, 1te Abth., 1863, p. 151; Keil, *die Bücher Samuels*, 1864. T. J. C.

b • There is no necessity for a change of pointing (וְהִסִּירוּךָ). The Infin. form is the more emphatic expression (Ges. *Heb. Gram.* § 131, 4). T. J. C.

c • In the A. V. the after-clause is supplied in the words, "*he shall be chief and captain,*" italicised to show that they are not in the Hebrew text. To the common reader, with nothing but the translation to guide him, they seem to be "clutched out of the air," as the Germans express it. But a reference to 1 Chr. xi. 6 shows that these words, though they have no right here, are not a pure invention of the translator. The reader of the Hebrew text, if those words are necessary to make sense of the passage, was in the same predicament as the English reader of the A. V. would be without them. T. J. C

d • The above translation is nearly word for word the same as that of De Wette; which is so close to the Hebrew that any literal rendering must be almost verbally coincident with it. T. J. C

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position, which had successfully resisted repeated attempts to capture it, sneeringly said to David, "the blind and the lame will turn thee away;" exceeding only to say, "David shall not come in hither."[a]

David took this stronghold (ver. 7); and how this was effected is intimated in ver. 8. If the water-course could be reached, by which water was supplied to the besieged, the reduction of the stronghold must soon follow. On the import of the last clause in ver. 8, compare the suggestion in the article Jerusalem, II., fourth paragraph, foot-note.

A review of the principal interpretations of Jewish and Christian scholars would be interesting and instructive; but there is not space for it here.

T. J. C.

H.

HAAHASH'TARI (הָאַחַשְׁתָּרִי, with the article, = *the Ahashtarite* [perh. *courier, messenger*, Fürst]: τὸν Ἀασθήρ; [Vat. Ασηραρ:] Alex. Ασθηρα: *Ahasthari*), a man, or a family, immediately descended from Ashur, "father of Tekoa" by his second wife Naarah (1 Chr. iv. 6). The name does not appear again, nor is there any trace of a place of similar name.

HABA'IAH [3 syl.] (חֲבַיָּה, in Neh. חֲבָיָה [but MSS. and editions vary in both places; *whom Jehovah protects*]: Λαβεία, Εβία; Alex. Οβαια, [Εβεῖα; in Neh., Vat. Εβεια, FA. Αβεῖα:] *Hobia, Habia*). Bene-Chabaijah were among the sons of the priests who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel, but whose genealogy being imperfect, were not allowed to serve (Ezr. ii. 61; Neh. vii. 63). It is not clear from the passage whether they were among the descendants of Barzillai the Gileadite. In the lists of 1 Esdras the name is given as OBDIA [marg. Hobaiah].

HABAK'KUK or HAB'AKKUK (חֲבַקּוּק [*embracing*, as a token of love, Ges., Fürst]: Jerome, *Prol. in Hab.*, renders it by the Greek περίληψις; Αμβακούμ: *Habacuc*). Other Greek forms of the name are Αββακούμ, which Suidas erroneously renders πατὴρ ἐγέρσεως, Αβακούμ (Georg. Cedrenus), Αμβακούκ, and Αββακούκ (Dorotheus, *Doctr.* 2). The Latin forms are *Ambacum, Ambucuc*, and *Abacuc*.

1. Of the facts of the prophet's life we have no certain information, and with regard to the period of his prophecy there is great division of opinion. The Rabbinical tradition that Habakkuk was the son of the Shunammite woman whom Elisha restored to life is repeated by Abarbanel in his commentary, and has no other foundation than a fanciful etymology of the prophet's name, based on the expression in 2 K. iv. 16. Equally unfounded is the tradition that he was the sentinel set by Isaiah to watch for the destruction of Babylon (comp. Is. xxi. 16 with Hab. ii. 1). In the title of the history of Bel and the Dragon, as found in the LXX. version in Origen's *Tetrapla*, the author is called "Habakkuk, the son of Joshua, of the tribe of Levi." Some have supposed this apocryphal writer to be identical with the prophet (Jerome, *Procem. in Dan.*). The psalm in ch. 3 and its title are thought to favor the opinion that Habakkuk was a Levite (Delitzsch, *Habakuk*, p. iii.). Pseudo-Epiphanius (vol. ii. p. 240, *de Vitis Prophetarum*) and Dorotheus (*Chron. Pasch.* p. 150) say that he was of Βηθζοκήρ or Βηθιτουχδρ (*Bethacat*, Isid. Hispal. c. 47), of the tribe of Simeon. This may have been the same as Bethzacharias, where Judas Maccabæus was defeated by Antiochus Eupator (1 Macc. vi. 32, 33). The same authors relate that when Jerusalem was sacked by Nebuchadnezzar, Habakkuk fled to Ostracine, and remained there till after the Chaldæans had left the city, when he returned to his own country and died at his farm two years before the return from Babylon, B. C. 538. It was during his residence in Judæa that he is said to have carried food to Daniel in the den of lions at Babylon. This legend is given in the history of Bel and the Dragon, and is repeated by Eusebius, Bar-Hebræus, and Eutychius. It is quoted from Joseph ben Gorion (*B. J.* xi. 3) by Abarbanel (*Comm. on Hab.*), and seriously refuted by him on chronological grounds. The scene of the event was shown to mediæval travellers on the road from Jerusalem to Bethlehem (*Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 29). Habakkuk is said to have been buried at Keilah in the tribe of Judah, eight miles E. of Eleutheropolis (Eusebius, *Onomasticon*). Rabbinical tradition places his tomb at Chukkok, of the tribe of Naphtali, now called *Jakuk*. In the days of Zebenus, bishop of Eleutheropolis, according to Nicephorus (*H. E.* xii. 48) and Sozomen (*H. E.* vii. 28), the remains of the prophets Habakkuk and Micah were discovered at Keilah.

2. The Rabbinical traditions agree in placing Habakkuk with Joel and Nahum in the reign of Manasseh (cf *Seder Olam Rabba* and *Zuta*, and *Tsemach David*). This date is adopted by Kimchi and Abarbanel among the Rabbis, and by Witsius, Kalinsky, and Jahn among modern writers. The general corruption and lawlessness which prevailed in the reign of Manasseh are supposed to be referred to in Hab. i. 2–4. Both Kalinsky and Jahn conjecture that Habakkuk may have been one of the prophets mentioned in 2 K. xxi. 10. Syncellus (*Chronographia*, pp. 214, 230, 240) makes him contemporary with Ezekiel, and extends the period of his prophecy from the time of Manasseh to that of Daniel and Joshua the son of Josedech. The Chronicon Paschale places him later, first mentioning him in the beginning of the reign of Josiah (Olymp. 32), as contemporary with Zephaniah and Nahum; and again in the beginning of the reign of Cyrus (Olymp. 42), as contemporary with Daniel and Ezekiel in Persia, with Haggai and Zechariah in Judæa, and with Baruch in Egypt. Davidson (*Horne's Intr.* ii. 968), following Keil, decides in favor of the early part of the reign of Josiah. Calmet, Jaeger, Ewald, De Wette, Rosenmüller, Knobel, Maurer, Hitzig, and Meier agree in assigning the commencement of Habakkuk's prophecy to

[a] * Recent excavations on the southern slope of Mount Zion show that this vaunting of the Jebusites was not without some foundation. "From the position and appearance of this escarpment [one discovered here] it must have formed part of the defenses of the old city, the wall running along the crest; . . . the steps which lead down the valley of Hinnom could be defended by a couple of men against any force, before the invention of fire-arms. The escarpment was probably carried down to the valley in a succession of terraces the large amount of rubbish, however, will not allow anything to be seen clearly." (See *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, p. 61. Lond. 1865.) H.

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the reign of Jehoiakim, though they are divided as to the exact period to which it is to be referred. Knobel (*Der Prophetism. d. Hebr.*) and Meier (*Gesch. d. poet. nat. Liter. d. Hebr.*) are in favor of the commencement of the Chaldæan era, after the battle of Carchemish (B. C. 606), when Judæa was first threatened by the victors. But the question of the date of Habakkuk's prophecy has been discussed in the most exhaustive manner by Delitzsch (*Der Prophet Habakuk, Einl.* § 3), and though his arguments are rather ingenious than convincing, they are well deserving of consideration as based upon internal evidence. The conclusion at which he arrives is that Habakkuk delivered his prophecy about the 12th or 13th year of Josiah (B. C. 630 or 629), for reasons of which the following is a summary. In Hab. i. 5 the expression "in your days" shows that the fulfillment of the prophecy would take place in the lifetime of those to whom it was addressed. The same phrase in Jer. xvi. 9 embraces a period of at most twenty years, while in Ez. xii. 25 it denotes about six years, and therefore, reckoning backwards from the Chaldæan invasion, the date above assigned would involve no violation of probability, though the argument does not amount to a proof. From the similarity of Hab. ii. 20 and Zeph. i. 7, Delitzsch infers that the latter is an imitation, the former being the original. He supports this conclusion by many collateral arguments. Now Zephaniah, according to the superscription of his prophecy, lived in the time of Josiah, and from iii. 5 must have prophesied after the worship of Jehovah was restored, that is, after the twelfth year of that king's reign. It is probable that he wrote about B. C. 624. Between this period therefore and the 12th year of Josiah (B. C. 630) Delitzsch places Habakkuk. But Jeremiah began to prophesy in the 13th year of Josiah, and many passages are borrowed by him from Habakkuk (cf. Hab. ii. 13 with Jer. li. 58, &c.). The latter therefore must have written about 630 or 629 B. C. This view receives some confirmation from the position of his prophecy in the O. T. Canon.

3. Instead of looking upon the prophecy as an organic whole, Rosenmüller divided it into three parts corresponding to the chapters, and assigned the first chapter to the reign of Jehoiakim, the second to that of Jehoiachin, and the third to that of Zedekiah, when Jerusalem was besieged for the third time by Nebuchadnezzar. Kalinsky (*Vatic. Chabac. et Nah.*) makes four divisions, and refers the prophecy not to Nebuchadnezzar, but to Esarhaddon. But in such an arbitrary arrangement the true character of the composition as a perfectly developed poem is entirely lost sight of. The prophet commences by announcing his office and important mission (i. 1). He bewails the corruption and social disorganization by which he is surrounded, and cries to Jehovah for help (i. 2–4). Next follows the reply of the Deity, threatening swift vengeance (i. 5–11). The prophet, transferring himself to the near future foreshadowed in the divine threatenings, sees the rapacity and boastful impiety of the Chaldæan hosts, but, confident that God has only employed them as the instruments of correction, assumes (ii. 1) an attitude of hopeful expectancy, and waits to see the issue. He receives the divine command to write in an enduring form the vision of God's retributive justice, as revealed to his prophetic eye (ii. 2, 3). The doom of the Chaldæans is first foretold in general terms (ii. 4 6), and the announcement is followed by a series of denunciations pronounced upon them by the nations who had suffered from their oppression (ii. 6–20). The strophical arrangement of these "woes" is a remarkable feature of the prophecy. They are distributed in strophes of three verses each, characterized by a certain regularity of structure. The first four commence with a "Woe!" and close with a verse beginning with כִּי (for). The first verse of each of those contains the character of the sin, the second the development of the woe, while the third is confirmatory of the woe denounced. The fifth strophe differs from the others in form in having a verse introductory to the woe. The prominent vices of the Chaldæans' character, as delineated in i. 5–11, are made the subjects of separate denunciations: their insatiable ambition (ii. 6–8), their covetousness (ii. 9–11), cruelty (ii. 12–14), drunkenness (ii. 15–17), and idolatry (ii. 18–20). The whole concludes with the magnificent psalm in chap. iii., "Habakkuk's Pindaric ode" (Ewald), a composition unrivaled for boldness of conception, sublimity of thought, and majesty of diction. This constitutes, in Delitzsch's opinion, "the second grand division of the entire prophecy, as the subjective reflex of the two subdivisions of the first, and the lyrical recapitulation of the whole." It is the echo of the feelings aroused in the prophet's mind by the divine answers to his appeals; fear in anticipation of the threatened judgments, and thankfulness and joy at the promised retribution. But, though intimately connected with the former part of the prophecy, it is in itself a perfect whole, as is sufficiently evident from its lyrical character, and the musical arrangement by which it was adapted for use in the temple service.

In other parts of the A. V. the name is given as HABBACUC, and ABACUC. W. A. W.

* Among the few separate commentaries on this prophet we have *Der Prophet Habakuk, ausgelegt*, by Franz Delitzsch (Leipz. 1843). This author gives a list in that volume (p. xxiv. f.) of other single works of an earlier date, with critical notices of their value. Of these he commends especially that of G. F. L. Bäumlein, *Comm. de Hab. Vatic.* (1840). For a list of the still older writers, see Keil's *Lehrb. der hist.-krit. Einl. in das A. T.* p. 302 (2te Aufl.). The commentaries on the Minor Prophets, or the Prophets generally, contain of course Habakkuk: F. Hitzig, *Die zwölf kl. Propheten*, pp. 253–277 (1838, 3e Aufl. 1863); Ewald, *Die Propheten des A. B.* i. 373–389 (1840); Maurer, *Comm. Gram. Hist. Crit. in Proph. Minores*, ii. 528 ff.; Umbreit, *Prakt. Comm. üb. d. Proph.* Bd. iv. Th. i. (1845); Keil and Delitzsch, *Bibl. Comm. üb. d. 12 kl. Proph.* (1866); Henderson, *Minor Prophets* (1845, Amer. ed. 1860); G. R. Noyes, *New Trans. of the Heb. Prophets*, 3d ed. (1866), vol. i.; Henry Cowles, *Minor Prophets, with Notes Critical, Explanatory, and Practical* (New York, 1866).

For the personal history of the prophet, see especially Delitzsch's *De Habacuci Prophetæ Vita atque Ætate* (2d ed. 1844), and Umbreit's *Habakuk* in Herzog's *Real-Encyk.* v. 435–438. The latter represents him as "a great prophet among the minor prophets, and one of the greatest among the great prophets." De Wette says of his style and genius: "While in his sphere of prophetic representation he may be compared with the best of the prophets, a Joel, Amos, Nahum, Isaiah, in the lyric

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passage (ch. iii.) he surpasses every thing which the poetry of the Hebrews has to show in this species of composition. He exhibits the greatest strength and fullness, an imagination capable of the loftiest flights, without ever sacrificing beauty and clearness. His rhythm is at the same time perfectly free, and yet measured. His diction is fresh and pure." (See his *Einl. in das A. Test.*, p. 338, 5te Ausg.) Lowth awards to him the highest sublimity (Lect. xxviii. in his *Poetry of the Hebrews*). "The anthem" at the close of the book, says Isaac Taylor, "unequaled in majesty and splendor of language and imagery, gives expression in terms the most affecting to an intense spiritual feeling; and, on this ground, it so fully embodies these religious sentiments as to satisfy Christian piety, even of the loftiest order." (See his *Spirit of the Hebrew Poets*, p. 255, Amer. ed.) The doctrine impersonated in the prophet's experience is that the soul, though stripped of all outward possessions and cut off from every human resource, may still be happy in God alone as the object of its confidence and the bestower of the ample spiritual consolations which that trust secures. (Comp. 2 Cor. iv. 8 ff.) H.

HABAZINI'AH (חֲבַצִּנְיָה [perh. *light of Jehovah*, Ges.: *collection by Jah*, Fürst]: Χαβασίν; [Vat. FA. -σειν:] *Habasnia*), apparently the head of one of the families of the RECHABITES: his descendant Jaazaniah was the chief man among them in the time of Jeremiah (Jer. xxxv. 3).

HABBACUC ('Αμβακούμ: *Habacuc*), the form in which the name of the prophet HABAKKUK is given in the Apocrypha (Bel, 33–39).

HABERGEON, a coat of mail covering the neck and breast. The Hebrew terms are תַּחְרָא, שִׁרְיָה, and שִׁרְיוֹן. The first, *tachára*, occurs only in Ex. xxviii. 32, xxxix. 23, and is noticed incidentally to illustrate the mode of making the aperture for the head in the sacerdotal *meil*. It was probably similar to the linen corslet (λινοθώρηξ), worn by the Egyptians (Her. ii. 182, iii. 47), and the Greeks (*Il.* ii. 529, 830). The second, *shiryáh*, occurs only in Job xli. 26, and is regarded as another form of *shiryón* (שִׁרְיָן), a "breastplate" (Is. lix. 17); this sense has been questioned, as the context requires offensive rather than defensive armor; but the objection may be met by the supposition of an extended sense being given to the verb, according to the grammatical usage known as *zeugma*. The third, *shiryón*, occurs as an article of defensive armor in 1 Sam. xvii. 5, 2 Chr. xxvi. 14, and Neh. iv. 16. W. L. B.

HA'BOR (חָבוֹר [perh. *rich in vegetation*, Dietr.; but see Fürst]: 'Αβώρ, Χαβώρ; [Vat. 2 K. xviii. 11, Αβιωρ:] *Habor*), the "river of Gozan" (2 K. xvii. 6, and xviii. 11 [also 1 Chr. v. 26]) has been already distinguished from the Chebar or Chobar of Ezekiel. [CHEBAR.] It is identified beyond all reasonable doubt with the famous affluent of the Euphrates, which is called Aborrhas ('Αβόρρας) by Strabo (xvi. 1, § 27) and Procopius (*Bell. Pers.* ii. 5); Aburas ('Αβούρας) by Isidore of Charax (p. 4), Abora ('Αβόρα) by Zosimus (iii. 12), and Chaboras (Χαβόρας), by Pliny and Ptolemy (v. 18). The stream in question still bears the name of the *Khabour*. It flows from several sources in the mountain-chain, which in about the 37th parallel closes in the valley of the Tigris upon the south — the Mons Masius of Strabo and Ptolemy, at present the *Kharej Dagh*. The chief source is said to be "a little to the west of *Mardin*" (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 309, note); but the upper course of the river is still very imperfectly known. The main stream was seen by Mr. Layard flowing from the northwest as he stood on the conical hill of *Koukab* (about lat. 36° 20′, long. 41°); and here it was joined by an important tributary, the *Jeryjer*, which flowed down to it from Nisibis. Both streams were here fordable, but the river formed by their union had to be crossed by a raft. It flowed in a tortuous course through rich meads covered with flowers, having a general direction about S. S. W. to its junction with the Euphrates at *Karkesia*, the ancient Circesium. The country on both sides of the river was covered with mounds, the remains of cities belonging to the Assyrian period.

The *Khabour* occurs under that name in an Assyrian inscription of the ninth century before our era. G. R.

HACHALI'AH (חֲכַלְיָה [*whom Jehovah afflicts*, Ges. 6te Aufl.]: Χελκία, 'Αχαλία; [Vat. Χελκεια, Αχελια; Alex. Αχαλια; FA. Αχαλια, Αχελια:] *Hechlia*, *Hahelia*), the father of Nehemiah (Neh. i. 1; x. 1).

HACH'ILAH, THE HILL (גִּבְעַת הַחֲכִילָה [*hill of darkness*, Ges., or *of barrenness*, Fürst]: ὁ βουνὸς τοῦ (and ὁ [but Alex. του]) 'Εχελᾶ; [in 1 Sam. xxvi. 1, Vat. Χελμαθ, Alex. Αχιλα:] *collis*, and *Gabaa*, *Hachila*), a hill apparently situated in a wood [a] in the wilderness or waste land (מִדְבָּר) in the neighborhood of Ziph; in the fastnesses, or passes, of which David and his six hundred followers were lurking when the Ziphites informed Saul of his whereabouts (1 Sam. xxiii. 19; comp. 14, 15, 18). The special topographical note is added, that it was "on the right (xxiii. 19, A. V. 'south') of the Jeshimon," or, according to what may be a second account of the same transaction (xxvi. 1–3), "facing the Jeshimon" (עַל פְּנֵי, A. V. "before"), that is, the waste barren district. As Saul approached, David drew down from the hill into the lower ground (xxvi. 3), still probably remaining concealed by the wood which then covered the country. Saul advanced to the hill, and bivouacked there by the side of the road (דֶּרֶךְ, A. V. "way"), which appears to have run over the hill or close below it. It was during this nocturnal halt that the romantic adventure of the spear and cruse of water took place. In xxiii. 14 and xxvi. 13 this hill would seem (though this is not quite clear) to be dignified by the title of "the mountain" (הָהָר): in the latter, the A. V. has 'hill" and in both the article is missed); but, on the other hand, the same eminence appears to be again designated as "the cliff" (xxiii. 25, הַסֶּלַע, A. V. "a rock") from [b] which David descended

[a] For the "wood" the LXX. have ἐν τῷ καυσῷ, reading חרשׁ for חרשׁ. And so too Josephus.

[b] The Heorew exactly answers to our expression "descended the cliff": the "into" in the text of the

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into the *midbar* of Maon. Places bearing the names of Ziph and Maon are still found in the south of Judah — in all probability the identical sites of those ancient towns. They are sufficiently close to each other for the district between them to bear indiscriminately the name of both. But the wood has vanished, and no trace of the name Hachilah has yet been discovered, nor has the ground been examined with the view to see if the minute indications of the story can be recognized. By Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomasticon*) *Echela* is named as a village then standing; but the situation — seven miles from Eleutheropolis, *i. e.* on the N. W. of Hebron — would be too far from Ziph and Maon; and as Reland has pointed out, they probably confounded it with Keilah (comp. *Onom.* "Ceeilah"; and Reland, p. 745). G.

HACH'MONI, SON OF, and THE HACH'MONITE (1 Chr. xxvii. 32; xi. 11), both renderings — the former the correct one — of the same Hebrew words בְּנֵי־חַכְמוֹנִי = *son of a Hacmonite: vibs* Ἀχαμάν, Ἀχαμί; [Vat. Ἀχαμανεί, Ἀχαμεί; Sin. in 1 Chr. xi., Ἀχαμανι;] Alex. Ἀχαμανι: *Hachamoni*). Two of the Bene-Hacmoni [sons of H.] are named in these passages, JEHIEL in the former, and JASHOBEAM in the latter. Hachmon or Hachmoni was no doubt the founder of a family to which these men belonged: the actual father of Jashobeam was Zabdiel (1 Chr. xxvii. 2), and he is also said to have belonged to the Korhites (1 Chr. xii. 6), possibly the Levites descended from Korah. But the name Hachmon nowhere appears in the genealogies of the Levites. In 2 Sam. xxiii. 8 the name is altered to the Tachcemonite. [TACHMONITE.] See Kennicott, *Diss.* pp. 72, 82, who calls attention to the fact that names given in Chronicles with *Ben* are in Samuel given without the *Ben*, but with the definite article. G.

HA'DAD (הֲדַד [*sharpness*, Gesen., *powerful*, Fürst]: Ἀδάδ, [Ἀδερ,] Χοδδάν: *Hadad*). This name occurs frequently in the history of the Syrian and Edomite dynasties. It was originally the indigenous appellation of the sun among the Syrians (Macrob. *Saturnal.* i. 23; Plin. xxxvii. 11), and was thence transferred to the king, as the highest of earthly authorities, in the forms Hadad, Ben-hadad ("worshipper of Hadad"), and Hadadezer ("assisted by Hadad," Gesen. *Thes.* p. 218). The title appears to have been an official one, like Pharaoh; and perhaps it is so used by Nicolaus Damascenus, as quoted by Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 5, § 2), in reference to the Syrian king who aided Hadadezer (2 Sam. viii. 5). Josephus appears to have used the name in the same sense, where he substitutes it for Benhadad (*Ant.* ix. 8, § 7, compared with 2 K. xiii. 24). The name appears occasionally in the altered form Hadar (Gen. xxv. 15, xxxvi. 39, compared with 1 Chr. i. 30, 50).

1. [הֲדַד: Χοδδάν, Alex. Χοδδαδ: *Hadad.*] The first of the name[a] was a son of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 15 [HADAR, 1]; 1 Chr. i. 30). His descendants probably occupied the western coast of the Persian Gulf, where the names *Attaei* (Ptol. vi. 7, § 15), *Attene*, and *Chateni* (Plin. vi. 32) bear affinity to the original name.

2. (הֲדַד [*brave*, one who throws himself against the enemy, Dietr.: Ἀδάδ: *Adad*].) The second was a king of Edom, who gained an important victory over the Midianites on the field of Moab (Gen. xxxvi. 35; 1 Chr. i. 46): the position of his territory is marked by his capital, Avith. [AVITH.]

3. (הֲדַד [Ἀδάδ: *Adad*].) The third was also a king of Edom, with Pau for his capital (1 Chr. i. 50). [PAU.] He was the last of the kings: the change to the dukedom is pointedly connected with his death in 1 Chr. i. 51. [HADAR, 2.]

4. (הֲדַד [Ἀδερ: *Adad*].) The last of the name was a member of the royal house of Edom (1 K. xi. 14 ff.), probably the grandson of the one last noticed. (In ver. 17 it is given in the mutilated form of אַדַר.) In his childhood he escaped the massacre under Joab, in which his father appears to have perished, and fled with a band of followers into Egypt. Some difficulty arises in the account of his flight, from the words, "they arose out of Midian" (ver. 18). Thenius (*Comm.* in loc.) surmises that the reading has been corrupted from מָעוֹן to מִדְיָן, and that the place intended is *Maon*, i. e. the *residence* for the time being of the royal family. Other explanations are that Midian was the territory of some of the Midianitish tribes in the peninsula of Sinai, or that it is the name of a town, the Μοδιαβα of Ptol. vi. 7, § 2: some of the MSS. of the LXX. supply the words τῆς πόλεως before Μαδιάμ. Pharaoh, the predecessor of Solomon's father-in-law, treated him kindly, and gave him his sister-in-law in marriage. After David's death Hadad resolved to attempt the recovery of his dominion: Pharaoh in vain discouraged him, and upon this he left Egypt and returned to his own country (see the addition to ver. 22 in the LXX.; the omission of the clause in the Hebrew probably arose from an error of the transcriber). It does not appear from the text as it now stands, how Hadad became subsequently to this an "adversary unto Solomon" (ver. 14), still less how he gained the sovereignty over Syria (ver. 25). The LXX., however, refers the whole of ver. 25 to him, and substitutes for אֲרָם (*Syria*), Ἐδόμ (*Edom*). This reduces the whole to a consistent and intelligible narrative. Hadad, according to this account, succeeded in his attempt, and carried on a border warfare on the Israelites from his own territory. Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 7, § 6) retains the reading Syria, and represents Hadad as having failed in his attempt on Idumæa, and then having joined Rezon, from whom he received a portion of Syria. If the present text is correct, the concluding words of ver. 25 must be referred to Rezon, and be considered as a repetition in an amplified form of the concluding words of the previous verse.

W. L. B.

HADADE'ZER (הֲדַדְעֶזֶר: ὁ Ἀδραζάρ, in both MSS.; [in 1 K., Rom. Ἀδαδέζερ; Vat. Αερραδραζαρ; Alex. Αδαδεξερ: *Adarezer*]), 2 Sam. viii. 3–12; 1 K. xi. 23. [HADARE ZER.]

HA'DAD-RIM'MON (הֲדַד רִמּוֹן [see *infra*]: κοπετὸς ῥοῶνος: *Adadremmon*) is, accord

A. V. is derived from the LXX. εἰς and the Vulgate ad. See Jerome's explanation, "ad petram, id est, ad ultimum locum," in his *Quæst. Hebr.* ad loc.

[a] The initial letter is different from that of the names which follow. The proper distinction would be Chadad and Hadad.

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ing to the ordinary interpretation of Zech. xii. 11, a place in the valley of Megiddo, named after two Syrian idols, where a national lamentation was held for the death of king Josiah in the last of the four great battles (see Stanley, *S. & P.* ix.) which have made the plain of Esdraelon famous in Hebrew history (see 2 K. xxiii. 29; 2 Chr. xxxv. 23; Joseph. *Ant.* x. 5, § 1). The LXX. translate the word "pomegranate;" and the Greek commentators, using that version, see here no reference to Josiah. Jonathan, the Chaldee interpreter, followed by Jarchi, understands it to be the name of the son of king Tabrimon who was opposed to Ahab at Ramoth-Gilead. But it has been taken for the place at which Josiah died by most interpreters since Jerome, who states (*Comm. in Zach.*) that it was the name of a city which was called in his time Maximianopolis, and was not far from Jezreel. Van de Velde (i. 355) thinks that he has identified the very site, and that the more ancient name still lingers on the spot. There is a treatise by Wichmanshausen, *De planctu Hadadr.* in the *Nov. Thes. Theol.-phil.* i. 101. W. T. B.

HA'DAR (הֲדַר) [perh. *chamber*]: Ἀδδάρ: *Hadar*), a son of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 15); written in 1 Chr. i. 30 *Hadad* (הֲדָד: Ἀδάδ; [Alex. Ἀδδάδ:] *Hadad*); but Gesenius supposes the former to be the true reading of the name. It has not been identified, in a satisfactory way, with the appellation of any tribe or place in Arabia, or on the Syrian frontier; but names identical with, or very closely resembling it, are not uncommon in those parts, and may contain traces of the Ishmaelite tribe sprung from Hadar. The mountain *Hadad*, belonging to *Teymà* [TEMA] on the borders of the Syrian desert, north of *El-Medeeneh*, is perhaps the most likely to be correctly identified with the ancient dwellings of this tribe; it stands among a group of names of the sons of Ishmael, containing Dumah (*Doomah*), Kedar (*Keydàr*), and Tema (*Teymà*). E. S. P.

2. (הֲדַר [perh. *ornament, honor*], with a different aspirate to [from] the preceding: Ἀράδ υἱὸς Βαράδ, Alex. Ἀραθ: *Adar*). One of the kings of Edom, successor of Baal-hanan ben-Achbor (Gen. xxxvi. 39), and, if we may so understand the statement of ver. 31, about contemporary with Saul. The name of his city, and the name and genealogy of his wife, are given. In the parallel list in 1 Chr. i. [50] he appears as HADAD. We know from another source (1 K. xi. 14, &c.) that Hadad was one of the names of the royal family of Edom. Indeed, it occurs in this very list (Gen. xxxvi. 35). But perhaps this fact is in favor of the form Hadar being correct in the present case: its isolation is probably a proof that it is a different name from the others, however similar.

HADARE'ZER (הֲדַרְעֶזֶר [*whose help is Hadad*, Ges.]: Ἀδραζάρ; Alex. Ἀδραζαρ, [and so genr. Ald. FA.; Comp. genr. Ἀδαδεζάρ:] *Adarezer*), son of Rehob (2 Sam. viii. 3); the king of the Aramite state of Zobah, who, while on his way to "establish his dominion" at the Euphrates, was overtaken by David, defeated with great loss both of chariots, horses, and men (1 Chr. xviii. 3, 4), and driven with the remnant of his force to the other side of the river (xix. 16). The golden weapons captured on this occasion (מָגֵן, A. V. "shields of gold"), a thousand in number, were taken by David to Jerusalem (xviii. 7), and dedicated to Jehovah. The foreign arms were preserved in the Temple, and were long known as king David's (2 Chr. xxiii. 9; Cant. iv. 4). [ARMS; *Shelet*, p. 162.]

Not daunted by this defeat, Hadarezer seized an early opportunity of attempting to revenge himself; and after the first repulse of the Ammonites and their Syrian allies by Joab, he sent his army to the assistance of his kindred the people of Mnachah, Rehob, and Ishtob (1 Chr. xix. 16; 2 Sam. x. 15, comp. 8). The army was a large one, as is evident from the numbers of the slain; and it was especially strong in horse-soldiers (1 Chr. xix. 18). Under the command of Shophach, or Shobach, the captain of the host (שַׂר הַצָּבָא) they crossed the Euphrates, joined the other Syrians, and encamped at a place called HELAM. The moment was a critical one, and David himself came from Jerusalem to take the command of the Israelite army. As on the former occasion, the rout was complete: seven hundred chariots were captured, seven thousand charioteers and forty thousand horse-soldiers killed, the petty sovereigns who had before been subject to Hadarezer submitted themselves to David, and the great Syrian confederacy was, for the time, at an end.

But one of Hadarezer's more immediate retainers, REZON ben-Eliadah, made his escape from the army, and gathering round him some fugitives like himself, formed them into one of those marauding ravaging "bands" (גְּדוּד) which found a congenial refuge in the thinly peopled districts between the Jordan and the Euphrates (2 K. v. 2; 1 Chr. v. 18–22). Making their way to Damascus, they possessed themselves of the city. Rezon became king, and at once began to avenge the loss of his countrymen by the course of "mischief" to Israel which he pursued down to the end of Solomon's reign, and which is summed up in the emphatic words "he was an adversary (a 'Satan') to Israel" . . . "he abhorred Israel" (1 K. xi. 23–25).

In the narrative of David's Syrian campaign in 2 Sam. viii. 3–12 this name is given as Hadad-ezer, and also in 1 K. xi. 23. But in 2 Sam. x., and in all its other occurrences in the Hebrew text as well as in the LXX. (both MSS.), and in Josephus, the form Hadarezer is maintained. G.

HAD'ASHAH (חֲדָשָׁה [*new*, Ges.]: Ἀδασάν, Alex. Ἀδασα: *Hadassa*), one of the towns of Judah, in the *Shefelah* or maritime low-country, named between Zenan and Migdal-gad, in the second group (Josh. xv. 37 only). By Eusebius it is spoken of as lying near "Taphna," *i. e.* Gophna. But if by this Eusebius intends the well-known Gophna, there must be some error, as Gophna was several miles north of Jerusalem, near the direct north road to *Nablûs*. No satisfactory reason presents itself why Hadashah should not be the ADASA of the Maccabean history. Hitherto it has eluded discovery in modern times. G.

* **HADES.** [DEAD, THE; DEEP, THE; HELL.]

HADAS'SAH (הֲדַסָּה [*myrtle*]: LXX. omit: *Edissa*), a name, probably the earlier name, of Esther (Esth. ii 7). Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 366) suggests that it is identical with Ἀρσασα, the name of the daughter of Cyrus.

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HADATTAH (חֲדַתָּה [*new*]: LXX. omit: *nova*). According to the A. V., one of the towns of Judah in the extreme south — "Hazor, Hadattah, and Kerioth, and Hezron," etc. (Josh. xv. 25); but the Masoret accents of the Hebrew connect the word with that preceding it, as if it were Hazor-chadattah, *i. e.* New Hazor, in distinction from the place of the same name in ver. 23. This reading is expressly sanctioned by Eusebius and Jerome, who speak (*Onom.* "Asor") of "New Hazor" as lying in their day to the east of and near Ascalon. (See also Reland, p. 708.) But Ascalon, as Robinson has pointed out (ii. 34, note), is in the *Shefelah*, and not in the South, and would, if named in Joshua at all, be included in the second division of the list, beginning at ver. 33, instead of where it is, not far from Kedesh. G.

* Mr. Tristram (*Land of Israel*, p. 310, 2d ed.) speaks of some ruins in the south of Judah, on a "brow southeast of Wady *Zuweirah*, which the Arabs said was called *Hadâdah*." He thinks it possible that the Hadattah of Joshua (xv. 25) may have been there. H.

HA'DID (חָדִיד, *sharp*, possibly from its situation on some craggy eminence, Ges. *Thes.* 446: Ἀδίδ [? by comb. with preceding name, in Ezr., Λοδαδι, Vat. Λοδαρωθ, Alex. Λυδδων Λοδαδιδ: in Neh. vii., Λοδαδιδ, Vat. FA. Λοδαδια; in Neh. xi., LXX. omit:] *Hadid*), a place named, with Lod (Lydda) and Ono, only in the later books of the history (Ezr. ii. 33; Neh. vii. 37, xi. 34), but yet so as to imply its earlier existence. In the time of Eusebius (*Onom.* "Adithaim") a town called Aditha, or Adatha, existed to the east of Diospolis (Lydda). This was probably Hadid. The ADIDA of the Maccabæan history cannot be the same place, as it is distinctly specified as in the maritime or Philistine plain further south — "Adida in Sephela" (1 Macc. xii. 38) — with which agrees the description of Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 6, § 5). About three miles east of *Ludd* stands a village called *el-Hadîtheh*, marked in Van de Velde's map. This is described by the old Jewish traveller ha-Parchi as being "on the summit of a round hill," and identified by him, no doubt correctly, with Hadid. See Zunz, in Asher's *Benj. of Tudela*, ii. 439. G.

HAD'LAI [2 syl.] (חַדְלַי [*resting* or *keeping holiday*]: Ἐλδαΐ; [Vat. Χοαδ;] Alex. Ἀδδι: *Adali*), man of Ephraim; father of Amasa, who was one of the chiefs of the tribe in the reign of Pekah (2 Chr. xxviii. 12).

HADO'RAM (הֲדוֹרָם [possibly *fire-worshippers*: see Fürst]: Ὀδορράμ; [Alex. Ιαραδ, Κεδουραν; Comp. Ὀδορράμ, Ἰδωραμ:] *Aduram*, [*Adoram*]), the fifth son of Joktan (Gen. x. 27; 1 Chr. i. 21). His settlements, unlike those of many of Joktan's sons, have not been identified. Bochart supposed that the Adramitæ represented his descendants; but afterwards believed, as later critics have also, that this people was the same as the Chatramotitæ, or people of Hadramäwt (*Phaleg* ii. c. 17). [HAZARMAVETH.] Fresnel cites an Arab author who identifies Hadoram with *Jurhum* (4me *Lettre*, *Journ. Asiatique*, iiie série, vi 220); but this is highly improbable; nor is the suggestion of *Hadhoorà*, by Caussin (*Essai*, i. 30) more likely: the latter being one of the aborigina. tribes of Arabia, such as 'A'd, Thamood, etc [ARABIA.] E. S. P.

2. (הֲדוֹרָם: Ἀδουράμ: [Vat. Ιδουραμ; FA Ιδουραμ;] Alex. Δουραμ: *Adoram*), son of Tou or Toi king of Hamath; his father's ambassador to congratulate David on his victory over Hadarezer king of Zobah (1 Chr. xviii. 10), and the bearer of valuable presents in the form of articles of antique manufacture (Joseph.), in gold, silver, and brass. In the parallel narrative of 2 Sam. viii. the name is given as Joram; but this being a contraction of Jehoram, which contains the name of Jehovah, is peculiarly an Israelite appellation, and we may therefore conclude that Hadoram is the genuine form of the name. By Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 5, § 4) it is given as Ἀδώραμος.

3. (הֲדָרָם: ὁ Ἀδωνιράμ: [Vat. -νει-;] Alex. Ἀδωραμ: *Aduram*.) The form assumed in Chronicles by the name of the intendant of taxes under David, Solomon, and Rehoboam, who lost his life in the revolt at Shechem after the coronation of the last-named prince (2 Chr. x. 18). He was sent by Rehoboam to appease the tumult, possibly as being one of the old and moderate party; but the choice of the chief officer of the taxes was not a happy one. His interference was ineffectual, and he himself fell a victim: "all Israel stoned him with stones that he died." In Kings the name is given in the longer form of ADONIRAM, but in Samuel (2 Sam. xx. 24) as ADORAM. By Josephus, in both the first and last case, he is called Ἀδώραμος.

HA'DRACH (חַדְרָךְ [see *infra*]: Σεδράχ, [Alex. Σεδραχ; Ald. with 13 MSS. Ἀδράχ:] *Hadrach*), a country of Syria, mentioned once only, by the prophet Zechariah, in the following words: "The burden of the word of Jehovah in the land of Hadrach, and Damascus [shall be] the rest thereof: when the eyes of man, as of all the tribes of Israel, shall be toward Jehovah. And Hamath also shall border thereby; Tyrus and Zidon, though it be very wise" (ix. 1, 2).[a] The position of the district, with its borders, is here generally stated, although it does not appear, as is commonly assumed, that it was on the east of Damascus; but the name itself seems to have wholly disappeared; and the ingenuity of critics has been exercised on it without attaining any trustworthy results. It still remains unknown. It is true that R. Jose of Damascus identifies it with the site of an important city east of Damascus; and Joseph Abassi makes mention of a place called Hadrak (حدرك); but, with Gesenius, we may well distrust these writers. The vague statement of Cyril Alex. seems to be founded on no particular facts beyond those contained in the prophecy of Zechariah. Besides these identifications we can point to none that possesses the smallest claim to acceptance. Those of Movers (*Phönix.*),[b] Bleek, and others are purely

[a] * De Wette's translation of these verses (*Die Heilige Schrift*, 1858), is more literal, and certainly more intelligible: (1) "Utterance of the word of Jehovah against the land Hadrach, and upon Damascus it comes down (for Jehovah has an eye upon men, and all the tribes of Israel); (2) and also against Hamath which borders thereon, Tyre and Sidon; for it is very wise" (comp. Ez. xxviii. 3 ff.). H.

[b] * Movers does not propose any local identification (if that be meant here), but supposes Adark, an Assyrian war-god (*Phönix.* i. 478), to be intended. For Bleek's theory, see above H.

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hypothetical, and the same must be said of the theory of Alphens [Van Alphen], in his monograph *De terra Hadrach et Damasco* (Traj. Rh. 1723, referred to by Winer, *s. v.*). A solution of the difficulties surrounding the name may perhaps be found by supposing that it is derived from HAZAR.

E. S. P.

* Another conjecture may be mentioned, namely, that Hadrach is the name of some Syrian king otherwise unknown. It was not uncommon for heathen kings to bear the names of their gods. Gesenius (*Thesaur.* i. 449) favors this opinion after Bleek. (See *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1852, p. 268.) Vaihinger argues for it, and attempts to show that the king in question may have been the one who reigned between Benhadad III. and Rezin, about the time of Uzziah and Jeroboam II. (See Herz. *Real-Encyk.* v. 445.) The data are insufficient for so definite a conclusion. Hengstenberg adopts the Jewish symbolic explanation, namely, that Hadrach (derived from חָזַק and רָזַה = *strong-weak*) denotes the Persian kingdom as destined, according to prophetic announcement, notwithstanding its power, to be utterly overthrown. Winer (*Bibl. Realw.* i. 454) speaks of this as not improbably correct. Hengstenberg discusses the question at length under the head of "The Land of Hadrach," in his *Christology of the O. T.*, iii. 371 ff. (trans. Edinb. 1858). H.

HA'GAB (חָגָב [*locust*]: Ἀγάβ: *Hagab*). Bene-Hagab [sons of Hagab] were among the Nethinim who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Exr. ii. 46). In the parallel list in Nehemiah, this and the name preceding it are omitted. In the Apocryphal Esdras [v. 30] it is given as AGABA.

HAG'ABA (חֲגָבָא: Ἀγαβά; [Alex. Ἀγγαβα:] *Hagaba*). Bene-Hagaba were among the Nethinim who came back from captivity with Zerubbabel (Neh. vii. 48). The name is slightly different in form from —

HAG'ABAH (חֲגָבָה [*locust*]: Ἀγαβά: *Hagaba*), under which it is found in the parallel list of Exr. ii. 45. In Esdras it is given as GRABA.

HA'GAR (הָגָר [*flight*]: Ἀγαρ: *Agar*), an Egyptian woman, the handmaid, or slave, of Sarah (Gen. xvi. 1), whom the latter gave as a concubine to Abraham, after he had dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan and had no children by Sarah (xvi. 2 and 3). That she was a bondwoman is stated both in the O. T. and in the N. T. (in the latter as part of her typical character); and the condition of a slave was one essential of her position as a legal concubine. It is recorded that "when she saw that she had conceived, her mistress was despised in her eyes" (4), and Sarah, with the anger, we may suppose, of a free woman, rather than of a wife, reproached Abraham for the results of her own act: "My wrong be upon thee: I have given my maid into thy bosom; and when she saw that she had conceived, I was despised in her eyes: Jehovah judge between me and thee." Abraham's answer seems to have been forced from him by his love for the wife of many years, who besides was his half-sister; and with the apparent want of purpose that he before displayed in Egypt, and afterwards at the court of Abimelech [a] (in contrast to his firm courage and constancy when directed by God), he said, "Behold, thy maid is in thy hand; do to her as it pleaseth thee." This permission was necessary in an eastern household, but it is worthy of remark that it is now very rarely given; nor can we think, from the unchangeableness of eastern customs, and the strongly-marked national character of those peoples, that it was usual anciently to allow a wife to deal hardly with a slave in Hagar's position. Yet the truth and individuality of the vivid narrative is enforced by this apparent departure from usage: "And when Sarai dealt hardly with her, she fled from her face," turning her steps towards her native land through the great wilderness traversed by the Egyptian road. By the fountain in the way to Shur, the angel of the Lord found her, charged her to return and submit herself under the hands of her mistress, and delivered the remarkable prophecy respecting her unborn child, recorded in ver. 10–12. [ISHMAEL.] "And she called the name of the Lord that spake unto her, Thou God art a God of vision; for she said, Have I then seen [i. e. lived] after vision [of God]? Wherefore the well was called BEER-LAHAI-ROI" (13, 14). On her return, Hagar gave birth to Ishmael, and Abraham was then eighty-six years old.

Mention is not again made of Hagar in the history of Abraham until the feast at the weaning of Isaac, when "Sarah saw the son of Hagar the Egyptian, which she had borne unto Abraham, mocking"; and in exact sequence with the first flight of Hagar, we now read of her expulsion. "Wherefore she said unto Abraham, Cast out this bondwoman and her son; for the son of this bondwoman shall not be heir with my son, [even] with Isaac" (xxi. 9, 10). Abraham, in his grief, and unwillingness thus to act, was comforted by God, with the assurance that in Isaac should his seed be called, and that a nation should also be raised of the bondwoman's son. In his trustful obedience, we read, in the pathetic narrative, "Abraham rose up early in the morning, and took bread, and a bottle of water, and gave [it] unto Hagar, putting [it] on her shoulder, and the child, and sent her away, and she departed and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba. And the water was spent in the bottle, and she cast the child under one of the shrubs. And she went, and sat her down over against [him] a good way off, as it were a bowshot; for she said, Let me not see the death of the child. And she sat over against [him], and lifted up her voice and wept. And God heard the voice of the lad, and the angel of God called to Hagar out of heaven, and said unto her, What aileth thee, Hagar? Fear not, for God hath heard the voice of the lad where he [is]. Arise, lift up the lad, and hold him in thine hand, for I will make him a great nation. And God opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water, and she went and filled the bottle [skin] with water, and gave the lad to drink" (xxi. 14–19). The verisimilitude, oriental exactness, and simple beauty of this story are internal evidences attesting its truth apart from all other evidence; and even Winer says (in alluding to the subterfuge of skepticism that Hagar = flight — would lead to

[a] It seems to be unnecessary to assume (as Kalisch does, *Comment. on Genesis*) that we have here another proof of Abraham's faith. This explanation of the event is not required, nor does the narrative appear to warrant it, unless Abraham regarded Hagar's son as the heir of the promise: comp. Gen. xvii 18.

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the assumption of its being a myth), "Das Ereignis ist so einfach und den orientalischen Sitten so angemessen, das wir hier gewiss eine rein historische Sage vor uns haben" (*Realcöört.* s. v. "Hagar").

The name of Hagar occurs elsewhere only when she takes a wife to Ishmael (xxi. 21), and in the genealogy (xxv. 12). St. Paul refers to her as the type of the old covenant, likening her to Mount Sinai, the Mount of the Law (Gal. iv. 22 ff.).

In Mohammedan tradition Hagar (هَاجَر, Hájir, or Hágir) is represented as the wife of Abraham, as might be expected when we remember that Ishmael is the head of the Arab nation, and the reputed ancestor of Mohammed. In the same manner she is said to have dwelt and been buried at Mekkeh, and the well Zemzem in the sacred inclosure of the temple of Mekkeh is pointed out by the Muslims as the well which was miraculously formed for Ishmael in the wilderness. E. S. P.

* The truthfulness to nature which is so manifest in the incidents related of Hagar and Ishmael (as suggested above), bears strong testimony to the fidelity of the narrative. See especially Gen. xvi. 6; xxi. 10, 11, and 14 ff. Dean Stanley very properly calls attention to this trait of the patriarchal history as illustrated in this instance, as well as others. (*Jewish Church*, i. 40 ff.) See also, on this characteristic of these early records, Blunt's *Veracity of the Books of Moses*. Hess brings out impressively this feature of the Bible in his *Geschichte der Patriarchen* (2 Bde. Tübing. 1785). It appears from Gal. iv. 24, where Paul speaks of the dissensions in Abraham's family, that the jealousy between Hagar's son and the heir of promise proceeded much further than the O. T. relates. Rüetschi has a brief article on "Hagar" in Herzog's *Real-Encyk.* v. 469 f. Mr. Williams (*Holy City*, i. 463–468) inserts an extended account of the supposed discovery by Mr. Rowlands of Beer-lahai-roi, the well in the desert, at which, after her expulsion from the house of Abraham, the angel of the Lord appeared to Hagar (Gen. xvi. 7 ff.). It is said to be about 5 hours from Kadesh, on the way from Beer-sheba to Egypt, and is called *Moilâhhi* (more correctly *Muweilih*, says Rüetschi), the name being regarded as the same, except in the first syllable the change of *Beer*, "well," for *Moi*, "water." Near it is also found an elaborate excavation in the rocks which the Arabs call *Beit-Hagar*, i. e. "house of Hagar." Keil and Delitzsch (in Gen. xvi. 14) incline to adopt this identification. Knobel (*Genesis*, p. 147) is less decided. Dr. Robinson's note (*Bibl. Res.*, 2d ed. i. 189) throws some discredit on the accuracy of this report.

Hagar occurs in Gal. iv. 25 (T. R. & A. V.), not as a personal name (ἡ Ἄγαρ), but as a word or local name (τὸ Ἄγαρ) applied to Mount Sinai in Arabia. The Arabic حَجَر, pronounced very much like this name, means a "stone," and may have been in use in the neighborhood of Sinai as one of its local designations. (See Meyer *on Gal.* iv. 25). There is no testimony that the mount was so called out of this passage; but as Ewald remarks respecting this point (*Nachtrag* in his *Sendschreiben des Apostels*, p. 493 ff.), Paul is so much the less to be charged with an error here, inasmuch as he himself had travelled in that part of Arabia, and as an apostle, had remained there a long time." (See Gal. i. 17 f.) Some conjecture that this name was transferred to the mountain from an Arabian town so called, where, according to one account, Hagar is said to have been buried. But, on the other hand, it is not certain that τὸ Ἄγαρ really belongs to the Greek text, though the weight of critical opinion affirms it (see Meyer, *in loc.*). The questions both as to the origin of the name and the genuineness of the reading are carefully examined in Lightfoot's *Commentary on Galatians* (pp. 178, 189 ff. 2d ed.), though perhaps he understates the testimony for τὸ Ἄγαρ. H.

HAGARE'NES, HA'GARITES (הַגְרִים)

הַגְרִיאִים: Ἀγαρηνοί, Ἀγαραῖοι, [etc.:] *Agareni*, *Agarei*), a people dwelling to the east of Palestine, with whom the tribe of Reuben made war in the time of Saul, and "who fell by their hand, and they dwelt in their tents throughout all the east [land] of Gilead" (1 Chr. v. 10); and again in ver. 18–20, the sons of Reuben, and the Gadites and half the tribe of Manasseh "made war with the Hagarites, with Jetur, and Nephish, and Nodab, and they were helped against them, and the Hagarites were delivered into their hand, and all that were with them." The spoil here recorded to have been taken shows the wealth and importance of these tribes; and the conquest, at least of the territory occupied by them, was complete, for the Israelites "dwelt in their steads until the Captivity" (ver. 22). The same people, as confederate against Israel, are mentioned in Ps. lxxxiii.: "The tabernacles of Edom and the Ishmaelites; of Moab and the Hagarenes; Gebal, Ammon, and Amalek; the Philistines with the inhabitants of Tyre; Assur also is joined with them; they have holpen the children of Lot" (ver. 6–8).

Who these people were is a question that cannot readily be decided, though it is generally believed that they were named after Hagar. Their geographical position, as inferred from the above passages, was in the "east country," where dwelt the descendants of Ishmael; the occurrence of the names of two of his sons, Jetur and Nephish (1 Chr. v. 19), as before quoted, with that of Nodab, whom Gesenius supposes to be another son (though he is not found in the genealogical lists, and must remain doubtful [NODAB]), seems to indicate that these Hagarenes were named after Hagar; but in the passage in Ps. lxxxiii., the Ishmaelites are apparently distinguished from the Hagarenes (cf. Bar. iii. 23). May they have been thus called after a town or district named after Hagar, and not only because they were her descendants? It is needless to follow the suggestion of some writers, that Hagar may have been the mother of other children after her separation from Abraham (as the Bible and tradition are silent on the question), and it is in itself highly improbable.

It is also uncertain whether the important town and district of *Herjer* (the inhabitants of which were probably the same as the Agræi of Strabo, xvi. p. 767, Dionys. Perieg. 956, Plin. vi. 32, and Ptol v. 19, 2) represent the ancient name and a dwelling of the Hagarenes; but it is reasonable to suppose that they do. *Hejer*, or *Hejerà* (هَجَر) indeclinable, according to Yâkoot, *Mushtaruk*, s. v. but also, according to *Kâmoos*, هَجَر, as (less

and Winer write it), is the capital town and also subdivision of the province of northeastern Arabia called *El-Bahreyn*, or, as some writers say, the name of the province itself (*Mushtarak* and *Marásid*, s. v.), on the borders of the Persian Gulf. It is a low and fertile country, frequented for its abundant water and pasturage by the wandering tribes of the neighboring deserts and of the high land of *Nejd*. For the Agræi, see the *Dictionary of Geography*. There is another *Hejer*, a place near El-Medeeneh.

The district of *Hajar* (حجر), on the borders of Desert Arabia, north of *El-Medeeneh*, has been thought to possess a trace, in its name, of the Hagarenes. It is, at least, less likely than Hejer to do so, both from situation and etymology. The tract, however, is curious from the caves that it is reported to contain, in which, say the Arabs, dwelt the old tribe of Thamood.

Two Hagarites are mentioned in the O. T.: see MIBHAR and JAZIZ. E. S. P.

HA'GERITE, THE (הַהַגְרִי: ὁ Ἀγαρίτης; [Vat. Γαρειτης:] *Agareus*). Jaziz the Hagerite, i. e. the descendant of Hagar, had the charge of David's sheep (צֹאן, A. V. "flocks;" 1 Chr. xxvii. 31). The word appears in the other forms of HAGARITES and HAGARENES.

HAG'GAI [2 syl.] (חַגַּי [*festive*]: Ἀγγαῖος; [Sin. Αγγεος in Hag., except inscription, and so Alex. in the inscr. of Ps. cxlv.–cxlviii.:] *Aggæus*), the tenth in order of the minor prophets, and first of those who prophesied after the Captivity. With regard to his tribe and parentage both history and tradition are alike silent. Some, indeed, taking in its literal sense the expression מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה (*malac y'hóvâh*) in i. 13, have imagined that he was an angel in human shape (Jerome, *Comm.* in loc.). In the absence of any direct evidence on the point, it is more than probable that he was one of the exiles who returned with Zerubbabel and Joshua; and Ewald (*Die Proph. d. Alt. B.*) is even tempted to infer from ii. 3 that he may have been one of the few survivors who had seen the first temple in its splendor. The rebuilding of the temple, which was commenced in the reign of Cyrus (B. C. 535), was suspended during the reigns of his successors, Cambyses and Pseudo-Smerdis, in consequence of the determined hostility of the Samaritans. On the accession of Darius Hystaspis (B. C. 521), the prophets Haggai and Zechariah urged the renewal of the undertaking, and obtained the permission and assistance of the king (Ezr. v. 1, vi. 14; Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 4). Animated by the high courage (*magni spiritus*, Jerome) of these devoted men, the people prosecuted the work with vigor, and the temple was completed and dedicated in the sixth year of Darius (B. C. 516). According to tradition, Haggai was born in Babylon, was a young man when he came to Jerusalem, and was buried with honor near the sepulchres of the priests (Isidor. Hispal. c. 49; Pseudo-Dorotheus, in *Chron. Pasch.* 51 d). It has hence been conjectured that he was of priestly rank. Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, according to the Jewish writers, were the men who were with Daniel when he saw the vision related in Dan. x. 7; and were after the Captivity members of the Great Synagogue, which consisted of 120 elders (*Creri*, iii. 65). The *Seder Olam Zuta* places their death in the 52d year of the Medes and Persians; while the extravagance of another tradition makes Haggai survive till the entry of Alexander the Great into Jerusalem, and even till the time of our Saviour (Carpzov, *Introd.*). In the Roman Martyrology Hosea and Haggai are joined in the catalogue of saints (*Acta Sanctor.* 4 Julii). The question of Haggai's probable connection with the authorship of the book of Ezra will be found fully discussed in the article under that head, pp. 805, 806.

The names of Haggai and Zechariah are associated in the LXX. in the titles of Ps. 137, 145–148; in the Vulgate in those of Ps. 111, 145; and in the Peshito Syriac in those of Ps. 125, 126, 145, 146, 147, 148. It may be that tradition assigned to these prophets the arrangement of the above-mentioned psalms for use in the temple service, just as Ps. lxiv. is in the Vulgate attributed to Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and the name of the former is inscribed at the head of Ps. cxxxvi. in the LXX. According to Pseudo Epiphanius (*de Vitis Proph.*), Haggai was the first who chanted the Hallelujah in the second temple: "wherefore," he adds, "we say 'Hallelujah, which is the hymn of Haggai and Zechariah.'" Haggai is mentioned in the Apocrypha as AGGEUS, in 1 Esdr. vi. 1, vii. 3; 2 Esdr. i. 40; and is alluded to in Eccles. xlix. 11 (cf. Hag. ii. 23) and Heb. xii. 26 (Hag. ii. 6).

The style of his writing is generally tame and prosaic, though at times it rises to the dignity of severe invective, when the prophet rebukes his countrymen for their selfish indolence and neglect of God's house. But the brevity of the prophecies is so great, and the poverty of expression which characterizes them so striking, as to give rise to a conjecture, not without reason, that in their present form they are but the outline or summary of the original discourses. They were delivered in the second year of Darius Hystaspis (B. C. 520), at intervals from the 1st day of the 6th month to the 24th day of the 9th month in the same year.

In his first message to the people the prophet denounced the listlessness of the Jews, who dwelt in their "panelled houses," while the temple of the Lord was roofless and desolate. The displeasure of God was manifest in the failure of all their efforts for their own gratification. The heavens were "stayed from dew," and the earth was "stayed from her fruit." They had neglected that which should have been their first care, and reaped the due wages of their selfishness (i. 4–11). The words of the prophet sank deep into the hearts of the people and their leaders. They acknowledged the voice of God speaking by his servant, and obeyed the command. Their obedience was rewarded with the assurance of God's presence (i. 13), and twenty-four days after the building was resumed. A month had scarcely elapsed when the work seems to have slackened, and the enthusiasm of the people abated. The prophet, ever ready to rekindle their zeal, encouraged the flagging spirits of the chiefs with the renewed assurance of God's presence, and the fresh promise that, stately and magnificent as was the temple of their wisest king, the glory of the latter house should be greater than the glory of the former (ii. 3–9). Yet the people were still inactive, and two months afterwards we find him again censuring their sluggishness, which rendered worthless all their ceremonial observances. But the rebuke was accompanied by a repetition of the promise (ii. 10–19). On the same day, the

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four-and-twentieth of the ninth month, the prophet delivered his last prophecy, addressed to Zerubbabel, prince of Judah, the representative of the royal family of David, and as such the lineal ancestor of the Messiah. This closing prediction foreshadows the establishment of the Messianic kingdom upon the overthrow of the thrones of the nations (ii. 20–23). W. A. W.

* For the later exegetical works on the prophets which include Haggai, see under HABAKKUK. Keil gives a list of the older commentaries or monographs in his *Lehrb. der hist. krit. Einl. in d. A. T.* p. 308 (2te Aufl.). Oehler treats of the prophet's personal history in Herzog's *Real-Encyk.* v. 471 f. Bleek (*Einl. in das A. Test.* p. 549) agrees with those (Ewald, Hävernick, Keil) who think that Haggai lived long enough to see both the first and the second temples. On the Messianic passage of this prophet (ii. 6–9), the reader may consult, in addition to the commentators, Hengstenberg, *Christology of the O. T.* iii. 243–271 (Keith's trans.); Hasse, *Geschichte des Alten Bundes*, p. 203 ff.; Smith, J. P., *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah*, i. 283 ff. (5th ed. Lond. 1859); and Tholuck, *Die Propheten u. ihre Weissagungen* (2ter Abdruck), p. 156, a few words only. H.

HAG'GERI (הַגְּרִי, *i. e.* Hagri, *a Hagarite*: Ἀγαρί; [Vat. FA. -ρει:] Alex. Ἀραβί: *Agarai*). "MIBHAR son of Haggeri" was one of the mighty men of David's guard, according to the catalogue of 1 Chr. xi. 38. The parallel passage — 2 Sam. xxiii. 36 — has "Bani the Gadite" (הַגָּדִי). This Kennicott decides to have been the original, from which Haggeri has been corrupted (*Dissert.* p. 214). The Targum has *Bar Gedi* (בַּר גָּדָא).

HAG'GI (חַגִּי [*festive*]: Ἀγγί, Alex. Ἀγγεις; [in Num., Ἀγγί, Vat. -γει:] *Haggi, Aggi*), second son of Gad (Gen. xlvi. 16; Num. xxvi. 15), founder of the Haggites (הַחַגִּי). It will be observed that the name, though given as that of an individual, is really a patronymic, precisely the same as of the family.

HAGGI'AH (חַגִּיָּה [*festival of Jehovah*]: Ἀγγία; [Vat. Αμα:] *Haggia*), a Levite, one of the descendants of Merari (1 Chr. vi. 30).

HAG'GITES, THE (הַחַגִּי: ὁ Ἀγγί; [Vat. -γει:] *Agitæ*), the family sprung from HAGGI, second son of Gad (Num. xxvi. 15).

HAG'GITH (חַגִּית, *a dancer*: Ἀγγίθ; Alex. Φεγγιθ, Αγιθ, [Αγειθ,] Αγγειθ; [Vat. Φεγγειθ, Αγγειθ;] Joseph. Ἀγγίθη: *Haggith, Aggith*), one of David's wives, of whom nothing is told us except that she was the mother of Adonijah, who is commonly designated as "the son of Haggith" (2 Sam. iii. 4; 1 K. i. 5, 11, ii. 13; 1 Chr. iii. 2). He was, like Absalom, renowned for his handsome presence. In the first and last of the above passages Haggith is fourth in order of mention among the wives, Adonijah being also fourth among the sons. His birth happened at Hebron (2 Sam. iii. 2, 5) shortly after that of Absalom (1 K. i. 6: where it will be observed that the words "his mother" are inserted by the translators). G.

HA'GIA (Ἀγιά [Ἀγιά, Bos, Holmes & Parsons]: *Aggia*), 1 Esdr. v. 34. [HATTIL.]

HA'I (הָעַי [the *stone-heap*, or *ruin*]: Ἀγγαί: *Hai*). The form in which the well-known place AI appears in the A. V. on its first introduction (Gen. xii. 8; xiii. 3). It arises from the translators having in these places, and these only recognized the definite article with which AI is invariably and emphatically accompanied in the Hebrew. [More probably it comes from the Vulgate. — A.]. In the Samaritan Version of the above two passages, the name is given in the first *Ainah*, and in the second *Cephrah*, as if CEPHIRAH. G.

* **HAIL.** [PLAGUES, THE TEN; SNOW.]

HAIR. The Hebrews were fully alive to the importance of the hair as an element of personal beauty, whether as seen in the "curled locks, black as a raven," of youth (Cant. v. 11), or in the "crown of glory" that encircled the head of old age (Prov. xvi. 31). The customs of ancient nations in regard to the hair varied considerably: the Egyptians allowed the women to wear it long, but kept the heads of men closely shaved from early childhood (Her. ii. 36, iii. 12; Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 327, 328). The Greeks admired



Grecian manner of wearing the hair. (Hope's Costumes.)

long hair, whether in men or women, as is evidenced in the expression καρηκομόωντες Ἀχαιοί, and in the representations of their divinities, especially Bacchus and Apollo, whose long locks were a symbol of perpetual youth. The Assyrians also wore it long (Her. i. 195), the flowing curls being gathered together in a heavy cluster on the back, as represented in the sculptures of Nineveh. The Hebrews, on the other hand, while they encouraged the growth of hair, observed the natural distinction between the sexes by allowing the women to wear it long (Luke vii. 38; John xi. 2; 1 Cor. xi. 6 ff.), while the men restrained theirs by frequent clippings to a moderate length. This difference between the Hebrews and the surrounding nations, especially the Egyptians, arose no doubt partly from natural taste, but partly also from legal enactments. Clipping the hair in a certain manner and offering the locks, was in early times connected with religious worship. Many of the Arabians practiced a peculiar tonsure in honor of their God Orotal (Her. iii. 8, κείρονται περιτρόχαλα, περιξυροῦντες τοὺς κροτάφους), and hence the Hebrews were forbidden to "round the corners (פְּאַת, lit. the *extremity*) of their heads" (Lev. xix. 27), meaning the locks along the forehead and temples, and behind the ears. This tonsure is described in the LXX. by a peculiar expression στιβή (= the classical σκάφιον), probably derived from the Hebrew צִיצִית (comp. Bochart, *Can.* i. 6, p. 379). That the practice of the Arabians was well known to the Hebrews, appears from the expression קְצוּצֵי פֵאָה, *rounded as to the locks*, by which

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they are described (Jer. ix. 26; xxv. 23; xlix. 32: see marginal translation of the A. V.). The prohibition against cutting off the hair on the death of a relative (Deut. xiv. 1) was probably grounded on a similar reason. In addition to these regulations, the Hebrews dreaded baldness, as it was frequently the result of leprosy (Lev. xiii. 40 ff.), and hence formed one of the disqualifications for the priesthood (Lev. xxi. 20, LXX.). [BALDNESS.] The rule imposed upon the priests, and probably followed by the rest of the community, was that the hair should be *polled* (כָּסַם, Ez. xliv. 20), neither being shaved, nor allowed to grow too long (Lev xxi. 5; Ez. *l. c.*). What was the precise length usually worn, we have no means of ascertaining; but from various expressions, such as פָּרַע רֹאשׁ, lit. to *let loose* the head or the hair (= *solvere crines*, Virg. *Æn.* iii. 65, xi. 35; *demissos lugentis more capillos*, Ov. *Ep.* x. 137) by unbinding the head-band and letting it go disheveled (Lev. x. 6, A. V. "*uncover* your heads"), which was done in mourning (cf. Ez. xxiv. 17); and again גָּלָה אֹזֶן, to *uncover* the ear, previous to making any communication of importance (1 Sam. xx. 2, 12, xxii. 8, A. V., margin), as though the hair fell over the ear, we may conclude that men wore their hair somewhat longer than is usual with us. The word פֶּרַע, used as = hair (Num. vi. 5; Ez. xliv. 20), is especially indicative of its *free growth* (cf. Knobel, *Comm.* in Lev. xxi. 10). Long hair was admired in the case of young men; it is especially noticed in the description of Absalom's person (2 Sam. xiv. 26), the inconceivable weight of whose hair, as given in the text (200 shekels), has led to a variety of explanations (comp. Harmer's *Observations*, iv. 321), the more probable being that the numeral כ (20) has been turned into ר (200): Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 8, § 5) adds, that it was cut every eighth day. The hair was also worn long by the body-guard of Solomon, according to the same authority (*Ant.* viii. 7, § 3, *μηνίσατας καθειμένοι χαίτας*). The care requisite to keep the hair in order in such cases must have been very great, and hence the practice of wearing long hair was unusual, and only resorted to as an act of religious observance, in which case it was a "sign of humiliation and self-denial, and of a certain religious slovenliness" (Lightfoot, *Exercit.* on 1 Cor. xi. 14), and was practiced by the Nazarites (Num. vi. 5; Judg. xiii. 5, xvi. 17; 1 Sam. i. 11), and occasionally by others in token of special mercies (Acts xviii. 18); it was not unusual among the Egyptians when on a journey (Diod. i. 18). [NAZARITE.] In times of affliction the hair was altogether cut off (Is. iii. 17, 24, xv. 2, xxii. 12; Jer. vii. 29, xlviii. 37; Am. viii. 10; Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 15, § 1), the practice of the Hebrews being in this respect the reverse of that of the Egyptians, who let their hair grow long in time of mourning (Herod. ii. 36), having their heads when the term was over (Gen. xli. 14), but resembling that of the Greeks, as frequently noticed by classical writers (*e. g.* Soph. *Aj.* 1174; Eurip. *Electr.* 143, 241). Tearing the hair (Ezr. ix. 3) and letting it go disheveled, as already noticed, were similar tokens of grief. [MOURNING.] The practice of the modern Arabs in regard to the length of their hair varies; generally the men allow it to grow its natural length, the tresses hanging down to the breast and sometimes to the waist, affording substantial protection to the head and neck against the violence of the sun's rays (Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 49; Wellsted's *Travels*, i. 33, 53, 73). The modern Egyptians retain the practices of their ancestors, shaving the heads of the men, but suffering the women's hair to grow long (Lane's *Mod. Egypt.* i. 52, 71). Wigs were commonly used by the latter people (Wilkinson, ii. 324), but not by the Hebrews: Josephus (*Vit.* § 11) notices an instance of false hair (*περιθετὴ κόμη*) being used for the purpose of disguise. Whether the ample ringlets of the Assyrian monarchs, as represented in the sculptures of Nineveh, were real or artificial, is doubtful (Layard's *Nineveh*, ii. 328). Among the Medes the wig was worn by the upper classes (Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 3, § 2).



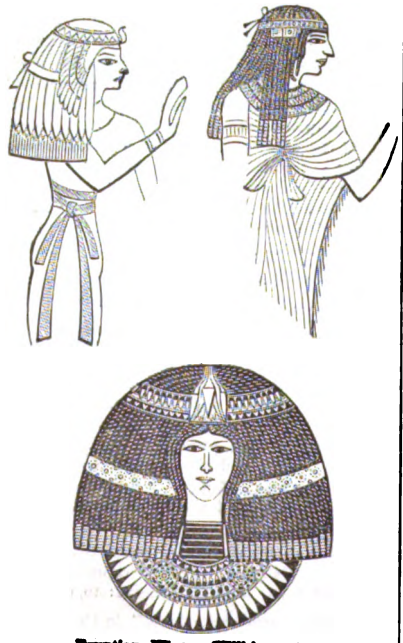
Egyptian Wigs. (Wilkinson.)

The usual and favorite color of the hair was black (Cant. v. 11), as is indicated in the comparisons to a "flock of goats" and the "tents of Kedar" (Cant. iv. 1, i. 5): a similar hue is probably intended by the *purple* of Cant. vii. 5, the term being broadly used (as the Greek *πορφύρεος* in a similar application = *μέλας*, Anacr. 28). A fictitious hue was occasionally obtained by sprinkling gold-dust on the hair (Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 7, § 3). It does not appear that dyes were ordinarily used; the "Carmel" of Cant. vii. 5 has been understood as = כַּרְמִיל (A. V. "crimson," margin) without good reason, though the similarity of the words may have suggested the subsequent reference to purple. Herod is said to have dyed his gray hair for the purpose of concealing his age (*Ant.* xvi. 8, § 1), but the practice may have been borrowed from the Greeks or Romans, among whom it was common (Aristoph. *Eccles.* 736; Martial, *Ep.* iii. 43; Propert. ii. 18, 24, 26): from Matt. v. 36, we may infer that it was not usual among the Hebrews. The approach of age was marked by a *sprinkling* (זָרַק, Hos. vii. 9; comp. a similar use of *spargere*, Propert. iii. 4, 24) of gray hairs, which soon overspread the whole head (Gen. xlii. 38, xliv. 29; 1 K. ii. 6, 9; Prov. xvi. 31, xx. 29). The reference to the *almond* in Eccl. xii. 5, has been explained of the white blossoms of that tree, as emblematic of old age: it may be observed, however, that the color of the flower is *pink* rather than white, and that the verb in that passage, according to high authorities (Gesen. and Hitzig), does not bear the sense of blossoming at all. Pure white hair was deemed characteristic of the Divine Majesty (Dan. vii. 9; Rev. i. 14).

The chief beauty of the hair consisted in curls, whether of a natural or artificial character. The Hebrew terms are highly expressive: to omit the word עֲמָמָה, — rendered "locks" in Cant. iv. 1, 3, vi. 7, and Is. xlvii. 2, but more probably meaning a *veil*, — we have תַּלְתַּלִּים (Cant. v. 11), properly pendulous flexible boughs (according to

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the LXX, ἑλάται the shoots of the palm-tree, which supplied an image of the *coma pendula*; צִיצִת (Ez. viii. 3), a similar image borrowed from the curve of a blossom: עֲנָק (Cant. iv. 9), a lock falling over the shoulders like a chain of ear-pendants (*in uno crine colli tui*, Vulg., which is better than the A. V., "with one chain of thy neck"); רְהָטִים (Cant. vii. 5, A. V. "galleries"), properly the channels by which water was brought to the flocks, which supplied an image either of the *coma fluens*, or of the regularity in which the locks were arranged; דַּלָּה (Cant. vii. 5), again an expression for *coma pendula*, borrowed from the threads hanging down from an unfinished woof; and lastly מַעֲשֶׂה מְקֻשָּׁח (Is. iii. 24, A. V. "well set hair"), properly *plaited work*, i. e. gracefully curved locks. With regard to the mode of dressing the hair, we have no very precise information; the terms used are of a general character, as of Jezebel (2 K. ix. 30), תַּיטֵב, *i. e.* she *adorned* her head; of Judith (x. 3), διέταξε, i. e. *arranged* (the A. V. has "braided," and the Vulg. *discriminavit*, here used in a technical sense in the reference to the *discriminale* or hair-pin); of Herod (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 9, § 4), κεκοσμημένος τῇ συνθέσει τῆς κόμης, and of those who adopted feminine fashions (*B. J.* iv. 9, § 10), κόμας συνθετιζόμενοι. The terms used in the N. T. (πλέγμασιν, 1 Tim. ii. 9; ἐμπλοκῆς τριχῶν, 1 Pet. iii. 3) are also of a general character; Schleusner (*Lex.* s. v.) understands them of *curling* rather than plaiting. The arrangement of Samson's hair into seven locks, or more properly *braids* (מַחְלָפוֹת, from חָלַף, *to interweave*: שְׂתָוָל, LXX.; Judg. xvi. 13, 19), involves the practice of plaiting, which was also familiar to the Egyptians (Wilkinson, ii. 335) and Greeks (Hom. *Il.* xiv. 176). The locks were probably kept in their place by a fillet, as in Egypt (Wilkinson, *l. c.*).



Egyptian Wigs. (Wilkinson.)

Ornaments were worked into the hair, as practiced by the modern Egyptians, who "add to each braid three black silk cords with little ornaments of gold" (Lane, i. 71): the LXX. understands the term יְבִיסִים (Is. iii. 18, A. V. "cauls"), as applying to such ornaments (ἐμπλόκια); Schroeder (*de Vest. Mul. Heb.* cap. 2) approves of this, and conjectures that they were *sun-shaped*, i. e. circular, as distinct from the "round tires like the moon," *i. e.* the crescent-shaped ornaments used for necklaces. The Arabian women attach small bells to the tresses of their hair (Niebuhr, *Voyage*, i. 133). Other terms, sometimes understood as applying to the hair, are of doubtful signification, *e. g.* חֲרִיטִים (Is. iii. 22: *acus*: "crisping-pins"), more probably *purses*, as in 2 K. v. 23; קְשָׂרִים (Is. iii. 20, "head-bands"), *bridal girdles*, according to Schroeder and other authorities; פְּאֵרִים (Is. iii. 20, *discriminalia*, Vulg. *i. e.* pins used for keeping the hair parted; cf. Jerome *in Rufin.* iii. cap. ult.), more probably *turbans*. Combs and hair-pins are mentioned in the Talmud; the Egyptian combs were made of wood and double, one side having large, and the other small teeth (Wilkinson, ii. 343); from the ornamental devices worked on them we may infer that they were worn in the hair. With regard to other ornaments worn about the head, see HEAD-DRESS. The Hebrews, like other nations of antiquity, anointed the hair profusely with ointments, which were generally compounded of various aromatic ingredients (Ruth iii. 3; 2 Sam. xiv. 2; Ps. xxiii. 5, xlv. 7, xcii. 10; Eccl. ix. 8; Is. iii. 24); more especially on occasion of festivities or hospitality (Matt. vi. 17, xxvi. 7; Luke vii. 46; cf. Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 4, § 1, χρισάμενος μύροις τὴν κεφαλήν, ὡς ἀπὸ συνουσίας). It is perhaps in reference to the glossy appearance so imparted to it that the hair is described as purple (Cant. vii. 5).

It appears to have been the custom of the Jews in our Saviour's time to swear by the hair (Matt. v. 36), much as the Egyptian women still swear by the side-lock, and the men by their beards (Lane, i. 52, 71, notes).

Hair was employed by the Hebrews as an image of what was *least valuable* in man's person (1 Sam. xiv. 45; 2 Sam. xiv. 11; 1 K. i. 52; Matt. x. 30; Luke xii. 7, xxi. 18; Acts xxvii. 34); as well as of what was *innumerable* (Ps. xl. 12, lxix. 4); or particularly *fine* (Judg. xx. 16). In Is. vii. 20, it represents the various productions of the field, trees, crops, etc.; like ὄρος κεκομημένον ὕλῃ of Callim. *Dian.* 41, or the *humus comans* of Stat. *Theb.* v. 502. Hair "as the hair of women" (Rev. ix. 8), means long and undressed hair, which in later times was regarded as an image of barbaric rudeness (Hengstenberg, *Comm. in loc.*).

W. L. B.

HAK'KATAN (הַקָּטָן) [*the small* or *young*]: Ἀκκατάν; [Vat. Ακαταν:] *Eccetan*). Johanan, son of Hakkatan, was the chief of the Bene-Azgad [sons of A.] who returned from Babylon with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 12). The name is probably Katan, with the definite article prefixed. In the Apocrypha Esdras it is ACATAN.

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HAK'KOZ (הַקּוֹץ [*the thorn*]: ὁ Κώς; [Comp.] Alex. Ἀκκώς: *Accos*), a priest, the chief of the seventh course in the service of the sanctuary, as appointed by David (1 Chr. xxiv. 10). In Ezr. ii. 61 the name occurs again as that of a family of priests; though here the prefix is taken by our translators — and no doubt correctly — as the definite article, and the name appears as Koz. The same thing also occurs in Neh. iii. 4, 21. In Esdras Accoz.

HAKU'PHA (חֲקוּפָא [*bent, crooked*, Ges.; *incitement*, Fürst]: Ἀκουφά, Ἀχιφά; [Vat. Αφεικα, Αχειφα; FA. in Neh., Ακειφα:] *Hacupha*). Bene-Chakupha [sons of C.] were among the families of Nethinim who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 51; Neh. vii. 53). In Esdras (1 Esdr. v. 31) the name is given as Acipha.

HA'LAH (חָלַח: Ἀλαέ, Χαδχ; [Alex. Αλλαε, Αλαε, Χαλα:] *Ilala*, [*Lahela*]) is probably a different place from the Calah of Gen. x. 11. [See Calah.] It may with some confidence be identified with the Chalcitis (Χαλκῖτις) of Ptolemy (v. 18), which he places between Anthemusia (cf. Strab. xvi. 1, § 27) and Gauzanitis.[a] The name is thought to remain in the modern *Gla*, a large mound on the upper *Khabour*, above its junction with the *Jerujer* (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 312, note; 2 K. [xvii. 6,] xviii. 11; 1 Chr. v. 26). G. R.

HA'LAK, THE MOUNT (with the article, הָהָר הֶחָלָק = *the smooth mountain*: ὄρος τοῦ Χελχά; [Vat. in Josh. xi., Αλεκ;] Alex. Αλακ, or Αλακ: *pars montis*), a mountain twice, and twice only, named as the southern limit of Joshua's conquests — "the Mount Halak which goeth up to Seir" (Josh. xi. 17, xii. 7), but which has not yet been identified — has not apparently been sought for — by travellers. Keil suggests the line of chalk cliffs which cross the valley of the *Ghor* at about 6 miles south of the Dead Sea, and form at once the southern limit of the *Ghor* and the northern limit of the *Arabah*. [Arabah, p. 135 *a*.] And this suggestion would be plausible enough, if there were any example of the word *har*, "mountain," being applied to such a vertical cliff as this, which rather answers to what we suppose was intended by the term *Sela*. The word which is at the root of the name (supposing it to be Hebrew), and which has the force of smoothness or baldness, has ramified into other terms, as Helkah, an even plot of ground, like those of Jacob (Gen. xxxiii. 19) or Naboth (2 K. ix. 25), or that which gave its name to Helkath hat-tsurim, the "field of the strong" (Stanley, App. § 20). G.

* **HALE** (Luke xii. 58; Acts viii. 3) is the original form of "haul," sometimes still used in formal discourse In both the above passages it means to drag men by force before magistrates. That is the import also of the Greek terms (*καταστύρη* and *σύρων*). H.

HAL'HUL (חַלְחוּל [*full of hollows*, Fürst]: Αλουδ; [Vat. Αλουα;] Alex. Αλουλ: *Halhul*), a town of Judah in the mountain district, one of the group containing Beth-zur and Gedor (Josh. xv. 58). Jerome, in the *Onomasticon* (under Elul), reports the existence of a hamlet (*villula*) named "Alula," near Hebron.[b] The name still remains unaltered, attached to a conspicuous hill a mile to the left of the road from Jerusalem to Hebron, between 3 and 4 miles from the latter. Opposite it, on the other side of the road, is *Beit-sûr*, the modern representative of Beth-zur, and a little further to the north is *Jedûr*, the ancient Gedor. [Beth-zur.] The site is marked by the ruins of walls and foundations, amongst which stands a dilapidated mosk bearing the name of *Neby Yunus* — the prophet Jonah (Rob. i. 216). In a Jewish tradition quoted by Hottinger (*Cippi Hebraici*, p. 32) it is said to be the burial-place of Gad, David's seer. See also the citations of Zunz in Asher's *Benj. of Tudela* (ii. 437, note). G.

HA'LI (חֵלִי [*necklace*]: Αλέφ; Alex. Οολει: *Chali*), a town on the boundary of Asher, named between Helkath and Beten (Josh. xix. 25). Nothing is known of its situation. Schwarz (p. 191) compares the name with Chelmon, the equivalent in the Latin of Cyamon in the Greek of Jud. vii. 3. G.

HALICARNAS'SUS (Ἁλικάρνασσος) in Caria, a city of great renown, as being the birthplace of Herodotus and of the later historian Dionysius, and as embellished by the Mausoleum erected by Artemisia, but of no Biblical interest except as the residence of a Jewish population in the periods between the Old and New Testament histories. In 1 Macc. xv. 23, this city is specified as containing such a population. The decree in Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 10, § 23, where the Romans direct that the Jews of Halicarnassus shall be allowed τὰς προσευχὰς ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος, is interesting when compared with Acts xvi. 13. This city was celebrated for its harbor and for the strength of its fortifications; but it never recovered the damage which it suffered after Alexander's siege. A plan of the site is given in Ross, *Reisen auf den Griech. Inseln.* (See vol. iv. p. 30.) The sculptures of the Mausoleum are the subject of a paper by Mr. Newton in the *Classical Museum*, and many of them are now in the British Museum. The modern name of the place is *Budrûm*.

J. S. H

* See particularly on Halicarnassus the important work of Mr. Newton, *History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchida*, 2 vols. text and 1 vol. plates, London, 1862–63. A.

HALLELU'JAH. [Alleluia.]

HALL (αὐλή: *atrium*), used of the court of the high-priest's house (Luke xxii. 55). Αὐλή is in A. V. Matt. xxvi. 69, Mark xiv. 66, John xviii. 15, "palace;" Vulg. *atrium*; προαύλιον, Mark xiv. 68, "porch;" Vulg. *ante atrium*. In Matt xxvii. 27 and Mark xv. 16, αὐλή is syn. with πραιτώριον, which in John xviii. 28 is in A. V. "judgment-hall." Αὐλή is the equivalent for חָצֵר, an inclosed or fortified space (Ges. p. 512), in many places in O. T. where Vulg. and A. V. have respectively *villa* or *viculus*, "village," or *atrium*, "court," chiefly of the tabernacle or temple. The hall or court of a house or palace would probably be an inclosed but uncovered space, *impluvium*,

[a] * First says (*Hebr. Lex.* s. v.) that the Talmud understands the place to be *Holwân*, a five days' journey from Bagdad. H.

[b] It is not unworthy of notice that, though so far from Jerusalem, Jerome speaks of it as "in hac tricesima ab Ælia."

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on a lower level than the apartments of the lowest floor which looked into it. The προαύλιον was the vestibule leading to it, called also, Matt. xxvi 71, πυλών. [COURT, Amer. ed.; HOUSE.]

H. W. P.

HALLO'HESH (חַלּוֹחֵשׁ [*the whisperer, enchanter*]: Ἀλωής; Alex. Ἀδώ: *Alohes*), one of the "chief of the people" who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 24). The name is Lochesh, with the definite article prefixed. That it is the name of a family, and not of an individual, appears probable from another passage in which it is given in the A. V. as

HALO'HESH (הַלּוֹחֵשׁ [as above]: Ἀλωής; [Vat. FA. Ηλεια:] *Alohes*). Shallum, son of Hal-lochesh, was "ruler of the half part of Jerusalem" at the time of the repair of the wall by Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 12). According to the Hebrew spelling, the name is identical with HALLOHESH. [The A. V. ed. 1611, following the Genevan version, spells the name falsely Halloesh. — A.]

HAM (חָם [*swarthy*]: Χάμ: *Cham*). 1. The name of one of the three sons of Noah, apparently the second in age. It is probably derived from חָמַם, "to be warm," and signifies "warm" or "hot." This meaning seems to be confirmed by that of the Egyptian word KEM (Egypt), which we believe to be the Egyptian equivalent of Ham, and which, as an adjective, signifies "black," probably implying warmth as well as blackness. [EGYPT.] If the Hebrew and Egyptian words be the same, Ham must mean the swarthy or sunburnt, like Αἰθίοψ, which has been derived from the Coptic name of Ethiopia, ϵθωψ, but which we should be inclined to trace to ϴⲟⲩ, "a boundary," unless the Sahidic ϵθⲱⲩ may be derived from Keesh (Cush). It is observable that the names of Noah and his sons appear to have had prophetic significations. This is stated in the case of Noah (Gen. v. 29), and implied in that of Japheth (ix. 27), and it can scarcely be doubted that the same must be concluded as to Shem. Ham may therefore have been so named as progenitor of the sunburnt Egyptians and Cushites.

Of the history of Ham nothing is related except his irreverence to his father, and the curse which that patriarch pronounced — the fulfillment of which is evident in the history of the Hamites.

The sons of Ham are stated to have been "Cush and Mizraim and Phut and Canaan" (Gen. x. 6; comp. 1 Chr. i. 8). It is remarkable that a dual form (Mizraim) should occur in the first generation, indicating a country, and not a person or a tribe, and we are therefore inclined to suppose that the gentile noun in the plural מִצְרִים, differing alone in the pointing from מִצְרַיִם, originally stood here, which would be quite consistent with the plural forms of the names of the Mizraite tribes which follow, and analogous to the singular forms of the names of the Canaanite tribes, except the Sidonians, who are mentioned not as a nation, but under the name of their forefather Sidon.

The name of Ham alone, of the three sons of Noah, if our identification be correct, is known to have been given to a country. Egypt is recognized as the "land of Ham" in the Bible (Ps. lxxviii 51, cv. 23, cvi. 22), and this, though it does not prove the identity of the Egyptian name with that of the patriarch, certainly favors it, and establishes the historical fact that Egypt, settled by the descendants of Ham, was peculiarly his territory. The name Mizraim we believe to confirm this. The restriction of Ham to Egypt, unlike the case, if we may reason inferentially, of his brethren, may be accounted for by the very early civilization of this part of the Hamite territory, while much of the rest was comparatively barbarous. Egypt may also have been the first settlement of the Hamites whence colonies went forth, as we know to have been the case with the Philistines. [CAPHTOR.]

The settlements of the descendants of Cush have occasioned the greatest difficulty to critics. The main question upon which everything turns is whether there was an eastern and a western Cush, like the eastern and western Ethiopians of the Greeks. This has been usually decided on the Biblical evidence as to the land of Cush and the Cushites, without reference to that as to the several names designating in Gen. x. his progeny, or, except in Nimrod's case, the territories held by it, or both. By a more inductive method we have been led to the conclusion that settlements of Cush extended from Babylonia along the shores of the Indian Ocean to Ethiopia above Egypt, and to the supposition that there was an eastern as well as a western Cush: historically the latter inference must be correct; geographically it may be less certain of the postdiluvian world. The ancient Egyptians applied the name KEESH, or KESH, which is obviously the same as Cush, to Ethiopia above Egypt. The sons of Cush are stated to have been Seba, Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah, and Sabtechah: it is added that the sons of Raamah were Sheba and Dedan, and that "Cush begat Nimrod." Certain of these names recur in the lists of the descendants of Joktan and of Abraham by Keturah, a circumstance which must be explained, in most cases, as historical evidence tends to show, by the settlement of Cushites, Joktanites, and Abrahamites in the same regions. [ARABIA.] Seba is generally identified with Meroë, and there seems to be little doubt that at the time of Solomon the chief kingdom of Ethiopia above Egypt was that of Seba. [SEBA.] The postdiluvian Havilah seems to be restricted to Arabia. [HAVILAH.] Sabtah and Sabtechah are probably Arabian names: this is certainly the case with Raamah, Sheba, and Dedan, which are recognized on the Persian Gulf. [SABTAH; SABTECHAH; RAAMAH; SHEBA; DEDAN.] Nimrod is a descendant of Cush, but it is not certain that he is a son, and his is the only name which is positively personal and not territorial in the list of the descendants of Cush. The account of his first kingdom in Babylonia, and of the extension of his rule into Assyria, and the foundation of Nineveh — for this we take to be the meaning of Gen. x. 11, 12 — indicates a spread of Hamite colonists along the Euphrates and Tigris northwards. [CUSH.]

If, as we suppose, Mizraim in the lists of Gen. x and 1 Chr. i. stand for Mizrim, we should take the singular Mazor to be the name of the progenitor of the Egyptian tribes. It is remarkable that Mazor appears to be identical in signification with Ham, so that it may be but another name of the patriarch. [EGYPT.] In this case the mention of Misraim (or Mizrim) would be geographical, and no indicative of a Mazor, son of Ham.

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The Mizraites, like the descendants of Ham, occupy a territory wider than that bearing the name of Mizraim. We may, however, suppose that Mizraim included all the first settlements, and that in remote times other tribes besides the Philistines migrated, or extended their territories. This we may infer to have been the case with the Lehabim (Lubim) or Libyans, for Manetho speaks of them as in the remotest period of Egyptian history subject to the Pharaohs. He tells us that under the first king of the Third Dynasty, of Memphites, Necherophes, or Necherochis, "the Libyans revolted from the Egyptians, but, on account of a wonderful increase of the moon, submitted through fear" [a] (Cory's *Anc. Frag.* 2d ed. pp. 100, 101). It is unlikely that at this very early time the Memphite kingdom ruled far, if at all, beyond the western boundary of Egypt.

The Ludim appear to have been beyond Egypt to the west, so probably the Anamim, and certainly the Lehabim. [LUDIM; ANAMIM; LEHABIM.] The Naphtuhim seem to have been just beyond the western border. [NAPHTUHIM.] The Pathrusim and Caphtorim were in Egypt, and probably the Casluhim also. [PATHROS; CAPHTOR; CASLUHIM.] The Philistim are the only Mizraite tribe that we know to have passed into Asia: their first establishment was in Egypt, for they came out of Caphtor. [CAPHTOR.]

Phut has been always placed in Africa. In the Bible, Phut occurs as an ally or supporter of Egyptian Thebes, mentioned with Cush and Lubim (Nah. iii. 9), with Cush and Ludim (the Mizraite Ludim?), as supplying part of the army of Pharaoh-Necho (Jer. xlvi. 9), as involved in the calamities of Egypt together with Cush, Lud, and Chub [CHUB] (Ez. xxx. 5), as furnishing, with Persia, Lud, and other lands or tribes, mercenaries for the service of Tyre (xxvii. 10), and with Persia and Cush as supplying part of the army of Gog (xxxviii. 5). There can therefore be little doubt that Phut is to be placed in Africa, where we find, in the Egyptian inscriptions, a great nomadic people corresponding to it. [PHUT.]

Respecting the geographical position of the Canaanites there is no dispute, although all the names are not identified. The Hamathites alone of those identified were settled in early times wholly beyond the land of Canaan. Perhaps there was a primeval extension of the Canaanite tribes after their first establishment in the land called after their ancestor, for before the specification of its limits as those of their settlements it is stated "afterward were the families of the Canaanites spread abroad" (Gen. x. 18, 19). One of their most important extensions was to the northeast, where was a great branch of the Hittite nation in the valley of the Orontes, constantly mentioned in the wars of the Pharaohs [EGYPT], and in those of the kings of Assyria. Two passages which have occasioned much controversy may be here noticed. In the account of Abraham's entrance into Palestine it is said, "And the Canaanite [was] then in the land" (xii. 6); and as to a somewhat later time, that of the separation of Abraham and Lot, we read that "the Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelled then in the land" (xiii. 7). These passages have been supposed either to be late glosses, or to indicate that the Pentateuch was written at a late period. A comparison of all the passages referring to the primitive history of Palestine and Idumæa shows that there was an earlier population expelled by the Hamite and Abrahamite settlers. This population was important in the time of the war of Chedorlaomer; but at the Exodus, more than four hundred years afterwards, there was but a remnant of it. It is most natural therefore to infer that the two passages under consideration mean that the Canaanite settlers were already in the land, not that they were still there.

Philologers are not agreed as to a Hamitic class of languages. Recently Bunsen has applied the term "Hamitism," or as he writes it Chamitism, to the Egyptian language, or rather family. He places it at the head of the "Semitic stock," to which he considers it as but partially belonging, and thus describes it: — "Chamitism, or ante-historical Semitism: the Chamitic deposit in Egypt; its daughter, the Demotic Egyptian; and its end the Coptic" (*Outlines*, vol. i. p. 183). Sir H. Rawlinson has applied the term Cushite to the primitive language of Babylonia, and the same term has been used for the ancient language of the southern coast of Arabia. This terminology depends, in every instance, upon the race of the nation speaking the language, and not upon any theory of a Hamitic class. There is evidence which, at the first view, would incline us to consider that the term Semitic, as applied to the Syro-Arabic class, should be changed to Hamitic; but on a more careful examination it becomes evident that any absolute classification of languages into groups corresponding to the three great Noachian families is not tenable. The Biblical evidence seems, at first sight, in favor of Hebrew being classed as a Hamitic rather than a Semitic form of speech. It is called in the Bible "the language of Canaan," שְׂפַת כְּנַעַן (Is. xix. 18), although those speaking it are elsewhere said to speak יְהוּדִית, *Judaice* (2 K. xviii. 26, 28; Is. xxxvi. 11, 13; Neh. xiii. 24). But the one term, as Gesenius remarks (*Gram.* Introd.), indicates the country where the language was spoken, the other as evidently indicates a people by whom it was spoken: thus the question of its being a Hamitic or Semitic language is not touched; for the circumstance that it was the language of Canaan is agreeable with its being either indigenous (and therefore either Canaanite or Rephaite), or adopted (and therefore perhaps Semitic). The names of Canaanite persons and places, as Gesenius has observed (*l. c.*), conclusively show that the Canaanites spoke what we call Hebrew. Elsewhere we might find evidence of the use of a so-called Semitic language by nations either partly or wholly of Hamite origin. This evidence would favor the theory that Hebrew was Hamitic; but on the other hand we should be unable to dissociate Semitic languages from Semitic peoples. The Egyptian language would also offer great difficulties, unless it were held to be but partly of Hamitic origin, since it is mainly of an entirely different class to [from] the Semitic. It is mainly Nigritian, but it also contains Semitic elements. We are of opinion that the groundwork is Nigritian, and that the Semitic part is a layer added to a complete Nigritian lan-

[a] It has been supposed that some or all of the notices of events in Manetho's lists were inserted by copyists. This cannot, we think, have been the case with most of those notices that occur in the older dynasties.

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guage. The two elements are mixed, but not fused. This opinion those Semitic scholars who have studied the subject share with us. Some Iranian scholars hold that the two elements are mixed, and that the ancient Egyptian represents the transition from Turanian to Semitic. The only solution of the difficulty seems to be, that what we call Semitic is early Noachian.

An inquiry into the history of the Hamite nations presents considerable difficulties, since it cannot be determined in the cases of the most important of those commonly held to be Hamite that they were purely of that stock. It is certain that the three most illustrious Hamite nations — the Cushites, the Phœnicians, and the Egyptians — were greatly mixed with foreign peoples. In Babylonia the Hamite element seems to have been absorbed by the Shemite, but not in the earliest times. There are some common characteristics, however, which appear to connect the different branches of the Hamite family, and to distinguish them from the children of Japheth and Shem. Their architecture has a solid grandeur that we look for in vain elsewhere. Egypt, Babylonia, and Southern Arabia alike afford proofs of this, and the few remaining monuments of the Phœnicians are of the same class. What is very important as indicating the purely Hamite character of the monuments to which we refer is that the earliest in Egypt are the most characteristic, while the earlier in Babylonia do not yield in this respect to the later. The national mind seems in all these cases to have been [represented in?] these material forms. The early history of each of the chief Hamite nations shows great power of organizing an extensive kingdom, of acquiring material greatness, and checking the inroads of neighboring nomadic peoples. The Philistines afford a remarkable instance of these qualities. In every case, however, the more energetic sons of Shem or Japheth have at last fallen upon the rich Hamite territories and despoiled them. Egypt, favored by a position fenced round with nearly impassable barriers — on the north an almost havenless coast, on the east and west sterile deserts, held its freedom far longer than the rest; yet even in the days of Solomon the throne was filled by foreigners, who, if Hamites, were Shemite enough in their belief to revolutionize the religion of the country. In Babylonia the Medes had already captured Nimrod's city more than 2000 years before the Christian era. The Hamites of Southern Arabia were so early overthrown by the Joktanites that the scanty remains of their history are alone known to us through tradition. Yet the story of the magnificence of the ancient kings of Yemen is so perfectly in accordance with all we know of the Hamites that it is almost enough of itself to prove what other evidence has so well established. The history of the Canaanites is similar; and if that of the Phœnicians be an exception, it must be recollected that they became a merchant class, as Ezekiel's famous description of Tyre shows (chap. xxvii). In speaking of Hamite characteristics we do not intend it to be inferred that they were necessarily altogether of Hamite origin, and not at least partly borrowed. R. S. P.

2. (חָם [*multitude, people*, Fürst], Gen. xiv. 5; Sam. חם, *Cham*) According to the Masoretic text, Chedorlaomer and his allies smote the Zuzim in a place called Ham. If, as seems likely, the Zuzim be the same as the Zamzummims, Ham must be placed in what was afterwards the Ammonite territory. Hence it has been conjectured by Tuch, that Ham is but another form of the name of the chief stronghold of the children of Ammon, Rabbah, now *Am-man*. The LXX. and Vulg., however, throw some doubt upon the Masoretic reading: the former has, as the rendering of וְאֶת־הַזּוּזִים עִמָּם: *καὶ ἔθνη ἰσχυρὰ ἅμα αὐτοῖς*; and the latter, *et Zuzim cum eis*, which shows that they read עִמָּם: but the Mss. rendering seems the more likely, as each clause mentions a nation, and its capital or stronghold; although it must be allowed that if the Zuzim had gone to the assistance of the Rephaim, a deviation would have been necessary. The Samaritan Version has לישח, *Lishah*, perhaps intending the LASHA of Gen. x. 19, which by some is identified with Callirhoë on the N. E. quarter of the Dead Sea. The Targums of Onkelos and Pseudojon. have הֲמָתָא, *Hemta*. Schwarz (217) suggests *Humeimath* (in Van de Velde's map *Hümeitat*), one mile above *Rabba*, the ancient Ar-Moab, on the Roman road. [ZUZIMS.]

3. In the account of a migration of the Simeonites to the valley of Gedor, and their destroying the pastoral inhabitants, the latter, or possibly their predecessors, are said to have been "of Ham" (מִן־הֶחָם: *ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν Χάμ*: *de stirpe Cham*, 1 Chr. iv. 40). This may indicate that a Hamite tribe was settled here, or, more precisely, that there was an Egyptian settlement. The connection of Egypt with this part of Palestine will be noticed under ZERAH. Ham may, however, here be in no way connected with the patriarch or with Egypt.

HA'MAN (הָמָן [*celebrated* (Pers.), or = *Mercury* (Sanak.), Fürst]: Ἀμάν: *Aman*), the chief minister or vizier of king Ahasuerus (Esth. iii. 1). After the failure of his attempt to cut off all the Jews in the Persian empire, he was hanged on the gallows which he had erected for Mordecai. Most probably he is the same Aman who is mentioned as the oppressor of Achiacharus (Tob. xiv. 10). The Targum and Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 6, § 5) interpret the description of him — the Agagite — as signifying that he was of Amalekitish descent; but he is called a Macedonian by the LXX. in Esth. ix. 24 (cf. iii. 1), and a Persian by Sulpicius Severus. Prideaux (*Connexion*, anno 453) computes the sum which he offered to pay into the royal treasury at more than £2,000,000 sterling. Modern Jews are said to be in the habit of designating any Christian enemy by his name (Eisenmenger *Ent. Jud.* i. 721). [See addition under ESTHER, BOOK OF.] W. T. B

HA'MATH (חֲמָת [*fortress, citadel*]: Ἡμάθ, Ἠμάθ, Αἰμάθ: *Emath*) appears to have been the principal city of Upper Syria from the time of the Exodus to that of the prophet Amos. It was situated in the valley of the Orontes, about half-way between its source near *Baalbek*, and the bend which it makes at *Jisr-hadid*. It thus naturally commanded the whole of the Orontes valley from the low screen of hills which forms the watershed between the Orontes and the *Litany* — the "entrance of Hamath," as it is called in Scripture (Num. xxxiv. 8; Josh. xiii. 5, &c.) — to the defile

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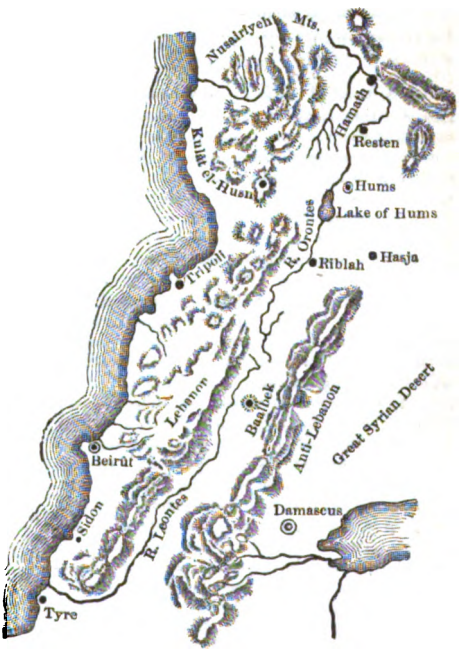
of Daphne below Antioch and this tract appears to have formed the kingdom of Hamath, during the time of its independence.

The Hamathites were a Hamitic race and are included among the descendants of Canaan (Gen. x. 18). There is no reason to suppose with Mr. Kenrick (*Phœnicia*, p. 60), that they were ever in any sense Phœnicians. We must regard them as closely akin to the Hittites on whom they bordered, and with whom they were generally in alliance. Nothing appears of the power of Hamath, beyond the geographical notices which show it to be a well-known place (Num. xiii. 21, xxxiv. 8; Josh. xiii. 5; &c.), until the time of David, when we hear that Toi, king of Hamath, had "had wars" with Hadadezer, king of Zobah, and on the defeat of the latter by David, sent his son to congratulate the Jewish monarch (2 Sam. viii. 10), and (apparently) to put Hamath under his protection. Hamath seems clearly to have been included in the dominions of Solomon (1 K. iv. 21–4); and its king was no doubt one of those many princes over whom that monarch ruled, who "brought presents and served Solomon all the days of his life." The "store-cities," which Solomon "built in Hamath" (2 Chr. viii. 4), were perhaps staples for trade, the importance of the Orontes valley as a line of traffic being always great. On the death of Solomon and the separation of the two kingdoms, Hamath seems to have regained its independence. In the Assyrian inscriptions of the time of Ahab (B. C. 900) it appears as a separate power, in alliance with the Syrians of Damascus, the Hittites, and the Phœnicians. About three-quarters of a century later Jeroboam the second "recovered Hamath" (2 K. xiv. 28); he seems to have dismantled the place, whence the prophet Amos, who wrote in his reign (Am. i. 1), couples "Hamath the great" with Gath, as an instance of desolation (*ib.* vi. 2). Soon afterwards the Assyrians took it (2 K. xviii. 34, xix. 13, &c.), and from this time it ceased to be a place of much importance. Antiochus Epiphanes appears to have changed its name to Epiphaneia, an appellation under which it was known to the Greeks and Romans from his time to that of St. Jerome (*Comment. in Ezek.* xlvii. 16), and possibly later. The natives, however, called it Hamath, even in St. Jerome's time; and its present name, *Hamah*, is but very slightly altered from the ancient form.

Burckhardt visited *Hamah* in 1812. He describes it as situated on both sides of the Orontes, partly on the declivity of a hill, partly in the plain, and as divided into four quarters — *Hadher*, *El Djisr*, *El Aleyat*, and *El Medine*, the last being the quarter of the Christians. The population, according to him, was at that time 30,000. The town possessed few antiquities, and was chiefly remarkable for its huge water-wheels, whereby the gardens and the houses in the upper town were supplied from the Orontes. The neighboring territory he calls "the granary of Northern Syria" (*Travels in Syria*, pp. 146–147. See also Pococke, *Travels in the East*, vol. i.; Irby and Mangles, *Travels*, p. 244; and Stanley, *S. & P.* pp. 406, 407).

G. R.

* The "entrance of Hamath" is not as stated, at the water-shed between the *Litâny* and the Orontes, which would place it too far south, for the following reasons: (1.) The northern boundary of the Israelites was certainly north of Riblah, for the east border descends from Hazar-enan to Shepham, and from Shepham to Riblah. Riblah is still known by its ancient name, and is found south of Hums Lake about six or eight hours. The "entrance" must therefore lie north of this town. (2.) It must lie east of Mount Hor. Now, if Mount Hor be, as it probably is, the range of Lebanon, the question is readily solved by a reference to the physical geography of the region. The ranges of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon terminate opposite Hums Lake by bold and decided declivities. There is then a rolling country for a distance of about ten miles north of the Lebanon chain, after which rises the lower range of the Nusairiyeh mountains. A wider space of plain intervenes between Anti-Lebanon and the low hills which lie eastward of Hamath. The city of Hums lies at the intersection of the arms of the cross thus formed, and toward each of the cardinal points of the compass there is an "entering in" between the hills. Thus northward the pass leads to Hamath; westward to *Kulât el-Husn* and the Mediterranean: eastward to the great plain of the Syrian desert: and southward toward Baal-gad in Cœle-Syria. This will appear at a glance from the accompanying plan of the country, in which it will be seen that the plain of Hums opens to the four points of the compass. Especially to one journeying from the south or the west would this locality be appropriately described as an *entrance*. (3.) It is improbable that the lands of Hamath ever extended as far south as the height of land between the Leontes and the Orontes, or in fact into the southern division of Cœle-Syria at all. Hums would have been its natural limit from the sea, to one



Region around Hums, showing the "entrance to Hamath."

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journeying along the coast from Tripoli to Laodicea. Lebanon and the Nusairiyeh range are seen in profile, with the gap between them. A similar view is presented from the remaining cardinal points G. E. P.

HA'MATHITE, THE (הַחֲמָתִי: ὁ Ἀμαθί: *Amathæus, Hamathæus*), one of the families descended from Canaan, named last in the list (Gen. x. 18; 1 Chr. i. 16). The place of their settlement was doubtless HAMATH.



Entrance to Hamath from the W.

HA'MATH-ZO'BAH (חֲמַת־צוֹבָה: Βαισωβά; [Alex. Αμαθ Χωβα:] *Emath-Suba*) is said to have been attacked and conquered by Solomon (2 Chr. viii. 3). It has been conjectured to be the same as Hamath, here regarded as included in Aram-Zobah — a geographical expression which has usually a narrower meaning. But the name *Hamath-Zobah* would seem rather suited to another Hamath which was distinguished from the "Great Hamath," by the suffix "Zobah." Compare Ramoth-*Gilead*, which is thus distinguished from Ramah in Benjamin. G. R.

* **HAMI'TAL**, 2 K. xxiii. 31, is the reading of the A. V. ed. 1611 for HAMUTAL. A.

HAM'MATH (חַמָּת [*warm spring*]: Ἀμαθβακάθ — the last two syllables a corruption of the same following; [Alex. Αμάθ:] [Ald. Ἀμμάθ:] *Emath*), one of the fortified cities in the territory allotted to Naphtali (Josh. xix. 35). It is not possible from this list to determine its position, but the notices of the Talmudists, collected by Lightfoot in his *Chorographical Century*, and *Chor. Decad*, leave no doubt that it was near Tiberias, one mile distant — in fact that it had its name, Chammath, "hot baths," because it contained those of Tiberias. In accordance with this are the slight notices of Josephus, who mentions it under the name of Emmaus as a "village not far (κώμη . . . οὐκ ἄπωθεν) from Tiberias" (*Ant.* xviii. 2, § 3), and as where Vespasian had encamped "before (πρό) Tiberias" (*B. J.* iv. 1, § 3). Remains of the wall of this encampment were recognized by Irby and Mangles (p. 89 *b*). In both cases Josephus names the hot springs or baths, adding in the latter, that such is the interpretation of the name Ἀμμαοῦς, and that the waters are medicinal. The *Hammâm*, at present three[a] in number, still send up their hot and sulphureous waters, at a spot rather more than a mile south of the modern town, at the extremity of the ruins of the ancient city (Rob. ii. 383, 384; Van de Velde, ii. 399).

It is difficult, however, to reconcile with this position other observations of the Talmudists, quoted on the same place, by Lightfoot, to the effect that Chammath was called also the "wells of Gadara," from its proximity to that place, and also that half the town was on the east side of the Jordan and half on the west, with a bridge between them — the fact being that the ancient Tiberias was at least 4 miles, and the Hammam 2½, from the present embouchure of the Jordan. The same difficulty besets the account of Parchi (in Zunz's *Appendix* to Benjamin of Tudela, ii. 403). He places the wells entirely on the east of Jordan.

In the list of Levitical cities given out of Naphtali (Josh. xxi. 32), the name of this place seems to be given as HAMMOTH-DOR, and in 1 Chr. vi. 76 it is further altered to HAMMON. G.

HAMMEDA'THA (הַמְּדָתָא: Ἀμαδάθος; [Alex. Αναμαβαθος, Αμαθαθος:] *Amadathus*), father of the infamous Haman, and commonly designated as "the Agagite" (Esth. iii. 1, 10; viii. 5; ix. 24), though also without that title (ix. 10). By Gesenius (*Lex.* 1855, p. 539) the name is taken to be Medatha, preceded by the definite article. For other explanations, see Fürst, *Handwb.* [Zend, = *given by Haoma*, an Ized], and Simonis, *Onomasticon*, p. 586. The latter derives it from a Persian word meaning "double." For the termination compare ARIDATHA.

HAMME'LECH (הַמֶּלֶךְ [*the king*]: τοῦ βασιλέως: *Amelech*), rendered in the A. V. as a proper name (Jer. xxxvi. 26; xxxviii. 6); but there is no apparent reason for supposing it to be anything but the ordinary Hebrew word for "the king," *i. e.* in the first case Jehoiakim, and in the latter Zedekiah. If this is so, it enables us to connect with the royal family of Judah two persons, Jerachmeel and Malchiah, who do not appear in the A. V. as members thereof. G.

HAMMER. The Hebrew language has several names for this indispensable tool. (1.) *Pattish* (פַּטִּישׁ, connected etymologically with πατάσσω, *to strike*), which was used by the gold-beater (Is. xli. 7, A. V. "carpenter") to overlay with silver and "smooth" the surface of the image; as well as by the quarry-man (Jer. xxiii. 29). (2.) *Makkâbâh* (מַקֶּבֶת [and מַקֶּבֶת]), properly a tool for *hollowing*, hence a stone-cutter's mallet (1 K. vi. 7), and generally any workman's hammer (Judg. iv. 21; Is. xliv. 12; Jer. x. 4). (3.) *Halmûth* (הַלְמוּת), used only in Judg. v. 26, and there with the addition of the word "workmen's" by way of explanation. (4.) A kind of hammer named *mappêts* (מַפֵּץ), Jer. li. 20 (A. V. "battle-axe"), or *mêphîts* (מֵפִיץ), Prov. xxv. 18 (A. V

[a] * Mr. Porter (*Handb. for Syr. & Pal.* ii. 422) speaks of four springs: one under the old bath-house, and three others a few paces further south (see also Rob. *Bibl. Res.* iii. 259). H.

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"snare"), was used as a weapon of war. "Hamor" is used figuratively for any overwhelming power, whether worldly (Jer. l. 23), or spiritual (Jer. xxiii. 29 [comp. Heb. iv. 12]). W. L. B.

* From מַקֶּבֶת comes Maccabæus or Maccabee [MACCABEES, THE]. The hammer used by Jael (Judg. v. 26) was not of iron, but a wooden mallet, such as the Arabs use now for driving down their tent-pins. (See Thomson's *Land and Book*, ii. 149.) In the Hebrew, it is spoken of as "*the* hammer," as being the one kept for that purpose. The nail driven through Sisera's temples was also one of the wooden tent-pins. This particularity points to a scene drawn from actual life. It is said in 1 K. vi. 7 that no sound of hammer, or axe, or any iron tool, was heard in building the Temple, because it "was built of stone made ready" at the quarry. The immense cavern under Jerusalem, where undoubtedly most of the building material of the ancient city was obtained, furnishes incidental confirmation of this statement. "The heaps of chippings which lie about show that the stone was dressed *on the spot*. . . . There are no other quarries of any great size near the city, and in the reign of Solomon this quarry, in its whole extent, was without the limits of the city" (Barclay's *City of the Great King*, p. 468, 1st ed. (1865)). See also the account of this subterranean gallery in the *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, pp. 63, 64. H.

HAMMOLE'KETH (הַמֹּלֶכֶת, with the article = *the Queen*: ἡ Μαλεχέθ: *Regina*), a woman introduced in the genealogies of Manasseh as daughter of Machir and sister of Gilead (1 Chr. vii. 17, 18), and as having among her children ABI-EZER, from whose family sprang the great judge Gideon. The Targum translates the name by דְּ מְלָכַת = *who reigned*. The Jewish tradition, as preserved by Kimchi in his commentary on the passage, is that "she used to reign over a portion of the land which belonged to Gilead," and that for that reason her lineage has been preserved.

HAM'MON (חַמּוֹן [*hot* or *sunny*]: [Ἐμεμαῶν;] Alex. Αμων: *Hamon*). 1. A city in Asher (Josh. xix. 28), apparently not far from Zidon-rabbah, or "Great Zidon." Dr. Schultz suggested its identification with the modern village of *Hamul*, near the coast, about 10 miles below Tyre (Rob. iii. 66), but this is doubtful both in etymology and position.

2. [Χαμάθ; Alex. Χαμων.] A city allotted out of the tribe of Naphtali to the Levites (1 Chr. vi. 76), and answering to the somewhat similar names HAMMATH and HAMMOTH-DOR in Joshua. G.

HAM'MOTH-DOR' (חַמֹּת דֹּאר [*warm springs, abode*]: Νεμμάθ; Alex. Εμαθδωρ: *Ammoth Dor*), a city of Naphtali, allotted with its suburbs to the Gershonite Levites, and for a city of refuge (Josh. xxi. 32). Unless there were two places of the same or very similar name in Naphtali, this is identical with HAMMATH. Why the suffix Dor is added it is hard to tell, unless the word refers in some way to the situation of the place on the coast, in which fact only had it (as far as we know) any resemblance to DOR, on the shore of the Mediterranean. In 1 Chr. vi. 76 the name is contracted to HAMMON. G.

HAMO'NAH (הֲמוֹנָה [*tumult, noise of a multitude*]: Πολυάνδριον: *Amona*), the name of a city mentioned in a highly obscure passage of Ezekiel (xxxix. 16); apparently that of the place in or near which the multitudes of Gog should be buried after their great slaughter by God, and which is to derive its name — "multitude" — from that circumstance. G.

HA'MON-GOG', THE VALLEY OF (גֵּיא חֲמוֹן גּוֹג = *ravine of Gog's multitude*: Γαὶ τὸ πολυάνδριον τοῦ Γάγ: *vallis multitudinis Gog*), the name to be bestowed on a ravine or glen, previously known as "the ravine of the passengers on the east of the sea," after the burial there of "Gog and all his multitude" (Ez. xxxix. 11, 15).

HA'MOR (חֲמוֹר), *i. e.* in Hebrew a large he ass, the figure employed by Jacob for Issachar: Ἐμμώρ: *Hemor*), a Hivite (or according to the Alex. LXX. a Horite), who at the time of the entrance of Jacob on Palestine was prince (*Nasi*) of the land and city of Shechem, and father of the impetuous young man of the latter name whose ill treatment of Dinah brought destruction on himself, his father, and the whole of their city (Gen. xxxiii. 19; xxxiv. 2, 4, 6, 8, 13, 18, 20, 24, 26). Hamor would seem to have been a person of great influence, because, though alive at the time, the men of his tribe are called after him *Bene-Hamor*, and he himself, in records narrating events long subsequent to this, is styled *Hamor-Abi Shecem* (Josh. xxiv. 32:[a] Judg. ix. 28; Acts vii. 16). In the second of these passages his name is used as a signal of revolt, when the remnant of the ancient Hivites attempted to rise against Abimelech son of Gideon. [SHECHEM.] For the title *Abi-Shecem*, "father of Shechem," compare "father of Bethlehem," "father of Tekoah," and others in the early lists of 1 Chr. ii., iv. In Acts vii. 16 the name is given in the Greek form of EMMOR, and Abraham is said to have bought his sepulchre from the "sons of Emmor."

HAMU'EL (הַמּוּאֵל [see *infra*], *i. e.* Hammûel: Ἀμουήλ: *Amuel*), a man of Simeon; son of Mishma, of the family of Shaul (1 Chr. iv. 26), from whom, if we follow the records of this passage, it would seem the whole tribe of Simeon located in Palestine were derived. In many Hebrew MSS. the name is given as Chammûel.

* The latter form exchanges the soft guttural for the hard. It signifies "heat" and hence "anger of God" (Gesen.), or "God is a sun" (Fürst). H.

HA'MUL (חָמוּל [*pitied, spared*]: SAM. חמואל: Ἰεμουήλ, Ἰαμούν; [Alex. in NUM., Ἰαμουηλ; Comp. Ἀμούλ, Χαμούλ:] *Hamul*), the younger son of Pharez, Judah's son by Tamar (Gen. xlvi. 12; 1 Chr. ii. 5). Hamul was head of the family of the Hamulites (Num. xxvi. 21), but none of the genealogy of his descendants is preserved in the lists of 1 Chronicles, though those of the descendants of Zerah are fully given.

HA'MULITES, THE (הַחֲמוּלִי [see above]: Ἰαμουνί, Alex. Ἰαμουηλι; [Comp. Ἰ.μου

[a] The LXX. have here read the word without its initial guttural, and rendered it παρὰ τῶν Ἀμορραίων "from the Amorites."

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ite] *Hamulites*), the family (מִשְׁפַּחֲת) of the preceding (Num. xxvi. 21).

HAMU'TAL (חֲמוּטַל = perh. *kin to the dew*: Ἀμιτάλ; [Vat. Ἀμειτάς, Μιτάτ; Alex. Ἀμιτελ, -ταθ;] in Jer. Ἀμειτδαλ [Alex. -μι-]: *Amital*), daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah; one of the wives of king Josiah, and mother of the unfortunate princes Jehoahaz (2 K. xxiii. 31), and Mattaniah or Zedekiah (2 K. xxiv. 18; Jer. lii. 1). In the two last passages the name is given in the original text as חֲמִיטַל, *Chamital*, a reading which the LXX. follow throughout.

* Curiously enough, in the first passage, but in neither of the two last, the A. V. ed. 1611 reads Hamital. A.

HANAM'ËËL [*properly* Hanamel, in 3 syl.] (חֲנַמְאֵל [perh. חֲנַנְאֵל *whom God has given*, Gesen.]: Ἀναμεήλ: *Hanameel*), son of Shallum, and cousin of Jeremiah. When Judæa was occupied by the Chaldæans, Jerusalem beleaguered, and Jeremiah in prison, the prophet bought a field of Hanameel in token of his assurance that a time was to come when land should be once more a secure possession (Jer. xxxii. 7, 8, 9, 12; and comp 44). The suburban fields belonging to the tribe of Levi could not be sold (Lev. xxv. 34); but possibly Hanameel may have inherited property from his mother. Compare the case of Barnabas, who also was a Levite; and the note of Grotius on Acts iv. 37. Henderson (on Jer. xxxii. 7) supposes that a portion of the Levitical estates might be sold within the tribe.

W. T. B.

HA'NAN (חָנָן [*gracious, merciful*]: Ἀνάν: *Hanan*). 1. One of the chief people of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Chr. viii. 23).

2. The last of the six sons of Azel, a descendant of Saul (1 Chr. viii. 38; ix. 44).

3. [FA. Ανραν.] "Son of Maachah," *i. e.* possibly a Syrian of Aram-Maachah, one of the heroes of David's guard, according to the extended list of 1 Chr. xi. 43.

4. [FA. Γανραν.] Bene-Chanan [sons of C.] were among the Nethinim who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 46; Neh. vii. 49). In the parallel list, 1 Esdr. v. 30, the name is given as ANAN.

5. (LXX. omits [Rom. and Alex. in Neh. x. 10 read Ανραν, but Vat. and FA.[1] omit].) One of the Levites who assisted Ezra in his public exposition of the law (Neh. viii. 7). The same person is probably mentioned in x. 10 as sealing the covenant, since several of the same names occur in both passages.

6. [Vat. omits.] One of the "heads" of the people," that is of the laymen, who also sealed the covenant (x. 22).

7. (Αινάν; [FA. Αινα.]) Another of the chief laymen on the same occasion (x. 26).

8. [FA. Ααναν.] Son of Zaccur, son of Mattaniah, whom Nehemiah made one of the storekeepers of the provisions collected as tithes (Neh. xiii. 13). He was probably a layman, in which case the four storekeepers represented the four chief classes of the people — priests, scribes, Levites, and laymen.

9. Son of Igdaliahu "the man of God" (Jer. xxxv. 4). The sons of Hanan had a chamber in the Temple. The Vat. LXX. gives the name twice — Ἰωνᾶν υἱοῦ Ἀναναίου [FA. Ανραν υἱου Ανρανιου].

HANAN'ËËL [*properly* Hananel, in 3 syl.

THE TOWER OF (מִגְדַּל חֲנַנְאֵל: πύργος Ἀναμεήλ: *turris Hananeel*), a tower which formed part of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 1, xii. 39). From these two passages, particularly from the former, it might almost be inferred that Hananeel was but another name for the Tower of Meah (מֵאָה = *the hundred*): at any rate they were close together, and stood between the sheep-gate and the fish-gate. This tower is further mentioned in Jer. xxxi. 38, where the reference appears to be to an extensive breach in the wall, reaching from that spot to the "gate of the corner" (comp. Neh. iii. 24, 32), and which the prophet is announcing shall be "rebuilt to Jehovah" and "not be thrown down any more for ever." The remaining passage in which it is named (Zech. xiv. 10) also connects this tower with the "corner gate," which lay on the other side of the sheep-gate. This verse is rendered by Ewald with a different punctuation to [from] the A. V. — "from the gate of Benjamin, on to the place of the first (or early) gate, on to the corner-gate and Tower Hananeel, on to the king's wine-presses." [JERUSALEM.]

HANA'NI (חָנָנִי [*gracious*]: [Rom. Ανραν, Ανρανιας: Alex.] Ανανι: *Hanani*). 1. One of the sons of Heman, David's Seer, who were separated for song in the house of the Lord, and head of the 18th course of the service (1 Chr. xxv. 4, 25).

2. [Ἀνανί; Vat. -νει, once -μει; Alex. 1 K. xvi. 7, Ἀνανια.] A Seer who rebuked (B. C. 941) Asa, king of Judah, for his want of faith in God, which he had showed by buying off the hostility of Benhadad I. king of Syria (2 Chr. xvi. 7). For this he was imprisoned by Asa (10). He (or another Hanani) was the father of Jehu the Seer, who testified against Baasha (1 K. xvi. 1, 7), and Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xix. 2, xx. 34).

3. [Ἀνανί; Vat. FA. -νει; Alex. Ἀνανια.] One of the priests who in the time of Ezra were connected with strange wives (Ezr. x. 20). In Esdras the name is ANANIAS.

4. [Ἀνανί, Ἀνανία; FA. in i. 2, Ανραν.] A brother of Nehemiah, who returned B. C. 446 from Jerusalem to Susa (Neh. i. 2); and was afterwards made governor of Jerusalem under Nehemiah (vii. 2.)

5. [Ἀνανί; Vat. Alex. FA[1] omit.] A priest mentioned in Neh. xii. 36. W. T. B.

HANANI'AH (חֲנַנְיָה and חֲנַנְיָהוּ [*whom Jehovah has given*]: Ἀνανία; [Ἀναναίας:] *Ananias*, [*Hananias*,] and *Hanamias*. In New Test. Ἀναναίας: *Ananias*).

1. One of the 14 sons of Heman the singer, and chief of the sixteenth out of the 24 courses or wards into which the 288 musicians of the Levites were divided by king David. The sons of Heman were especially employed to blow the horns (1 Chr. xxv. 4, 5, 23).

2. One of the chief captains of the army of king Uzziah (2 Chr. xxvi. 11).

3. Father of Zedekiah, one of the princes in the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah (Jer. xxxvi. 12).

4. Son of Azur, a Benjamite of Gibeon and a false prophet in the reign of Zedekiah king of Judah. In the 4th year of his reign, B. C. 595, Hananiah

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withstood Jeremiah the prophet, and publicly prophesied in the temple that within two years Jeconiah and all his fellow-captives, with the vessels of the Lord's house which Nebuchadnezzar had taken away to Babylon, should be brought back to Jerusalem (Jer. xxviii.): an indication that treacherous negotiations were already secretly opened with Pharaoh-Hophra (who had just succeeded Psammis on the Egyptian throne[a]), and that strong hopes were entertained of the destruction of the Babylonian power by him. The preceding chapter (xxvii. 3) shows further that a league was already in progress between Judah and the neighboring nations of Edom, Ammon, Moab, Tyre, and Zidon, for the purpose of organizing resistance to Nebuchadnezzar, in combination no doubt with the projected movements of Pharaoh-Hophra. Hananiah corroborated his prophecy by taking from off the neck of Jeremiah the yoke which he wore by Divine command (Jer. xxvii., in token of the subjection of Judæa and the neighboring countries to the Babylonian empire), and breaking it, adding, "Thus saith Jehovah, Even so will I break the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon from the neck of all nations within the space of two full years." But Jeremiah was bid to go and tell Hananiah that for the wooden yokes which he had broken he should make yokes of iron, so firm was the dominion of Babylon destined to be for seventy years. The prophet Jeremiah added this rebuke and prediction of Hananiah's death, the fulfillment of which closes the history of this false prophet. "Hear now, Hananiah; Jehovah hath not sent thee; but thou makest this people to trust in a lie. Therefore thus saith Jehovah, Behold I will cast thee from off the face of the earth: this year thou shalt die, because thou hast taught rebellion against Jehovah. So Hananiah the prophet died the same year, in the seventh month" (Jer. xxviii.). The above history of Hananiah is of great interest, as throwing much light upon the Jewish politics of that eventful time, divided as parties were into the partizans of Babylon on one hand, and Egypt on the other. It also exhibits the machinery of false prophecies, by which the irreligious party sought to promote their own policy, in a very distinct form. At the same time too that it explains in general the sort of political calculation on which such false prophecies were hazarded, it supplies an important clew in particular by which to judge of the date of Pharaoh-Hophra's (or Apries') accession to the Egyptian throne, and the commencement of his ineffectual effort to restore the power of Egypt (which had been prostrate since Necho's overthrow, Jer. xlvi. 2) upon the ruins of the Babylonian empire. The leaning to Egypt, indicated by Hananiah's prophecy as having begun in the fourth of Zedekiah, had in the sixth of his reign issued in open defection from Nebuchadnezzar, and in the guilt of perjury, which cost Zedekiah his crown and his life, as we learn from Ez. xvii. 12–20; the date being fixed by a comparison of Ez. viii. 1 with xx. 1. The temporary success of the intrigue which is described in Jer. xxxvii. was speedily followed by the return of the Chaldæans and the destruction of the city, according to the prediction of Jeremiah. This history of Hananiah also illustrates the manner in which the false prophets hindered the mission, and obstructed the beneficent effects of the ministry, of the true prophets, and affords a remarkable example of the way in which they prophesied smooth things, and said peace when there was no peace (comp. 1 K. xxii. 11, 24, 25).

5. Grandfather of Irijah, the captain of the ward at the gate of Benjamin who arrested Jeremiah on a charge of deserting to the Chaldæans (Jer. xxxvii. 13).

6. Head of a Benjamite house (1 Chr. viii. 24).

7. The Hebrew name of Shadrach. [SHADRACH.] He was of the house of David, according to Jewish tradition (Dan. i. 3, 6, 7, 11, 19; ii. 17). [ANANIAS.]

8. Son of Zerubbabel, 1 Chr. iii. 19, from whom CHRIST derived his descent. He is the same person who is by St. Luke called Ἰωαννᾶς, Joanna, and who, when Rhesa is discarded, appears there also as Zerubbabel's son [GENEALOGY OF CHRIST.] The identity of the two names Hananiah and Joanna is apparent immediately we compare them in Hebrew. חֲנַנְיָה (Hananiah) is compounded of חָנַן and the Divine name, which always takes the form יָהּ, or יָהוּ, at the end of compounded names (as in Jerem-iah, Shephet-iah, Nehem-iah, Azar-iah, etc.). It meant *gratiosè dedit Dominus*. Joanna (יוֹחָנָן) is compounded of the Divine name, which at the beginning of compound names takes the form יְ, or יְהוֹ (as in Jeho-shua, Jehoshaphat, Jo-zadak, etc.), and the same word, חָנַן, and means *Dominus gratiosè dedit*. Examples of a similar transposition of the elements of a compound name in speaking of the same individual, are יְכָנְיָה, Jecon-iah, and יְהוֹיָכִין, Jeho-jachin, of the same king of Judah: Ahaz-iah and Jehoahaz of the same son of Jehoram; Eli-am, and Ammi-el, of the father of Bath-sheba; and El-asah for Asah-el, and Iahnia-el, for Eli-shama, in some MSS. of Ezr. x. 15 and 2 K. xxv. 25. This identification is of great importance, as bringing St. Luke's genealogy into harmony with the Old Testament. Nothing more is known of Hananiah.

9. The two names Hananiah and Jehohanan stand side by side, Ezr. x. 28, as sons of Bebai, who returned with Ezra from Babylon.

10. A priest, one of the "apothecaries" (which see) or makers of the sacred ointments and incense (Ex. xxx. 22–38, 1 Chr. ix. 30), who built a portion of the wall of Jerusalem in the days of Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 8). He may be the same as is mentioned in ver. 30 as having repaired another portion. If so, he was son of Shelemiah; perhaps the same as is mentioned xii. 41.

11. Head of the priestly course of Jeremiah in the days of Joiakim the high-priest, Neh. xii. 12.

12. Ruler of the palace (שַׂר חֲנַנְיָהוּ) at Jerusalem under Nehemiah. He is described as "a faithful man, and one who feared God above many." His office seems to have been one of authority and trust, and perhaps the same as that of Eliakim, who was "over the house" in the reign of Hezekiah. [ELIAKIM.] The arrangements for guarding the gates of Jerusalem were intrusted to him with Hanani, the Tirshatha's brother. Prideaux thinks that the appointment of Hanani and Hananiah

[a] Pharaoh-Hophra succeeded Psammis, B. C. 595. The dates of the Egyptian reigns from Psammetichus are fixed by that of the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses.

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indicates that at this time Nehemiah returned to Persia, but without sufficient ground. Nehemiah seems to have been continuously at Jerusalem for some time after the completion of the wall (vii. 5, 65, viii. 9, x. 1). If, too, the term (חַבִּירָה) means, as Gesenius supposes, and as the use of it in Neh. ii. 8 makes not improbable, not the palace, but the fortress of the Temple, called by Josephus *βάρις* — there is still less reason to imagine Nehemiah's absence. In this case Hananiah would be a priest, perhaps of the same family as the preceding. The rendering moreover of Neh. vii. 2, 3, should probably be, "And I enjoined (or gave orders to) Hanani . . and Hananiah the captains of the fortress *concerning* Jerusalem, and said, Let not the gates," etc. There is no authority for rendering עַל by "over" — "He gave such an one charge *over* Jerusalem." The passages quoted by Gesenius are not one of them to the point.

13. An Israelite, Neh. x. 23 (Hebr. 24). [ANANIAS.]

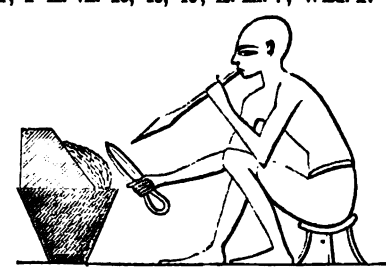
14. Other Hananiahs will be found under ANANIAS, the Greek form of the name. A. C. H.

HANDICRAFT (*τέχνη, ἐργασία*: *ars, artificium*, Acts xviii. 3, xix. 25; Rev. xviii. 22). Although the extent cannot be ascertained to which those arts were carried on whose invention is ascribed to Tubal-Cain, it is probable that this was proportionate to the nomadic or settled habits of the antediluvian races. Among nomad races, as the Bedouin Arabs, or the tribes of Northern and Central Asia and of America, the wants of life, as well as the arts which supply them, are few; and it is only among the city-dwellers that both of them are multiplied and make progress. This subject cannot, of course, be followed out here; in the present article brief notices can only be given of such handicraft trades as are mentioned in Scripture.

1. The preparation of iron for use either in war, in agriculture, or for domestic purposes, was doubtless one of the earliest applications of labor; and, together with iron, working in brass, or rather copper alloyed with tin, bronze (נְחֹשֶׁת, Gesen. p. 675), is mentioned in the same passage as practiced in antediluvian times (Gen. iv. 22). The use of this last is usually considered as an art of higher antiquity even than that of iron (Hesiod. *Works and Days*, 150; Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* ii. p. 152, abridg.), and there can be no doubt that metal, whether iron or bronze, must have been largely used, either in material or in tools, for the construction of the Ark (Gen. vi. 14, 16). Whether the weapons for war or chase used by the early warriors of Syria and Assyria, or the arrow-heads of the archer Ishmael were of bronze or iron, cannot be ascertained; but we know that iron was used for warlike purposes by the Assyrians (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 194), and on the other hand that stone-tipped arrows, as was the case also in Mexico, were used in the earlier times by the Egyptians as well as the Persians and Greeks, and that stone or flint knives continued to be used by them, and by the inhabitants of the desert, and also by the Jews, for religious purposes after the introduction of iron into general use (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 353, 364, ii. 163; Prescott, *Mexico*, i. 118; Ex. iv. 25; Josh. v. 2; 1st Egypt. room, Brit. Mus. case 36, 97). In the construction of the Tabernacle, copper, but no iron, appears to have been used, though the use of iron was at the same period well known to the Jews, both from their own use of it and from their Egyptian education, whilst the Canaanite inhabitants of Palestine and Syria were in full possession of its use both for warlike and domestic purposes (Ex. xx. 25, xxv. 3, xxvii. 19; Num xxxv. 16; Deut. iii. 11, iv. 20, viii. 9; Josh. viii. 31, xvii. 16, 18). After the establishment of the Jews in Canaan, the occupation of a smith (חָרָשׁ) became recognized as a distinct employment (1 Sam. xiii. 19). The designer of a higher order appears to have been called specially חוֹשֵׁב (Gen. p. 531; Ex. xxxv. 30, 35; 2 Chr. xxvi. 15; Saalschütz, *Arch. Hebr.* c. 14, § 16). The smith's work and its results are often mentioned in Scripture (2 Sam. xii. 31; 1 K. vi. 7; 2 Chr. xxvi. 14; Is. xliv. 12, liv. 16). Among the captives taken to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar were 1000 "craftsmen" and smiths, who were probably of the superior kind (2 K. xxiv. 16; Jer. xxix. 2).

The worker in gold and silver (צוֹרֵף: *ἀργυροκόπος, χωνευτής*: *argentarius, aurifex*) must have found employment both among the Hebrews and the neighboring nations in very early times, as appears from the ornaments sent by Abraham to Rebekah (Gen. xxiv. 22, 53, xxxv. 4, xxxviii. 18; Deut. vii. 25). But whatever skill the Hebrews possessed, it is quite clear that they must have learned much from Egypt and its "iron-furnaces," both in metal-work and in the arts of setting and polishing precious stones; arts which were turned to account both in the construction of the Tabernacle and the making of the priests' ornaments, and also in the casting of the golden calf as well as its destruction by Moses, probably, as suggested by Goguet, by a method which he had learnt in Egypt (Gen. xli. 42; Ex. iii. 22, xii. 35, xxxi. 4, 5, xxxii. 2, 4, 20, 24, xxxvii. 17, 24, xxxviii. 4, 8, 24, 25, xxxix. 6, 39; Neh. iii. 8; Is. xliv. 12). Various processes of the goldsmiths' work (No. 1) are illustrated by Egyptian monuments (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 136, 152, 162).

After the conquest frequent notices are found both of moulded and wrought metal, including soldering, which last had long been known in Egypt; but the Phœnicians appear to have possessed greater skill than the Jews in these arts, at least in Solomon's time (Judg. viii. 24, 27, xvii. 4; 1 K. vii. 13, 45, 46; Is. xli. 7; Wisd. xv 4;



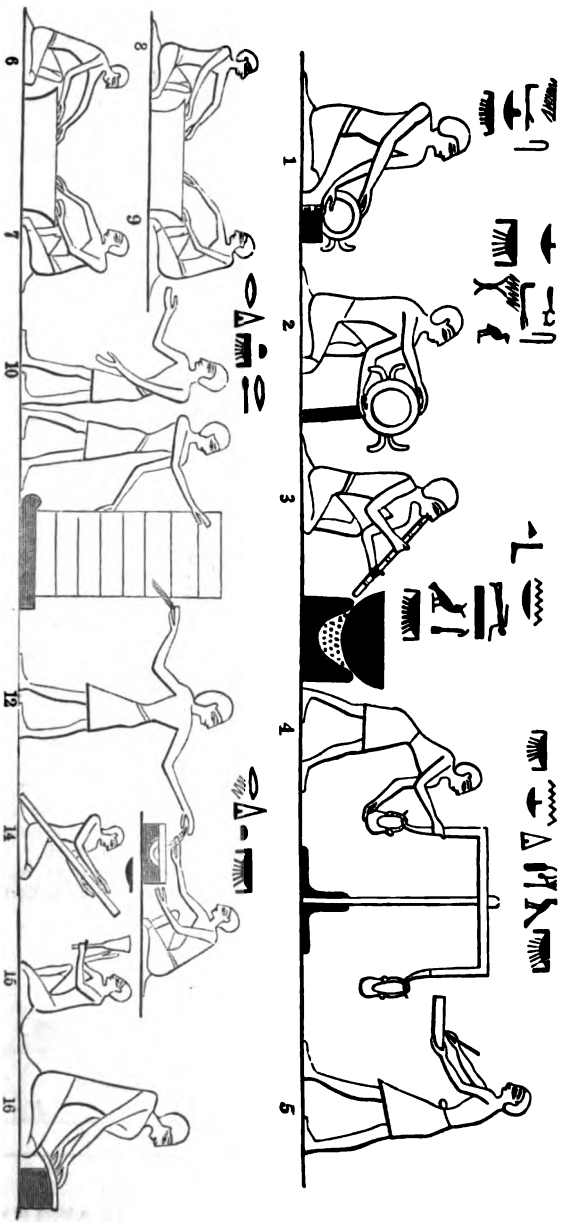
Egyptian Blow-pipe, and small fire-place with cheeks to confine and reflect the heat. (Wilkinson.)

Ecclus. xxxviii. 28; Bar. vi. 50, 55, 57 [or Epist. of Jer. vi. 50, 55, 57]; Wilkinson, ii. 162). [ZAREPHATH.] Even in the desert, mention is made of beating gold into plates, cutting it into wire, and

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also of setting precious stones in gold (Ex. xxxix. 3, 6, &c.; Beckmann, *Hist. of Inv.* ii. 414; Ges. p. 1229).

Among the tools of the smith are mentioned — tongs (מֶלְקָחַיִם, λαβίς, *forceps*, Ges. p. 761, Is. vi. 6), hammer (פַּטִּישׁ, σφυρά, *malleus*, Ges. p. 1101), anvil (פָּעַם, Ges. p. 1118), bellows (מַפֻּחַ, φυσητήρ, *sufflatorium*, Ges. p. 896; Is.



Figs. 1, 2. Making jewelry. 3. Blowing the fire for melting the gold. 4. Weighing the gold. 5. Clerk or scribe. 6, 7, 8, 9. Washing gold. 10. Superintendent. Egyptian Goldsmiths. (Wilkinson.) The remaining part relates to the preparation of the metal before it is worked.

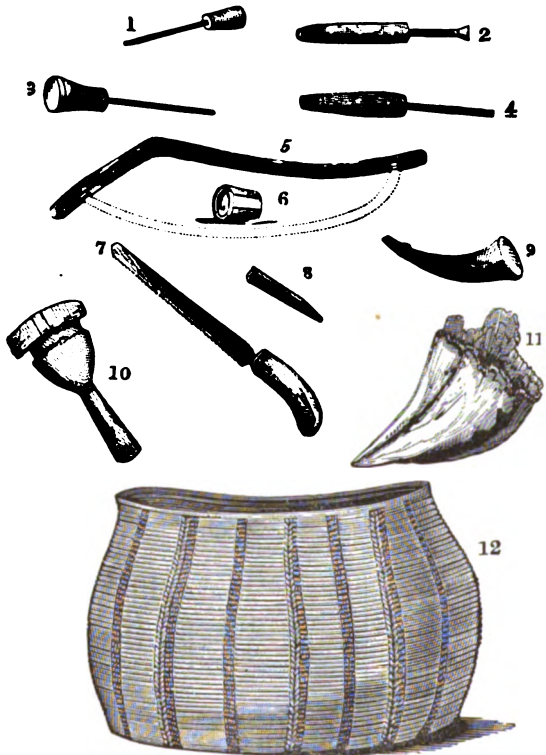
xl. 7; Jer. vi. 29; Ecclus. xxxviii. 28; Wilkinson, ii. 316).

In N. T. Alexander "the coppersmith" (ὁ χαλκεύς) of Ephesus is mentioned, where also was carried on that trade in "silver shrines" (ναοὶ ἀργυροῖ), which was represented by Demetrius the silversmith (ἀργυροκόπος) as being in danger from the spread of Christianity (Acts xix. 24, 28; 2 Tim. iv. 14). [See also SMITH.]

2. The work of the carpenter (חָרַשׁ עֵצִים, τέκτων, *artifex lignarius*) is often mentioned in

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Scripture (*e. g.* Gen. vi. 14; Ex. xxxvii.; Is. xliv. 13). In the palace built by David for himself the workmen employed were chiefly Phœnicians sent by Hiram (2 Sam. v. 11; 1 Chr. xiv. 1), as most



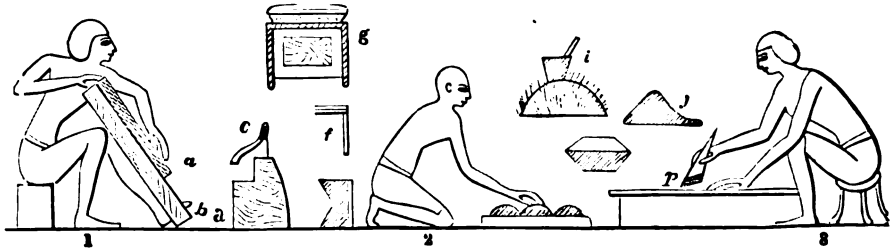
Tools of an Egyptian Carpenter. (Wilkinson.)

Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4. Chisels and drills.
5. Part of drill.
6. Nut of wood belonging to drill.
7, 8. Saws.
9. Horn of oil.
10. Mallet.
11. Basket of nails.
12. Basket which held them.

probably were those, or at least the principal of those who were employed by Solomon in his works (1 K. v. 6). But in the repairs of the Temple, executed under Joash king of Judah, and also in the rebuilding under Zerubbabel, no mention is made of foreign workmen, though in the latter case the timber is expressly said to have been brought by sea to Joppa by Zidonians (2 K. xii. 11; 2 Chr. xxiv. 12; Ezra iii. 7). That the Jewish carpenters must have been able to carve with some skill is evident from Is. xli. 7, xliv. 13, in which last passage some of the implements used in the trade are mentioned: the rule (יָשָׁר, *μέτρον, norma*, possibly a chalk pencil, Ges. p. 1337), measuring-line (קָו, Ges. p. 1201), compass (מְרוּעָה, *παραγραφίς, circinus*, Ges. p. 450), plane, or smoothing instrument (מַחֲזִיר, *κόλλα, runcina*, Ges. pp. 1228, 1338), axe (בַּרְזֶל, Ges. p. 302, or חָרִיץ, Ges. p. 1236, *ἀξίνη, securis*).

The process of the work, and the tools used by Egyptian carpenters, and also coopers and wheelwrights, are displayed in Egyptian monuments and relics; the former, including dovetailing, veneering, drilling, glueing, varnishing, and inlaying, may be seen in Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 111–119. Of the latter many specimens, including saws, hatchets, knives, awls, nails, a bone, and a drill, also turned objects in bone, exist in the British Museum, 1st Egyptian room, case 42–43, Nos. 6046–6188. See also Wilkinson, ii. p. 113 fig. 395.

In N. T. the occupation of a carpenter (*τέκτων*) is mentioned in connection with Joseph the husband of the Virgin Mary, and ascribed to our Lord himself by way of reproach (Mark vi. 3; Matt. xiii. 55; and Just. Mart. *Dial.* c. *Tryph.* c. 88).



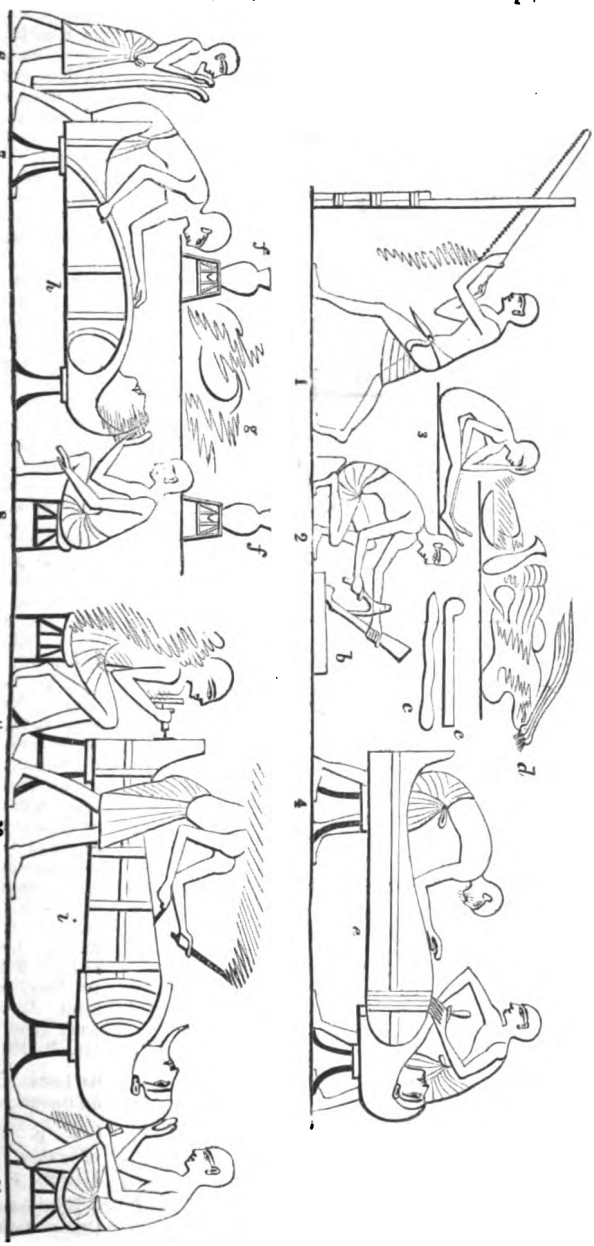
Veneering and the use of glue. (Wilkinson.)

b, a piece of dark wood applied to one of ordinary quality, *b*. *c*, adze, fixed into a block of wood of the same color as *c*, a ruler; and *f*, a square, similar to those used by our carpenters. *g*, a box. Fig 2 is grinding something *i*, glue-pot on the fire. *j*, a piece of glue. Fig. 3 applying the glue with a brush, *p*.

2. The masons (גֹּדְרִים, wall-builders, Ges. p. 269) employed by David and Solomon, at least the chief of them, were Phœnicians, as is implied also in the word גִּבְלִים, men of Gebal, Jeball, Byblus (Ges. p. 258; 1 K. v. 18; Ez. xxvii. 9; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 179). Among their imple-

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ments are mentioned the saw (מְנוֹרָה, πρίων), the plumb-line (אֲנָךְ, Ges. p. 125), the measuring-reed (קָנֶה, κάλαμος, *calamus*, Ges. p. 1221). Some of these, and also the chisel and mallet, are represented on Egyptian monuments (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 313, 314), or preserved in the British Museum (1st Egyptian room, Nos. 6114, 6038) The large stones used in Solomon's Temple are said by Josephus to have been fitted together exactly without either mortar or cramps, but the founda-

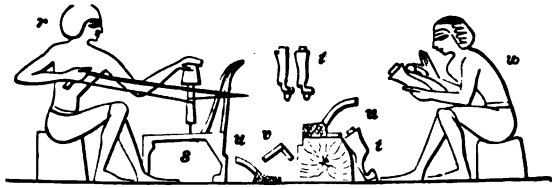


Bandaging mummies and making the cases. (Wilkinson.)

Fig. 1, sawing wood. 2, cutting the leg of a chair, indicating the trade of the carpenter. 3, a man fallen asleep. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, bringing the bandages. 9, using the drill. 8, 10, and 11, painting and polishing the case.

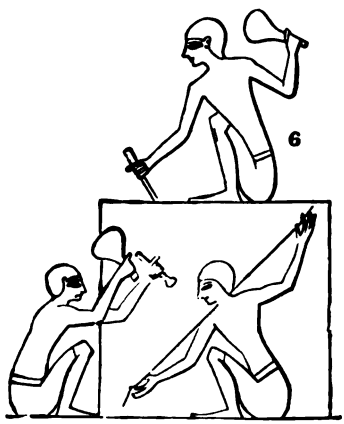
tion stones to have been fastened with lead (Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 3, § 2; xv. 11, § 3). For ordinary building mortar, חֵימָר (Ges. p. 1328) was used; sometimes, perhaps, bitumen, as was the case at Babylon (Gen. xi. 3). The lime, clay, and straw of which mortar is generally composed in the East, requires to be very carefully mixed and united so as to resist wet (Lane, *Mod. Egypt.* i. 27; Shaw, *Trav.* p. 206). The wall "daubed with untem-

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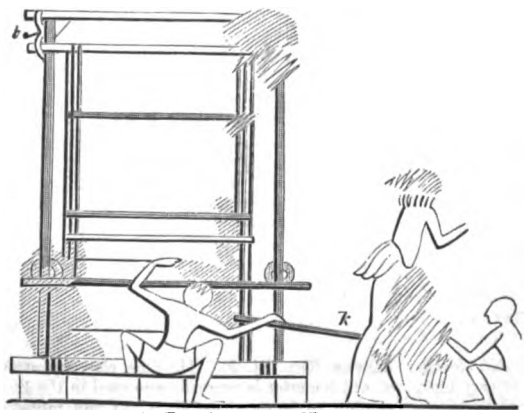


Carpenters. (Wilkinson.)
r, drills a hole in the seat of a chair, *s*. *t t*, legs of chair. *u u*, adzes. *v*, a square. *w*, man planing or polishing the leg of a chair.





Masons. (Wilkinson.)
Part 1. levelling, and Part 2 squaring a stone.



An Egyptian loom. (Wilkinson.)
k is a shuttle, not thrown, but put in with the hand. It had a hook at each end.

pered mortar" of Ezekiel (xiii 10) was perhaps a sort of cob-wall of mud or clay without lime (תָּפֵל, Ges. p. 1516) which would give way under heavy rain. The use of white-wash on tombs is remarked by our Lord (Matt. xxiii. 27. See also Mishna, *Maaser Sheni*, v. 1). Houses infected with leprosy were required by the Law to be re-plastered (Lev. xiv. 40–45).

4. Akin to the craft of the carpenter is that of ship and boat-building, which must have been exercised to some extent for the fishing-vessels on the lake of Gennesaret (Matt. viii. 23, ix. 1; John xxi. 3, 8). Solomon built, at Ezion-Geber, ships for his foreign trade, which were manned by Phœnician crews, an experiment which Jehoshaphat endeavored in vain to renew (1 K. ix. 26, 27, xxii. 48; 2 Chr. xx. 36, 37).

5. The perfumes used in the religious services, and in later times in the funeral rites of monarchs, imply knowledge and practice in the art of the "apothecaries" (רַקָּחִים, μυρεψοί, *pigmentarii*), who appear to have formed a guild or association (Ex. xxx. 25, 35; Neh. iii. 8; 2 Chr. xvi. 14; Eccles. vii. 1, x. 1; Ecclus. xxxviii. 8).

6. The arts of spinning and weaving both wool and linen were carried on in early times, as they are still usually among the Bedouins, by women. The women spun and wove goat's hair and flax for the Tabernacle, as in later times their skill was employed in like manner for idolatrous purposes. One of the excellences attributed to the good house-wife is her skill and industry in these arts (Ex. xxxv. 25, 26; Lev. xix. 19; Deut. xxii. 11; 2 K. xxiii. 7; Ez. xvi. 16; Prov. xxxi. 13, 24; Burckhardt, *Notes on Bed.* i. 65; comp. Hom. *Il.* i. 123; *Od.* i. 356, ii. 104). The loom, with its beam (מָנוֹר, μεσάντιον, *licciatorium*, 1 Sam. xvii. 7; Ges. p. 883), pin, (יָתֵד, πάσσαλος, *clavus*, Judg. xvi. 14; Ges. p. 643), and shuttle (אֹרֶג, δρομεύς, Job vii. 6; Ges. p. 146) was perhaps, introduced later, but as early as David's time (1 Sam. xvii. 7), and worked by men, as was the case in Egypt, contrary to the practice of other nations. This trade also appears to have been

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practised hereditarily (1 Chr. iv. 21; Herod. ii. 35; Soph. *Œd. Col.* 339).

Together with weaving we read also of embroidery, in which gold and silver threads were interwoven with the body of the stuff, sometimes in figure patterns, or with precious stones set in the needlework (Ex. xxvi. 1, xxviii. 4, xxix. 6–13).

7. Besides these arts, those of dyeing and of dressing cloth were practiced in Palestine, and those also of tanning and dressing leather (Josh. ii. 15–18; 2 K. i. 8; Matt. iii. 4; Acts ix. 43; Mishn. *Megill.* iii. 2). Shoe-makers, barbers, and tailors are mentioned in the Mishna (*Pesach.* iv. 6): the barber (גַּלָּב, *κουρεύς*, Ges. p. 283), or his occupation, by Ezekiel (v. 1; Lev. xiv. 8; Num. vi. 5; Josephus, *Ant.* xvi. 11, § 5; *B. J.* i. 27, § 5; Mishn. *Shabb.* i. 2), and the tailor (i. 3), plasterers, glaziers, and glass vessels, painters, and goldworkers are mentioned in Mishn. (*Chel.* viii. 9, xxix. 3, 4, xxx. 1).

Tent-makers (*σκηνοποιοί*) are noticed in the Acts (xviii. 3), and frequent allusion is made to the trade of the potters.

8. Bakers (אֹפִים, Ges. p. 136) are noticed in Scripture as carrying on their trade (Jer. xxxvii. 21; Hos. vii. 4; Mishn. *Chel.* xv. 2); and the well-known valley Tyropœon probably derived its name from the occupation of the cheese-makers, its inhabitants (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 4, 1). Butchers, not Jewish, are spoken of 1 Cor. x. 25.

Trade in all its branches was much developed after the Captivity; and for a father to teach his son a trade was reckoned not only honorable but indispensable (Mishn. *Pirke Ab.* ii. 2; *Kiddush.* iv. 14). Some trades, however, were regarded as less honorable (Jahn, *Bibl. Arch.* § 84).

Some, if not all trades, had special localities, as was the case formerly in European, and is now in Eastern cities (Jer. xxxvii. 21; 1 Cor. x. 25; Joseph. *B. J.* v. 4, § 1, and 8, § 1; Mishn. *Becor.* v. 1; Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 20; Chardin, *Voyages*, vii. 274, 394; Lane, *Mod. Egyp.* ii. 145).

One feature, distinguishing Jewish from other workmen, deserves peculiar notice, namely, that they were not slaves, nor were their trades necessarily hereditary, as was and is so often the case among other, especially heathen nations (Jahn, *Bibl. Antiq.* c. v. § 81–84; Saalschütz, *Hebr. Arch.* c. 14; Winer, s. v. *Handwerke*). [Musical Instruments; Pottery; Glass; Leather.]

H. W. P.

HANDKERCHIEF, NAPKIN, APRON. The two former of these terms, as used in the A. V. = *σουδάριον*, the latter = *σιμικίνθιον*: they are classed together, inasmuch as they refer to objects of a very similar character. Both words are of Latin origin: *σουδάριον* = *sudarium* from *sudo*, 'to sweat;' the Lutheran translation preserves the reference to its etymology in its rendering, *schweisstuch*; *σιμικίνθιον* = *semicinctium*, i. e. "a half girdle." Neither is much used by classical writers; the *sudarium* is referred to as used for wiping the face ("candido frontem sudario tergeret," Quintil. vi. 3), or hands ("sudario manus tergens, quod in collo habebat," Petron. *in fragm. Tragur.* p. 67); and also as worn over the face for the purpose of concealment (Sueton. *in Neron.* c. 48); the word was introduced by the Romans into Palestine, where it was adopted by the Jews, in the form סוּדָרִין as = מִטְפָּחָה, in Ruth iii. 15. The *sudarium* is noticed in the N. T. as a wrapper to fold up money (Luke xix. 20) — as a cloth bound about the head of a corpse (John xi. 44, xx. 7), being probably brought from the crown of the head under the chin — and lastly as an article of dress that could be easily removed (Acts xix. 12), probably a handkerchief worn on the head like the *keffieh* of the Bedouins. The *semicinctium* is noticed by Martial xiv. *Epigr.* 153, and by Petron. *in Satyr.* c. 94. The distinction between the *cinctus* and the *semicinctium* consisted in its width (Isidor. *Orig.* xix. 33): with regard to the character of the *σιμικίνθιον*, the only inference from the passage in which it occurs (Acts xix. 12) is that it was easily removed from the person, and probably was worn next to the skin. According to Suidas the distinction between the *sudarium* and the *semicinctium* was very small, for he explains the latter by the former, *σιμικίνθιον· φακιόλιον ἢ σουδάριον*, the *φακιόλιον* being a species of head-dress: Hesychius likewise explains *σιμικίνθιον* by *φακιόλιον*. According to the scholiast (*in Col. Steph.*), as quoted by Schleusner (*Lex.* s. v. *σουδάριον*), the distinction between the two terms is that the *sudarium* was worn on the head, and the *semicinctium* used as a handkerchief. The difference was probably not in the shape, but in the use of the article; we may conceive them to have been bands of linen of greater or less size, which might be adapted to many purposes, like the article now called *lungi* among the Arabs, which is applied sometimes as a girdle, at other times as a turban (Wellsted, *Travels*, i. 321).

W. L. B.

* **HAND-MAID.** [Concubine; Slave.]

* **HAND-MILL.** [Mill.]

* **HAND-STAVE.** [Staff.]

HA'NES (חָנֵס: *Hanes*), a place in Egypt only mentioned in Is. xxx. 4: "For his princes were at Zoan, and his messengers came to Hanes." The LXX. has "Ὅτι εἰσὶν ἐν Τάνει ἀρχηγοὶ ἄγγελοι πονηροί, evidently following an entirely different reading. Hanes has been supposed by Vitringa, Michaelis, Rosenmüller, and Gesenius, to be the same as Heracleopolis Magna in the Heptanomis, Copt. ϵϱϩπϵϲ, ϵϱϩπϵϲ, ϵϱϩπϹ.

This identification depends wholly upon the similarity of the two names: a consideration of the sense of the passage in which Hanes occurs shows its great improbability. The prophecy is a reproof of the Jews for trusting in Egypt: and according to the Masoretic text, mention is made of an embassy, perhaps from Hoshea, or else from Ahaz, or possibly Hezekiah, to a Pharaoh. As the king whose assistance is asked is called Pharaoh, he is probably not an Ethiopian of the XXVth dynasty, for the kings of that line are mentioned by name — So, Tirhakah — but a sovereign of the XXIIId dynasty, which, according to Manetho, was of Tanite kings. It is supposed that the last king of the latter dynasty, Manetho's Zet, is the Sethos of Herodotus, the king in whose time Sennacherib's army perished, and who appears to have been mentioned under the title of Pharaoh by Rabshakeh (Is. xxxvi. 6; 2 K. xviii. 21), though it is just possible that Tirhakah may have been intended If the reference be to an embassy to Zet, Zoan was probably his capital, and in any case then the most important city of the eastern part of Lower Egypt. Hanes was most probably in its neighborhood; and

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we are disposed to think that the Chald. Paraphr. is right in identifying it with תַּחְפַּנְחֵס, or הַתַּחְפַּנְחֵס, once written, if the Kethibh be correct, in the form תַּחְפַּנֵס, Daphnæ, a fortified town on the eastern frontier. [TAHPANHES.] Gesenius remarks, as a kind of apology for the identification of Hanes with Heracleopolis Magna, that the latter was formerly a royal city. It is true that in Manetho's list the IXth and Xth dynasties are said to have been of Heracleopolite kings; but it has been lately suggested, on strong grounds, by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, that this is a mistake in the case of the IXth dynasty for Hermonthites (*Herod.* ed. Rawlinson, vol. ii. p. 348). If this supposition be correct as to the IXth dynasty, it must also be so as to the Xth; but the circumstance whether Heracleopolis was a royal city or not, a thousand years before Isaiah's time, is obviously of no consequence here. R. S. P.

* **HANGING.** [PUNISHMENT.]

HANGING; HANGINGS. These terms represent both different words in the original, and different articles in the furniture of the Temple.

(1.) The "hanging" (מָסָךְ: ἐπίσπαστρον: *tentorium*) was a curtain or "covering" (as the word radically means) to close an entrance; one was placed before the door of the Tabernacle (Ex. xxvi. 36, 37, xxxix. 38); it was made of variegated stuff wrought with needlework, and was hung on five pillars of acacia wood; another was placed before the entrance of the court (Ex. xxvii. 16, xxxviii. 18; Num. iv. 26); the term is also applied to the vail that concealed the Holy of Holies, in the full expression "vail of *the covering*" (Ex. xxxv. 12, xxxix. 34, xl. 21; Num. iv. 5). [CURTAINS, 2.]

(2.) The "hangings" (קְלָעִים: ἱστία: *tentoria*) were used for covering the walls of the court of the Tabernacle, just as tapestry was in modern times (Ex. xxvii. 9, xxxv. 17, xxxviii. 9; Num. iii. 26, iv. 26). The rendering in the LXX. implies that they were made of the same substance as the sails of a ship, *i. e.* (as explained by Rashi) "meshy, not woven:" this opinion is, however, incorrect, as the material of which they were constructed was "fine twined linen." The hangings were carried only five cubits high, or half the height of the walls of the court (Ex. xxvii. 18; comp. xxvi. 16). [TABERNACLE.]

In 2 K. xxiii. 7, the term *bottim*, בָּתִּים, strictly "houses," A. V. "hangings," is probably intended to describe tents used as portable sanctuaries. W. L. B.

HANNIEL (חַנִיאֵל, *i. e.* Channiel [*grace of God*]: Ἀνιήλ [Vat. -νει-]: *Haniel*), one of the sons of Ulla, a chief prince, and a choice hero in the tribe of Asher (1 Chr. vii. 39). [HANNIEL.]

HANNAH (חַנָּה, *grace*, or *prayer*: Ἄννα: *Anna*), one of the wives of Elkanah, and mother of Samuel (1 Sam. i. ii.); a prophetess of considerable repute, though her claim to that title is based upon one production only, namely, the hymn of thanksgiving for the birth of her son. This hymn is in the highest order of prophetic poetry; its resemblance to that of the Virgin Mary (comp. 1 Sam. ii. 1–10 with Luke i. 46–55; see also Ps. xviii.) has been noticed by the commentators; and it is specially remarkable as containing the first designation of the Messiah under that name. In the Targum it has been subjected to a process of magniloquent dilution, for which it would be difficult to find a parallel even in the pompous vagaries of that paraphrase (Eichhorn, *Einl.* ii. p. 68) [SAMUEL.] T. E. B.

HANNATHON (חַנָּתוֹן [*graceful*, or *graciously disposed*]: Ἀμάθ; Alex. Ἐννάθωθ: *Hanathon*), one of the cities of Zebulun, a point apparently on the northern boundary (Josh. xix. 14) It has not yet been identified. G.

HANNIEL (חַנִיאֵל: Ἀνιήλ: *Hanniel*), son of Ephod; as prince (*Nasi*) of Manasseh he assisted in the division of the Promised Land (Num. xxxiv. 23). The name is the same as HANIEL.

HANOCH (חֲנוֹךְ [see on ENOCH]: Ἐνώχ: *Henoch*). 1. The third in order of the children of Midian, and therefore descended from Abraham by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 4). In the parallel list of 1 Chr. i. 33, the name is given in the A. V. as HENOCH.

2. (חֲנוֹךְ: Ἐνώχ: *Henoch*), eldest son of Reuben (Gen. xlvi. 9; Ex. vi. 14; Num. xxvi. 5; 1 Chr. v. 3), and founder of the family of

HANOCHITES, THE (הַחֲנֹכִי: ὅμιλος τοῦ Ἐνώχ: *familia Henochitarum*), Num. xxvi. 5.

* The Hebrew of Hanoch is the same as that of Enoch, and belongs to two other persons [ENOCH]. There is no good reason for this twofold orthography. H.

HANUN (חָנוּן [*gracious*]: Ἀννάν, [Ἀνάν, etc.:] *Hanon*). 1. Son of Nahash (2 Sam. x. 1, 2; 1 Chr. xix. 1, 2), king of Ammon about B. C. 1037, who dishonored the ambassadors of David (2 Sam. x. 4), and involved the Ammonites in a disastrous war (2 Sam. xii. 31; 1 Chr. xix. 6). W. T. B.

2. [Ἀνούν: *Hanun.*] A man who, with the people of Zanoah, repaired the ravine-gate in the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 13).

3. [Ἀνάμ; Vat. FA. Ανουμ; Comp. Ἀνάν: *Hanun.*] A man specified as "the 6th son of Zalaph," who also assisted in the repair of the wall, apparently on the east side (Neh. iii. 30).

* **HAPHARAIM**, so A. V. ed. 1611, and other early editions, also the Bishops' Bible; in many later editions, less correctly,

HAPHRAIM (חֲפָרַיִם, *i. e.* Chaphârâim: Ἀγίν; [Vat. Αγειν;] Alex. Αφεραιμ: *Hapharaim*), a city of Issachar, mentioned next to Shunem (Josh. xix. 19). The name possibly signifies "two pits." In the *Onomasticon* ("Aphraim") it is spoken as still known under the name of Affarea (Eus. Ἀφραίμ), and as standing six miles north of Legio. About that distance northeast of *Lejjun*, and two miles west of *Solam* (the ancient Shunem), stands the village of *el-'Afûleh* (العفولة), which may be the representative of Chapharaim, the guttural *Ain* having taken the place of the Hebrew *Cheth*. G.

HARA (חָרָא [*mountain-land*, Ges.]: *Ara*) which appears only in 1 Chr. v. 26, and even there

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a omitted by the LXX., is either a place utterly unknown, or it must be regarded as identical with Haran or Charran (חָרָן), the Mesopotamian city to which Abraham came from Ur. The names in Chronicles often vary from those elsewhere used in Scripture, being later forms; and *Hara* would nearly correspond to *Carrhæ*, which we know from Strabo and Ptolemy to have been the appellation by which Haran was known to the Greeks. We may assume then the author of Chronicles to mean, that a portion of the Israelites carried off by Pul and Tiglath-Pileser were settled in *Harran* on the *Belik*, while the greater number were conveyed to the *Chabour*. (Compare 1 Chr. v. 26 with 2 K. xvii. 6, xviii. 11, and xix. 12; and see articles on HARRAN and HABOR.) G. R.

HAR'ADAH (הַחֲרָדָה, with the article [*the trembling*]: Χαραδάθ: *Arada*), a desert station of the Israelites, Num. xxxiii. 24, 25; its position is uncertain. H. H.

HA'RAN. 1. (הָרָן [*a strong one*, Fürst: prob. *montanus*, *mountaineer*, Gesen.]: Ἀρράν; Jos. Ἀράνης: *Aran*). The third son of Terah, and therefore youngest brother of Abram (Gen. xi. 26). Three children are ascribed to him — Lot (27, 31), and two daughters, namely, Milcah, who married her uncle Nahor (29), and Iscah (29), of whom we merely possess her name, though by some (*e. g.* Josephus) she is held to be identical with Sarah. Haran was born in Ur of the Chaldees, and he died there while his father was still living (28). His sepulchre was still shown there when Josephus wrote his history (*Ant.* i. 6, § 5). The ancient Jewish tradition is that Haran was burnt in the furnace of Nimrod for his wavering conduct during the fiery trial of Abraham. (See the Targum Ps. Jonathan; Jerome's *Quæst. in Genesim*, and the notes thereto in the edit. of Migne.) This tradition seems to have originated in a translation of the word Ur, which in Hebrew signifies "fire." It will be observed that although this name and that of the country appear the same in the A. V., there is in the original a certain difference between them; the latter commencing with the harsh guttural Cheth.

2. (Δάν; Alex. Αραν: *Aran.*) A Gershonite Levite in the time of David, one of the family of Shimei (1 Chr. xxiii. 9). G.

HA'RAN (חָרָן, *i. e.* Charan: Ἀράμ; [Vat.] Alex. Αρραν: *Haran*), a son of the great Caleb by his concubine Ephah (1 Chr. ii. 46). He himself had a son named GAZEZ.

HA'RAN (חָרָן [*scorched, arid*, Gesen.; *a noble, freeman*, Fürst]: Χαρράν; Strab., Ptol. Κάρραι: *Haran*), is the name of the place whither Abraham migrated with his family from Ur of the Chaldees, and where the descendants of his brother Nahor established themselves. Haran is therefore called "the city of Nahor" (comp. Gen. xxiv. 10 with xxvii. 43). It is said to be in Mesopotamia (Gen. xxiv. 10), or more definitely, in Padan-Aram (xxv. 20), which is the "cultivated district at the foot of the hills" (Stanley's *S. & P.*, p. 129 *note*), a name well applying to the beautiful stretch of country which lies below Mount Masius between the *Khabour* and the Euphrates. [PADAN-ARAM.] Here, about midway in this district, is a town still named *Harrân*, which really seems never to have changed its appellation, and beyond any reasonable doubt is the Haran or Charran of Scripture (Bochart's *Phaleg*, i. 14; Ewald's *Geschichte*, i. 384). It is remarkable that the people of *Harrân* retained to a late time the Chaldæan language and the worship of Chaldæan deities (Asseman. *Bibl. Or.* i. 327; Chwolsohn's *Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, ii. 39). *Harrân* lies upon the *Belik* (ancient Bilichus), a small affluent of the Euphrates, which falls into it nearly in long. 39°. It was famous among the Romans for being near the scene of the defeat of Crassus (Plin. *H. N.* v. 24). About the time of the Christian era it appears to have been included in the kingdom of Edessa (Mos. Chor. ii. 32), which was ruled by Agbarus. Afterwards it passed with that kingdom under the dominion of the Romans, and appears as a Roman city in the wars of Caracalla (Mos. Chor. ii. 72) and Julian (Jo. Malal. p. 329). It is now a small village inhabited by a few families of Arabs.

In the A. V. of the New Test. the name follows the Greek form, and is given as CHARRAN (Acts vii. 2, 4. G. R.

* A controversy has recently sprung up respecting the situation of the patriarchal Haran which requires notice here. Within a few years a little village known as *Hârân-el-Awamâd* has been discovered, about four hours east of Damascus, on the borders of the lake into which the *Barada* (Abana) flows. Dr. Beke (*Origines Biblicæ*, Lond. 1834) had thrown out the idea that the Scripture Haran was not, as generally supposed, in Mesopotamia, but must have been near Damascus. He now maintains that this *Hârân*, so unexpectedly brought to light between "Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus," must be the identical Haran (or Charran) of the Bible in Aram-naharaim, *i. e.* Aram of the two rivers. In 1861 Dr. Beke made a journey to Palestine, with special reference to this question. The argument on which he mainly relies is the fact that Laban, in his pursuit of Jacob, appears to have travelled from Haran to Gilead on the east of the Jordan in 7 days (Gen. xxxi. 23), whereas the actual distance of Haran from Gilead is about 300 geographical miles, and would make in that country an ordinary journey of 15 or 20 days. An Arab tribe on its ordinary migrations moves from 12 to 15 miles a day, and a caravan from 20 to 23 miles a day. On the other hand, it is not a little remarkable that Dr. Beke himself went over the ground, step by step, between *Hârân-el-Awamâd* and Gilead, and found the time to be five days, hence very nearly the time that Laban was on the way before he overtook Jacob in Gilead.

It must be owned that this rapidity of Laban's pursuit of Jacob from Haran is not a slight difficulty. For its removal we can only resort to certain suppositions in the case, which of course we are at liberty to make if the Scripture text does not exclude them, and if they are justified by the known customs of the country and the age.

First, we may assume that Laban, taking with him only some of his sons or other near kinsmen ("his brothers," see Gen. xxxi. 23), was unincumbered with baggage or women and children: and hence moved with all the despatch of which eastern travelling admits. One party was fleeing and the other pursuing. The chase was a close one, as all the language indicates. Jacob complains that Laban had "followed hotly" after him. The swift dromedaries would be brought into requisition if the ordinary camels were not swift enough. The speed of these animals is such, says

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Sir Henry Rawlinson (who has seen so much of the East), that they "consume but 8 days in crossing the desert from Damascus to Baghdad, a distance of nearly 500 miles." He thinks it unquestionable that Laban could have "traversed the entire distance from Haran to Gilead in 7 days" (*Athenæum*, April 19, 1862). For examples of the capacity of such camels for making long and rapid journeys, see the *Penny Cyclopædia*, vi. 191.

Secondly, the expression (which is entirely correct for the Hebrew) that Laban's journey before coming up with Jacob was a "seven days' journey," is indefinite, and may include 8 or 9 days as well as 7. "Seven," as Gesenius states, "is a round number, and stands in the Hebrew for any number less than 10." A week's time, in this wider sense, would bring the distance still more easily within an expeditious traveller's reach.

But whatever may be thought of the possibility of Laban's making such a journey in such time, the difficulty in the case of Jacob would seem to be still greater; since, accompanied as he was with flocks and herds and women and children, he must have travelled much more slowly. To this it may be replied that the narrative does not restrict us to the three days which passed before Laban became aware of Jacob's departure added to the seven days which passed before he overtook Jacob in Gilead. It is very possible that Laban, on hearing so suddenly that Jacob had fled, was not in a situation to follow at once, but had preparations to make which would consume three or four days more; so as in reality to give Jacob the advantage of five or six days before he finally started in pursuit. It is altogether probable too that the wary Jacob adopted measures before setting out which would greatly accelerate his flight. (See Gen. xxxi. 20.) Mr. Porter, who is so familiar with Eastern life, has drawn out this suggestion in a form that appears not unreasonable. Jacob could quietly move his flocks down to the banks of the Euphrates and send them across the river, without exciting suspicion; since then, as now, the flocks of the great proprietors roamed over a wide region (Gen. xxxi. 1–3). In like manner before starting himself he could have sent his wives and children across the river, and hurried them forward with all the despatch which at this day characterizes an Arab tribe fleeing before an enemy (vers. 17, 18). All this might take place before Laban was aware of Jacob's purpose; and they were then at least 3 days' distant from each other (vers. 19–22). The intervening region between the Euphrates and Gilead, a distance of 250 miles, is a vast plain, with only one ridge of hills; and thus Jacob "could march forward straight as an arrow." If, as supposed, his flocks and family were already in advance, he could travel for the first two or three days at a very rapid pace. "Now, I maintain" (says this writer), 'that any of the tribes of the desert would at this moment, under similar circumstances, accomplish the distance in 10 days, which is the shortest period we can, according to the Scripture account, assign to the journey (vers. 22, 23). We must not judge of the capabilities of Arab women and children, flocks and herds, according to our Western ideas and experience." (See *Athenæum*, May 24, 1862.)

Dr. Beke's other incidental confirmations of his theory are less important. It is urged that unless Abraham was living near Damascus, he could not have had a servant in his household who was called "Eliezer of Damascus" (Gen. xv. 2). The answer to this is that the servant himself may possibly have been born there and have wandered to the further East before Abraham's migration; or more probably, may have sprung from a family that belonged originally to Damascus. Mr. Porter says "I knew well in Damascus two men, one called Ibrahim el-Haleby, 'Abraham of Aleppo'; and the other Elias el-Akkawy, 'Elias of Akka,' neither of whom had ever been in the town whose name he bore. Their ancestors had come from those towns, and that is all such expressions usually signify in the East" (*Athenæum*, December 7, 1861.)

The coincidence of the name proves nothing as to the identification in question. The name (if it be Arabic) means 'arid,' 'scorched,' and refers no doubt to the Syrian *Hárán* as being on the intermediate confines of the desert. The affix *Awamid* "columns," comes from five Ionic pillars, forty feet high, which appear among the mud-houses of the village. (See Porter's *Handb. of Syr. and Pal.* ii. 497.)

Again, the inference from Acts vii. 2, that Stephen opposes Charran to Mesopotamia in such a way as to imply that Charran lay outside the latter, is unnecessary, to say the least; for he may mean equally as well that Abraham was called twice in Mesopotamia, *i. e.* not only in the part of that province where Charran was known to be, but still earlier in the more northern part of it known as "the land of the Chaldees," the original home and seat of the Abrahamic race. Not only so, but the latter must be Stephen's meaning, unless he differed from the Jews of his time, since both Philo (*de Abr.* ii. pp. 11, 14, ed. Mang.) and Josephus (*Ant.* i. 7, § 1) relate that Abraham was called thus twice in the land of his nativity and kindred, and in this view they follow the manifest implication of the O. T., as we see from Gen. xv. 7 and Neh. ix. 7 (comp. Gen. xii. 1–4).

Dr. Beke found "flocks of sheep, and maidens drawing water," at *Hárán-el-Awamíd*, and felt that he saw the Scripture scene of Jacob's arrival, and of the presence of Rachel with "her father's sheep which she kept," reënacted before his eyes. But that is an occurrence so common in eastern villages at the present day, especially along the skirts of the desert, that it can hardly be said to distinguish one place from another.

But the reasons for the traditional opinion entirely outweigh those against it. (1.) The city of Nahor or Haran (Gen. xxiv. 10) is certainly in Aram-naharaim, *i. e.* "Syria of the two rivers" (in the A. V. "Mesopotamia"). This expression occurs also in Deut. xxiii. 4 and Judg. iii. 8, and implies a historic notoriety which answers perfectly to the Tigris and Euphrates, but not to rivers of such limited local importance as the Abana and Pharpar, streams of Damascus. (2.) Aram-Dammesek (the "Syria Damascena" of Pliny) is the appellation of Southern Syria (see 2 Sam. viii. 6 and Is. vii. 8), and is a different region from Aram-naharaim where Haran was. (3.) Jacob in going to Haran went to "the land of the people of the East" (Gen. xxix. 1), which is not appropriate to so near a region as that of Damascus, and one almost north of Palestine, but is so to that beyond the Euphrates. In accordance with this, Balaam, who came from Aram-naharaim, speaks of himself as having been brought "out of the mountains of the East" (Deut. xxiii. 5; Num. xxiii. 7). (4.) The river which Jacob crossed in his flight from

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Laban is termed הַנָּהָר, *i. e.* "the river," as the Euphrates is so often termed by way of eminence (Gen. xxxi. 21; Ex. xxiii. 33; Josh. xxiv. 2, 3, &c.). (5.) The ancient versions (the Targums, the Syriac and the Arabic Pentateuch) actually insert Euphrates in Gen. xxxi. 21, and thus show how familiar the authors were with the peculiar Hebrew mode of designating that river. (6.) The places associated with Haran, as Gozan, Rezeph, Eden (2 Kings xix. 12; Is. xxxvi. 12), and Canneh (Ez. xxvii. 23), point to the region of the Euphrates as the seat of this entire group of cities. (7.) Incidental allusions (as in Gen. xxiv. 4–8; xxviii. 20, 21) show that Haran was very far distant from Canaan, whereas Damascus is upon its very border. So, too, Josephus (*Ant.* i. 16, § 1) not only places Haran in Mesopotamia, but (referring to Abraham's sending Eliezer to procure a wife for Isaac) sets forth its great distance from Canaan, as making the journey thither formidable and tedious in the highest degree. (8.) The living traditions connect Abraham's life in Haran with Mesopotamia and not with Damascus. Ainsworth, who visited *Hârân*, says that the people there preserve the memory of the patriarch's history; they tell where he encamped, where he crossed the Euphrates, and how he and his herds found a resting-place at Berœa, now *Aleppo* (*Researches in Assyria*, etc., p. 152 f.). H.

HA'RARITE, THE (הַהַרְרִי, perhaps = *the mountaineer*, Ges. *Thes.* p. 392: *de Arari*, or *Orori*, *Ararites*), the designation of three men connected with David's guard.

1. (ὁ Ἀρουχαῖος: [*de Arari.*]) "AGEE, a Hararite" (there is no article here in the Hebrew), father of Shammah, the third of the three chiefs of the heroes (2 Sam. xxiii. 11). In the parallel passage, 1 Chr. xi., the name of this warrior is entirely omitted.

2. (Ἀρωδίτης; [Vat. Alex. -δει-: *de Orori.*]) "SHAMMAH the Hararite" is named as one of the thirty in 2 Sam. xxiii. 33. In 1 Chr. xi. 34 [Ἀραρι: Vat.[1] Αραχει, 2. m. Αραρει: *Ararites*] the name is altered to Shage. Kennicott's conclusion, from a minute investigation, is that the passage should stand in both, "Jonathan son of Shammah the Hararite" — Shammah being identical with Shimei, David's brother.

3. (Σαραουρίτης, ὁ Ἀραρί [Vat. -ρει-, -ρει: *Arorites*, *Ararites.*]) "SHARAR (2 Sam. xxiii. 33) or SACAR (1 Chr. xi. 35) the Hararite" was the father of Ahiam, another member of the guard. Kennicott inclines to take Sacar as the correct name.

HARBO'NA (חַרְבוֹנָא [prob. Pers. *axe-driver*, Ges.]: Θαρρά, Alex. Οαρεβωα; [Comp. Χαρβωνά:] *Harbona*), the third of the seven chamberlains, or eunuchs, who served king Ahasuerus (Esth. i. 10), and who suggested Haman's being hung on his own gallows (vii. 9). In the latter passage the name is

HARBO'NAH (חַרְבוֹנָה [see above]: Βουγαθά; [FA.[1] Βουγαβα; Comp. Χαρβωνά: *Harbona*). [Written thus in Esth. vii. 9, but the same name as the foregoing. — H.]

HARE (אַרְנֶבֶת, *arnebeth*: δασύπους: *lepus*) occurs only in Lev. xi. 6 and Deut. xiv. 7, amongst the animals disallowed as food by the Mosaic law. There is no doubt at all that *arnebeth* denotes a hare; and in all probability the species *Lepus Sinaiticus*, which Ehrenberg and Hemprich (*Symb. Phys.*) mention as occurring in the valleys of Arabia Petræa and Mount Sinai, and *L. Syriacus*, which the same authors state is found in the Lebanon, are those which were best known to the ancient Hebrews; though there are other kinds of *Leporidæ*, as the *L. Ægyptius* and the *L. Æthiopicus*, if a distinct species from *L. Sinaiticus*, which are found in the Bible lands. The hare is at this day called *arneb* (أرنب) by the Arabs in Palestine and Syria (see Russell's *Nat. Hist. of Aleppo*, ii 154, 2d ed.). The δασύπους, *i. e.* "rough foot,"



Hare of Mount Sinai.

is identical with λαγώς, and is the term which Aristotle generally applies to the hare: indeed, he only uses the latter word once in his *History of Animals* (viii. 27, § 4). We are of opinion, as we have elsewhere stated [CONEY], that the rabbit (*L. cuniculus*) was unknown to the ancient Hebrews, at any rate in its wild state; nor does it appear to be at present known in Syria or Palestine as a native. It is doubtful whether Aristotle was acquainted with the rabbit, as he never alludes to any burrowing λαγώς or δασύπους; but, on the other hand, see the passage in vi. 28, § 3, where the young of the δασύπους are said to be "born



Hare of Mount Lebanon.

blind," which will apply to the rabbit alone. Pliny (*N. H.* viii. 55), expressly notices rabbits (*cuniculi*), which occur in such numbers in the Balearic Islands as to destroy the harvests. He also notices the

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practice of ferreting these animals, and thus driving them out of their burrows. In confirmation of Pliny's remarks, we may observe that there is a small island of the Balearic group called Conejera, *i. e.* in Spanish a "rabbit-warren," which at this day is abundantly stocked with these animals. The hare was erroneously thought by the ancient Jews to have chewed the cud, who were no doubt misled, as in the case of the *shâphân* (*Hyrax*), by the habit these animals have of moving the jaw about.

"Hares are so plentiful in the environs of Aleppo," says Dr. Russell (p. 158), "that it was no uncommon thing to see the gentlemen who went out a sporting twice a week return with four or five brace hung in triumph at the girths of the servants' horses." The Turks and the natives, he adds, do not eat the hare; but the Arabs, who have a peculiar mode of dressing it, are fond of its flesh. Hares are hunted in Syria with greyhound and falcon.

W. H.

HAR'EL (with the def. art. הָהַרְאֵל: τὸ ἀριήλ: *Ariel*). In the margin of Ez. xliii. 15 the word rendered "altar" in the text is given "Harel, *i. e.* the mountain of God." The LXX., Vulg., and Arab. evidently regarded it as the same with "Ariel" in the same verse. Our translators followed the Targum of Jonathan in translating it "altar." Junius explains it of the ἐσχάρα or hearth of the altar of burnt offering, covered by the network on which the sacrifices were placed over the burning wood. This explanation Gesenius adopts, and brings forward as a parallel the Arab. أرْيَل, *iriel*, "a hearth or fireplace," akin to the Heb. אוּר, *ûr*, "light, flame." Fürst (*Handw.* s. v.) derives it from an unused root הָרָא, *hârâ*, "to glow, burn," with the termination *-el*; but the only authority for the root is its presumed existence in the word *Harel*. Ewald (*Die Propheten des A. B.* ii. 373) identifies Harel and Ariel, and refers them both to a root אָרַר, *ârâh*, akin to אוּר, *ûr*.

W. A. W.

HA'REPH (חָרֵף [*plucking off*]: Ἀρείμ; [Vat. Αρειμ;] Alex. Αρει; [Comp. Ἀρήφ:] *Hariph*), a name occurring in the genealogies of Judah, as a son of Caleb, and as "father of Beth-gader" (1 Chr. ii. 51, only). In the lists of Ezr. ii. and Neh. vii. the similar name HARIPH is found; but nothing appears to establish a connection between the two.

HA'RETH, THE FOREST OF (יַעַר חָרֶת: ἐν πόλει[a] in both MSS. — reading עִיר for יַעַר — Σαρίκ; [Vat. Σαρεικ;] Alex. Ἀριάθ: [Comp. Χαρήθ:] *in saltum Haret*), in which David took refuge, after, at the instigation of the prophet Gad, he had quitted the "hold" or fastness of the cave of Adullam — if indeed it was Adullam and not Mizpeh of Moab, which is not quite clear (1 Sam. xxii. 5). Nothing appears in the narrative by which the position of this forest, which has long since disappeared, can be ascertained, except the very general remark that it was in the "land of Judah," *i. e.* according to Josephus, the inheritance proper of that tribe, τὴν κληρουχίαν τῆς φυλῆς, as opposed to the "desert," τὴν ἐρημίαν, in which he had before been lurking (*Ant.* vi. 12, § 4). We might take it to be the "wood" in the "wilderness of Ziph" in which he was subsequently hidden (xxiii. 15, 19), but that the Hebrew term is different (*choresh* instead of *yaar*). In the *Onomasticon*, "Arith" is said to have then existed west of Jerusalem.

HARHA'IAH [3 syl.] (חַרְהָיָה [*Jehovah is angry*]: Ἀραχίας; [Vat. Alex. FA. omit:] *Araia*). Uzziel son of Charhaiah, of the goldsmiths, assisted in the repair of the wall of Jerusalem under Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 8). [Some MSS. read חַרְחַיָּה = *Jehovah is a protection*, Fürst.]

HAR'HAS (חַרְחָס: Ἀράς; [Vat. Αραας:] *Araas*), an ancestor of Shallum the husband of Huldah, the prophetess in the time of Josiah (2 K. xxii. 14). In the parallel passage in Chronicles the name is given as HASRAH.

HAR'HUR (חַרְחוּר [root חָרַר, *to burn, shine*: hence *distinction*, Fürst: but Ges., *inflammation*]: Ἀρούρ; [in Neh., Vat. FA. Αρουμ:] *Harhur*). Bene-Charchur were among the Nethinim who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 51; Neh. vii. 53). In the Apocryphal Esdras the name has become ASSUR, PHARACIM.

HA'RIM (חָרִם [*flat-nosed*]). 1. (Χαρίβ; [Comp.] Alex. Χαρήμ: *Harim*), a priest who had charge of the third division in the house of God (1 Chr. xxiv. 8).

2. (Ἠρέμ, [Ἠράμ; in Neh. x. 5, Ἰράμ, Vat. Ειραμ;] Alex. Ἠράμ: [*Harim, Harem, Arem.*]) Bene-Harim, probably descendants of the above, to the number of 1017, came up from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 39; Neh. vii. 42). [CARME.] The name, probably as representing the family, is mentioned amongst those who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 5); and amongst the priests who had to put away their foreign wives were five of the sons of Harim (Ezr. x. 21). In the parallel to this latter passage in Esdras the name is given ANNAS.

3. (Ἀρέ; [Vat. Alex. FA[1] omit: *Haram.*]) It further occurs in a list of the families of priests "who went up with Zerubbabel and Jeshua," and of those who were their descendants in the next generation — in the days of Joiakim the son of Jeshua (Neh. xii. 15). In the former list (xii. 3) the name is changed to REHUM (רחם to חרם) by a not unfrequent transposition of letters. [REHUM.]

4. [Ἠράμ, exc. Ezr. ii. 32, Rom. Ἠλάμ; Neh. x. 27, Ald. Alex. Ῥεούμ: *Harim, Herem, Harem, Haran.*] Another family of Bene-Harim [sons of H.], three hundred and twenty in number, came from the Captivity in the same caravan (Ezr. ii. 32; Neh. vii. 35). These were laymen, and seem to have taken their name from a place, at least the contiguous names in the list are certainly those of places. These also appear among those who had married foreign wives (Ezr. x. 31), as well as those who sealed the covenant (Neh. x. 27). [EANES.]

HA'RIPH (חָרִיף [*autumnal rain*, Ges.; but Fürst, *one early-born, strong*]: Ἀρίφ; [Vat. Αρει;]

[a] The same reading is found in Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 12, § 4). This is one of three instances in this chapter alone in which the reading of Josephus departs from the Hebrew text, and agrees with the LXX.

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Alex Αρειμ, [Αριφ; FA. Αρειφ, Αρει·] *Hareph*), a hundred and twelve of the Bene-Chariph [sons of C.] returned from the Captivity with Zerubbabel (Neh. vii. 24). The name occurs again among the "heads of the people" who sealed the covenant (x. 19 [20 in Hebr.]). In the lists of Ezra and Esdras, Hariph appears as JORAH[a] and AZEPHURITH respectively. An almost identical name, Hareph [חָרֵף, *a plucking off*], appears in the lists of Judah [1 Chr. ii. 51] as the father of Bethgader [comp. HARUPHITE].

HARLOT (זוֹנָה, often with אִשָּׁה זָרָה, נָכְרִיָּה, קְדֵשָׁה). That this condition of persons existed in the earliest states of society is clear from Gen. xxxviii. 15. So Rahab (Josh. ii. 1), who is said by the Chaldee paraph. (*ad loc.*), to have been an innkeeper,[b] but if there were such persons, considering what we know of Canaanitish morals (Lev. xviii. 27), we may conclude that they would, if women, have been of this class. The law forbids (xix. 29) the father's compelling his daughter to sin, but does not mention it as a voluntary mode of life on her part without his complicity. It could indeed hardly be so. The isolated act which is the subject of Deut. xxii. 28, 29, is not to the purpose. Male relatives[c] were probably allowed a practically unlimited discretion in punishing family dishonor incurred by their women's unchastity (Gen. xxxviii. 24). The provision of Lev. xxi. 9, regarding the priest's daughter, may have arisen from the fact of his home being less guarded owing to his absence when ministering, as well as from the scandal to sanctity so involved. Perhaps such abominations might, if not thus severely marked, lead the way to the excesses of Gentile ritualistic fornication, to which indeed, when so near the sanctuary, they might be viewed as approximating (Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, art. 268). Yet it seems to be assumed that the harlot class would exist, and the prohibition of Deut. xxiii. 18, forbidding offerings from the wages of such sin, is perhaps due to the contagion of heathen example, in whose worship practices abounded which the Israelites were taught to abhor. The term קְדֵשָׁה (meaning properly "consecrated") points to one description of persons, and נָכְרִיָּה ("strange woman") to another, of whom this class mostly consisted. The first term refers to the impure worship of the Syrian[d] Astarte (Num. xxv. 1; comp. Herod. i. 199; Justin, xviii. 5; Strabo, viii. p. 378, xii. p. 559; Val. Max. ii. 6, 15; August. *de Civ. Dei*, iv. 4), whose votaries, as idolatry progressed, would be recruited from the daughters of Israel; hence the common mention of both these sins in the Prophets, the one indeed being a metaphor of the other (Is. i. 21, lvii. 8; Jer. ii. 20; comp. Ex. xxxiv. 15, 16; Jer. iii. 1, 2, 3; Ez. xvi. xxiii.; Hos. i. 2, ii. 4, 5, iv. 11, 13, 14, 15, v. 3). The latter class would grow up with the growth of great cities and of foreign intercourse, and hardly could enter into the view of the Mosaic institutes. As regards the fashions involved in the practice, similar outward marks seem to have attended its earliest forms to those which we trace in the classical writers, *e. g.* a distinctive dress and a seat by the way-side (Gen. xxxviii. 14; comp. Ez. xvi. 16, 25; Bar. vi. 43 [or Epist. of Jer. 43];[e] Petron. Arb. *Sat.* xvi.; Juv. vi. 118 foll.; Dougtæi *Analect. Sacr.* Exc. xxiv.). Public singing in the streets occurs also (Is. xxiii. 16; Ecclus. ix. 4). Those who thus published their infamy were of the worst repute, others had houses of resort, and both classes seem to have been known among the Jews (Prov. vii. 8–12, xxiii. 28; Ecclus. ix. 7, 8); the two women, 1 K. iii. 16, lived as Greek hetæræ sometimes did, in a house together (*Dict. Gr. and Rom. Ant.* s. v. *Hetæra*). The baneful fascination ascribed to them in Prov. vii. 21–23 may be compared with what Chardin says of similar effects among the young nobility of Persia (*Voyages en Perse*, i. 163, ed. 1711), as also may Luke xv. 30, for the sums lavished on them (*ib.* 162). In earlier times the price of a kid is mentioned (Gen. xxxviii.), and great wealth doubtless sometimes accrued to them (Ez. xvi. 33, 39, xxiii. 26). But lust, as distinct from gain, appears as the inducement in Prov. vii. 14, 15 (see Dougtæi *Anal. Sacr.* ad loc.), where the victim is further allured by a promised sacrificial banquet (comp. Ter. *Eun.* iii. 3). The "harlots" are classed with "publicans," as those who lay under the ban of society in the N. T. (Matt. xxi. 32). No doubt they multiplied with the increase of polygamy, and consequently lowered the estimate of marriage. The corrupt practices imported by Gentile converts into the Church occasion most of the other passages in which allusions to the subject there occur, 1 Cor. v. 1, 9, 11; 2 Cor. xii. 21; 1 Thess. iv. 3; 1 Tim. i. 10. The decree, Acts xv. 29, has occasioned doubts as to the meaning of πορνεία there, chiefly from its context, which may be seen discussed at length in Deyling's *Observ. Sacr.* ii. 470, foll.; Schoettgen, *Hor. Hebr.* i. 468; Spencer and Hammond, *ad loc.* The simplest sense however seems the most probable. The children of such persons were held in contempt, and could not exercise privileges nor inherit (John viii. 41; Deut. xxiii. 2; Judg. xi. 1, 2). On the general subject Michaelis's *Laws of Moses*, bk. v. art. 268; Selden, *de Ux. Heb.* i. 16. iii. 12, and *de Jur. Natur.* v. 4, together with Schoettgen, and the authorities there quoted, may be consulted.

The words וְהַזֹּנוֹת רָחֲצוּ, A. V. "and they washed his armor" (1 K. xxii. 38) should be "and the harlots washed," which is not only the natural rendering, but in accordance with the LXX. and Josephus. H. H.

HARNEPHER (חֲרְנֵפֶר [etym. uncertain]: Ἀρναφάρ; [Vat. corrupt:] *Harnapher*), one of the sons of Zophah, of the tribe of Asher (1 Chr. vii. 36).

HAROD, THE WELL OF (accur. *the*

[a] Jorah (יוֹרָה, *first* or *early rain*) is simply = Hariph, if the latter means (see above) the early rain which begins to fall in Palestine about the middle of October.

[b] Deyling, *Observ. Sacr.* ii. 476, קוֹנְדְקִירִיא, *c. vasbocinatrix*.

[c] Philo (*Lib. de spec. Legib.* 6, 7) contends that whoredom was punished under the Mosaic law with stoning; but this is, by Selden (*de Ux. Heb.* iii. 18), shown to be unfounded.

[d] So at Corinth were 1000 ἱεροδοῦλοι dedicated to Aphrodite and the gross sins of her worship, and similarly at Comana, in Armenia (Strabo, *ll. cc.*).

[e] Αὗται αἱ γυναῖκες ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τοὺς παρίοντας ξυναρπάζουσι (Theophr. *Char.* xxviii.). So Catullus (Carm. xxxvii. 16) speaks conversely of *semitarbi machi*.

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spring of Charod [i. e. of trembling], עֵין חֲרֹד: πηγὴ Ἀρράθ, Alex. την γην Ιαερ: fons qui vocatur Harad), a spring by (עַל) which Gideon and his great army encamped on the morning of the day which ended in the rout of the Midianites (Judg. vii. 1), and where the trial of the people by their mode of drinking apparently took place. The word, slightly altered, recurs in the proclamation to the host: "Whosoever is fearful and trembling (חָרֵד, *chared*) let him return" (ver. 3): but it is impossible to decide whether the name Charod was, as Prof. Stanley proposes, bestowed on account of the trembling, or whether the mention of the trembling was suggested by the previously existing name of the fountain: either would suit the paronomastic vein in which these ancient records so delight. The word *chared* (A. V. "was afraid") recurs in the description of another event which took place in this neighborhood, possibly at this very spot — Saul's last encounter with the Philistines — when he "was afraid, and his heart trembled greatly," at the sight of their fierce hosts (1 Sam. xxviii. 5). The *'Ain Jalûd*, with which Prof. Stanley would identify Harod (*S. & P.*) is very suitable to the circumstances, as being at present the largest spring in the neighborhood, and as forming a pool of considerable size, at which great numbers might drink (Rob. ii. 323). But if at that time so copious, would it not have been seized by the Midianites before Gideon's arrival? However, if the *'Ain Jalûd* be not this spring, we are very much in the dark, since the "hill of Moreh," the only landmark afforded us (vii. 1), has not been recognized. The only hill of Moreh of which we have any certain knowledge was by Shechem, 25 miles to the south. If *'Ain Jalûd* be Harod, then *Jebel Duhy* must be Moreh.

It is quite possible that the name *Jalûd* is a corruption of Harod. In that case it is a good example of the manner in which local names acquire a new meaning in passing from one language to another. Harod itself probably underwent a similar process after the arrival of the Hebrews in Canaan, and the paronomastic turn given to Gideon's speech, as above, may be an indication of the change. G.

HA'RODITE, THE (הַחֲרֹדִי [patronym., see below]: ὁ Ῥουδαῖος; Alex. ὁ Αρουδαιος, [ὁ Αρωδαιος:] *de Harodi*), the designation of two of the thirty-seven warriors of David's guard, SHAMMAH and ELIKA (2 Sam. xxiii. 25), doubtless derived from a place named Harod, either that just spoken of or some other. In the parallel passage of Chronicles by a change of letter the name appears as HARORITE.

HARO'EH (הָרֹאֶה, *i. e.* ha-Roeh = *the seer*: Αρααδ [Vat. corrupt]), a name occurring in the genealogical lists of Judah as one of the sons of "Shobal, father of Kirjath-jearim" (1 Chr. ii. 52). The Vulg. translates this and the following words, "qui videbat dimidium requietionum." A somewhat similar name — REAIAH — is given in v. 2 as the son of Shobal, but there is nothing to establish the identity of the two.

HA'RORITE, THE (הַחֲרוּרִי [see HARODITE]: ὁ Αρωρί; [Vat. FA. ο Αδι;] Alex. Ἀδδι: *Ararites*), the title given to SHAMMOTH, one of the warriors of David's guard (1 Chr. xi. 27). We have here an example of the minute discrepancies which exist between these two parallel lists. In this case it appears to have arisen from an exchange of ד, D, for ר, R, and that at a very early date, since the LXX. is in agreement with the present Hebrew text. But there are other differences, for which see SHAMMAH.

HARO'SHETH (חֲרֹשֶׁת, *Charósheth* [*working in wood, stone, etc.*, Ges.; or *city of crafts, of artificial work*, Fürst]: Αρισώθ; [Vat. Αρεισωθ; Alex. Ασειρωθ, in ver. 16, δρυμου:] *Haroseth*), or rather "Harosheth of the Gentiles," as it was called (probably for the same reason that Galilee was afterwards), from the mixed races that inhabited it, a city in the north of the land of Canaan, supposed to have stood on the west coast of the lake Merom (*el-Hûleh*), from which the Jordan issues forth in one unbroken stream, and in the portion of the tribe of Naphtali. It was the residence of Sisera, captain of Jabin, king of Canaan (Judg. iv. 2), whose capital, Hazor, one of the fenced cities assigned to the children of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 36), lay to the northwest of it; and it was the point to which the victorious Israelites under Barak pursued the discomfited host and chariots of the second potentate of that name (Judg. iv. 16). Probably from intermarriage with the conquered Canaanites, the name of Sisera became afterwards a family name (Ezr. ii. 53). Neither is it irrelevant to allude to this coincidence in connection with the moral effects of this decisive victory; for Hazor, once "the head of all those kingdoms" (Josh. xi. 6, 10), had been taken and burnt by Joshua; its king, Jabin I., put to the sword; and the whole confederation of the Canaanites of the north broken and slaughtered in the celebrated battle of the waters of Merom (Josh. xi. 5–14) — the first time that "chariots and horses" appear in array against the invading host, and are so summarily disposed of, according to Divine command, under Joshua; but which subsequently the children of Joseph feared to face in the valley of Jezreel (Josh. xvii. 16–18); and which Judah actually failed before in the Philistine plain (Judg. i. 19). Herein was the great difficulty of subduing plains, similar to that of the Jordan, beside which Harosheth stood. It was not till the Israelites had asked for and obtained a king, that they began "to multiply chariots and horses" to themselves, contrary to the express words of the law (Deut. xvii. 16), as it were to fight the enemy with his own weapons. (The first instance occurs 2 Sam. viii. 4, comp. 1 Chr. xviii. 4; next in the histories of Absalom, 2 Sam. xv. 1, and of Adonijah, 1 K. i. 5; while the climax was reached under Solomon, 1 K. iv. 26.) And then it was that their decadence set in! They were strong in faith when they hamstrung the horses and burned the chariots with fire of the kings of Hazor, of Madon, of Shimron, and of Achshaph (Josh. xi. 1). And yet so rapidly did they decline when their illustrious leader was no more, that the city of Hazor had risen from its ruins; and in contrast to the kings of Mesopotamia and of Moab (Judg. iii.), who were both of them foreign potentates, another Jabin, the territory of whose ancestors had been assigned to the tribe of Naphtali, claimed the distinction of being the first to revolt against and shake off the dominion of Israel in his newly acquired inheritance. But the victory won by

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Deborah and Barak was well worthy of the song of triumph which it inspired (Judg. v.), and of the proverbial celebrity which ever afterwards attached to it (Ps. lxxxiii. 9, 10). The whole territory was gradually won back, to be held permanently, as it would seem (Judg. iv. 24); at all events we hear nothing more of Hazor, Harosheth, or the Canaanites of the north, in the succeeding wars.

The site of Harosheth does not appear to have been identified by any modern traveller.

E. S. Ff.

* Dr. Thomson (*Land and Book*, ii. 143) supposes Harosheth to be the high *Tell* called *Harothieh*, near the base of Carmel, where the Kishon flows along toward the sea. "I have no doubt," he says, "of this identification." A castle there would guard the pass along the Kishon into the plain of Esdraelon, and the ruins still found on this "enormous double mound" show that a strong fortress must have stood here in former times. A village of the same name occurs higher up on the other side of the river, and hence somewhat nearer the scene of the Deborah-Barak battle. This writer says that *Harothieh* is the Arabic form of the Hebrew Harosheth, and (according to his view of the direction of the flight) lies directly in the way of the retreat of Sisera's forces. It is about eight miles from Megiddo, and in the neighborhood of Accho (*'Akka*), and hence exactly in the region where the Gentile "nations," to which Harosheth belonged, still dwelt and were powerful; for we learn from Judg. i. 31 that the Hebrews had been unable to drive them out from that part of the country.

En-dor is mentioned (Ps. lxxxiii. 10) as a place of slaughter on this occasion. Hence, Stanley, in his graphic sketch (*Jewish Church*, i. 359), represents the Canaanites as escaping in the opposite direction, through the eastern branch of the plain, and thence onward to Harosheth, supposed by him to be among the northern hills of Galilee. En-dor was not far from Tabor (the modern village is distinctly visible from its top), and in that passage of the Psalmist it may be named as a vague designation of the battle-field, while possibly those who "perished at En-dor" were some of the fugitives driven in that direction, about whose destruction there was something remarkable, as known by some tradition not otherwise preserved. H.

HARP (כִּנּוֹר, *Kinnor*), in Greek κιννύρα or κινύρα, from the Hebrew word, the sound of which corresponds with the thing signified, like the German *knarren*, "to produce a shrill tone" (Liddell and Scott). Gesenius inclines to the opinion that כִּנּוֹר is derived from כָּנַר, "an unused onomatopoetic root, which means to give forth a tremulous and stridulous sound, like that of a string when touched." The *kinnor* was the national instrument of the Hebrews, and was well known throughout Asia. There can be little doubt that it was the earliest instrument with which man was acquainted, as the writer of the Pentateuch assigns its invention, together with that of the עוּגָב, *Ugab*, incorrectly translated "organ" in the A. V., to the antediluvian period (Gen. iv. 21). Dr. Kalisch (*Hist. and Crit. Com. on the Old Test.*) considers *Kinnor* to stand for the whole class of stringed instruments (*Neginoth*), as *Ugab*, says he, "is the type of all wind instruments." Writers who connect the κινύρα with κινυρός (wailing), κινύεσθαι (I lament), conjecture that this instrument was only employed by the Greeks on occasions of sorrow and distress. If this were the case with the Greeks it was far different with the Hebrews, amongst whom the *kinnor* served as an accompaniment to songs of cheerfulness and mirth as well as of praise and thanksgiving to the Supreme Being (Gen. xxxi. 27; 1 Sam. xvi. 23; 2 Chr xx. 28; Ps xxxiii. 2), and was very rarely



Egyptian harp. (Champollion.)

used, if ever, in times of private or national affliction. The Jewish bard finds no employment for the *kinnor* during the Babylonian Captivity, but describes it as put aside or suspended on the willows (Ps. cxxxvii. 2); and in like manner Job's harp "is changed into mourning" (xxx. 31), whilst the hand of grief pressed heavily upon him. The passage "my bowels shall sound like a harp for



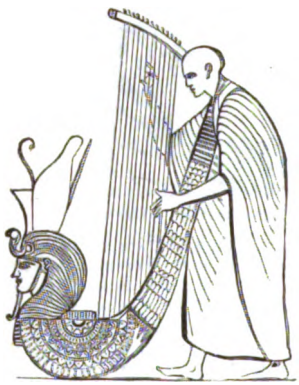
Assyrian harps. (Nineveh marbles.)

Moab" (Is. xvi. 11) has impressed some Biblical critics with the idea that the *kinnor* had a lugubrious sound; but this is an error, since ככנור יהמו refers to the *vibration of the chords* and not to the sound of the instrument (Gesen. and Hitzig, in *Comment.*).

Touching the shape of the *kinnor* a great difference of opinion prevails. The author of *Shilte Haggibborim* describes it as resembling the modern harp; Pfeiffer gives it the form of a guitar; and St. Jerome declares it to have resembled in shape

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the Greek letter delta; and this last view is supported by Hieronymus, quoted by Joel Brill in the preface to *Mendelssohn's Psalms*. Josephus records (*Antiq.* vii. 12, § 3) that the *kinnor* had ten strings, and that it was played on with the plectrum; others assign to it twenty-four, and in the *Shilte Haggibborim* it is said to have had forty-seven. Josephus's statement, however, ought not to be received as conclusive, as it is in open contradiction to what is set forth in the 1st book of Samuel (xvi. 23, xviii. 10), that David played on the *kinnor* with his *hand*. As it is reasonable to suppose that there was a smaller and a larger *kinnor*, inasmuch as it was sometimes played by the Israelites whilst walking (1 Sam. x. 5), the opinion of Munk — "on jouait peut-être des deux manières, suivant les dimensions de l'instrument" — is well



Egyptian harps. (From the tomb at Thebes, called Belzoni's.)

entitled to consideration. The Talmud (*Mass. Beracoth*) has preserved a curious tradition to the effect that over the bed of David, facing the north, a *kinnor* was suspended, and that when at midnight the north wind touched the chords they vibrated and produced musical sounds.

The כנור על השמינית — "harp on the Sheminith" (1 Chr. xv. 21) — was so called from its eight strings. Many learned writers, including the author of *Shilte Haggibborim*, identify the word "Sheminith" with the octave; but it would indeed be rash to conclude that the ancient Hebrews understood the octave in the sense in which it is employed in modern times. [SHEMINITH.] The skill of the Jews on the *kinnor* appears to have reached its highest point of perfection in the age of David, the effect of whose performances, as well as of those by the members of the "Schools of the Prophets," are described as truly marvelous (comp. 1 Sam. x. 5, xvi. 23, and xix. 20).

D. W. M.

HARROW. The word so rendered 2 Sam. xii. 31, 1 Chr. xx. 3 (חָרִיץ) is probably a threshing-machine, the verb rendered "to harrow" (שָׂדַד), Is. xxviii. 24; Job xxxix. 10; Hos. x. 11, expresses apparently the breaking of the clods, and is so far analogous to our harrowing, but whether done by any such machine as we call "a harrow," is very doubtful. In modern Palestine, oxen are sometimes turned in to trample the clods, and in some parts of Asia a bush of thorns is dragged over the surface, but all these processes, if used, occur (not after, but) before the seed is committed to the soil. [See AGRICULTURE.] H. H.

HARSHA (חַרְשָׁא [*deaf*, Ges. 6te Aufl.; see Fürst]: Ἀρσά; [Ἀδασάν; in Ezr., Vat. Ἀρσα:] *Harsa*). Bene-Charsha [sons of C.] were among the families of Nethinim who came back from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 52; Neh. vii. 54). In the parallel list in Esdras the name is CHAREA.

HART (אַיָּל: ἔλαφος: *cervus*). The hart is reckoned among the clean animals (Deut. xii. 15, xiv. 5, xv. 22), and seems, from the passages quoted as well as from 1 K. iv. 23, to have been commonly killed for food. Its activity furnishes an apt comparison in Is. xxxv. 6, though in this respect the hind was more commonly selected by the sacred writers. In Ps. xlii. 1 the feminine termination of the verb renders an emendation necessary: we must therefore substitute the hind; and again in Lam. i. 6 the true reading is אֵילִים, "rams" (as given in the LXX. and Vulg.). The proper name Ajalon is derived from *ayyal*, and implies that harts were numerous in the neighborhood. W. L. B.

The Heb. masc. noun *ayyal* (אַיָּל), which is always rendered ἔλαφος by the LXX., denotes, there can be no doubt, some species of *Cervida* (deer tribe), either the *Dama vulgaris*, fallow-deer, or the *Cervus Barbarus*, the Barbary deer, the southern representative of the European stag (*C. elaphus*), which occurs in Tunis and the coast of Barbary. We have, however, no evidence to show that the Barbary deer ever inhabited Palestine, though there is no reason why it may not have done so in primitive times. Hasselquist (*Trav.*



Barbary deer.

p. 211) observed the fallow-deer on Mount Tabor. Sir G. Wilkinson says (*Anc. Egypt.* p. 227, 8vo ed.), "The stag with branching horns figured at Beni Hassan is also unknown in the valley of the

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Nile; but it is still seen in the vicinity of the Natron lakes, as about Tunis, though not in the desert between the river and the Red Sea." This is doubtless the *Cervus Barbarus*.

Most of the deer tribe are careful to conceal their calves after birth for a time. May there not be some allusion to this circumstance in Job xxxix. 1, "Canst thou mark when the hinds do calve?" etc. Perhaps, as the LXX. uniformly renders *ayyal* by ἔλαφος, we may incline to the belief that the *Cervus Barbarus* is the deer denoted. The feminine noun אַיָּלָה, *ayyâlâh*, occurs frequently in the O. T. For the Scriptural allusions see under HIND. W. H.

* The word أَيِّل in Arabic is not confined to any particular species, but is as general as our word *deer*. It in fact applies as well to the mountain goat وَعِل. G. E. P.

HA'RUM (חָרֻם [*elevated, lofty*]: Ἰαρίν; [Vat.] Alex. Ἰαρειμ: *Arum*). A name occurring in one of the most obscure portions of the genealogies of Judah, in which Coz is said to have begotten "the families of Aharhel son of Harum" (1 Chr. iv. 8).

HARU'MAPH (חֲרוּמָף [*slit-nosed*, Ges.]: Ἐρωμάφ; [Vat. Ερωμαβ:] *Haromaph*), father or ancestor of Jedaiah, who assisted in the repair of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 10).

HARU'PHITE, THE (הַחֲרֻפִי [patronym., see *Hariph*]: ὁ Χαραιφίηλ; [Vat. FA. φειηλ; Ald.] Alex. Ἀρουφί: [*Haruphites*]), the designation of Shephatiahu, one of the Korhites who repaired to David at Ziklag when he was in distress (1 Chr. xii. 5). The Masorets read the word Hariphite, and point it accordingly, חֲרִיפִי.

HA'RUZ (חָרוּץ [*zealous, active*]: Ἀρούς: *Harus*), a man of Jotbah, father of Meshullemeth, queen of Manasseh, and mother of AMON king of Judah (2 K. xxi. 19).

HARVEST. [AGRICULTURE.]

HASADI'AH (חֲסַדְיָה [*whom Jehovah loves*]: Ἀσαβία: *Hasadia*), one of a group of five persons among the descendants of the royal line of Judah (1 Chr. iii. 20), apparently sons of Zerubbabel, the leader of the return from Babylon. It has been conjectured that this latter half of the family was born after the restoration, since some of the names, and amongst them this one — "beloved of Jehovah," appear to embody the hopeful feeling of that time. [ASADIAS.]

HASENU'AH (הַסְּנוּאָה, *i. e.* has-Senuah [*the hated*]; Ἀσινού; [Vat. Ασνα;] Alex. Ασανα: *Asana*), a Benjamite, of one of the chief families in the tribe (1 Chr. ix. 7). The name is really Senuah, with the definite article prefixed.

HASHABI'AH (חֲשַׁבְיָה, and with final ה, חֲשַׁבְיָהוּ; Ἀσαβίας, [Ἀσαβία, Ασεβίας,] Ασεβία, [etc.:] *Hasabias*, [*Hasabia, Hasebias*,] *Hasebia*), a name signifying "regarded of Jehovah," much in request among the Levites, especially at the date of the return from Babylon.

1. A Merarite Levite, son of Amaziah, in the line of Ethan the singer (1 Chr. vi. 45; Heb. 30)

2. Another Merarite Levite (1 Chr. ix. 14).

3. CHASHABIA'HU: another Levite, the fourth of the six sons of Jeduthun (the sixth is omitted here, but is supplied in ver. 17), who played the harp in the service of the house of God under David's order (1 Chr. xxv. 3), and had charge of the twelfth course (19).

4. CHASHABIA'HU: one of the Hebronites, *i. e.* descendants of Hebron the son of Kohath, one of the chief families of the Levites (1 Chr. xxvi. 30) He and the 1,700 men of his kindred had superintendence for King David over business both sacred and secular on the west[a] of Jordan. Possibly this is the same person as

5. The son of Kemuel, who was "prince" (שַׂר) of the tribe of Levi in the time of David (1 Chr. xxvii. 17).

6. CHASHABIA'HU: another Levite, one of the "chiefs" (שָׂרֵי) of his tribe, who officiated for King Josiah at his great passover-feast (2 Chr. xxxv. 9). In the parallel account of 1 Esdras the name appears as ASSABIAS.

7. A Merarite Levite who accompanied Ezra from Babylon (Ezr. viii. 19). In 1 Esdras the name is ASEBIA.

8. One of the chiefs of the priests (and therefore of the family of Kohath) who formed part of the same caravan (Ezr. viii. 24). In 1 Esdras the name is ASSANIAS.

9. "Ruler" (שַׂר) of half the circuit or environs (פֶּלֶךְ) of Keilah; he repaired a portion of the wall of Jerusalem under Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 17).

10. One of the Levites who sealed the covenant of reformation after the return from the Captivity (Neh. x. 11). Probably this is the person named as one of the "chiefs" (רָאשֵׁי) of the Levites in the times immediately subsequent to the return from Babylon (xii. 24; comp. 26).

11. Another Levite, son of Bunni (Neh. xi. 15). Notwithstanding the remarkable correspondence between the lists in this chapter and those in 1 Chr. ix. — and in none more than in this verse compared with 1 Chr. ix. 14 — it does not appear that they can be identical, inasmuch as this relates to the times after the Captivity, while that in Chronicles refers to the original establishment of the ark at Jerusalem by David, and of the tabernacle (comp 19, 21, and the mention of Gibeon, where the tabernacle was at this time, in ver. 35). But see NEHEMIAH.

12. Another Levite in the same list of attendants on the Temple; son of Mattaniah (Neh. xi. 22).

13. A priest of the family of Hilkiah in the days of Joiakim son of Jeshua, that is in the generation after the return from the Captivity (Neh. xii 21; comp. 1, 10, 26).

HASHAB'NAH (חַשַׁבְנָה [see *supra*]: [Ἐσαβανά; Alex. Εσαβανα, and so Vat. FA.,

[a] This is one of the instances in which the word עֵבֶר (beyond) is used for the west side of Jordan. To remove the anomaly, our translators have rendered it "on this side."

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exc. the wrong division of words:] *Hasebna*), one of the chief ("heads") of the "people" (*i. e.* the laymen) who sealed the covenant at the same time with Nehemiah (Neh. x 25).

HASHABNI'AH (חֲשַׁבְנִיָה [*whom Jehovah regards*]: Ἀσαβανία; [Vat. Ασαβανεαμ;] Alex. Ασβανια; [FA. Ασβενεαμ:] *Hasebonia*). 1. Father of Hattush, who repaired part of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 10).

2. [*Hasebnia.*] A Levite who was among those who officiated at the great fast under Ezra and Nehemiah when the covenant was sealed (Neh. ix. 5). This and several other names are omitted in both MSS. of the LXX.

HASHBAD'ANA (חַשְׁבַּדָּנָה [*intelligence in judging*, Gesen.]: Ἀσαβαδμά; [Vat. FA.[1] omit; Alex. Ασαβααμα:] *Hasbadana*), one of the men (probably Levites) who stood on Ezra's left hand while he read the law to the people in Jerusalem (Neh. viii. 4).

HA'SHEM (הָשֵׁם [perh. *fat, rich*, Ges.]: Ἀσάμ; [Vat. FA. corrupt: *Assem*]). The sons of Hashem the Gizonite are named amongst the members of David's guard in the catalogue of 1 Chr. (xi. 34.) In the parallel list of 2 Sam. xxiii. we find "of the sons of Jashen, Jonathan." After a lengthened examination, Kennicott decides that the text of both passages originally stood "of the sons of Hashem, Guni" (*Dissertation*, pp. 198–203).

HASHMAN'NIM (חַשְׁמַנִּים: πρέσβεις: *legati*). This word occurs only in the Hebrew of Ps. lxviii. 31: "Hashmannim (A. V. "princes") shall come out of Egypt, Cush shall make her hands to hasten to God." In order to render this word "princes," or the like, modern Hebraists have had recourse to extremely improbable derivations from the Arabic. The old derivation from the civil name of Hermopolis Magna in the Heptanomis, preserved in the modern Arabic أشمونين, "the two Ashmoons," seems to us more reasonable. The ancient Egyptian name is Ha-shmen or Ha-shmoon, the abode of eight; the sound of the signs for eight, however, we take alone from the Coptic, and Brugsch reads them Sesennu (*Geog. Inschr.* i. pp. 219, 220), but not, as we think, on conclusive grounds. The Coptic form is ϣⲙⲟⲩⲛ ϐ, "the two Shmoons," like the Arabic. If we suppose that Hashmannim is a proper name and signifies Hermopolites, the mention might be explained by the circumstance that Hermopolis Magna was the great city of the Egyptian Hermes, Thoth, the god of wisdom; and the meaning might therefore be that even the wisest Egyptians should come to the temple, as well as the distant Cushites. R. S. P.

HASHMO'NAH (חַשְׁמֹנָה [*fruitfulness*]: Σελμωνᾶ; Alex. Ασελμωνα: *Hesmona*), a station of the Israelites, mentioned Num. xxxiii. 29, as next before Moseroth, which, from xx. 28 and Deut. x. 6, was near Mount Hor; this tends to indicate the locality of Hashmonah. H. H.

HA'SHUB (חַשִּׁיב, *i. e.* Chashub [*associate, friend*, or *intelligent*]: Ἀσούβ: *Asub*). The reduplication of the Sh has been overlooked in the A. V., and the name is identical with that elsewhere correctly given as HASSHUB.

1. A son of Pahath-Moab who assisted in the repair of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 23).

2. Another man who assisted in the same work but at another part of the wall (Neh. iii. 11).

3. [Vat. FA. Ασουθ.] The name is mentioned again among the heads of the "people" (that is the laymen) who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 23). It may belong to either of the foregoing.

4. [Rom. omits; Vat. Alex. FA. Ασουβ.] A Merarite Levite (Neh. xi. 15). In 1 Chr. ix. 14 he appears again as HASSHUB.

HASHU'BAH (חֲשֻׁבָה [*esteemed*, or *associated*]: Ἀσουβέ; Alex. Ασεβα: *Hasuba*), the first of a group of five men, apparently the latter half of the family of Zerubbabel (1 Chr. iii. 20). For a suggestion concerning these persons, see HASADIAH.

HA'SHUM (חָשֻׁם [*rich, distinguished*]: Ἀσούμ, Ἀσάμ [*etc.*: *Hasum, Hasom, Hasem*]).

1. Bene-Chashum, two hundred and twenty-three in number, came back from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 19; Neh. vii. 22). Seven men of them had married foreign wives from whom they had to separate (Ezr. x. 33). The chief man of the family was among those who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 18). [In 1 Esdr. ix. 33 the name is ASOM.]

2. (Ἀσάμ; [Vat. FA.[1] omit:] *Asum.*) The name occurs amongst the priests or Levites who stood on Ezra's left hand while he read the law to the congregation (Neh. viii. 4). In 1 Esdr. ix. 44 the name is given corruptly as LOTHASUBUS.

HASHU'PHA (חֲשֻׁפָא [*uncovered*]: Ἀσφά; [Alex. FA. Ασειφα: *Hasupha*]), one of the families of Nethinim who returned from captivity in the first caravan (Neh. vii. 46). The name is accurately HASUPHA, as in Ezr. ii. 43. [ASIPHA.]

HAS'RAH (חַסְרָה [perh. *splendor*, Fürst]: Ἀράς; [Vat. Χελλης;] Alex. Εσσερη: *Hasra*), the form in which the name HARHAS is given in 2 Chr. xxxiv. 22 (comp. 2 K. xxii. 14).

HASSENA'AH (חַסְנָאָה [*the thorn-hedge*, Fürst]: Ἀσανά; [Vat. Ασαν; FA. Ασανα:] *Asnaa*). The Bene-has-sensah [sons of Hassensah] rebuilt the fish-gate in the repair of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 3). The name is doubtless that of the place mentioned in Ezr. ii. 35, and Neh. vii. 38 — SENAAH, with the addition of the definite article. Perhaps it has some connection with the rock or cliff SENEH (1 Sam. xiv. 4).

HAS'SHUB (חַשּׁוּב [*intelligent, knowing* Ges.]: Ἀσούβ: *Hassub*), a Merarite Levite (1 Chr. ix. 14). He appears to be mentioned again in Neh. xi. 15, in what may be a repetition of the same genealogy; but here the A. V. have given the name as HASHUB.

HASU'PHA (חֲשֻׂפָא [*uncovered, naked*]: Ασουφά; [Vat. Ασουφε:] *Hasupha*). Bene-Chasûpha [sons of C.] were among the Nethinim who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 43). In Nehemiah the name is inaccurately given in the A. V. [as in the Genevan version] HASHUPHA; in Esdras it is ASIPHA.

HAT. [HEAD-DRESS, at the end of the art.]

HA'TACH (הֲתָךְ [Pers. *eunuch*, Gesen.] Ἀχραθαῖος; Alex. [ver. 5,] Αχραθεος; [ver. 9

with FA.[1], Αχθραβαιος; Comp. 'Αθάχ:] *Athach*), one of the eunuchs (A. V. "chamberlains") in the court of Ahasuerus, in immediate attendance on Esther (Esth. iv. 5, 6, 9, 10). The LXX. alter ver. 5 to *τὸν εὐνοῦχον αὐτῆς*.

HA'THATH (חֲתָת [*fearful*]: 'Αθάθ: *Hathat*), a man in the genealogy of Judah; one of the sons of Othniel the Kenazite, the well-known judge of Israel (1 Chr. iv. 13).

HATI'PHA (חֲטִיפָא [*seized, captive*]: 'Ατουφά, 'Ατιφά; [in Ezr., Alex. Ατιφα; in Neh., Vat. Alex. FA. Ατειφα:] *Hatipha*). Bene-Chatipha [sons of C.] were among the Nethinim who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 54; Neh. vii. 56). [ATIPHA.]

HATI'TA (חֲטִיטָא [*digging, exploring*]: 'Ατιτά; [in Ezr., Vat. Ατηρα; in Neh., Vat. FA. Ατειτα:] *Hatita*). Bene-Chatita [sons of C.] were among the "porters" or "children of the porters" (הַשֹּׁעֲרִים, *i. e.* the gate-keepers), a division of the Levites who returned from the Captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 42; Neh. vii. 45). In Esdras the name is abbreviated to TETA.

HATTIL (חַטִּיל [*wavering*, or *decaying*]: 'Ατίλ, 'Ετθήλ; Alex. Αττιλ, [Ετηλ; in Ezr., Vat. Ατεια; in Neh., Vat. FA. Εγηλ:] *Hatil*). Bene-Chattil [sons of C.] were among the "children of Solomon's slaves" who came back from captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 57; Neh. vii. 59). [HAGIA.]

HATTUSH (חַטּוּשׁ [prob. *assembled*, Ges.; *contemner*, Fürst]: Χαττούς, 'Αττούς, [etc.:] *Hattus*). 1. A descendant of the kings of Judah, apparently one of the "sons of Shechaniah" (1 Chr. iii. 22), in the fourth or fifth generation from Zerubbabel. A person of the same name, expressly specified as one of the "sons of David of the sons of Shechaniah," accompanied Ezra on his journey from Babylon to Jerusalem (Ezr. viii. 2), whither Zerubbabel himself had also come only seventy or eighty years before (Ezr. ii. 1, 2). Indeed, in another statement Hattush is said to have actually returned with Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 2). At any rate he took part in the sealing of the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 4). To obviate the discrepancy between these last-mentioned statements and the interval between Hattush and Zerubbabel in 1 Chr. iii., Lord A. Hervey proposes to read the genealogy in that chapter as if he were the nephew of Zerubbabel, Shemaiah in ver. 22 being taken as identical with Shimei in ver. 19. For these proceedings the reader is referred to Lord Hervey's *Genealogies*, pp. 103, 307, 322, &c. [LETTUS; SHECHANIAH.]

2. ('Αττούθ [Vat. FA. Ατουθ; Alex. αυτους; Comp. 'Αττούς.]) Son of Hashabniah; one of those who assisted Nehemiah in the repair of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 10).

HAU'RAN (חַוָּרָן [see *infra*]: Αὐρανῖτις: *Auran*: Arab. حَوْرَان), a province of Palestine twice mentioned by Ezekiel in defining the north-eastern border of the Promised Land (xlvii. 16, 18). Had we no other data for determining its situation we should conclude from his words that it lay north of Damascus. There can be little doubt, however, that it is identical with the well-known Greek province of *Auranitis*, and the modern *Ledja*. The name is probably derived from the word חוּר, *Hûr*, "a hole or cave;" the region still abounds in caves which the old inhabitants excavated partly to serve as cisterns for the collection of water, and partly for granaries in which to secure their grain from plunderers. Josephus frequently mentions Auranitis in connection with Trachonitis, Batanæa, and Gaulanitis, which with it constituted the ancient kingdom of Bashan (*B. J.* i. 20, § 4; ii. 17, § 4). It formed part of that Τραχωνίτιδος χώρα referred to by Luke (iii. 1) as subject to Philip the tetrarch (comp. Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 11, § 4). It is bounded on the west by Gaulanitis, on the north by the wild and rocky district of Trachonitis, on the east by the mountainous region of Batanæa, and on the south by the great plain of Moab (Jer. xlviii. 21). The surface is perfectly flat and the soil is among the richest in Syria. Not a stone is to be seen save on the few low volcanic *tells* that rise up here and there, like islands in a sea. It contains upwards of a hundred towns and villages, most of them now deserted, though not ruined. The buildings in many of these are remarkable, the walls are of great thickness, and the roofs and doors are of stone, evidently of remote antiquity (see Porter's *Five Years in Damascus*, vol. ii. [also his *Giant Cities of Bashan*; Wetzstein's *Reisebericht üb. Hauran u. die Trachonen* (Berlin, 1861)]). Some Arab geographers have described the *Hauran* as much more extensive than here stated (Bohaed. *Vit. Sal.* ed. Schult. p. 70; Abulfed. *Tab. Syr.* s. v.); and at the present day the name is applied *by those at a distance* to the whole country east of *Jaulan*; but the inhabitants themselves define it as above.

J. L. P.

* **HAVENS, FAIR.** [FAIR HAVENS.]

HAVI'LAH (חֲוִילָה [*circle, district*, Fürst] Εὐϊλά, Εὐειλά: *Hevila*). 1. A son of Cush (Gen x. 7); and —

2. A son of Joktan (x. 29). Various theories have been advanced respecting these obscure peoples. It appears to be most probable that both stocks settled in the same country, and there intermarried; thus receiving one name, and forming one race, with a common descent. It is immaterial to the argument to decide whether in such instances the settlements were contemporaneous, or whether new immigrants took the name of the older settlers. In the case of Havilah, it seems that the Cushite people of this name formed the westernmost colony of Cush along the south of Arabia, and that the Joktanites were an earlier colonization. It is commonly thought that the district of Khäwlän (خَوْلَان), in the Yemen, preserves the trace of this ancient people; and the similarity of name (خ being interchangeable with ח, and the termination being redundant), and the group of Joktanite names in the Yemen, render the identification probable. Niebuhr states that there are two Khäwläns (*Descr.* 270, 280), and it has hence been argued by some that we have thus the Cushite and the Joktanite Havilah. The second *Khäwlán*, however, is a town, and not a large and well-known district like the first, or more northern one; and the hypothesis based on Niebuhr's assertion is unnecessary, if the theory of a double settlement be

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adopted. There is also another town in the Yemen called *Hāwlān* (حولان).

The district of Khāwlān lies between the city of San'a and the Hijāz, *i. e.* in the northwestern portion of the Yemen. It took its name, according to the Arabs, from Khāwlān, a descendant of Kahtān [JOKTAN] (*Marāsid*, s. v.), or, as some say, of Kahlān, brother of Himyer (Caussin, *Essai*, i. 113, and tab. ii.). This genealogy says little more than that the name was Joktanite; and the difference between Kahtān and Kahlān may be neglected, both being descendants of the first Joktanite settler, and the whole of these early traditions pointing to a Joktanite settlement, without perhaps a distinct preservation of Joktan's name, and certainly none of a correct genealogy from him downwards.

Khāwlān is a fertile territory, embracing a large part of myrrhiferous Arabia; mountainous; with plenty of water; and supporting a large population. It is a tract of Arabia better known to both ancients and moderns than the rest of the Yemen, and the eastern and central provinces. It adjoins Nejrān (the district and town of that name), mentioned in the account of the expedition of Ælius Gallus, and the scene of great persecutions of the Christians by Dhu-Nuwās, the last of the Tubbaas before the Abyssinian conquest of Arabia, in the year 523 of our era (cf. Caussin, *Essai*, i. 121 ff.). For the Chaulanitæ, see the *Dictionary of Geography*.

An argument against the identity of Khāwlān and Havilah has been found in the mentions of a Havilah on the border of the Ishmaelites, "as thou goest to Assyria" (Gen. xxv. 18), and also on that of the Amalekites (1 Sam. xv. 7). It is not however necessary that these passages should refer to 1 or 2: the place named may be a town or country called after them; or it may have some reference to the Havilah named in the description of the rivers of the garden of Eden; and the LXX. render it, following apparently the last supposition, Εὐϊλάτ in both instances, according to their spelling of the Havilah of Gen. ii. 11.

Those who separate the Cushite and Joktanite Havilah either place them in Niebuhr's two Khāwlāns (as already stated), or they place 2 on the north of the peninsula, following the supposed argument derived from Gen. xxv. 18, and 1 Sam. xv. 7, and finding the name in that of the Χαυλοταῖοι (Eratosth. *ap.* Strabo, xvi. 767), between the Nabatæi and the Agræi, and in that of the town of حوبلة on the Persian Gulf (Niebuhr, *Descr.* 342). A Joktanite settlement so far north is however very improbable. They discover 1 in the Avalitæ on the African coast (Ptol. iv. 7; Arrian, *Peripl.* 33, ed. Müller), the modern name of the shore of the Sinus Avalatis being, says Gesenius, Zeylah = Zuweylah = Havilah, and Saudiah having three times in Gen. written Zeylah for Havilah. But Gesenius seems to have overlooked the true orthography of the name of the modern country, which is not زيلة, but زيلع, with a final letter very rarely added to the Hebrew. E. S. P.

HAVILAH ([Εὐϊλάτ; Alex. Ευειλατ: *Hevilath*] Gen. ii. 11). [EDEN, p. 657.]

HAVOTH-JAIR (חַוֹּת יָאִיר, *i. e.* Chavvoth Jair [*villages of Jair*, i. e. *of the enlightener*]: ἐπαύλεις and κῶμαι Ἰαΐρ, Θαυθθ [Ιαιρ, etc.:] *vicus, Havoth Jair, viculus Jair*, [etc.]) certain villages on the east of Jordan, in Gilead or Bashan. The word Chavvah, which occurs in the Bible in this connection only, is perhaps best explained by the similar term in modern Arabic, which denotes a small collection of huts or hovels in a country place (see the citations in Gesenius, *Thes.* 451; and Stanley, *S. & P.* App. § 84).

(1.) The earliest notice of the Havoth-jair is in Num. xxxii. 41, in the account of the settlement of the Transjordanic country, where Jair, son of Manasseh, is stated to have taken some villages (A. V. "the small towns;" but there is no article in the Hebrew) of Gilead — which was allotted to his tribe — and to have named them after himself, Havvoth-jair. (2.) In Deut. iii. 14 it is said that Jair "took all the tract of Argob, unto the boundary of the Geshurite and the Maacathite, and called them after his own name, Bashan-havoth-jair." Here the villages are referred to, but there must be a hiatus after the word "Maacathite," in which they were mentioned, or else there is nothing to justify the plural "them." (3.) In the records of Manasseh in Josh. xiii. 30 and 1 Chr. ii. 23 (A. V., in both "towns of Jair"), the Havvoth-jair are reckoned with other districts as making up sixty "cities" (עָרִים). In 1 K. iv. 13 they are named as part of the commissariat district of Bengeber, next in order to the "sixty great cities" of Argob. There is apparently some confusion in these different statements as to what the sixty cities really consisted of, and if the interpretation of Chavvah given above be correct, the application of the word "city" to such transient erections is remarkable and puzzling. Perhaps the remoteness and inaccessibility of the Transjordanic district in which they lay may explain the one, and our ignorance of the real force of the Hebrew word Ir, rendered "city," the other. Or perhaps, though retaining their ancient name, they had changed their original condition, and had become more important, as has been the case in our own country with more than one place still designated as a "hamlet," though long since a populous town. (4.) No less doubtful is the number of the Havoth-jair. In 1 Chr. ii. 22 they are specified as twenty-three, but in Judg. x. 4, as thirty. In the latter passage, however, the allusion is to a second Jair, by whose thirty sons they were governed, and for whom the original number may have been increased. The word עָיָרִים, "cities," is perhaps employed here for the sake of the play which it affords with עַיָרִים, "ass-colts." [JAIR; BASHAN-HAVOTH-JAIR.] G.

HAWK (אַיָּה, *nēts*: ἱέραξ: *accipiter*), the translation of the above-named Heb. term, which occurs in Lev. xi. 16 and Deut. xiv. 15 as one of the unclean birds, and in Job xxxix. 26, where it *is* asked, "Doth the *nēts* fly by thy wisdom and stretch her wings towards the south?" The word is doubtless generic, as appears from the expression in Deut. and Lev. "after his kind," and includes various species of the *Falconidæ*, with more especial allusion perhaps to the small diurnal birds, such as the kestrel (*Falco tinnunculus*), the hobby (*Hypotriorchis subbuteo*), the gregarious lesser kestrel (*Tinnunculus cenchris*), common about the ruins in the plain districts of Palestine, all of which were

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probably known to the ancient Hebrews. With respect to the passage in Job (*l. c.*), which appears to allude to the migratory habits of hawks, it is curious to observe that of the ten or twelve lesser raptors of Palestine, nearly all are summer migrants. The kestrel remains all the year, but *T. cenchris*, *Micronisus gabar*, *Hyp. eleonoræ*, and *F. melanopterus*, are all migrants from the south. Besides the above-named smaller hawks, the two magnificent species, *F. Saker* and *F. lanarius*, are summer



Falco Saker.

visitors to Palestine. "On one occasion," says Mr. Tristram, to whom we are indebted for much information on the subject of the birds of Palestine, "while riding with an Arab guide I observed a falcon of large size rise close to us. The guide, when I pointed it out to him, exclaimed, '*Tâïr Saq'r.*'[a] *Tâïr*, the Arabic for 'bird,' is universally throughout N. Africa and the East applied to those falcons which are capable of being trained for hunting, *i. e.* 'the bird,' *par excellence*." These two species of falcons, and perhaps the hobby and goshawk (*Astur palumbarius*) are employed by the Arabs in Syria and Palestine for the purpose of taking partridges, sand-grouse, quails, herons, gazelles, hares, etc. Dr. Russell (*Nat. Hist. of Aleppo*, ii. p. 196, 2d ed.) has given the Arabic names of several falcons, but it is probable that some at least of these names apply rather to the different sexes than to distinct species. See a very graphic description of the sport of falconry, as pursued by the Arabs of N. Africa, in the *Ibis*, i. p. 231; and comp. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, p. 208 (i. 309–311, Am. ed.).

Whether falconry was pursued by the ancient Orientals or not, is a question we have been unable to determine decisively. No representation of such a sport occurs on the monuments of ancient Egypt (see Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. p. 221), neither is there any definite allusion to falconry in the Bible. With regard, however, to the negative evidence supplied by the monuments of Egypt, we must be careful ere we draw a conclusion; for the camel is not represented, though we have Biblical evidence to show that this animal was used by the Egyptians as early as the time of Abraham; still, as instances of various modes of capturing fish, game, and wild animals, are not unfrequent on the monuments, it seems probable the art was not known to the Egyptians. Nothing definite can be learnt from the passage in 1 Sam. xxvi. 20, which speaks of "a partridge hunted on the mountains," as this may allude to the method of taking these birds by "throw-sticks," etc. [PARTRIDGE.] The hind or hart "panting after the water-brooks" (Ps. xlii. 1) may appear at first sight to refer to the mode at present adopted in the East of taking gazelles, deer, and bustards, with the united aid of falcon and greyhound: but, as Hengstenberg (*Comment on Ps.* l. c.) has argued, it seems pretty clear that the exhaustion spoken of is to be understood as arising not from pursuit, but from some prevailing drought, as in Ps. lxiii. 1, "My soul thirsteth for thee *in a dry land*." (See also Joel i. 20.) The poetical version of Brady and Tate —

> "As pants the hart for cooling streams
> When heated in the chase,"

has therefore somewhat prejudged the matter. For the question as to whether falconry was known to the ancient Greeks, see Beckmann, *History of Inventions* (i. 198–205, Bohn's ed.). W. H

[a] The word *Saq'r*, صقر, is the name of all the species of the falcons, hawks, and kites.
G. E. P.

HAY (חָצִיר, *châtsîr*: ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ χλῶρος, χόρτος: *prati, herba*), the rendering of the A. V. in Prov. xxvii 25, and Is. xv. 6, of the above-named Heb. term, which occurs frequently in the O. T., and denotes "grass" of any kind, from an unused root, "to be green." [GRASS.] In Num. xi. 5 this word is properly translated "leeks." [LEEK.] Harmer (*Observat.* i. 425, ed. 1797), quoting from a MS. paper of Sir J. Chardin, states that hay is not made anywhere in the East, and that the *fenum* of the Vulg. (*aliis locis*) and the "hay" of the A. V. are therefore errors of translation. It is quite probable that the modern Orientals do not make hay in our sense of the term; but it is certain that the ancients did mow their grass, and probably made use of the dry material. See Ps. xxxvii. 2, "They shall soon be cut down (יִמָּלוֹ), and wither as the green herb;" Ps. lxxii. 6, "Like rain upon the *mown* grass" (גֵּז). See also Am. vii. 1, "The king's mowings" (גִּזֵּי הַמֶּלֶךְ): and Ps. cxxix. 7, where of the "grass upon the housetops" (*Pual unusu.* ?) it is said that "the mower (קוֹצֵר) filleth not his hand" with it, "nor he that bindeth sheaves his bosom." We do not see, therefore with the author of *Fragments in Continuation of Calmet* (No. clxxviii.), any gross impropriety in our version of Prov. xxvii. 25, or in that of Is. xv. 6. "Certainly," says this writer, "if the *tender grass*[b] is but just beginning to show itself, the hay, which is grass cut and dried after it has arrived at maturity, ought by no means to be associated with it, still less ought it to be placed before it." But where is the impropriety? The *tender grass* (דֶּשֶׁא) may refer to the springing *after-grass*,

[b] "The hay appeareth, and the tender grass sheweth itself, and herbs of the mountains are gathered"

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and the "hay" to the *hay-grass*. However, in the two passages in question, where alone the A. V. renders *chătzir* by "hay," the word would certainly be better translated by "grass." We may remark that there is an express Hebrew term for "dry grass" or "hay," namely, *chashash*,[a] which, apparently from an unused root signifying "to be dry,"[b] is rendered in the only two places where the word occurs (Is. v. 24, xxxiii. 11) "chaff" in the Authorized Version. We do not, however, mean to assert that the *chashash* of the Orientals represents our modern English hay. Doubtless the "dry grass" was not stacked, but only cut in small quantities, and then consumed. The grass of "the latter growth" (Am. vii. 1) (לֶקֶשׁ), perhaps like our *after-grass*, denotes the mown grass as it grows afresh after the harvest; like the *Chordum fœnum* of Pliny (*H. N.* viii. 28). W. H.

HAZ'AEL (חֲזָאֵל [*El* (God) *is seeing*, Fürst, Ges.]: Ἀζαήλ: *Hazaël*) was a king of Damascus, who reigned from about B. C. 886 to B. C. 840. He appears to have been previously a person in a high position at the court of Ben-hadad, and was sent by his master to Elisha, when that prophet visited Damascus, to inquire if he would recover from the malady under which he was suffering. Elisha's answer that Ben-hadad *might* recover, but *would* die, and his announcement to Hazael that he would one day be king of Syria, which seems to have been the fulfillment of the commission given to Elijah (1 K. xix. 15) to appoint Hazael king — led to the murder of Ben-hadad by his ambitious servant, who forthwith mounted the throne (2 K. viii. 7–15). He was soon engaged in hostilities with Ahaziah king of Judah, and Jehoram king of Israel, for the possession of the city of Ramoth-Gilead (*ibid.* viii. 28). The Assyrian inscriptions show that about this time a bloody and destructive war was being waged between the Assyrians on the one side, and the Syrians, Hittites, Hamathites, and Phœnicians on the other. [See DAMASCUS.] Ben-hadad had recently suffered several severe defeats at the hands of the Assyrian king; and upon the accession of Hazael the war was speedily renewed. Hazael took up a position in the fastnesses of the Anti-Libanus, but was there attacked by the Assyrians, who defeated him with great loss, killing 16,000 of his warriors, and capturing more than 1100 chariots. Three years later the Assyrians once more entered Syria in force; but on this occasion Hazael submitted and helped to furnish the invaders with supplies. After this, internal troubles appear to have occupied the attention of the Assyrians, who made no more expeditions into these parts for about a century. The Syrians rapidly recovered their losses; and towards the close of the reign of Jehu, Hazael led them against the Israelites (about B. C. 860), whom he "smote in all their coasts" (2 K. x. 32), thus accomplishing the prophecy of Elisha (*ibid.* viii. 12). His main attack fell upon the eastern provinces, where he ravaged "all the land of Gilead, the Gadites, and the Reubenites, and the Manassites, from Aroer which is by the river Arnon, even Gilead and Bashan" (*ibid.* x. 33). After this he seems to have held the kingdom of Israel in a species of subjection (*ibid.* xiii. 3–7, and 22); and towards the close of his life he even threatened the kingdom of Judah. Having taken Gath (*ibid.* xii. 17; comp. Am. vi. 2), he proceeded to attack Jerusalem, defeated the Jews in an engagement (2 Chr. xxiv. 24), and was about to assault the city, when Joash induced him to retire by presenting him with "all the gold that was found in the treasures of the house of the Lord, and in the king's house" (2 K. xii. 18). Hazael appears to have died about the year B. C. 840 (*ibid.* xiii. 24), having reigned 46 years. He left his crown to his son Ben-hadad (*ibid.*). G. R.

* The true import of Hazael's answer to the prophet on being informed of his future destiny (2 K. viii. 13), does not appear in the A. V.: "But what, is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?" This is the language of a proud and self-approving spirit, spurning an undeserved imputation: "Thy servant is not a dog that he should do this great thing." It is obvious, moreover, that in this form the terms of the question are incongruous. If he had said, Is thy servant a dog, that he should do so base a thing, the question would have been consistent with itself. But the incongruity disappears, and the pertinency of the illustration is obvious, when we render according to the Hebrew: "What is thy servant, the dog, that he should do this great thing?" The use of the definite article in the Hebrew, as well as the congruity of the expression, requires this rendering.[c] [DOG.] T. J. C.

* **HAZ'AEL, HOUSE OF** (Am. i. 4), probably some well-known edifice or palace, which this king had built at Damascus, and which, according to the prophet, the fire (God's instrument of punishment) was destined to burn up. Some understood by "the house" Damascus itself, and others Hazael's family or personal descendants. But the clause which follows — "the palaces of Ben-hadad" — as Baur (*Der Prophet Amos*, p. 217) points out, favors the other explanation. H.

HAZA'IAH [3 syl.] (חֲזָיָה: [*Jehovah decides* or *views*]: Ὀζία; [Vat. FA. Ὀζεια:] *Hazia*), a man of Judah of the family of the Shilonites A. V. "Shiloni"), or descendants of SHELAH (Neh. xi. 5).

HA'ZAR-AD'DAR, etc. [HAZER.]

HAZARMA'VETH (חֲצַרְמָוֶת: [in Gen.,] Σαρμώθ; [Alex.[2] Ασαρμώθ; in 1 Chr., Rom. Vat omit, Alex. Ασαμωθ:] *Asarmoth*; *the court of death*, Ges.), the third, in order, of the sons of Joktan (Gen. x. 26). The name is preserved almost literally, in the Arabic *Hadramâut* (حضرموت) and *Hadrumâut* (حضرموت),

[a] חָשַׁשׁ, allied to the Arabic حشيش (*cheshish*), which Freytag thus explains, "Herba, *sensu*. siccior: *scil.* Pabulum siccum, fœnum (ut viride et recens."

[b] "The Arabs of the desert always call the dry juiceless herbage of the Sahara, which is ready made hay while it is growing, *cheshish*, in contradistinction from the fresh grass of better soils." — [H. B. TRISTRAM.

[c] Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 685): "Quis enim sum servus tuus canis, ut tantam rem perficiam?" Keil (*Bücher der Könige*): "Was ist dein Knecht, der Hund (d. h. ein so verächtlicher Kerl . . .) dass er so grosse Dinge thun sollte?" Thenius (*Bücher der Könige*) "Dein Knecht, der Hund!" T. J. C.

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and the appellation of a province and an ancient people of Southern Arabia. This identification of the settlement of Hazarmaveth is accepted by Biblical scholars as not admitting of dispute. It rests not only on the occurrence of the name, but is supported by the proved fact that Joktan settled in the Yemen, along the south coast of Arabia, by the physical characteristics of the inhabitants of this region, and by the identification of the names of several others of the sons of Joktan. The province of Hadramäwt is situate east of the *modern* Yemen (anciently, as shown in ARABIA, the limits of the latter province embraced almost the whole of the south of the peninsula), extending to the districts of Shihr and Mahreh. Its capital is Shibám, a very ancient city, of which the native writers give curious accounts, and its chief ports are Mirbát, Zafári [SEPHAR], and Kisheem, from whence a great trade was carried on in ancient times with India and Africa. Hadramäwt itself is generally cultivated, in contrast to the contiguous sandy deserts (called El-Ahkáf, where lived the gigantic race of 'A'd), is partly mountainous, with watered valleys, and is still celebrated for its frankincense (El-Idreesee, ed. Jomard, i. p. 54; Niebuhr, *Descr.* p. 245), exporting also gum-arabic, myrrh, dragon's blood, and aloes, the latter, however, being chiefly from Socotra, which is under the rule of the sheykh of Kesheem (Niebuhr, *l. c. et seq.*). The early kings of Hadramäwt were Joktanites, distinct from the descendants of Yasrub, the progenitor of the Joktanite Arabs generally; and it is hence to be inferred that they were separately descended from Hazarmaveth. They maintained their independence against the powerful kings of Himyer, until the latter were subdued at the Abyssinian invasion (Ibn-Khaldoon, *ap.* Caussin, *Essai*, i. 135 ff.). The Greeks and Romans call the people of Hadramäwt. variously, Chatramotitæ, Chatrammitæ, etc.; and there is little doubt that they were the same as the Adramitæ, etc. (the latter not applying to the descendants of HADORAM, as some have suggested); while the native appellation of an inhabitant, Hadramee, comes very near Adramitæ in sound. The modern people, although mixed with other races, are strongly characterized by fierce, fanatical, and restless dispositions. They are enterprising merchants, well known for their trading and travelling propensities. E. S. P.

HAZ'AZON-TA'MAR, 2 Chr. xx. 2. [HAZEZON-TAMAR.]

HAZEL (לוּז). The Hebrew term *lúz* occurs only in Gen. xxx. 37, where it is coupled with the "poplar" and "chestnut," as one of the trees from which Jacob cut the rods, which he afterwards peeled. Authorities are divided between the hazel and the almond-tree, as representing the *lúz*; in favor of the former we have Kimchi, Rashi, Luther, and others; while the Vulgate, Saadias, and Gesenius adopt the latter view. The rendering in the LXX., κάρυα, is equally applicable to either. We think the latter most probably correct, both because the Arabic word *lúz* is undoubtedly the "almond-tree," and because there is another word in the Hebrew language *egóz* (אֱגוֹז), which is applicable to the hazel. The strongest argument on the other side arises from the circumstance of another word, *shâkéd* (שָׁקֵד), having reference to the almond; it is supposed, however, that the latter applies to the *fruit* exclusively, and the word under discussion to the tree: Rosenmüller identifies the *shâkéd* with the cultivated, and *lúz* with the wild almond-tree. For a description of the almond-tree, see the article on that subject. The Hebrew term appears as a proper name in LUZ, the old appellation of Bethel. W. L. B.

HAZELELPO'NI (הַצְּלֶלְפּוֹנִי: Ἐσηλελφαβάν; Alex. Ἐσηλελφων: *Asselelphuni*), the sister of the sons of Etam in the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 3). The name has the definite article prefixed, and is accurately "the Tzelelponite," as of a family rather than an individual.

* That the name is genealogical rather than individual appears also from the appended ־ִי (see Ges. *Lehrgeb. der Hebr. Sprache*, p. 514). It is variously explained: *protection of the presence* (Fürst); or, *shade coming upon me* (Ges.). Ewald makes the name still more expressive: *Give shade thou who seest me*, i. e. God (*Lehrbuch*, p. 502) This gives a different force to the ending. H.

HA'ZER (חָצֵר, *i. e.* Chatzer, from חָצַר, to surround or inclose), a word which is of not unfrequent occurrence in the Bible in the sense of a "court" or quadrangle to a palace* or other building, but which topographically seems generally employed for the "villages" of people in a roving and unsettled life, the semi-permanent collections of dwellings which are described by travellers among the modern Arabs to consist of rough stone walls covered with the tent cloths, and thus holding a middle position between the tent of the wanderer — so transitory as to furnish an image of the sudden termination of life (Is. xxxviii. 12) — and the settled, permanent, town.

As a proper name it appears in the A. V. —

1. In the plural, HAZERIM, and HAZEROTH, for which see below.

2. In the slightly different form of HAZOR.

3. In composition with other words, giving a special designation to the particular "village" intended. When thus in union with another word the name is Hazar (Chatzar). The following are the places so named, and it should not be overlooked that they are all in the wilderness itself, or else quite on the confines of civilized country: —

1. HA'ZAR-AD'DAR (חֲצַר אַדָּר: ἔταυλις Ἀράδ, Ἀδραδα: Alex. Ἀδδαρ: *Villa nomine Ad ar, Addar*), a place named as one of the landmarks of the southern boundary of the land promised to Israel between Kadesh-barnea and Azmon (Num. xxxiv. 4). In the specification of the south boundary of the country actually possessed (Josh. xv. 3), the name appears in the shorter form of Addar (A. V. ADAR), and an additional place is named on each side of it. The site of Hazar-addar does not appear to have been encountered in modern times.

The LXX. reading might lead to the belief that Hazar-addar was identical with ARAD, a Canaan-

* In 2 K. xx 4, the Masorets (*Keri*) have substituted חָצֵר (A. V. "court") for the חָעִיר of the original text. The same change should probably be made in Jer. xli. 7. [See ISHMAEL 6.]

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te city which lay in this direction, but the presence of the *Ain* in the latter name forbids such an inference.

2. HA'ZAR-E'NAN (חֲצַר עֵינָן [in Ezek. xlvii. 17, חֲצַר עֵינוֹן] = *village of springs*: Ασσεναν, [αὐλη τοῦ Αινάν, αὐ. τ. Αἰλάμ; Vat. in Num., Ασε:ναειμ;] Alex. Ασερναιν, αυλη του Αιναν: *Villa Enan, Atrium Enon*, [*A. Enan*]), the place at which the northern boundary of the land promised to the children of Israel was to terminate (Num. xxxiv. 9), and the eastern boundary commence (10). It is again mentioned in Ezekiel's prophecy (xlvii. 17, xlviii. 1) of what the ultimate extent of the land will be. These boundaries are traced by Mr. Porter, who would identify Hazar-enan with *Kuryetein* = "the two cities," a village more than sixty miles E. N. E. of Damascus, the chief ground for the identification apparently being the presence at *Kuryetein* of "large fountains," the only ones in that "vast region," a circumstance with which the name of Hazar enan well agrees (Porter, *Damascus*, i. 252, ii. 358). The great distance from Damascus and the body of Palestine is the main impediment to the reception of this identification.

3. HA'ZAR-GAD'DAH (חֲצַר גַּדָּה [*village of Gaddah* or *fortune*: Rom. Σερί, Vat. Σερειμ;] Alex. Ασεργαδδα: *Aser-Gadda*), one of the towns in the southern district of Judah (Josh. xv. 27), named between Moladah and Heshmon. No trace of the situation of this place appears in the *Onomasticon*, or in any of the modern travellers. In Van de Velde's map a site named *Jurrah* is marked as close to Molada (*el-Milh*), but it is perhaps too much to assume that Gaddah has taken this form by the change so frequent in the East of D to R.

4. HA'ZAR-HAT-TI'CON (חֲצַר הַתִּיכוֹן [*the middle village*]: Αὐλὴ τοῦ Σαυνάν; [Alex. corrupt:] *Domus Tichon*), a place named in Ezekiel's prophecy of the ultimate boundaries of the land (Ez. xlvii. 16), and specified as being on the boundary (אֶל גְּבוּל) of Hauran. It is not yet known.

5. HA'ZAR-SHU'AL (חֲצַר שׁוּעָל = *fox-village*: Χολασεωλά, Ἀρσωλά, Ἐσερσουλά; Alex. Ασαρσουλα, [Σερσουλα, etc.:] *Hasersual, Hasarsuhal*), a town in the southern district of Judah, lying between Hazar-gaddah and Beer-sheba (Josh. xv. 28, xix. 3; 1 Chr. iv. 28). It is mentioned in the same connection after the return from the Captivity (Neh. xi. 27). The site has not yet been conclusively recovered; but in Van de Velde's map (1858) a site, *Saweh*, is marked at about the right spot, which may be a corruption of the original name. This district has been only very slightly explored; when it is so we may look for most interesting information.

6. HA'ZAR-SU'SAH (חֲצַר סוּסָה = *horse-village*: Σαρσουσίν [Vat. -σειν]; Alex. Ασερσουσιμ: [*Husersusi*]), one of the "cities" allotted to Simeon in the extreme south of the territory of Judah (Josh. xix. 5). Neither it nor its companion BETH-MARCABOTH, the "house of chariots," are named in the list of the towns of Judah in chap. xv., but they are included in those of Simeon in 1 Chr. iv. 31, with the express statement that they existed before and up to the time of David. This appears to invalidate Professor Stanley's suggestion (*S. & P.* p. 160) that they were the depôts for the trade with Egypt in chariots and horses, which commenced in the reign of Solomon. Still, it is difficult to know to what else to ascribe the names of places situated, as these were, in the Bedouin country, where a chariot must have been unknown, and where even horses seem carefully excluded from the possessions of the inhabitants — "camels, sheep, oxen, and asses" (1 Sam. xxvii. 9). In truth the difficulty arises only on the assumption that the names are Hebrew, and that they are to be interpreted accordingly. It would cease if we could believe them to be in the former language of the country, adopted by the Hebrews, and so altered as to bear a meaning in Hebrew. This is exactly the process which the Hebrew names have in their turn undergone from the Arabs, and is in fact one which is well known to have occurred in all languages, though not yet recognized in the particular case of the early local names of Palestine.

7. HA'ZAR-SU'SIM (חֲצַר סוּסִים, *village of horses*: Ἡμισουσεωσίν, as if חֲצִי; [Vat. Ημσους εως Ορομ; Alex. Ημσου Εωσιμ:] *Hasarsusim*), the form under which the preceding name appears in the list of the towns of Simeon in 1 Chr. iv. 31. G.

HAZE'RIM. The AVIMS, or more accurately the Avvim, a tribe commemorated in a fragment of very ancient history, as the early inhabitants of the southwestern portion of Palestine, are therein said to have lived "in the villages (A. V. "Hazerim," בַּחֲצֵרִים [Ασηρώθ; Alex. Ασηρωθ: *Haserim*]), as far as Gaza" (Deut. ii. 23), before their expulsion by the Caphtorim. The word is the plural of HAZER, noticed above, and as far as we can now appreciate the significance of the term, it implies that the Avvim were a wandering tribe who had retained in their new locality the transitory form of encampment of their original desert-life. G.

HAZE'ROTH (חֲצֵרוֹת [*stations, camping grounds*]: Ἀσηρώθ; [in Deut., Αὐλών: *Haseroth*;] Num. xi. 35, xii. 16, xxxiii. 17, Deut. i. 1), a station of the Israelites in the desert, mentioned next to Kibroth-Hattaavah, and perhaps recognizable in the Arabic حضيرة, *Hudhera* (Robinson, i. 151; Stanley, *S. & P.* pp. 81, 82), which lies about eighteen hours' distance from Sinai on the road to the Akabah. The word appears to mean the sort of uninclosed villages in which the Bedouins are found to congregate. [HAZER.] H. H.

HAZE'ZON-TA'MAR, and HAZ AZON-TA'MAR (חֲצֵצֹן תָּמָר,[a] but in Chron. חֲצְצוֹן תָּמָר [prob. *wet place of palms, palm-marsh*, Dietr.; *rows of palms, palm-forest*, Fürst]: Ασασονθαμάρ, or Ασασὰν Θαμάρ; [Alex. Ασασαν Θ., Ανασαν Θ.; Vat. in 2 Chr., Ασαμ Θαμαρα:] *Asasonthamar*), the name under which, at a very early period of the history of Palestine, and

[a] The translators of the A. V. have curiously reversed the two variations of the name. In Genesis, where the Hebrew is Hazazon, they have Hazezon, and the opposite in Chronicles

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a a document believed by many to be the oldest of all these early records, we first hear of the place which afterwards became EN-GEDI. The Amorites were dwelling at Hazazon-Tamar when the four kings made their incursion, and fought their successful battle with the five (Gen. xiv. 7). The name occurs only once again — in the records of the reign of Hezekiah (2 Chr. xx. 2) — when he is warned of the approach of the horde of Ammonites, Moabites, Mehunim, and men of Mount Seir, whom he afterwards so completely destroyed, and who were no doubt pursuing thus far exactly the same route as the Assyrians had done a thousand years before them. Here the explanation, "which is En-gedi," is added. The existence of the earlier appellation, after En-gedi had been so long in use, is a remarkable instance of the tenacity of these old oriental names, of which more modern instances are frequent. See ACCHO, BETHSAIDA, etc.

Hazazon-tamar is interpreted in Hebrew to mean the "pruning or felling of the palm" (Gesen. *Thes.* p. 512). Jerome (*Quæst. in Gen.*) renders it *urbs palmarum*. This interpretation of the name is borne out by the ancient reputation of the palms of En-gedi (Ecclus. xxiv. 14, and the citations from Pliny, given under that name). The Samaritan Version has פלוג כדי = the Valley of Cadi, possibly a corruption of En-gedi. The Targums have En-gedi.

Perhaps this was the "city of palm trees" (*Ir hat-temarim*) out of which the Kenites, the tribe of Moses' father-in-law, went up into the wilderness of Judah, after the conquest of the country (Judg. i. 16). If this were so, the allusion of Balaam to the Kenite (Num. xxiv. 21) is at once explained. Standing as he was on one of the lofty points of the highlands opposite Jericho, the western shore of the Dead Sea as far as En-gedi would be before him, and the cliff, in the clefts of which the Kenites had fixed their secure "nest," would be a prominent object in the view. This has been already alluded to by Professor Stanley (*S. & P.*, p. 225, n. 4). G.

HA'ZIEL (חֲזִיאֵל [*El's* (God's) *beholding*]: Ἰεσιήλ; [Vat. Εσιηλ:] Alex. Αζιηλ: *Hosiel*), a Levite in the time of king David, of the family of Shimei or Shimi, the younger branch of the Gershonites (1 Chr. xxiii. 9).

HA'ZO (חָזוֹ [*look, visibility*, Fürst]: Ἀζαῦ: *Asau*), a son of Nahor, by Milcah his wife (Gen. xxii. 22): perhaps, says Gesenius, for חֲזוֹת, "a vision." The name is unknown, and the settlements of the descendants of Hazo cannot be ascertained. The only clew is to be found in the identification of Chesed, and the other sons of Nahor; and hence he must, in all likelihood, be placed in Ur of the Chaldees, or the adjacent countries. Bunsen (*Bibelwerk*, i. pt. 2, p. 49) suggests Chasene by the Euphrates, in Mesopotamia, or the Chazene in Assyria (Strabo, xvi. p. 736).

E. S. P.

HA'ZOR (חָצוֹר [*inclosure, castle*]: Ἀσώρ; [Alex. in 1 K. ix. 15, Ασερ:] *Asor* [*Hasor*]). 1. A fortified city, which on the occupation of the country was allotted to Naphtali (Josh. xix. 36) its position was apparently between Ramah and Kedesh (*ibid.* xii. 19). on the high ground overlooking the Lake of Merom (ὑπέρκειται τῆς Χεμ χωνίτιδος λίμνης, Joseph. *Ant.* v. 5, § 1). There is no reason for supposing it a different place from that of which Jabin was king (Josh. xi. 1), both when Joshua gained his signal victory over the northern confederation, and when Deborah and Barak routed his general Sisera (Judg. iv. 2, 17 1 Sam. xii. 9). It was the principal city of the whole of the North Palestine, "the head of all those kingdoms" (Josh. xi. 10, and see Onomasticon, *Asor*). Like the other strong places of that part, it stood on an eminence (תֵּל, Josh. xi. 13 A. V. "strength"), but the district around must have been on the whole flat, and suitable for the manœuvres of the "very many" chariots and horses which formed part of the forces of the king of Hazor and his confederates (Josh. xi. 4, 6, 9; Judg. iv. 3). Hazor was the only one of those northern cities which was burnt by Joshua; doubtless it was too strong and important to leave standing in his rear. Whether it was rebuilt by the men of Naphtali, or by the second Jabin (Judg. iv.), we are not told, but Solomon did not overlook so important a post, and the fortification of Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer, the points of defense for the entrance from Syria and Assyria, the plain of Esdraelon, and the great maritime lowland respectively, was one of the chief pretexts for his levy of taxes (1 K. ix. 15). Later still it is mentioned in the list of the towns and districts whose inhabitants were carried off to Assyria by Tiglath-Pileser (2 K. xv. 29; Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 11, § 1). We encounter it once more in 1 Macc. xi. 67, where Jonathan, after encamping for the night at the "water of Genesar," advances to the "plain of Asor" (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 5, § 7; the Greek text of the Maccabees has prefixed an *n* from the preceding word πεδίον: A. V. Nasor) to meet Demetrius, who was in possession of Kadesh (xi. 63; Joseph. as above). [NASOR.]

Several places bearing names probably derived from ancient Hazors have been discovered in this district. A list will be found in Rob. iii. 366, *note* (and compare also Van de Velde, *Syr. and Pal.* ii. 178; Porter, *Damascus*, i. 304). But none of these answer to the requirements of this Hazor. The nearest is the site suggested by Dr. Robinson, namely, *Tell Khuraibeh*, "the ruins," which, though without any direct evidence of name or tradition in its favor, is so suitable, in its situation on a rocky eminence, and in its proximity both to Kedesh and the Lake *Huleh*, that we may accept it until a better is discovered (Rob. iii. 364, 365).

* The ruins of a large city of very ancient date have recently been found about two miles southeast of *Kedes* (KEDESH, 3), on an isolated hill called *Tell Harah*. The walls of the citadel and a portion of the city walls are distinctly traceable. Captain Wilson, of the Palestine Exploring Expedition, inclines to regard this place as the site of the Bible Hazor (Josh. xix. 36), instead of *Tell Khuraibeh*. (See *Journ. of Sacr. Literature*, April, 1866, p. 245.) It is not said that the ancient name, or any similar one, still adheres to the locality. Thomson proposes *Hazere* or *Hazîry* as the site of this Hazor, northwest of the *Hûleh* (Merom), and in the centre of the mountainous region which overhangs that lake: the ruins are very extensive as well as ancient, and a living tradition among the Arabs supports this claim (see *Land and Book*, i 439). Robinson objects to this identification that it

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is too remote from the *Húleh*, and is within the limits of Asher, and not in those of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 32, 36). For Ritter's view that this Hazor is a *Hazúry* on the rocky slopes above *Banias* (Cæsarea Philippi), first heard of by Burckhardt in that quarter, see his *Geogr. of Palestine*, Gage's trans., ii. 221–225. Robinson states that the few remains on a knoll there which bears this name are wholly unimportant, and indicate nothing more than a *Mezra'ah*, or goat village (*Later Res.* iii. 402). It is not surprising that a name which signifies "stronghold," or "fortification," should belong to various places, both ancient and modern. H.

2. ('Ασορωναΐν, including the following name: Alex. omits: *Asor.*) One of the "cities" of Judah in the extreme south, named next in order to Kedesh (Josh xv. 23). It is mentioned nowhere else, nor has it yet been identified (see Rob. ii. 84, *note*). The Vatican LXX. unites Hazor with the name following it, Ithnan; which causes Reland to maintain that they form but one (*Pal.* pp. 144, 708); but the LXX. text of this list is so corrupt, that it seems impossible to argue from it. In the Alex. MS. Hazor is entirely omitted, while Ithnan again is joined to Ziph.

3. (LXX. omits; [Cod. Sarrav. Ασωρ την καινην; Comp. Αλασὼρ τὴν καινήν:] *Asor nova.*) Hazor-Hadattah, = "new Hazor," possibly contradistinguished from that just mentioned; another of the southern towns of Judah (Josh. xv. 25). The words are improperly separated in the A. V.

4. ('Ασερών, αὕτη 'Ασώρ; Alex. [Ασερωμ, αυτη] Ασωραμαμ: *Hesron, hæc est Asor.*) "Hezron which is Hazor" (Josh. xv. 25); but whether it be intended that it is the same Hazor as either of those named before, or that the name was originally Hazor, and had been changed to Hezron, we cannot now decide.

5. ([Vat. Alex. FA.[1] omit; Comp. FA.[2]] 'Ασώρ: *Asor.*) A place in which the Benjamites resided after their return from the Captivity (Neh. xi. 33). From the places mentioned with it, as Anathoth, Nob, Ramah, etc., it would seem to have lain north of Jerusalem, and at no great distance therefrom. But it has not yet been discovered. The above conditions are not against its being the same place with BAAL-HAZOR, though there is no positive evidence beyond the name in favor of such an identification.

The word appears in combination — with Baal in BAAL-HAZOR, with Ain in EN-HAZOR. G.

* 6. (ἡ αὐλή: *Asor.*) In Jer. xlix. 28–33, Hazor appears to denote a region of Arabia under the government of several sheiks (see ver. 38, "*kingdoms* of Hazor"), whose desolation is predicted by the prophet in connection with that of KEDAR. The inhabitants are described (ver. 31) as a nation dwelling "without gates or bars," *i. e.* not in cities, but in unwalled villages, חֲצֵרִים (comp. Ezek. xxxviii. 11, and see HAZER, HAZERIM), from which circumstance some would derive the name (see Hitzig on Jer. xlix. 28; Winer, *Realw.*, art. *Hasor*, 4; and the Rev. J. L. Porter, art. *Hazor*, 4, in Kitto's *Cycl. of Bibl. Lit.*, 3d ed.). A.

* **HEAD-BANDS** (Is. iii. 20), probably an incorrect translation; see GIRDLE. H.

HEAD-DRESS. The Hebrews do not appear to have regarded a covering for the head as an essential article of dress. The earliest notice we have of such a thing is in connection with the sacerdotal vestments, and in this case it is described as an ornamental appendage "for glory and for beauty" (Ex. xxviii. 40). The absence of any allusion to a head-dress in passages where we should expect to meet with it, as in the trial of jealousy (Num. v. 18), and the regulations regarding the leper (Lev. xiii. 45), in both of which the "uncovering of the head" refers undoubtedly to the *hair*, leads to the inference that it was not ordinarily worn in the Mosaic age; and this is confirmed by the practice, frequently alluded to, of covering the head with the mantle. Even in after times it seems to have been reserved especially for purposes of ornament: thus the *tzaniph* (צָנִיף) is noticed as being worn by nobles (Job xxix. 14), ladies (Is iii. 23), and kings (Is. lxii. 3), while the *peér* (פְּאֵר) was an article of holiday dress (Is. lxi. 3, A. V. "beauty;" Ex. xxiv. 17, 23), and was worn at weddings (Is. lxi. 10): the use of the μίτρα was restricted to similar occasions (Jud. xvi. 8; Bar. v. 2). The former of these terms undoubtedly describes a kind of *turban*: its primary sense (צָנַף, "to roll around") expresses the folds of linen *wound round* the head, and its form probably resembled that of the high-priest's *mitznepheth* (a word derived from the same root, and identical in meaning, for in Zech. iii. 5, *tzaniph* = *mitznepheth*), as described by Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7, § 3). The renderings of the term in the A. V., "hood" (Is. iii. 23), "diadem" (Job xxix. 14; Is. lxii. 3), "mitre" (Zech. iii. 5), do not convey the right idea of its meaning. The other term, *peér*, primarily means an *ornament*, and is so rendered in the A. V. (Is. lxi. 10; see also ver. 3, "beauty"), and is specifically applied to the head-dress from its ornamental character. It is uncertain what the term properly describes: the modern turban consists of two parts, the *kaook*, a stiff, round cap occasionally rising to a considerable height, and the *shash*, a long piece of muslin wound about it (Russell. *Aleppo*, i. 104): Josephus' account of the high-priest's



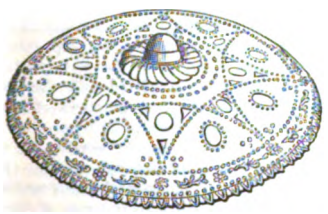
Modern Syrian and Egyptian Head-dresses.

head-dress implies a similar construction; for he says that it was made of thick bands of linen doubled round many times, and sewn together: the whole covered by a piece of fine linen to conceal the seams. Saalschütz (*Archæol.* i. 27, *note*) sug-

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gests that the *tzâniph* and the *peér* represent the *shash* and the *knook*, the latter rising high above the other, and so the most prominent and striking feature. In favor of this explanation it may be remarked that the *peér* is more particularly connected with the *migbaah*, the high cap of the ordinary priests, in Ex. xxxix. 28, while the *tzâniph*, as we have seen, resembled the high-priest's mitre, in which the cap was concealed by the linen folds. The objection, however, to this explanation is that the etymological force of *peér* is not brought out: may not that term have applied to the jewels and other ornaments with which the turban is frequently decorated (Russell, i. 106), some of which are represented in the accompanying illustration borrowed from Lane's *Mod. Egypt.* Append. A. The term used for putting on either the *tzâniph* or the





Modern Egyptian Head-dresses. (Lane.)

peér is חָבַשׁ, "to bind round" (Ex. xxix. 9; Lev. viii. 13): hence the words in Ex. xvi. 10, "I girded thee about with fine linen," are to be understood of the turban; and by the use of the same term Jonah (ii. 5) represents the weeds wrapped as a turban round his head. The turban as now worn in the East varies very much in shape; the most prevalent forms are shown in Russell's *Aleppo*, i. 102.

If the *tzâniph* and the *peér* were reserved for holiday attire, it remains for us to inquire whether any and what covering was ordinarily worn over the head. It appears that frequently the robes supplied the place of a head-dress, being so ample that they might be thrown over the head at pleasure: the *rádíd* and the *tsâiph* at all events were so used [DRESS], and the veil served a similar purpose. [VEIL.] The ordinary head-dress of the Bedouin consists of the *keffiyeh*, a square handkerchief, generally of red and yellow cotton, or cotton and silk, folded so that three of the corners hang down over the back and shoulders, leaving the face exposed, and bound round the head by a cord (Burckhardt, *Notes*, i. 48). It is not improbable that a similar covering was used by the Hebrews on certain occasions: the "kerchief" in Ex. xiii. 18, has been so understood by some writers (Harmer, *Observations*, ii. 393), though the word more probably refers to a species of veil; and the σιμικίνθιον (Acts xix. 12, A V. "apron"), as explained by Suidas (τὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς φόρημα), was applicable to the purposes of a head-dress. [HANDKERCHIEF.] Neither of these cases, however, supplies positive evidence on the point, and the general absence of allusions leads to the inference that the head was usually uncovered, as is still the case in many parts of Arabia (Wellsted, *Travels*, i. 75). The introduction of the Greek hat (πέτασος) by Jason, as an article of dress adapted to the *gymnasium*, was regarded as a national dishonor (2 Macc. iv. 12): in shape and material the *petasus* very much resembled the common felt hats of this country (*Dict. of Ant.* art. *Pileus*).



Bedouin Head-dress: the Keffiyeh.

The Assyrian head-dress is described in Ez. xxiii. 15 under the terms סְרוּחֵי טְבוּלִים, "exceeding in dyed attire;" it is doubtful, however, whether *tebúlim* describes the colored material of the head-dress (*tinctæ* a coloribus quibus *tincta* sint); another sense has been assigned to it more appropriate to the description of a turban (*fasciis obvolvit*, Ges. *Thes.* p. 542). The term *s'rúché* [סְרוּחֵי] expresses the flowing character of the Eastern head-dress, as it falls down over the back (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 308). The word rendered "hats" in Dan. iii. 21 (עֲדַרְבְּלָא) properly applies to a *cloak*. W. L. B.

HEARTH. 1. אָח: ἐσχάρα: *arula* (Ges 69), a pot or brazier for containing fire. 2. מוֹקֵד *m.* and מוֹקְדָה *f.*: καύστρα, καύσις: *incendium* (Ges. p. 620). 3. פִּיּוֹר, or כִּיּוֹר (Zech. xii. 6). δαλός: *caminus*; in dual, כִּירַיִם (Lev. xi. 35)· χυτρόποδες: *chytropodes*; A. V. "ranges for pots" (Ges. p. 672).

One way of baking, much practiced in the East, is to place the dough on an iron plate, either laid on, or supported on legs above the vessel sunk in the ground, which forms the oven. This plate or "hearth" is in Arabic طَاجِن, *tajen*; a word which has probably passed into Greek in τήγανον. The cakes baked "on the hearth" (Gen. xviii. 6 ἐγκρυφίας, *subcinericios panes*) were probably baked in the existing Bedouin manner, on hot stones covered with ashes. The "hearth" of king Jehoiakim's winter palace, Jer. xxxvi. 23, was possibly a pan or brazier of charcoal. (Burckhardt, *Notes on Bed.* i. 58; P. della Valle, *Viaggi*, i. 437; Harmer, *Obs.* i. p. 477, and note; Rauwolff, *Travels*, ap. Ray, ii. 163; Shaw, *Travels*, p. 231; Niebuhr,

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Lexer. de l'Arabie, p. 45; Schleusner, *Lex Vet. Test.* τήγανον; Ges. *s. v.* חֲרִיט, p. 997.) [FIRE.]

H. W. P.

HEATH (עֲרוֹעֵר, *'ărô'ēr*, and ערער, *'ar'ar*: ἡ ἀγριομυρίκη, ὄνος ἄγριος: *myrica*). The prophet Jeremiah compares the man "who maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from the Lord," to the *'ar'ar* in the desert (xvii. 6). Again, in the judgment of Moab (xlviii. 6), to her inhabitants it is said, "Flee, save your lives, and be like the *'ărô'ēr* in the wilderness," where the margin has "a naked tree." There seems no reason to doubt Celsius' conclusion (*Hierob.* ii. 195), that the *'ar'ar* is identical with the *'ar'ar* (عرعر) of Arabic writers, which is some species of juniper. Robinson (*Bib. Res.* ii. 125, 6) states that when he was in the pass of Nemela he observed juniper trees (Arab. *'ar'ar*) on the porphyry rocks above. The berries, he adds, have the appearance and taste of the common juniper, except that there is more of the aroma of the pine. "These trees were ten or fifteen feet in height, and hung upon the rocks even to the summits of the cliffs and needles." This appears to be the *Juniperus Sabina*, or savin, with small scale-like leaves, which are pressed close to the stem, and which is described as being a gloomy-looking bush inhabiting the most sterile soil (see *English Cycl. N. Hist.* iii. 311); a character which is obviously well suited to the *naked* or *destitute* tree spoken of by the prophet. Rosenmüller's explanation of the Hebrew word, which is also adopted by Maurer, "qui destitutus versatur" (*Schol. ad Jer.* xvii. 6), is very unsatisfactory. Not to mention the *tameness* of the comparison, it is evidently contradicted by the antithesis in ver. 8: Cursed is he that trusteth in man . . . he shall be like the juniper that grows on the bare rocks of the desert: Blessed is the man that trusteth in the Lord . . . he shall be as a tree planted by the waters. The contrast between the shrub of the arid desert and the tree growing by the waters is very striking; but Rosenmüller's interpretation appears to us to spoil the whole. Even more unsatisfactory is Michaelis (*Supp. Lex. Heb.* p. 1971), who thinks "guinea hens" (*Numida meleagris*) are intended! Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 1073, 4) understands these two Heb. terms to denote "parietinæ, ædificia eversa" (ruins); but it is more in accordance with the Scriptural passages to suppose that some tree is intended, which explanation, moreover, has the sanction of the LXX. and Vulgate, and of the modern use of a kindred Arabic word.

W. H.

HEATHEN. The Hebrew words גּוֹי, גּוֹיִם, *gôi*, *gôyim*, together with their Greek equivalents ἔθνος, ἔθνη, have been somewhat arbitrarily rendered "nations," "gentiles," and "heathen" in the A. V. It will be interesting to trace the manner in which a term, primarily and essentially general in its signification, acquired that more restricted sense which was afterwards attached to it. Its development is parallel with that of the Hebrew people, and its meaning at any period may be taken as significant of their relative position with regard to the surrounding nations.

1. While as yet the Jewish nation had no political existence, *gôyim* denoted generally the nations of the world, especially including the immediate descendants of Abraham (Gen. xviii. 18; comp. Gal. iii. 16). The latter, as they grew in numbers and importance, were distinguished in a most marked manner from the nations by whom they were surrounded, and were provided with a code of laws and a religious ritual, which made the distinction still more peculiar. They were essentially a separate people (Lev. xx. 23); separate in habits, morals, and religion, and bound to maintain their separate character by denunciations of the most terrible judgments (Lev. xxvi. 14–38; Deut. xxviii.). On their march through the desert they encountered the most obstinate resistance from Amalek, "chief of the *gôyim*" (Num. xxiv. 20), in whose sight the deliverance from Egypt was achieved (Lev. xxvi. 45). During the conquest of Canaan and the subsequent wars of extermination, which the Israelites for several generations carried on against their enemies, the seven nations of the Canaanites, Amorites, Hittites, Hivites, Jebusites, Perizzites, and Girgashites (Ex. xxxiv. 24), together with the remnants of them who were left to prove Israel (Josh. xxiii. 13; Judg. iii. 1; Ps. lxxviii. 55), and teach them war (Judg. iii. 2), received the especial appellation of *gôyim*. With these the Israelites were forbidden to associate (Josh. xxiii. 7); intermarriages were prohibited (Josh. xxiii. 12; 1 K. xi. 2); and as a warning against disobedience the fate of the nations of Canaan was kept constantly before their eyes (Lev. xviii. 24, 25; Deut. xviii. 12). They are ever associated with the worship of false gods, and the foul practices of idolatry (Lev. xviii. xx.), and these constituted their chief distinctions, as *gôyim*, from the worshippers of the one God, the people of Jehovah (Num. xv. 41; Deut. xxviii. 10). This distinction was maintained in its full force during the early times of the monarchy (2 Sam. vii. 23; 1 K. xi. 4–8, xiv. 24; Ps. cvi. 35). It was from among the *gôyim*, the degraded tribes who submitted to their arms, that the Israelites were permitted to purchase their bond servants (Lev. xxv. 44, 45), and this special enactment seems to have had the effect of giving to a national tradition the force and sanction of a law (comp. Gen. xxxi. 15). In later times this regulation was strictly adhered to. To the words of Eccl. ii. 7 "I bought men-servants and maid-servants," the Targum adds, "of the children of Ham, and the rest of the foreign nations."

And not only were the Israelites forbidden to intermarry with these *gôyim*, but the latter were virtually excluded from the possibility of becoming naturalized. An Ammonite or Moabite was shut out from the congregation of Jehovah even to the tenth generation (Deut. xxiii. 3), while an Edomite or Egyptian was admitted in the third (vers. 7, 8). The necessity of maintaining a separation so broadly marked is ever more and more manifest as we follow the Israelites through their history, and observe their constantly recurring tendency to idolatry. Offense and punishment followed each other with all the regularity of cause and effect (Judg. ii. 12, iii. 6–8, &c.).

2. But, even in early Jewish times, the term *gôyim* received by anticipation a significance of

a From the root עָרַר, "to be naked," in allusion to the *bare* nature of the rocks on which the *Juniperus Sabina* often grows. Comp. Ps. cii. 17, תְּפִלַּת הָעֲרְעָר "the prayer of the destitute" (or "of the naked

wider range than the national experience (Lev. xxvi. 33, 38; Deut. xxx. 1), and as the latter was gradually developed during the prosperous times of the monarchy, the *góyim* were the surrounding nations generally, with whom the Israelites were brought into contact by the extension of their commerce, and whose idolatrous practices they readily adopted (Ex. xxiii. 30; Am. v. 26). Later still, it is applied to the Babylonians who took Jerusalem (Neh. v. 8; Ps. lxxix. 1, 6, 10), to the destroyers of Moab (Is. xvi. 8), and to the several nations among whom the Jews were scattered during the Captivity (Ps. cvi. 47; Jer. xlvi. 28; Lam. i. 3, &c.), the practice of idolatry still being their characteristic distinction (Is. xxxvi. 18; Jer. x. 2, 3, xiv. 22). This signification it retained after the return from Babylon, though it was used in a more limited sense as denoting the mixed race of colonists who settled in Palestine during the Captivity (Neh. v. 17), and who are described as fearing Jehovah, while serving their own gods (2 K. xvii. 29–33; Ezr. vi. 21).

Tracing the synonymous term ἔθνη through the Apocryphal writings, we find that it is applied to the nations around Palestine (1 Macc. i. 11), including the Syrians and Philistines of the army of Gorgias (1 Macc. iii. 41, iv. 7, 11, 14), as well as the people of Ptolemais, Tyre, and Sidon (1 Macc. v. 9, 10, 15). They were image-worshippers (1 Macc. iii. 48; Wisd. xv. 15), whose customs and fashions the Jews seem still to have had an unconquerable propensity to imitate, but on whom they were bound by national tradition to take vengeance (1 Macc. ii. 68; 1 Esdr. viii. 85). Following the customs of the *góyim* at this period denoted the neglect or concealment of circumcision (1 Macc. i. 15), disregard of sacrifices, profanation of the Sabbath, eating of swine's flesh and meat offered to idols (2 Macc. vi. 6–9, 18, xv. 1, 2), and adoption of the Greek national games (2 Macc. iv. 12, 14). In all points Judaism and heathenism are strongly contrasted. The "barbarous multitude" in 2 Macc. ii. 21 are opposed to those who played the man for Judaism, and the distinction now becomes an ecclesiastical one (comp. Matt. xviii. 17). In 2 Esdr. iii. 33, 34, the "gentes" are defined as those "qui habitant in seculo" (comp. Matt. vi. 32; Luke xii. 30).

As the Greek influence became more extensively felt in Asia Minor, and the Greek language was generally used, Hellenism and heathenism became convertible terms, and a Greek was synonymous with a foreigner of any nation. This is singularly evident in the Syriac of 2 Macc. v. 9, 10, 13; cf. John vii. 35; 1 Cor. x. 32; 2 Macc. xi. 2.

In the N. T. again we find various shades of meaning attached to ἔθνη. In its narrowest sense it is opposed to "those of the circumcision" (Acts x. 45; cf. Esth. xiv. 15, where ἀλλότριος = ἀπερίτμητος), and is contrasted with Israel, the people of Jehovah (Luke ii. 32), thus representing the Hebrew גּוֹיִם at one stage of its history. But, like *góyim*, it also denotes the people of the earth generally (Acts xvii. 26; Gal. iii. 14). In Matt. vi. 7 ἐθνικός is applied to an idolater.

But, in addition to its significance as an ethnographical term, *góyim* had a moral sense which must not be overlooked. In Ps. ix. 5, 15, 17 (comp. Ez. vii. 21) the word stands in parallelism with רָשָׁע, *rásháʿ*, the wicked, as distinguished by his moral obliquity (see Hupfeld on Ps. i. 1); and in ver. 17 the people thus designated are described as "forgetters of God," that know not Jehovah (Jer. x. 25). Again in Ps. lix. 5 it is to some extent commensurate in meaning with בֹּגְדֵי אָוֶן, *bóg'dé áven*, "iniquitous transgressors;" and in these passages, as well as in Ps. x. 16, it has a deeper significance than that of a merely national distinction, although the latter idea is never entirely lost sight of.

In later Jewish literature a technical definition of the word is laid down which is certainly not of universal application. Elias Levita (quoted by Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, i. 665) explains the sing. *gói* as denoting one who is not of Israelitish birth. This can only have reference to its after signification; in the O. T. the singular is never used of an individual, but is a collective term, applied equally to the Israelites (Josh. iii. 17) as to the nations of Canaan (Lev. xx. 23), and denotes simply a body politic. Another distinction, equally unsupported, is made between גּוֹיִם, *góyim*, and אֻמִּים, *ummim*, the former being defined as the nations who had served Israel, while the latter were those who had not (*Jalkut Chadash*, fol. 20, no. 20; Eisenmenger, i. 667). Abarbanel on Joel iii 2 applies the former to both Christians and Turks, or Ishmaelites, while in *Sepher Juchasin* (fol. 148, col. 2) the Christians alone are distinguished by this appellation. Eisenmenger gives some curious examples of the disabilities under which a *gói* labored. One who kept sabbaths was judged deserving of death (ii. 206), and the study of the law was prohibited to him under the same penalty; but on the latter point the doctors are at issue (ii. 209).

W. A. W.

HEAVEN. There are four Hebrew words thus rendered in the O. T., which we may briefly notice. 1. רָקִיעַ (στερέωμα: *firmamentum*; Luth. *Veste*), a solid expanse, from רָקַע, "to beat out;" a word used primarily of the hammering out of metal (Ex. xxxix. 3, Num. xvi. 38). The fuller expression is רְקִיעַ הַשָּׁמָיִם (Gen. i. 14 f.). That Moses understood it to mean a *solid* expanse is clear from his representing it as the barrier between the upper and lower waters (Gen. i. 6 f.), *i. e.* as separating the reservoir of the celestial ocean (Ps. civ. 3, xxix. 3) from the waters of the earth, or those on which the earth was supposed to float (Ps. cxxxvi. 6). Through its open lattices (אֲרֻבּוֹת Gen. vii. 11; 2 K. vii. 2, 19; comp. κόσκινον Aristoph. *Nub.* 373) or doors (דְּלָתַיִם, Ps. lxxviii. 23) the dew and snow and hail are poured upon the earth (Job xxxviii. 22, 37, where we have the curious expression "bottles of heaven," "utres cœli"). This firm vault, which Job describes as being "strong as a molten looking-glass" (xxxvii. 18), is transparent, like pellucid sapphire, and splendid as crystal (Dan. xii. 3; Ex. xxiv. 10; Ez. i. 22; Rev. iv. 6), over which rests the throne of God (Is. lxvi. 1; Ez. i. 26), and which is opened for the descent of angels, or for prophetic visions (Gen. xxviii. 17; Ez. i. 1; Acts vii. 56, x. 11). In it, like gems or golden lamps, the stars are fixed to give light to the earth, and regulate the seasons (Gen. i. 14–19); and the whole magnificent, im-

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measurable structure (Jer. xxxi. 37) is supported by the mountains as its pillars, or strong foundations (Ps. xviii. 7; 2 Sam. xxii. 8; Job xxvi. 11). Similarly the Greeks believed in an *οὐρανὸς πολύχαλκος* (Hom. *Il.* v. 504), or *σιδήρεος* (Hom. *Od.* xv. 328), or *ἀδάμαστος* (Orph. *Hymn. ad Caelum*), which the philosophers called *στερέμνιον*, or *κουσταλλοειδές* (Emped. *ap. Plut. de Phil. Plac.* ii. 11; Artemid. *ap.* Sen *Nat. Quaest.* vii. 13; quoted by Gesenius, *s. v.*) It is clear that very many of the above notions were mere metaphors resulting from the simple primitive conception, and that later writers among the Hebrews had arrived at more scientific views, although of course they retained much of the old phraseology, and are fluctuating and undecided in their terms. Elsewhere, for instance, the heavens are likened to a curtain (Ps. civ. 2; Is. xl. 22). In A. V. "heaven" and "heavens" are used to render not only רָקִיעַ, but also שָׁמַיִם, מָרוֹם, and שְׁחָקִים, for which reason we have thrown together under the former word the chief features ascribed by the Jewish writers to this portion of the universe. [FIRMAMENT, Amer. ed.]

2. שָׁמַיִם is derived from שָׁמָה, "to be high." This is the word used in the expression "the heaven and the earth," or "the upper and lower regions" (Gen. i. 1), which was a periphrasis to supply the want of a single word for the Cosmos (Deut. xxxii. 1; Is. i. 2; Ps. cxlviii. 13). "Heaven of heavens" is their expression of infinity (Neh. ix. 6; Ecclus. xvi. 18).

3. מָרוֹם, used for heaven in Ps. xviii. 16; Jer. xxv. 30; Is. xxiv. 18. Properly speaking it means a mountain, as in Ps. cii. 19, Ez. xvii. 23. It must not, however, be supposed for a moment that the Hebrews had any notion of a "Mountain of Meeting," like *Albordsh*, the northern hill of Babylonish mythology (Is. xiv. 13), or the Greek *Olympus*, or the Hindoo *Meru*, the Chinese *Kuenlun*, or the Arabian *Caf* (see Kalisch, *Gen.* p. 24, and the authorities there quoted), since such a fancy is incompatible with the pure monotheism of the Old Testament.

4. שְׁחָקִים, "expanses," with reference to the *extent* of heaven, as the last two words were derived from its *height;* hence this word is often used together with שָׁמַיִם, as in Deut. xxxiii. 26; Job xxxv. 5. In the A. V. it is sometimes rendered *clouds*, for which the fuller term is עָבֵי שְׁחָקִים (Ps. xviii. 12). The word שָׁחַק means first "to pound," and then "to wear out." So that, according to some, "clouds" (from the notion of *dust*) is the *original* meaning of the word. (Gesenius, however, rejects this opinion (*Thes.* s. v.).

In the N. T. we frequently have the word *οὐρανοί*, which some consider to be a Hebraism, or a plural of excellence (Schleusner, *Lex. Nov. Test.*, s. v.). St. Paul's expression *ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ* (2 Cor. xii. 2) has led to much conjecture. Grotius said that the Jews divided the heaven into three parts, namely, (1.) Nubiferum, the air or atmosphere, where clouds gather. (2.) Astriferum, the firmament, in which the sun, moon, and stars are fixed. (3.) Empyreum, or Angeliferum, the upper heaven, the abode of God and his angels, *i. e.* 1. עוֹלָם הִיתְכּוֹן 2. עוֹלָם שְׁפַל (or רְקִיעַ); and 3. עוֹלָם הָעֶלְיוֹן (or שְׁמֵי שְׁמַיִם "heaven of heavens"). This curiously explicit statement is entirely unsupported by Rabbinic authority, but it is hardly fair of Meyer to call it a *fiction*, for it may be supposed to rest on some vague Biblical evidence (cf. Dan. iv. 12, "the fowls of the heaven;" Gen. xxii. 17, "the stars of the heaven;" Ps. ii. 4, "he that sitteth in the heavens," etc.). The Rabbis spoke of two heavens (cf. Deut. x. 14, "the heaven and the heaven of heavens"), or seven (*ἑπτὰ οὐρανοὺς οὕς τινες ἀριθμοῦσι κατ' ἀναβασιν*, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 7, p. 636). "Reech Lakisch dixit septem esse coelos, quorum nomina sunt, 1. velum; 2. expansum; 3. nubes; 4. habitaculum; 5. habitatio; 6. sedes fixa; 7. Araboth," or sometimes "the treasury." At the sin of Adam, God ascended into the first; at the sin of Cain into the second; during the generation of Enoch into the third, etc.; afterwards God descended downwards into the sixth at the time of Abraham, into the fifth during the life of Isaac, and so on down to the time of Moses, when He redescended into the first (see many passages quoted by Wetstein, *ad* 2 Cor. xii. 2). Of all these definitions and deductions we may remark simply with Origen, *ἑπτὰ δὲ οὐρανοὺς ἢ ὅλως περιωρισμένον ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν αἱ φερόμεναι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἀναγγέλουσι γραφαί* (*c. Cels.* vi. c. 21, p. 289) [*i. e.* "of seven heavens, or any definite number of heavens, the Scriptures received in the churches of God do not inform us"].

If nothing has here been said on the secondary senses attached to the word "heaven," the omission is intentional. The object of this Dictionary is not practical, but exegetical; not theological, but critical and explanatory. A treatise on the nature and conditions of future beatitude would here be wholly out of place. We may, however, remark that as heaven was used metaphorically to signify the abode of Jehovah, it is constantly employed in the N. T. to signify the abode of the spirits of the just. (See for example Matt. v. 12, vi. 20; Luke x. 20, xii. 33; 2 Cor. v. 1; Col. i. 5.)

F. W. F.

* HEAVE-OFFERING. [SACRIFICE.]

HE'BER. The Heb. עֵבֶר and חֶבֶר are more forcibly distinguished than the English Eber and Heber. In its use, however, of this merely aspirate distinction the A. V. of the O. T. is consistent: Eber always = עֵבֶר, and Heber חֶבֶר. In Luke iii. 35, Heber = Eber, Ἔβερ; the distinction so carefully observed in the O. T. having been neglected by the translators of the N. T.

The LXX. has a similar distinction, though not consistently carried out. It expresses עֵבֶר by Ἔβερ (Gen. x. 21), Ἔβερ (1 Chr. i. 25), Ἐβραίους (Num. xxiv. 24); while חֶבֶר is variously given as Χοβόρ, Χαβέρ, Ἀβάρ, or Ἀβέρ. In these words, however, we can clearly perceive two distinct groups of equivalents, suggested by the effort to express two radically different forms. The transition from Χοβόρ through Χαβέρ to Ἀβερ is sufficiently obvious.

The Vulg. expresses both indifferently by *Heber* except in Judg. iv. 11 ff., where Haber is probably

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suggested by the LXX. Χαβέρ; and Num. xxiv. 24, *Hebraeos*, evidently after the LXX. Ἑβραίους.

Excluding Luke iii. 35, where Heber = Eber, we have in the O. T. six of the name.

1. Grandson of the Patriarch Asher (Gen. xlvi. 17; 1 Chr. vii. 31; Num. xxvi. 45).

2. Of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 18).

3. [Ὦβήδ; Alex. Ιωβηδ; Comp. Ἐβέρ: *Heber.*] A Gadite (1 Chr. v. 13).

4. A Benjamite (1 Chr. viii. 17).

5. [Ὦβήδ; Vat. Ωβδη; Ald. Ἀβέρ: *Heber.*] Another Benjamite (1 Chr. viii. 22).

6. Heber, the Kenite, the husband of Jael (Judg. iv. 11–17, v. 24). It is a question how he could be a Kenite, and yet trace his descent from Hobab, or Jethro, who was priest of Midian. The solution is probably to be sought in the nomadic habits of the tribe, as shown in the case of Heber himself, of the family to which he belonged (Judg. i. 16), and of the Kenites generally (in 1 Sam. xv. 6, they appear among the Amalekites). It should be observed that Jethro is never called a Midianite, but expressly a Kenite (Judg. i. 16); that the expression "priest of Midian," may merely serve to indicate the country in which Jethro resided; lastly, that there would seem to have been two successive migrations of the Kenites into Palestine, one under the sanction of the tribe of Judah at the time of the original occupation, and attributed to Jethro's descendants generally (Judg. i. 16); the other a special, nomadic expedition of Heber's family, which led them to Kedesh in Naphtali, at that time the debatable ground between the northern tribes, and Jabin, King of Canaan. We are not to infer that this was the final settlement of Heber: a tent seems to have been his sole habitation when his wife smote Sisera (Judg. iv. 21).

7. (Ἐβέρ: *Heber.*) The form in which the name of the patriarch EBER is given in the genealogy. Luke iii. 35. T. E. B.

HE'BERITES, THE (הַחֶבְרִי: ὁ Χοβερί [Vat. -ρει]: *Heberita*). Descendants of Heber, a branch of the tribe of Asher (Num. xxvi. 45). W. A. W.

* **HEBREW LANGUAGE.** See SEMITIC LANGUAGES, §§ 6–13.

HE'BREW, HE'BREWS. This word first occurs as applied to Abraham (Gen. xiv. 13): it was afterwards given as a name to his descendants.

Four derivations have been proposed:—

I. Patronymic from Abram.

II. Appellative from עָבַר.

III. Appellative from עֵבֶר.

IV. Patronymic from Eber.

I. From Abram, *Abrai*, and by euphony *Hebrei* (August., Ambrose). Displaying, as it does, the utmost ignorance of the language, this derivation was never extensively adopted, and was even retracted by Augustine (*Retract.* 16). The euphony alleged by Ambrose is quite imperceptible, and there is no parallel in the Lat. *meridie* = *medidie*.

II. עִבְרִי, from עָבַר = 'crossed over,' applied by the Canaanites to Abraham upon his crossing the Euphrates (Gen. xiv. 13, where LXX. περάτης = *transitor*). This derivation is open to the strong objection that Hebrew nouns ending in are either patronymics, or gentilic nouns (Buxtorf, Leusden). This is a technical objection which, though fatal to the περάτης, or *appellation* derivation as traced back to the verb, does not apply to the same as referred to the noun עֵבֶר. The analogy of Galli, Angli, Hispani derived from Gallia, Anglia, Hispania (Leusd.), is a complete blunder in ethnography; and at any rate it would confirm rather than destroy the derivation from the noun.

III. This latter comes next in review, and is essentially the same with II.; since both rest upon the hypothesis that Abraham and his posterity were called Hebrews in order to express a distinction between the races E. and W. of the Euphrates The question of fact is not essential whether Abraham was the first person to whom the word was applied, his posterity as such inheriting the name; or whether his posterity equally with himself were by the Canaanites regarded as men from "the other side" of the river. The real question at issue is whether the Hebrews were so called from a progenitor Eber (which is the fourth and last derivation), or from a country which had been the cradle of their race, and from which they had emigrated westward into Palestine; in short, whether the word Hebrew is a patronymic, or a gentile noun.

IV. The latter opinion in one or other of its phases indicated above is that suggested by the LXX., and maintained by Jerome, Theodor., Origen, Chrysost., Arias Montanus, R. Bechai, Paul Burg., Münster, Grotius, Scaliger, Selden, Rosenm., Gesen., Eichhorn; the former is supported by Joseph., Suidas, Bochart, Vatablus, Drusius, Vossius, Buxtorf, Hottinger, Leusden, Whiston, Bauer. As regards the derivation from עֵבֶר, the noun (or according to others the prep.), Leusden himself, the great supporter of the Buxtorfian theory, indicates the obvious analogy of Transmarini, Transylvani, Transalpini, words which from the description of a fixed and local relation attained in process of time to the independence and mobility of a gentile name. So natural indeed is it to suppose that Eber (*trans, on the other side*) was the term used by a Canaanite to denote the country E. of the Euphrates, and Hebrew the name which he applied to the inhabitants of that country, that Leusden is driven to stake the entire issue as between derivations III. and IV. upon a challenge to produce any passage of the O. T. in which עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר = עֵבֶר. If we accept Rosenm. *Schol.* on Num. xxiv. 24, according to which Eber by parallelism with Asshur = Trans-Euphratian, this challenge is met. But if not, the facility of the abbreviation is sufficient to create a presumption in its favor; while the derivation with which it is associated harmonizes more perfectly than any other with the later usage of the word *Hebrew*, and is confirmed by negative arguments of the strongest kind. In fact it seems almost impossible for the defenders of the patronymic *Eber* theory to get over the difficulty arising from the circumstance that no special prominence is in the genealogy assigned to Eber, such as might entitle him to the position of head or founder of the race. From the genealogical scheme in Gen. xi. 10–26, it does not appear that the Jews thought of Eber as a source primary, or even secondary, of the national descent. The genealogy neither starts from him nor in its uniform sequence does it rest

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upon him with any emphasis. There is nothing to distinguish Eber above Arphaxad, Peleg, or Serug. Like them he is but a link in the chain by which Shem is connected with Abraham. Indeed the tendency of the Israelitish retrospect is to stop at Jacob. It is with Jacob that their history as a nation begins: beyond Jacob they held their ancestry in common with the Edomites; beyond Isaac they were in danger of being confounded with the Ishmaelites. The predominant figure of the emphatically *Hebrew* Abraham might tempt them beyond those points of affinity with other races, so distasteful, so anti-national; but it is almost inconceivable that they would voluntarily originate, and perpetuate an appellation of themselves which landed them on a platform of ancestry where they met the whole population of Arabia (Gen. x. 25, 30).

As might have been expected, an attempt has been made to show that the position which Eber occupies in the genealogy is one of no ordinary kind, and that the Hebrews stood in a relation to him which was held by none other of his descendants, and might therefore be called *par excellence* "the children of Eber."

There is, however, only one passage in which it is possible to imagine any peculiar resting-point as connected with the name of Eber. In Gen. x. 21 Shem is called "the father of all the children of Eber." But the passage is apparently not so much genealogical as ethnographical; and in this view it seems evident that the words are intended to contrast Shem with Ham and Japheth, and especially with the former. Now Babel is plainly fixed as the extreme E. limit of the posterity of Ham (ver. 10), from whose land Nimrod went out into Assyria (ver. 11, margin of A. V.): in the next place, Egypt (ver. 13) is mentioned as the W. limit of the same great race; and these two extremes having been ascertained, the historian proceeds (ver. 15–19) to fill up his ethnographic sketch with the intermediate tribes of the Canaanites. In short, in ver. 6–20, we have indications of three geographical points which distinguish the posterity of Ham, namely, Egypt, Palestine, and Babylon. At the last-mentioned city, at the river Euphrates, their proper occupancy, unaffected by the exceptional movement of Asshur, terminated, and at the same point that of the descendants of Shem began. Accordingly, the sharpest contrast that could be devised is obtained by generally classing these latter nations as those *beyond* the river Euphrates; and the words "father of all the children of Eber," *i. e.* father of the nations to the east of the Euphrates, find an intelligible place in the context.

But a more tangible ground for the specialty implied in the derivation of Hebrew from Eber is sought in the supposititious fact that Eber was the only descendant of Noah who preserved the one primeval language; and it is maintained that this language transmitted by Eber to the Hebrews, and to them alone of all his descendants, constitutes a peculiar and special relation (Theodor., Voss., Leusd.).

It is obvious to remark that this theory rests upon three entirely gratuitous assumptions: first, that the primeval language has been preserved; next, that Eber alone preserved it; lastly, that having so preserved it, he communicated it to his son Peleg, but not to his son Joktan.

The first assumption is utterly at variance with the most certain results of ethnology: the two others are grossly improbable. The Hebrew of the O. T. was not the language of Abraham when he first entered Palestine: whether he inherited his language from Eber or not, decidedly the language which he did speak must have been Chaldee (comp Gen. xxxi. 47), and not Hebrew (Eichhorn). This supposed primeval language was in fact the language of the Canaanites, assumed by Abraham as more or less akin to that in which he had been brought up, and could not possibly have been transmitted to him by Eber.

The appellative (περάτης) derivation is strongly confirmed by the historical use of the word *Hebrew*. A patronymic would naturally be in use only among the people themselves, while the appellative which had been originally applied to them as strangers in a strange land would probably continue to designate them in their relations to neighboring tribes, and would be their current name among foreign nations. This is precisely the case with the terms Israelite and Hebrew respectively. The former was used by the Jews of themselves among themselves, the latter was the name by which they were known to foreigners. It is used either when foreigners are introduced as speaking (Gen. xxxix. 14, 17, xli. 12; Ex. i. 16, ii. 6: 1 Sam. iv. 6, 9, xiii. 19, xiv. 11, xxix. 3), or where they are opposed to foreign nations (Gen. xliii. 32; Ex. i. 15, ii. 11; Deut. xv. 12; 1 Sam. xiii. 3, 7). So in Greek and Roman writers we find the name *Hebrews*, or, in later times, *Jews* (Pausan. v. 5, § 2, vi. 24, § 6; Plut. *Sympos.* iv. 6, 1; Tac. *Hist.* v. 1; Joseph. *passim*). In N. T. we find the same contrast between Hebrews and foreigners (Acts vi. 1; Phil. iii. 5); the Hebrew language is distinguished from all others (Luke xxiii. 38; John v. 2, xix. 13; Acts xxi. 40, xxvi. 14; Rev. ix. 11); while in 2 Cor. xi. 22, the word is used as only second to *Israelite* in the expression of national peculiarity.

Gesenius has successfully controverted the opinion that the term *Israelite* was a sacred name, and *Hebrew* the common appellation.

Briefly, we suppose that *Hebrew* was originally a Cis-Euphratian word applied to Trans-Euphratian immigrants; it was accepted by these immigrants in their external relations; and after the general substitution of the word *Jew*, it still found a place in that marked and special feature of national contradistinction, the language (Joseph. *Ant.* i. 6, § 4; Suidas, *s. v.* Ἑβραῖοι; Euseb. *de Præp. Evang.* ii. 4; Ambrose, *Comment. in Phil.* iii. 5; August. *Quæst. in Gen.* 24; *Consens. Evang.* 14; comp. *Retract.* 16; Grot. *Annot. ad Gen.* xiv. 13; Voss. *Etym. s. v. supra*; Bochart, *Phaleg*, ii. 14; Buxt. *Diss. de Ling. Heb. Conserv.* 31; Hottinger, *Thes.* i. 1, 2; Leusden, *Phil. Heb. Diss.* 21, 1; Bauer, *Entwurf*, etc., § xi.; Rosenm. *Schol. ad Gen.* x. 21, xiv. 13, and Num. xxiv. 24; Eichhorn, *Einleit.* i. p. 60; Gesen. *Lex.*, and *Gesch. d. Heb. Spr.* 11, 12).

T. E. B.

HE'BREWESS (עִבְרִיָּה: Ἑβραία: *Hebræa*). A Hebrew woman (Jer. xxxiv. 9).

W. A. W.

HEBREWS, EPISTLE TO THE. The principal questions which have been raised, and the opinions which are current respecting this epistle may be considered under the following heads:

I. Its canonical authority.
II. Its author.
III. To whom was it addressed?
IV. Where and when was it written?
V. In what language was it written?

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VI. Condition of the Hebrews, and scope of the epistle.

VII. Literature connected with it.

I. The most important question that can be entertained in connection with this epistle touches its canonical [a] authority.

The universal Church, by allowing it a place among the Holy Scriptures, acknowledges that there is nothing in its contents inconsistent with the rest of the Bible. But the peculiar position which is assigned to it among the epistles shows a trace of doubts as to its authorship or canonical authority, two points which were blended together in primitive times. Has it then a just claim to be received by us as a portion of that Bible which contains the rule of our faith and the rule of our practice, laid down by Christ and his Apostles? Was it regarded as such by the Primitive Church, to whose clearly-expressed judgment in this matter all later generations of Christians agree to defer?

Of course, if we possessed a declaration by an inspired apostle that this epistle is canonical, all discussion would be superfluous. But the interpretation (by F. Spanheim and later writers) of 2 Pet. iii. 15 as a distinct reference to St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews seems scarcely tenable. For, if the "you" whom St. Peter addresses be all Christians (see 2 Pet. i. 2), the reference must not be limited to the Epistle to the Hebrews; or if it include only (see 2 Pet. iii. 1) the Jews named in 1 Pet. i. 1, there may be special reference to the Galatians (vi. 7–9) and Ephesians (ii. 3–5), but not to the Hebrews.

Was it then received and transmitted as canonical by the immediate successors of the Apostles? The most important witness among these, Clement (A. D. 70 or 95), refers to this epistle in the same way as, and more frequently than, to any other canonical book. It seems to have been "wholly transfused," says Mr. Westcott (*On the Canon*, p. 32), into Clement's mind. Little stress can be laid upon the few possible allusions to it in Barnabas, Hermas, Polycarp, and Ignatius. But among the extant authorities of orthodox Christianity during the first century after the epistle was written, there is not one dissentient voice, whilst it is received as canonical by Clement writing from Rome; by Justin Martyr,[b] familiar with the traditions of Italy and Asia; by his contemporaries, Pinytus (?) the Cretan bishop, and the predecessors of Clement and Origen at Alexandria; and by the compilers of the Peshito version of the New Testament. Among the writers of this period who make no reference to it, there is not one whose subject necessarily leads us to expect him to refer to it. Two heretical teachers, Basilides at Alexandria and Marcion at Rome, are recorded as distinctly rejecting the epistle.

But at the close of that period, in the North African church, where first the Gospel found utterance in the Latin tongue, orthodox Christianity first doubted the canonical authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The Gospel, spreading from Jerusalem along the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean, does not appear to have borne fruit in North Africa until after the destruction of Jerusalem had curtailed intercourse with Palestine And it came thither not on the lips of an inspired apostle, but shorn of much of that oral tradition in which, with many other facts, was embodied the ground of the eastern belief in the canonical authority and authorship of this anonymous epistle. To the old Latin version of the Scriptures, which was completed probably about A. D. 170, this epistle seems to have been added as a composition of Barnabas, and as destitute of canonical authority. The opinion or tradition thus embodied in that age and country cannot be traced further back. About that time the Roman Church also began to speak Latin; and even its latest Greek writers gave up, we know not why, the full faith of the Eastern Church in the canonical authority of this epistle.

During the next two centuries the extant fathers of the Roman and North African churches regard the epistle as a book of no canonical authority. Tertullian, if he quotes it, disclaims its authority and speaks of it as a good kind of apocryphal book written by Barnabas. Cyprian leaves it out of the number of St. Paul's epistles, and, even in his books of Scripture Testimonies against the Jews, never makes the slightest reference to it. Irenæus, who came in his youth to Gaul, defending in his

[a] The Rev. J. Jones, in his *Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the N. T.*, indicates the way in which an inquiry into this subject should be conducted; and Dr. N. Lardner's *Credibility of the Gospel History* is a storehouse of ancient authorities. But both these great works are nearly superseded for ordinary purposes by the invaluable compendium of the Rev. B. F. Westcott, *On the Canon of the New Testament*, to which the first part of this article is greatly indebted. [There is a 2d edition of this work, Lond. 1866.]

[b] Lardner's remark, that it was not the method of Justin to use allusions so often as other authors have done, may supply us with something like a middle point between the conflicting declarations of two living writers, both entitled to be heard with attention. The index of Otto's edition of Justin contains more than 50 references by Justin to the epistles of St. Paul; while Prof. Jowett (*On the Thessalonians, etc.*, 1st ed. i. 345) puts forth in England the statement that Justin was unacquainted with St. Paul and his writings.

[c] This statement is modified in the 2d edition of Prof. Jowett's work (Lond. 1859). He there says (i. 444) that "Justin refers to the Twelve in several passages, but nowhere in his genuine writings mentions St Paul. And when speaking of the books read in the Christian assemblies, he names only the Gospels and the Prophets. (*Apol.* i. 67.) . . . On the other hand, it is true that in numerous quotations from the Old Testament, Justin appears to follow St. Paul." The statement that "the index of Otto's edition of Justin contains more than 50 references by Justin to the epistles of St Paul" is not correct, if his index to Justin's *undisputed* works is intended, the number being only 39 (exclusive of 6 to the Epistle to the Hebrews), and 16 of these being to quotations from or allusions to the Old Testament common to Justin and St. Paul. In most of the remainder, the correspondence in language between Justin and the epistles of St. Paul is not close. Still the evidence that Justin was acquainted with the writings of the great Apostle to the Gentiles appears to be satisfactory. See particularly on this point the articles of Otto in Illgen's *Zeitschr. f. d. hist. Theol.*, 1842, Heft 2, pp. 41–54, and 1843, Heft 1, pp. 34–43. In such works as the two Apologies and the Dialogue with Trypho, *quotations* from St. Paul were not to be expected. That Justin was acquainted with the Epistle to the Hebrews is also probable, but that he regarded it as "canonical" can hardly be proved or disproved. See the careful and judicious remarks of Mr. Westcott, *Canon of the New Test.*, 2d ed., p. 146 ff.

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great work the Divinity of Christ, never quotes, scarcely refers to the Epistle to the Hebrews. The Muratorian Fragment on the Canon leaves it out of the list of St. Paul's epistles. So did Caius and Hippolytus, who wrote at Rome in Greek; and so did Victorinus of Pannonia. But in the fourth century its authority began to revive; it was received by Hilary of Poitiers, Lucifer and Faustinus of Cagliari, Fabius and Victorinus of Rome, Ambrose of Milan, and Philaster (?) and Gaudentius of Brescia. At the end of the fourth century, Jerome, the most learned and critical of the Latin Fathers, reviewed the conflicting opinions as to the authority of this epistle. He considered that the prevailing, though not universal view of the Latin churches, was of less weight than the view, not only of ancient writers, but also of all the Greek and all the Eastern churches, where the epistle was received as canonical and read daily; and he pronounced a decided opinion in favor of its authority. The great contemporary light of North Africa, St. Augustine, held a similar opinion. And after the declaration of these two eminent men, the Latin churches united with the East in receiving the epistle. The 3d Council of Carthage, A. D. 397, and a decretal of Pope Innocent, A. D. 416, gave a final confirmation to their decision.

Such was the course and the end of the only considerable opposition which has been made to the canonical authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Its origin has not been ascertained. Some critics have conjectured that the Montanist or the Novatian controversy instigated, and that the Arian controversy dissipated, so much opposition as proceeded from orthodox Christians. The references to St. Paul in the Clementine Homilies have led other critics to the startling theory that *orthodox* Christians at Rome, in the middle of the second century, commonly regarded and described St. Paul as an enemy of the Faith; — a theory which, if it were established, would be a much stranger fact than the rejection of the least accredited of the epistles which bear the Apostle's name. But perhaps it is more probable that that jealous care, with which the Church everywhere, in the second century, had learned to scrutinize all books claiming canonical authority, misled, in this instance, the churches of North Africa and Rome. For to them this epistle was an anonymous writing, unlike an epistle in its opening, unlike a treatise in its end, differing in its style from every apostolic epistle, abounding in arguments and appealing to sentiments which were always foreign to the Gentile, and growing less familiar to the Jewish mind. So they went a step beyond the church of Alexandria, which, while doubting the authorship of this epistle, always acknowledged its authority. The church of Jerusalem, as the original receiver of the epistle, was the depository of that oral testimony on which both its authorship and canonical authority rested, and was the fountain-head of information which satisfied the Eastern and Greek churches. But the church of Jerusalem was early hidden in exile and obscurity. And Palestine, after the destruction of Jerusalem, became unknown ground to that class of "dwellers in Libya about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome," who once maintained close religious intercourse with it. All these considerations may help to account for the fact that the Latin churches hesitated to receive an epistle, the credentials of which, from peculiar circumstances, were originally imperfect, and had become inaccessible to them when their version of Scripture was in process of formation, until religious intercourse between East and West again grew frequent and intimate in the fourth century.

But such doubts were confined to the Latin churches from the middle of the second to the close of the fourth century. All the rest of orthodox Christendom from the beginning was agreed upon the canonical authority of this epistle. No Greek or Syriac writer ever expressed a doubt. It was acknowledged in various public documents: received by the framers of the Apostolical Constitutions (about A. D. 250, *Beveridge*); quoted in the epistle of the Synod of Antioch, A. D. 269; appealed to by the debaters in the first Council of Nice; included in that catalogue of canonical books which was added (perhaps afterwards) to the canons of the Council of Laodicea, A. D. 365; and sanctioned by the Quinisextine Council at Constantinople, A. D. 692.

Cardinal Cajetan, the opponent of Luther, was the first to disturb the tradition of a thousand years, and to deny the authority of this epistle. Erasmus, Calvin, and Beza questioned only its authorship. The bolder spirit of Luther, unable to perceive its agreement with St. Paul's doctrine, pronounced it to be the work of some disciple of the Apostle, who had built not only gold, silver, and precious stones, but also wood, hay, and stubble upon his master's foundation. And whereas the Greek Church in the fourth century gave it sometimes the tenth [a] place, or at other times, as it now does, and as the Syrian, Roman, and English churches do, the fourteenth place among the epistles of St. Paul, Luther, when he printed his version of the Bible, separated this book from St. Paul's epistles, and placed it with the epistles of St. James and St. Jude, next before the Revelation; indicating by this change of order his opinion that the four relegated books are of less importance and less authority [b] than the rest of the New Testament. His opinion found some promoters; but it has not been adopted in any confession of the Lutheran Church.

The canonical authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews is then secure, so far as it can be established by the tradition of Christian churches. The doubts which affected it were admitted in remote places, or in the failure of knowledge, or under the pressure of times of intellectual excitement; and they have disappeared before full information and calm judgment.

II. *Who was the author of the Epistle?* — This question is of less practical importance than the last; for many books are received as canonical, whilst little or nothing is known of their writers. In this epistle the superscription, the ordinary source of information, is wanting. Its omission has been accounted for, since the days of Clement of Alexandria (*apud* Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 14) and Chrysostom, by supposing that St. Paul withheld his name, lest the sight of it should repel any Jewish Christians who might still regard him rather as an enemy of the law (Acts xxi. 21) than as a benefactor to their nation (Acts xxiv. 17). And

[a] The Vatican Codex (B), A. D. 350, bears traces of an earlier assignment of the fifth place to the Ep. to the Hebrews [See BIBLE, p. 305 *b*, Amer. ed.]

[b] See Bleek, i. pp. 247 and 447.

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Pantænus, or some other predecessor of Clement, adds that St. Paul would not write to the Jews as an Apostle because he regarded the Lord himself as their Apostle (see the remarkable expression, Heb. iii. 1, twice quoted by Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 12, 63).

It was the custom of the earliest fathers to quote passages of Scripture without naming the writer or the book which supplied them. But there is no reason to doubt that at first, everywhere, except in North Africa, St. Paul was regarded as the author. "Among the Greek fathers," says Olshausen (*Opuscula*, p. 95), no one is named either in Egypt, or in Syria, Palestine, Asia, or Greece, who is opposed to the opinion that this epistle proceeds from St. Paul." The Alexandrian fathers, whether guided by tradition or by critical discernment, are the earliest to note the discrepancy of style between this epistle and the other thirteen. And they received it in the same sense that the speech in Acts xxii. 1–21 is received as St. Paul's. Clement ascribed to St. Luke the translation of the epistle into Greek from a Hebrew original of St. Paul. Origen, embracing the opinion of those who, he says, preceded him, believed that the thoughts were St. Paul's, the language and composition St. Luke's or Clement's of Rome. Tertullian, knowing nothing of any connection of St. Paul with the epistle, names Barnabas as the reputed author according to the North African tradition, which in the time of Augustine had taken the less definite shape of a denial by some that the epistle was St. Paul's, and in the time of Isidore of Seville appears as a Latin opinion (founded on the dissonance of style) that it was written by Barnabas or Clement. At Rome Clement was silent as to the author of this as of the other epistles which he quotes; and the writers who follow him, down to the middle of the fourth century, only touch on the point to deny that the epistle is St. Paul's.

The view of the Alexandrian fathers, a middle point between the Eastern and Western traditions, won its way in the Church. It was adopted as the most probable opinion by Eusebius;[a] and its gradual reception may have led to the silent transfer which was made about his time, of this epistle from the tenth place in the Greek Canon to the fourteenth, at the end of St. Paul's epistles, and before those of other Apostles. This place it held everywhere till the time of Luther; as if to indicate the deliberate and final acquiescence of th universal church in the opinion that it is one of the works of St. Paul, but not in the same full sense[b] as the other ten [nine] epistles, addressed to particular churches, are his.

In the last three centuries every word and phrase in the epistle has been scrutinized with the most exact care for historical and grammatical evidence as to the authorship. The conclusions of individual inquirers are very diverse; but the result has not been any considerable disturbance of the ancient tradition.[c] No new kind of difficulty has been discovered: no hypothesis open to fewer objections than the tradition has been devised. The laborious work of the Rev. C. Forster (*The Apostolical Authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews*), which is a storehouse of grammatical evidence, advocates the opinion that St. Paul was the author of the language, as well as the thoughts of the epistle. Professor Stuart, in the Introduction to his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, discusses the internal evidence at great length, and agrees in opinion with Mr. Forster.[d] Dr. C. Wordsworth, *On the Canon of the Scriptures*,

[a] Professor Blunt, *On the Right Use of the Early Fathers*, pp. 439–444, gives a complete view of the evidence of Clement, Origen, and Eusebius as to the authorship of the epistle.

[b] In this sense may be fairly understood the indirect declaration that this epistle is St. Paul's, which the Church of England puts into the mouth of her ministers in the Offices for the Visitation of the Sick and the Solemnization of Matrimony.

[c] Bishop Pearson (*De successione priorum Romæ episcoporum*, ch. viii. § 8) says that the way in which Timothy is mentioned (xiii. 23) seems to him a sufficient proof that St. Paul was the author of this epistle. For another view of this passage see Bleek, i. 273.

[d] "It has been asserted by some German critics, as Schuls and Seyffarth, that an unusually large proportion of ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, or peculiar words, is found in the Epistle to the Hebrews as compared with other epistles of Paul. This is denied by Prof. Stuart, who institutes an elaborate comparison between this epistle and the First Epistle to the Corinthians in reference to this point. (See his *Comm. on Hebrews*, 2d ed., p. 217 ff., 228 ff.) As the result of this examination, he finds in 1 Cor. 230 words which occur nowhere else in the writings of Paul; while in the Epistle to the Hebrews, according to the reckoning of Seyffarth, there are only 118 words of this class. Taking into account the comparative length of the two epistles, the number of peculiar words in the Epistle to the Hebrews as compared with that in 1 Cor. is, according to Prof. Stuart, in the proportion of 1 to 1¼. Hence he argues, that "if the number of ἅπαξ λεγόμενα in our epistle proves that it was not from the hand of Paul, it must be more abundantly evident that Paul cannot have been the author of the First Epistle to the Corinthians."

The facts in the case, however, are very different from what Prof. Stuart supposes. In the first place, 20 of his ἅπαξ λεγόμενα in 1st Corinthians are found in the Epistle to the Hebrews, which, to make the comparison tolerably fair, should be assumed as Pauline; 5 others are found only in quotations; and 13 more do not properly belong in the list, while 25 should be added to it. Correcting these errors, we find the number of peculiar words in 1 Cor. to be about 217 On the other hand, the number of ἅπαξ λεγόμενα in the Epistle to the Hebrews, not reckoning, of course, those in quotations from the Old Testament, instead of being only 118, as Prof. Stuart assumes, is about 300. (The precise numbers vary a little according to the text of the Greek Testament adopted as the basis of comparison.) Leaving out of account quotations from the Old Testament, the number of lines in the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, in Knapp's edition of the Greek Testament, is 922; in the Epistle to the Hebrews, 640. We have then the proportion — 640 922 : : 300 : 432; showing that if the number of peculiar words was as great in 1 Corinthians in proportion to its length as in the Epistle to the Hebrews, we should find there 432 instead of about 217. In other words, the number of ἅπαξ λεγόμενα in Hebrews exceeds that in 1 Corinthians in nearly the proportion of 2 to 1. No judicious critic would rest an argument in such a case on the *mere* number of peculiar words; but if this matter is to be discussed at all, it is desirable that the facts should be correctly presented. There is much that is erroneous or fallacious in Professor Stuart's other remarks on the internal evidence. The work of Mr. Forster in relation to this subject (mentioned above), displays the same intellectual characteristics as his treatise on the Himyaritic Inscriptions, his *One Primeval Language*, and his *New Plea for the Authenticity of the Text of the Three Heavenly Witnesses* (1 John v. 7), recently published A

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Lect. ix., leans to the same conclusion. Dr. S. Davidson, in his *Introduction to the New Testament*, gives a very careful and minute summary of the arguments of all the principal modern critics who reason upon the internal evidence, and concludes, in substantial agreement with the Alexandrian tradition, that St. Paul was the author of the epistle, and that, as regards its phraseology and style, St. Luke coöperated with him in making it what it now appears. The tendency of opinion in Germany has been to ascribe the epistle to some other author than St. Paul. Luther's conjecture, that Apollos was the author, has been widely adopted by Le Clerc, Bleek, De Wette, Tholuck, Bunsen, and others.[a] [APOLLOS, Amer. ed.] Barnabas has been named by Wieseler, Thiersch, and others,[b] Luke by Grotius, Silas by others. Neander attributes it to some apostolic man of the Pauline school, whose training and method of stating doctrinal truth differed from St. Paul's. The distinguished name of H. Ewald has been given recently to the hypothesis (partly anticipated by Wetstein), that it was written neither by St. Paul, nor to the Hebrews, but by some Jewish teacher residing at Jerusalem to a church in some important Italian town, which is supposed to have sent a deputation to Palestine. Most of these guesses are quite destitute of historical evidence, and require the support of imaginary facts to place them on a seeming equality with the traditionary account. They cannot be said to rise out of the region of possibility into that of probability; but they are such as any man of leisure and learning might multiply till they include every name in the limited list that we possess of St. Paul's contemporaries.

The tradition of the Alexandrian fathers is not without some difficulties. It is truly said that the style of reasoning is different from that which St. Paul uses in his acknowledged epistles. But it may be replied, — Is the adoption of a different style of reasoning inconsistent with the versatility of that mind which could express itself in writings so diverse as the Pastoral Epistles and the preceding nine? or in speeches so diverse as those which are severally addressed to pagans at Athens and Lycaonia, to Jews at Pisidian Antioch, to Christian elders at Miletus? Is not such diversity just what might be expected from the man who in Syrian Antioch resisted circumcision and St. Peter, but in Jerusalem kept the Nazarite vow, and made concessions to Hebrew Christians; who professed to become "all things to all men" (1 Cor. ix. 22); whose education qualified him to express his thoughts in the idiom of either Syria or Greece, and to vindicate to Christianity whatever of eternal truth was known in the world, whether it had become current in Alexandrian philosophy, or in Rabbinical tradition?

If it be asked to what extent, and by whom was St. Paul assisted in the composition of this epistle, the reply must be in the words of Origen, "Who wrote [*i. e.* as in Rom. xvi. 22, wrote from the author's dictation c] this epistle, only God knows." The style is not quite like that of Clement of Rome. Both style and sentiment are quite unlike those of the author of the Epistle of Barnabas Of the three apostolic men named by African fathers, St. Luke is the most likely to have shared in the composition of this epistle. The similarity in phraseology which exists between the acknowledged writings of St. Luke and this epistle; his constant companionship with St. Paul, and his habit of listening to and recording the Apostle's arguments form a strong presumption in his favor.

But if St. Luke were joint-author with St. Paul, what share in the composition is to be assigned to him? This question has been asked by those who regard joint-authorship as an impossibility, and ascribe the epistle to some other writer than St. Paul. Perhaps it is not easy, certainly it is not necessary, to find an answer which would satisfy or silence persons who pursue an historical inquiry into the region of conjecture. Who shall define the exact responsibility of Timothy or Silvanus, or Sosthenes in those seven epistles which St. Paul inscribes with some of their names conjointly with his own? To what extent does St. Mark's language clothe the inspired recollections of St. Peter, which, according to ancient tradition, are recorded in the second Gospel? Or, to take the acknowledged writings of St. Luke himself, — what is the share of the "eye-witnesses and ministers of the word" (Luke i. 2), or what is the share of St. Paul himself in that Gospel, which some persons, not without countenance from tradition, conjecture that St. Luke wrote under his master's eye, in the prison at Cæsarea; or who shall assign to the follower and the master their portions respectively in those seven characteristic speeches at Antioch, Lystra, Athens, Miletus, Jerusalem, and Cæsarea? If St. Luke wrote down St. Paul's Gospel, and condensed his missionary speeches, may he not have taken afterwards a more important share in the composition of this epistle?

III. *To whom was the Epistle sent?* — This question was agitated as early as the time of Chrysostom, who replies — to the Jews in Jerusalem and Palestine. The ancient tradition preserved by Clement of Alexandria, that it was originally written in Hebrew by St. Paul, points to the same quarter. The unfaltering tenacity with which the Eastern Church from the beginning maintained the authority of this epistle leads to the inference that it was sent thither with sufficient credentials in the first instance. Like the First Epistle of St. John it has no inscription embodied in its text, and yet it differs from a treatise by containing several direct personal appeals, and from a homily, by closing with messages and salutations. Its present title, which, though ancient, cannot be proved to have

[a] Among these must now be placed Dean Alford, who in the fourth volume of his *Greek Testament* (published since the above article was in type), discusses the question with great care and candor, and concludes that the epistle was written by Apollos to the Romans, about A. D. 69, from Ephesus.

[b] Among these are some, who, unlike Origen, deny that Barnabas is the author of the epistle which bears his name. If it be granted that we have no specimen of his style, the hypothesis which connects him with the Epistle to the Hebrews becomes less improbable. Many circumstances shew that he possessed some qualifications for writing such an epistle; such as his Levitical descent, his priestly education, his reputation at Jerusalem, his acquaintance with Gentile churches, his company with St. Paul, the tradition of Tertullian, etc.

[c] Lünemann, followed by Dean Alford, argues that Origen must have meant here, as he confessedly does a few lines further on, to indicate an author, not a scribe, by ὁ γράψας; but he acknowledges that Olshausen, Stenglein, and Delitzsch, do not allow the necessity

been inscribed by the writer of the epistle, might have been given to it, in accordance with the use of the term Hebrews in the N. T., if it had been addressed either to Jews who lived at Jerusalem, and spoke Aramaic (Acts vi. 1), or to the descendants of Abraham generally (2 Cor. xi. 22; Phil. iii. 5).

But the argument of the epistle is such as could be used with most effect to a church consisting exclusively of Jews by birth, personally familiar with,[a] and attached to, the Temple-service. And such a community (as Bleek, *Hebräer*, i. 31, argues) could be found only in Jerusalem and its neighborhood. And if the church at Jerusalem retained its former distinction of including a great company of priests (Acts vi. 7) — a class professionally familiar with the songs of the Temple, accustomed to discuss the interpretation of Scripture, and acquainted with the prevailing Alexandrian philosophy — such a church would be peculiarly fit to appreciate this epistle. For it takes from the Book of Psalms the remarkable proportion of sixteen out of thirty-two quotations from the O. T., which it contains. It relies so much on deductions from Scripture that this circumstance has been pointed out as inconsistent with the tone of independent apostolic authority, which characterizes the undoubted epistles of St. Paul. And so frequent is the use of Alexandrian philosophy and exegesis that it has suggested to some critics Apollos as the writer, to others the Alexandrian church as the primary recipient of the epistle.[b] If certain members of the church at Jerusalem possessed goods (Heb. x. 34), and the means of ministering to distress (vi. 10), this fact is not irreconcilable, as has been supposed, with the deep poverty of other inhabitants of Jerusalem (Rom. xv. 26, &c.); but it agrees exactly with the condition of that church thirty years previously (Acts ii. 45, and iv. 34), and with the historical estimate of the material prosperity of the Jews at this time (Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, vi. 531, ch. lix.). If St. Paul quotes to Hebrews the LXX. without correcting it where it differs from the Hebrew, this agrees with his practice in other epistles, and with the fact that, as elsewhere so in Jerusalem, Hebrew was a dead language, acquired only with much pains by the learned. The Scriptures were popularly known in Aramaic or Greek: quotations were made from memory, and verified by memory. Probably Prof. Jowett is correct in his inference (1st edit. i. 361), that St. Paul did not *familiarly* know the Hebrew original, while he possessed a minute knowledge of the LXX.

Ebrard limits the primary circle of readers even to a section of the church at Jerusalem. Considering such passages as v. 12, vi. 10, x. 32, as probably inapplicable to the whole of that church, he conjectures that St. Paul wrote to some neophytes whose conversion, though not mentioned in the Acts, may have been partly due to the Apostle's influence in the time of his last recorded sojourn in Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 22).

Some critics have maintained that this epistle was addressed directly to Jewish believers everywhere; others have restricted it to those who dwelt in Asia and Greece. Almost every city in which St. Paul labored has been selected by some critic as the place to which it was originally sent. Not only Rome and Cæsarea, where St. Paul was long imprisoned, but, amid the profound silence of its early Fathers, Alexandria also, which he never saw, have each found their advocates. And one conjecture connects this epistle specially with the Gentile Christians of Ephesus. These guesses agree in being entirely unsupported by historical evidence; and each of them has some special plausibility combined with difficulties peculiar to itself.

IV. *Where and when was it written?* — Eastern traditions of the fourth century, in connection with the opinion that St. Paul is the writer, name Italy and Rome, or Athens, as the place from whence the epistle was written. Either place would agree with, perhaps was suggested by, the mention of Timothy in the last chapter. An inference in favor of Rome may be drawn from the Apostle's long captivity there in company with Timothy and Luke. Cæsarea is open to a similar inference; and it has been conjecturally named as the place of the composition of the Epp. to the Colossians, Ephesians, and Philippians: but it is not supported by any tradition. From the expression "they of (ἀπό) Italy," xiii. 24, it has been inferred that the writer could not have been in Italy; but Winer (*Grammatik*, § 66, 6), denies that the preposition necessarily has that force.

The epistle was evidently written before the destruction of Jerusalem in A. D. 70. The whole argument, and specially the passages viii. 4 and ff., ix. 6 and ff. (where the present tenses of the Greek are unaccountably changed into past in the English version), and xiii. 10 and ff. imply that the Temple was standing, and that its usual course of Divine service was carried on without interruption. A Christian reader, keenly watching in the doomed[c] city for the fulfillment of his Lord's prediction would at once understand the ominous references to "that which beareth thorns and briers, and is rejected, and is nigh unto cursing, whose end is to be burned;" "that which decayeth and waxeth old, and is ready to vanish away;" and the coming of the expected "Day," and the removing of those things that are shaken, vi. 8, viii. 13, x. 25, 37, xii. 27. But these forebodings seem less distinct and circumstantial than they might have been if uttered *immediately* before the catastrophe. The references to former teachers xiii. 7, and earlier instruction v. 12, and x. 32, might suit any time after the first years of the church; but it would be interesting to connect the first reference with the martyrdom[d] of St. James at the Passover A. D. 62. Modern criticism has not destroyed, though it has weakened,

[a] For an explanation of the alleged ignorance of the author of Heb. ix. as to the furniture of the Temple, see Ebrard's *Commentary* on the passage, or Professor Stuart's *Excursus*, xvi. and xvii.

[b] The influence of the Alexandrian school did not begin with Philo, and was not confined to Alexandria. [ALEXANDRIA.] The means and the evidence of its progress may be traced in the writings of the son of Sirach (Maurice's *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy*, § 8, p. 294), the author of the Book of Wisdom (Ewald, *Geschichte*, iv. 543), Aristobulus, Ezekiel, Philo, and Theodotus (Ewald, iv. 297); in the phraseology of St. John (Prof. Jowett, *On the Thessalonians*, etc 1st edit. i. 408), and the arguments of St. Paul (*ibid* p. 361); in the establishment of an Alexandrian synagogue at Jerusalem (Acts vi. 9), and the existence of schools of scriptural interpretation there (Ewald, *Geschichte*, v. 63, and vi. 281).

[c] See Josephus, *B. J.* vi. 5, § 3.

[d] See Josephus, *Ant.* xx 9, § 1; Euseb. *H. E.* ii 23; and Hegesipp. Clement. i 70, ap. Cotelier. i 509

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the connection of this epistle with St. Paul's Roman captivity (A. D. 61–63) by substituting the reading τοῖς δεσμίοις, "the prisoners," for τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου (A. V. "me in my bonds)," x. 34; by proposing to interpret ἀπολελυμένον, xiii 23, as "sent away," rather than "set at liberty;" and by urging that the condition of the writer, as portrayed in xiii. 18, 19, 23, is not necessarily that of a prisoner, and that there may possibly be no allusion to it in xiii. 3. On the whole, the date which best agrees with the traditionary account of the authorship and destination of the epistle is A. D. 63, about the end of St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome, or a year after Albinus succeeded Festus as procurator.

V. *In what language was it written?* — Like St. Matthew's Gospel, the Epistle to the Hebrews has afforded ground for much unimportant controversy respecting the language in which it was originally written. The earliest statement is that of Clement of Alexandria (preserved in Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 14), to the effect that it was written by St. Paul in Hebrew, and translated by St. Luke into Greek; and hence, as Clement observes, arises the identity of the style of the epistle and that of the Acts. This statement is repeated, after a long interval, by Eusebius, Theodoret, Jerome, and several later fathers: but it is not noticed by the majority. Nothing is said to lead us to regard it as a tradition, rather than a conjecture suggested by the style of the epistle. No person is said to have used or seen a Hebrew original. The Aramaic copy, included in the Peshito, has never been regarded otherwise than as a translation. Among the few modern supporters of an Aramaic original the most distinguished are Joseph Hallet, an English writer in 1727 (whose able essay is most easily accessible in a Latin translation in Wolf's *Curæ Philologicæ*, iv. 806–837), and J. D. Michaelis, *Erklär. des Briefes an die Hebräer*. Bleek (i. 6–23), argues in support of a Greek original, on the grounds of (1) the purity and easy flow of the Greek; (2) the use of Greek words which could not be adequately expressed in Hebrew without long periphrase; (3) the use of paronomasia — under which head he disallows the inference against an Aramaic original which has been drawn from the double sense given to διαθήκη, ix. 15; and (4) the use of the Septuagint in quotations and references which do not correspond with the Hebrew text.

VI. *Condition of the Hebrews, and scope of the Epistle.* — The numerous Christian churches scattered throughout Judæa (Acts ix. 31; Gal. i. 22) were continually exposed to persecution from the Jews (1 Thess. ii. 14), which would become more searching and extensive as churches multiplied, and as the growing turbulence of the nation ripened into the insurrection of A. D. 66. Personal violence, spoliation of property, exclusion from the synagogue, and domestic strife were the universal forms of persecution. But in Jerusalem there was one additional weapon in the hands of the predominant oppressors of the Christians. Their magnificent national Temple, hallowed to every Jew by ancient historical and by gentler personal recollections, with its irresistible attractions, its soothing strains, and mysterious ceremonies, might be shut against the Hebrew Christian. And even if, amid the fierce factions and frequent oscillations of authority in Jerusalem, this affliction were not often laid upon him, yet there was a secret burden which every Hebrew Christian bore within him — the knowledge that the end of all the beauty and awfulness of Zion was rapidly approaching. Paralyzed, perhaps, by this consciousness, and enfeebled by their attachment to a lower form of Christianity, they became stationary in knowledge, weak in faith, void of energy, and even in danger of apostasy from Christ. For, as afflictions multiplied round them, and made them feel more keenly their dependence on God, and their need of near and frequent and associated approach to Him, they seemed, in consequence of their Christianity, to be receding from the God of their fathers, and losing that means of communion with Him which they used to enjoy. Angels, Moses and the High-priest — their intercessors in heaven in the grave, and on earth — became of less importance in the creed of the Jewish Christian; their glory waned as he grew in Christian experience Already he felt that the Lord's day was superseding the Sabbath, the New Covenant the Old. What could take the place of the Temple, and that which was behind the veil, and the Levitical sacrifices and the Holy City, when they should cease to exist? What compensation could Christianity offer him for the loss which was pressing[a] the Hebrew Christian more and more.

James, the bishop of Jerusalem, had just left his place vacant by a martyr's death. Neither to Cephas at Babylon, nor to John at Ephesus, the third pillar of the Apostolic Church, was it given to understand all the greatness of his want, and to speak to him the word in season. But there came to him from Rome the voice of one who had been the foremost in sounding the depth and breadth of that love of Christ which was all but incomprehensible to the Jew, one who feeling more than any other Apostle the weight of the care of all the churches, yet clung to his own people with a love ever ready to break out in impassioned words, and unsought and ill-requited deeds of kindness. He whom Jerusalem had sent away in chains to Rome again lifted up his voice in the hallowed city among his countrymen; but with words and arguments suited to their capacity, with a strange, borrowed accent, and a tone in which reigned no apostolic authority, and a face veiled in very love from wayward children who might refuse to hear divine and saving truth, when it fell from the lips of Paul.

He meets the Hebrew Christians on their own ground. His answer is — "Your new faith gives you Christ, and, in Christ, all you seek, all your fathers sought. In Christ the Son of God you have an all-sufficient Mediator, nearer than angels to the Father, eminent above Moses as a benefactor, more sympathizing and more prevailing than the high-priest as an intercessor: His sabbath awaits you in heaven; to His covenant the old was intended to be subservient; His atonement is the eternal reality[b] of which sacrifices are but the passing shadow; His city heavenly, not made with hands. Having Him, believe in Him with all your heart, with a faith in the unseen future, strong as that of the saints of old, patient under present, and prepared for coming woe, full of energy, and hope and holiness, and love."

Such was the teaching of the Epistle to the He

[a] See the ingenious, but perhaps overstrained, interpretation of Heb. xi. in Thiersch's *Commentatio Historica de Epistola ad Hebræos*.

[b] See Bishop Butler's *Analogy*, II. 5, § 6

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Jews. We do not possess the means of tracing out step by step its effect upon them: but we know that the result at which it aimed was achieved. The church at Jerusalem did not apostatize. It migrated to Pella (Eusebius *H. E.* iii. 5); and there, no longer dwindled under the cold shadow of overhanging Judaism, it followed the Hebrew Christians of the Dispersion in gradually entering on the possession of the full liberty which the law of Christ allows to all.

And this great epistle remains to after times, a keystone binding together that succession of inspired men which spans over the ages between Moses and St. John. It teaches the Christian student the substantial identity of the revelation of God, whether given through the Prophets, or through the Son; for it shows that God's purposes are unchangeable, however diversely in different ages they have been "reflected in broken and fitful rays, glancing back from the troubled waters of the human soul." It is a source of inexhaustible comfort to every Christian sufferer in inward perplexity, or amid "reproaches and afflictions." It is a pattern to every Christian teacher of the method in which larger views should be imparted, gently, reverently, and seasonably, to feeble spirits prone to cling to ancient forms, and to rest in accustomed feelings.

VII. *Literature connected with the Epistle.* — In addition to the books already referred to, four commentaries may be selected as the best representatives of distinct lines of thought; — those of Chrysostom, Calvin, Estius, and Bleek. Lünemann (1855 [3d ed. 1867]), and Delitzsch (1858) have recently added valuable commentaries to those already in existence.

The commentaries accessible to the English reader are those of Professor Stuart (of Andover, U. S. [2d ed., 1833, abridged by Prof. R. D. C. Robbins, Andover, 1860]), and of Ebrard, translated by the Rev. J. Fulton [in vol. vi. of Olshausen's *Bibl. Comm.*, Amer. ed.]. Dr. Owen's *Exercitations* on the Hebrews are not chiefly valuable as an attempt at exegesis. The Paraphrase and Notes of Peirce [2d ed. Lond. 1734] are praised by Dr. Doddridge. Among the well-known collections of English notes on the Greek text or English version of the N. T., those of Hammond, Fell, Whitby, Macknight, Wordsworth, and Alford may be particularly mentioned. In Prof. Stanley's *Sermons and Essays on the Apostolical Age* there is a thoughtful and eloquent sermon on this epistle; and it is the subject of three Warburtonian *Lectures*, by the Rev. F. D. Maurice [Lond. 1846].

A tolerably complete list of commentaries on this epistle may be found in Bleek, vol. ii. pp. 10–16, and a comprehensive but shorter list at the end of Ebrard's *Commentary*. W. T. B.

* The opinion that the Epistle to the Hebrews was not written by Paul has found favor with many besides those whose names have been mentioned. Among these are Ullmann (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1828, p. 788 ff.), Schott (*Isagoge*, 1830, §§ 79–87), Schleiermacher (*Einl. ins N. T.* p. 439), Lechler (*Das Apost. Zeitalt* p. 159 f.), Wieseler (*Chron. d. Apost. Zeitalt* p. 504 f.), and in a separate treatise (*Untersuchung über den Hebräerbrief*, Kiel, 1861), Twesten (*Dogmatik*, 4te Aufl., i. 95, and in Piper's *Evangel. Kalender* for 1858, p. 43 f.), Köstlin (in Baur and Zeller's *Theol. Jahrb.* 1854, p. 425), Credner (*Gesch. des Neutest. Kanon*, edited by Volkmar, p. 161), Schmid (*Bibl. Theol. des N. T.* 73), Reuss (*Gesch. des N. T.* 4te Ausg.), Weiss (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1859 p. 142) Schneckenburger (*Beiträge*, and in the *Stud. u. Krit.* 1859, p. 583 f.), Hase (*Kirchengesch.* 7te Aufl. § 39, p. 636 of the Amer. trans.), Lange (*Das Apost. Zeitalter*, i 185 f.), Ritschl (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1866, p. 89), Lünemann (*Handb.* p. 1 f., 3te Aufl. 1867, 13th pt. of Meyer's *Komm. üb. d. N. T.*), Von Gerlach (*Das N. T.* etc., Einl. p. xxxiv.), Messner (*Die Lehre der Apostel*, p. 293 ff.), Riehm (*Lehrbegr. des Hebräer-Br.*, neue Ausg. 1867), Moll (in Lange's *Bibelwerk*), Holtzmann (in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, viii. 512 ff.), the Roman Catholics Feilmoser (*Einl. ins N. T.* p. 359), Lutterbeck (*Neutest. Lehrbegr.* ii. 245), Maier (*Comm. üb. d. Brief an die Hebräer*, 1861), and among writers in English, Norton (in the *Christian Exam.* 1827 to 1829), Palfrey (*Relation between Judaism and Christianity*, pp. 311–331), Tregelles (in Horne's *Introduction*, 10th ed., iv. 585), Schaff (*Apostolic Church*, p. 641 f.), Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epp. of St. Paul*, new ed. chap. xxviii.), Westcott (*Canon of N. T.* 2d ed. p. 314), and others. In justice to this opinion, the chief arguments urged in its support may be more particularly stated. Those furnished by the epistle itself may be classified according to their general nature as formal, doctrinal, personal:

I. To the first class belong, (1.) *The absence of a salutation, and in general the treatise-like character of the epistle.* The explanation of Pantænus (?) is inadequate, for Paul might have sent a salutation without styling himself "apostle" (cf. Epp. to Phil. Thess. Philem.); the supposition of Clement of Alexandria attributes to the Apostle a procedure which, even if quite worthy of him, was hardly practicable, certainly hazardous, and plainly at variance with the indications that the author was known to his readers (cf. xiii. 18, 19, 22 f.); the assumption that Paul in this epistle abandoned his ordinary manner of composition for some unknown reason, admits the facts, but adopts what, in view of the thirteen extant specimens of his epistolary style, is the less probable explanation of them. (2.) *The peculiarities relative to the employment of the O. T.* Paul quotes the O. T. freely, in the epistle it is quoted with punctilious accuracy; Paul very often gives evidence of having the Hebrew in mind, the epistle almost (if not quite) uniformly reproduces the LXX. version, and that, too, in a form of the text (Cod. Alex.) differing generally from the LXX. text employed by the Apostle (Cod. Vat.), Paul commonly introduces his quotations as "Scripture," often gives the name of the human author, but in the epistle the quotations, with but a single exception (ii. 6), are attributed more or less directly to God. (3.) *The characteristics of expression.* (a.) The epistle is destitute of many of Paul's favorite expressions — expressions which, being of a general nature and pertinent in any epistle, betray the Apostle's habits of thought. For instance, the phrase ἐν Χριστῷ, which occurs 78 times in the acknowledged epistles of Paul (being found in all except the short Epistle to Titus), does not occur in the Epistle to the Hebrews, although this epistle, quotations excluded, is rather more than one seventh as long as the aggregate length of the other thirteen; the phrase ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός (variously modified as respects arrangement and pronouns), which occurs in every one of Paul's epistles, and more than 80 times in all, is not to be found in the Epistle to the Hebrews; the word εὐαγγέλιον, though used 60 times by Paul, and in all his epistles except that to Titus, is not met

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with in this epistle; the term πατήρ, applied to God 36 times by Paul (exclusive of 6 instances in which God is called the Father of Christ), and occurring in every one of his epistles, is so used but once in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and then by way of antithesis (Heb. xii. 9). (b.) It substitutes certain synonymous words and constructions in place of those usual with Paul: ex. gr. μισθαποδοσία for the simple μισθός employed by Paul; μέτοχον εἶναι, etc., instead of Paul's κοινωνόν etc.; the intransitive use of καθίζω in the phrase καθίζω ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ, where Paul uses the verb transitively; the expression διαπαντός, εἰς τὸ παντελές, εἰς τὸ διηνεκές instead of Paul's πάντοτε. (c.) It exhibits noticeable peculiarities of expression: the phrase εἰς τὸ διηνεκές belongs to this class also; other specimens are the use of ὅσον . . . κατὰ τοσοῦτο or οὕτω, τοσούτῳ . . . ὅσῳ, or ὅσῳ alone, and of παρά and ὑπέρ in expressing comparison; connectives, like ἐάνπερ (three times), ὅθεν (six times), which are never used by Paul. (d.) And in general its language and style differ from Paul's — its language, in being less Hebraistic, more literary, more idiomatic in construction; its style, in being less impassioned, more regular, more rhythmical and euphonious. These differences have been generally conceded from the first, and by such judges as Clement of Alexandria and Origen, to whom Greek was vernacular. They are not satisfactorily accounted for by supposing a considerable interval of time to have elapsed between the composition of the other epistles and this — for so far as we are acquainted with the Apostle's history we can find no room for such an interval, and his style as exhibited in the other epistles shows no tendency towards the required transformation; nor by assuming that Paul elaborated his style because writing to Jews — for the Jews were not accustomed to finished Greek, and he who 'to the Jews became as a Jew' did not trouble himself to polish his style on occasions when such labor might have been appreciated (cf. 2 Cor. xi. 6); nor by attributing the literary elegance of the epistle to its amanuensis — for the other epistles were dictated to different persons, yet exhibit evident marks of a common author.

II. The doctrinal indications at variance with the theory of its Pauline authorship do not amount to a conflict in any particular with the presentations of truth made by the Apostle; nor are its divergencies from the Pauline type of doctrine so marked as those of James and John. Still, it has peculiarities which are distinctive: Paul delights to present the Gospel as justification before God though faith in the Crucified One; in the Epistle to the Hebrews, on the other hand, it is represented as consummated Judaism. In accordance with this fundamental difference, the epistle defines and illustrates faith in a generic sense, as trust in God's assurances and as antithetic to sight; whereas with Paul faith is specific — a sinner's trust in Christ — and antithetic (generally) to works: it sets forth the eternal high-priesthood of the Messiah, while Paul dwells upon Christ's triumphant resurrection: in it the seed of Abraham are believing Jews, while Paul everywhere makes Gentiles joint-heirs with Jews of the grace of life: it is conspicuous, too, among the N. T. writings for its spiritualizing, at times half-mystical, mode of interpreting the O. T. Further, these different presentations of the Christian doctrine are in general made to rest upon different grounds: Paul speaks as the messenger of God, often referring, indeed, to the O. T., but still oftener [illegible] ing plenary authority to declare truth not revealed to holy men of old; but the writer to the Hebrews rests his teaching upon Biblical statements almost exclusively.

III. Among the matters personal which seem to conflict with the opinion that the epistle is Paul's, are enumerated, (1.) The circumstance that it is addressed to Jewish readers: if Paul wrote it, he departed, in doing so, from his ordinary province of labor (cf. Gal. ii. 9; Rom. xv. 20). (2.) The omission of any justification of his apostolic course relative to Judaism; and, assuming the epistle to have been destined for believers at Jerusalem, his use of language implying affectionate intimacy with them (xiii. 19, etc.; cf. Acts xxi. 17 f.). (3.) The cool, historic style in which reference is made to the early persecutions and martyrdoms of the church at Jerusalem (xiii. 7, xii. 4). In these Paul had been a prominent actor; and such passages as 1 Cor. xv. 9; 1 Tim. i. 12 f., show how *he* was accustomed to allude to them, even in writing to third parties. (4.) The intimation (ii. 3) that the writer, like his readers, received the Gospel indirectly, through those who had been the personal disciples of Christ. Paul, on the contrary, uniformly insists that he did not receive the Gospel through any human channel, but by direct revelation; and he accordingly claims coequality with the other Apostles (Gal. i. 1, 11, 12, 15, 16; ii. 6; 1 Cor. ix. 1; xi. 23; Eph. iii. 2, 3; 2 Cor. xi. 5). The reply, that the writer here uses the plural communicatively and, strictly speaking, does not mean to include himself, is unsatisfactory. For he does not quietly drop a distinction out of sight; he expressly designates three separate classes, namely, "the Lord," "them that heard," and "we," and, in the face of this explicit distinction, includes himself in the third class — this he does, although his argument would have been strengthened had he been able (like Paul) to appeal to a direct revelation from heaven.

These internal arguments are not offset by the evidence from tradition. Respecting that evidence, statements like Olshausen's give an impression not altogether correct. For, not to mention that Eusebius, although often citing the epistle as Paul's, elsewhere admits (as Origen had virtually done before him, Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25) that its apostolic origin was not wholly unquestioned by the oriental churches (*H. E.* iii. 3), and in another passage (*H. E.* vi. 13) even classes it himself among the *antilegomena*, it is noticeable that the Alexandrian testimony from the very first gives evidence that the epistle was felt to possess characteristics at variance with Pauline authorship. The statement of Clement that the epistle was translated from the Hebrew, is now almost unanimously regarded as incorrect; how then can we be assured of the truth of the accompanying assertion — or rather, the other half of the same statement — that it was written by Paul? Further, in the conflict of testimony between the East and the West, it is not altogether clear that the probabilities favor the East. Half a century before we find the epistle mentioned in the East, and hardly thirty years after it was written, it was known and prized at Rome by a man anciently believed to have been a fellow-laborer with the Apostle. It seems hardly possible that, had Paul been its author, Clement should have been ignorant of the fact; or that, the fact once known, knowledge of it should have died out while the epistle itself survived. And yet in all parts of the West —

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a Gaul, Italy, Africa — the epistle was regarded as un-Pauline.

The theory that Paul was mediately or indirectly the author, has been adopted by Hug (*Einl.* ii. 422 f.), Ebrard (in Olshausen's *Com. on N. T.*, vi. 820, Kendrick's ed.), Guericke (*Gesammtyesch. des N. T.* p. 419 f.), Davidson (*Introduction to the N. T.* iii. 256 f.), Delitzsch (in Rudelbach and Guericke's *Zeitschr.* for 1849, trans. in the *Evangel. Rev.* Mercersburg, Oct. 1850, p. 184 ff., and in his *Com.* p. 707), Bloomfield (*Gr. Test.*, 9th ed., ii. 574 ff.), Roberts (*Discussions on the Gospels*, pt. i. chap. vi.), and others, who think Luke to have given the epistle its present form; by Thiersch (in the Progr. named above, and in *Die Kirche im Apost. Zeitalt.* p. 197 f.), Conybeare (as above), and others, who make Barnabas chiefly responsible for its style; by Olshausen (*Opusc.* p. 118 ff.), who supposes that sundry presbyters were concerned in its origin; and by many who regard the Apostle's assistant as unknown. Now respecting the theory of mediate authorship it may be remarked: If Paul dictated the epistle, and Luke or some other scribe merely penned it, Paul remains its sole author; this was his usual mode of composing; this mode of composition does not occasion any perceptible diversity in his style; hence, this form of the hypothesis is useless as an explanation of the epistle's peculiarities. Again, if the epistle is assumed to be the joint production of Paul and some friend or friends, the assumption is unnatural, without evidence, without unequivocal analogy in the origin of any other inspired epistle, and insufficient to remove the difficulties in the case. Once more, if we suppose the ideas to be in the main Paul's, but their present form to be due to some one else, then Paul, not having participated actively in the work of composing the epistle, cannot according to the ordinary use of language be called its author. Whatever be the capacity in which Paul associates Timothy, Silvanus, and Sosthenes with himself in the salutation prefixed to some of his epistles, — and it is noteworthy that he does not on this account hesitate to continue in the 1st pers. sing. (see Phil. i. 3), or to use the 3d pers. of his associate at the very next mention of him (ii. 19), — the assumption of some similar associate in composing the Epistle to the Hebrews, even if it had historic warrant, would not answer the purpose designed. For the style of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, in which Sosthenes is conjoined with Paul, bears the Apostle's impress as unmistakably as does the style of the 2d Epistle to the Corinthians, where Timothy writes in the salutation. And in both, the individuality of the Apostle is as sharply defined as it is in the Epistle to the Romans. (The philological evidence thought by Delitzsch to show Luke's hand in the composition, has been collected and examined by Lünemann, as above, § 1.)

The opinion that Paul was the proper and sole author (besides the modern advocates of it already named), has been defended by Gelpke (*Vindiciæ*, etc.), a writer in the *Spirit of the Pilgrims* for 1828 and 1829 (in reply to Prof. Norton), Gurney in the *Bibl. Repos.* for 1832, p. 409 ff., extracted from *Biblical Notes and Dissertations*, Lond. 1830), Stier (*Der Brief an die Hebräer*, ii. p. 421), Lewin *Life and Epp. of St. Paul*, ii. 332–399, writers in the *Journal of Sacred Lit.* for 1860, pp. 209 ff., 193 ff., Hofmann (*Schriftbeweis*, ii. 2, 2te Aufl., p. 378, cf. p. 105), Robbins (in the *Bibl. Sacra* for 1861, p. 469 ff.), cf. Tobler (in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.* for 1864, p. 353 ff.); Wordsworth (*Gr. Test.* ii. (1.) 361 ff.); Stowe (*Origin and Hist. of the Books of the Bible*, 1867, p. 379 ff.), Pond (in the *Cong. Review* for Jan. 1868, p. 29 ff.); — see a review of the evidence in favor of, and against, the Pauline authorship, in the *Bibl. Sacra* for Oct. 1867.

The opinion that the epistle was destined originally for Alexandrian readers (in opposition to which see Lünem. *Handb.* Einl. § 2), has been adopted by Köstlin (as above, p. 388 ff.), Wieseler (as above, and in the *Stud. u. Krit.* for 1867, p. 665 ff.), Conybeare and Howson (as above), Bunsen (*Hippol. and his Age*, ii. 140, Germ. ed. i. 365), Hilgenfeld (*Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.*, 1858, p. 103), Ritschl (as above), and seems to be favored by Muratori's Fragment (see Westcott, *Canon of the N. T.* 2d ed. p. 480, cf. p. 190). Rome as its destination has been advocated fully by Holtzmann in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift* for 1867, pp. 1–35.

The date of the epistle is fixed by Ebrard at A. D. 62; by Lardner, Davidson, Schaff, Lindsay, and others at 63; by Lange (in Herzog's *Real-Encyk.* xi. 245) towards 64; by Stuart, Tholuck, and others about 64; by Wieseler in the year 64 "between spring and July"; by Riehm, Hilgenfeld (as above) 64–66; De Wette, Lünemann, and others 65–67; Ewald "summer of 66"; Bunsen 67; Conybeare and Howson, Bleek (*Einl. ins N. T.* p. 533) 68–9; Alford 68–70.

The doctrine of the epistle has been specially discussed by Neander (*Planting*, etc. bk. vi. chap. ii. Robinson's ed. p. 487 f.), Köstlin (*Johan. Lehrbegr.* p. 387 ff.), Reuss (*Histoire de la Théologie Chrétienne*, tom. ii.), Messner (as above), most fully by Riehm (as above); its Christology by Moll (in a series of programs, 1854 ff.), A. Sarrus (*Jésus Christ d'après l'auteur de l'Ép. aux Hébr.*, Strasb. 1861), and Beyschlag (*Christologie des N. T.*, 1866, p. 176 ff.). The Melchisedec priesthood is treated of by Auberlen (*Stud. u. Krit.* for 1857, p. 453 ff.).

Its mode of employing the O. T. has been considered by De Wette (*Theol. Zeitschr.* by Schleierm., De Wette and Lücke, 3te Heft, p. 1 ff.), Tholuck (*Beilage* i. to his *Com.*, also published separately with the title *Das alte Test. im N. T.*, 5te Aufl. 1861), and Fairbairn (*Typology of Script.* bk. ii. Append. B, vi., Amer. ed. vol. i. p. 362 ff.).[a]

To the recent commentators already named may be added: Turner (revised and corrected edition N. Y. 1855), Sampson (edited by Dabney from the author's MS. notes, N. Y. 1856), A. S. Patterson (Edin. 1856), the Translation with Notes published by the American Bible Union (N. Y. 1857, 4to), R. E. Pattison (Bost. 1859), Stuart (edited and revised by Prof. Robbins, 4th ed. Andover, 1860), Moll (in Lange's *Bibelwerk*, 1861), Maier (Rom. Cath. 1861), Reuss (in French, 1862), Brown (edited by D. Smith, D. D., 2 vols. Edin. and Lond. 1862), Lindsay (2 vols. Phil., title-page edition, 1867), *The Epistle to the Hebrews, compared with the O. T.*, 5th ed., by Mrs. A. L. Newton, N. Y. 1867 (of a devotional cast), Longking (N. Y. 1867), Ripley (in press, Boston, Jan. 1868). J. H. T.

HE'BRON (חֶבְרוֹן [*union, alliance*]: Χεβρών; [Rom. in 1 Chr. xv. 9, Χεβρών:] *Hebron*). 1. The third son of Kohath, who was the second son of Levi; the younger brother of Amram, father

[a] See also Norton, in the *Christian Examiner* 1828, v. 37–70, and a trans. of the 3d ed. of Tholuck's *Das A. T. im N. T.* by Rev. C. A. Aiken, in the *Bibl Sacra* for July, 1854. A

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of Moses and Aaron (Ex. vi. 18; Num. iii. 19; 1 Chr. vi. 2, 18, xxiii. 12). The immediate children of Hebron are not mentioned by name (comp. Ex. vi. 21, 22), but he was the founder of a "family" (*Mishpachah*) of Hebronites (Num. iii. 27, xxvi. 58; 1 Chr. xxvi. 23, 30, 31) or Bene-Hebron (1 Chr. xv. 9, xxiii. 19), who are often mentioned in the enumerations of the Levites in the passages above cited. JERIAH was the head of the family in the time of David (1 Chr. xxiii. 19, xxvi. 31, xxiv. 23: in the last of these passages the name of Hebron does not now exist in the Hebrew, but has been supplied in the A. V. from the other lists). In the last year of David's reign we find them settled at Jazer in Gilead (a place not elsewhere named as a Levitical city), "mighty men of valor" (בְּנֵי חַיִל), 2,700 in number, who were superintendents for the king over the two and a half tribes in regard to all matters sacred and secular (1 Chr. xxvi. 31, 32). At the same time 1700 of the family under Hashabiah held the same office on the west [a] of Jordan (ver. 30).

2. This name appears in the genealogical lists of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr. ii. 42, 43), where Mareshah is said to have been the "father of Hebron," who again had four sons, one of whom was Tappuach. The three names just mentioned are those of places, as are also many others in the subsequent branches of this genealogy — Ziph, Maon, Beth-zur, etc. But it is impossible at present to say whether these names are intended to be those of the places themselves or of persons who founded them. G.

HE'BRON (חֶבְרוֹן [see *supra*]: Χεβρών and Χεβρών: [*Hebron*; 1 Macc. v. 65, *Chebron*:] Arab. الخليل = *the friend*), a city of Judah (Josh. xv. 54); situated among the mountains (Josh. xx. 7), 20 Roman miles south of Jerusalem, and the same distance north of Beer-sheba (*Onom.* s. v. Ἀρκά). Hebron is one of the most ancient cities in the world still existing; and in this respect it is the rival of Damascus. It was built, says a sacred writer, "seven years before Zoan in Egypt" (Num. xiii. 22). But when was Zoan built? It is well we can prove the high antiquity of Hebron independently of Egypt's mystic annals. It was a well-known town when Abraham entered Canaan 3780 years ago (Gen. xiii. 18). Its original name was Kirjath-Arba (קִרְיַת־אַרְבַּע: LXX., Κιριαθ-αρβοκσεφέρ, Judg. i. 10), "the city of Arba;" so called from Arba, the father of Anak, and progenitor of the giant Anakim (Josh. xxi. 11, xv. 13, 14). It was sometimes called Mamre, doubtless from Abraham's friend and ally, Mamre the Amorite (Gen. xxiii. 19, xxxv. 27); but the "oak of Mamre," where the Patriarch so often pitched his tent, appears to have been not in, but near Hebron. [MAMRE.] The chief interest of this city arises from its having been the scene of some of the most remarkable events in the lives of the patriarchs. Sarah died at Hebron; and Abraham then bought from Ephron the Hittite the field and cave of Machpelah, to serve as a family tomb (Gen. xxiii. 2–20). The cave is still there; and the massive walls of the *Haram* or mosque, within which it lies, form the most remarkable object in the whole city. [MACHPELAH.] [b] Abraham is called by Mohammedans *el-Khulil*, "the Friend," *i. e.* of God, and this is the modern name of Hebron. When the Israelites entered Palestine Hebron was taken by Joshua from the descendants of Anak, and given to Caleb (Josh. x. 36, xiv. 6–15, xv. 13, 14). It was assigned to the Levites, and made "a city of refuge" (Josh. xxi. 11-13). Here David first established the seat of his government, and dwelt during the seven years and a half he reigned over Judah (2 Sam. v. 5). Hebron was rebuilt after the Captivity; but it soon fell into the hands of the Edomites, from whom it was rescued by Judas Maccabæus (Neh. xi. 25; 1 Macc v. 65; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8, § 6). A short time before the capture of Jerusalem Hebron was burned by an officer of Vespasian (Joseph. *B. J.* iv. 9, § 9). About the beginning of the 12th century it was captured by the Crusaders. It subsequently lay for a time in ruins (Albert Aq. vii. 15; Sæwulf in *Early Travels in Pal.*, p. 45); but in A. D. 1167 it was made the seat of a Latin bishopric (Will. Tyr. xx. 3). In 1187 it reverted to the Muslems, and has ever since remained in their hands.

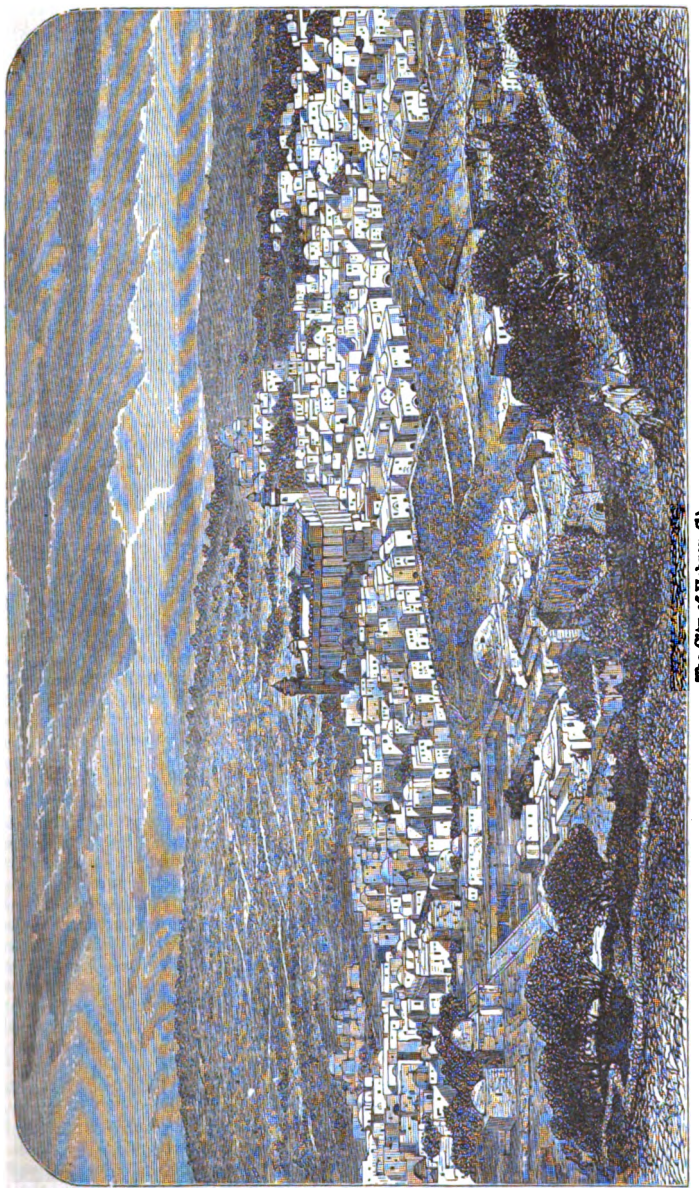
Hebron now contains about 5000 inhabitants, of whom some 50 families are Jews. It is picturesquely situated in a narrow valley, surrounded by rocky hills. This, in all probability, is that "valley of Eshcol," whence the Jewish spies got the great bunch of grapes (Num. xiii. 23). Its sides are still clothed with luxuriant vineyards, and its grapes are considered the finest in Southern Palestine. Groves of gray olives, and some other fruit-trees, give variety to the scene. The valley runs from north to south: and the main quarter of the town, surmounted by the lofty walls of the venerable *Haram*, lies partly on the eastern slope (Gen. xxxvii. 14; comp. xxiii. 19). [ESHCOL.] The houses are all of stone, solidly built, flat-roofed, each having one or two small cupolas. The town has no walls, but the main streets opening on the principal roads have gates. In the bottom of the valley south of the town is a large tank, 130 ft. square, by 50 deep: the sides are solidly built with hewn stones. At the northern end of the principal quarter is another, measuring 85 ft. long, by 55 broad. Both are of high antiquity; and one of them, probably the former, is that over which David hanged the murderers of Ish-bosheth (2 Sam. iv. 12). About a mile from the town, up the valley, is one of the largest oak-trees in Palestine. It stands quite alone in the midst of the vineyards. It is 23 ft. in girth, and its branches cover a space 90 ft. in diameter. This, say some, is the very tree beneath which Abraham pitched his tent; but, however this may be, it still bears the name of the patriarch. (Porter's *Handbook*, p. 67 ff.; Rob. ii. 73 ff.) J. L. P.

[a] The expression here is literally "were superintendents of Israel beyond (מֵעֵבֶר) Jordan for the west (מִיָּמָּה) in all the business," etc. "Beyond Jordan" generally means "on the east," but here, induced probably by the word following, "westward," our translators have rendered it "on this side" (comp. Deut. i. 1, 5, Josh. ix. 1, &c.). May not the meaning be that Hashabiah and his brethren were settled on the western side of the Transjordanic country?

[b] * The visit of the Prince of Wales to Hebron was made after this article on Hebron was written. The results of the attempt on that occasion to explore the celebrated Mosque there, will be stated under MACHPELAH (Amer. ed.). H.

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2. (עֶבְרֹן, and עֶבְרוֹן: Ἐλβών, Alex. Αχ-ραν: *Achran*, later editions *Abran*). One of the towns in the territory of Asher (Josh. xix. 28), on the boundary of the tribe. It is named next to Rehob, and is apparently in the neighborhood of Zidon. By Eusebius and Jerome it is merely mentioned (*Onomast.* Achran), and no one in modern times has discovered its site. It will be observed that the name in the original is quite different from



The City of Hebron (1)

that of Hebron, the well-known city of Judah (No 1), although in the A. V. they are the same, our translators having represented the *ain* by H, instead of by G, or by the vowel only, as is their usual custom. But, in addition, it is not certain whether the name should not rather be Ebdon or Abdon (עבדיר), since that form is found in many MSS. (Davidson, *Hebr. Text*; Ges. *Thes.* p. 980), and since an Abdon is named amongst the Levitical cities of Asher in other lists, which otherwise would be unmentioned here. On the other hand, the old versions (excepting only the Vat. LXX., which is obviously corrupt) unanimously retain the R [ABDON.] G.

* Kiriath Arba does not appear to have been the

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original name of Hebron; but simply the name immediately prior to the Israelitish occupancy. For we are told that it was so called from Arba, the father of Anak (Josh. xv. 13, 14); and the children of Anak were the occupants *when Caleb took it*, as we learn from the same passage. But in Abraham's time there was a different occupant, Mamre the ally of Abraham (Gen. xiv. 13, 24); and the place was then called by his name (Gen. xxiii. 19, xxxv. 27). This appellation, then, preceded that of Kirjath Arba. But as the place was a very ancient one (Num. xiii. 22), and as Mamre was Abraham's contemporary, it had some name older than either of these two. What was that previous name? The first mention of the place (Gen. xiii. 18) would obviously indicate Hebron as the previous and original name — subsequently displaced (in part at least) by Mamre, afterwards by Arba, but restored to its ancient and time-honored rights when Arba's descendants, the Anakim, were driven out by the descendants of Abraham. S. C. B.

HE'BRONITES, THE (הַחֶבְרֹנִי: ὁ Χεβράν, ὁ Χεβρωνί [Vat. -νει]: *Hebroni, Hebronitæ*). A family of Kohathite Levites, descendants of Hebron the son of Kohath (Num. iii. 27, xxvi. 58; 1 Chr. xxvi. 23). In the reign of David the chief of the family west of the Jordan was Hashabiah; while on the east in the land of Gilead were Jerijah and his brethren, "men of valor," over the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh (1 Chr. xxvi. 30, 31, 32). W. A. W.

HEDGE (גָּדֵר, גָּדֵר, גְּדֵרָה; מְסוּכָה, מְשׂוּכָה: φραγμός). The first three words thus rendered in the A. V., as well as their Greek equivalent, denote simply that which surrounds or incloses, whether it be a stone wall (גָּדֵר, *geder*, Prov. xxiv. 31; Ez. xlii. 10), or a fence of other materials. גָּדֵר, *gâdêr*, and גְּדֵרָה, *g'dêrâh*, are used of the hedge of a vineyard (Num. xxii. 24; Ps. lxxxix. 40; 1 Chr. iv. 23), and the latter is employed to describe the wide walls of stone, or fences of thorn, which served as a shelter for sheep in winter and summer (Num. xxxii. 16). The stone walls which surround the sheepfolds of modern Palestine are frequently crowned with sharp thorns (Thomson, *Land and Book*, i. 299), a custom at least as ancient as the time of Homer (*Od.* xiv. 10), when a kind of prickly pear (ἀχέρδος) was used for that purpose, as well as for the fences of cornfields at a later period (Arist. *Eccl.* 355). In order to protect the vineyards from the ravages of wild beasts (Ps. lxxx. 12) it was customary to surround them with a wall of loose stones or mud (Matt. xxi. 33; Mark xii. 1), which was a favorite haunt of serpents (Eccl. x. 8), and a retreat for locusts from the cold (Nah. iii. 17). Such walls are described by Maundrell as surrounding the gardens of Damascus. "They are built of great pieces of earth, made in the fashion of brick and hardened in the sun. In their dimensions they are each two yards long and somewhat more than one broad, and half a yard thick. Two rows of these, placed one upon another, make a cheap, expeditious, and, in this dry country, a durable wall" (*Early Trav. in Pal.* p. 487). A wall or fence of this kind is clearly distinguished in Is. v. 5 from the tangled hedge, מְשׂוּכָה, *m'sûcâh* (מְסוּכָה, Mic. vii. 4), which was planted as an additional safeguard to the vineyard (cf. Eccles. xxviii. 24), and was composed of the thorny shrubs with which Palestine abounds. The prickly pear, a species of cactus, so frequently employed for this purpose in the East at present, is believed to be of comparatively modern introduction. The aptness of the comparison of a tangled hedge of thorn to the difficulties which a slothful man conjures up as an excuse for his inactivity, will be at once recognized (Prov. xv. 19; cf. Hos. ii. 6). The narrow paths between the hedges of the vineyards and gardens, "with a fence on this side and a fence on that side" (Num. xxii. 24), are distinguished from the "highways," or more frequented tracks, in Luke xiv. 23. W. A. W.

HE'GAI [2 syl.] (הֵגַי [Persian name, Ges.]: Γαΐ: *Egeus*), one of the eunuchs (A. V. "chamberlains" of the court of Ahasuerus, who had special charge of the women of the harem (Esth. ii. 8, 15). According to the Hebrew text he was a distinct person from the "keeper of the concubines" — Shaashgaz (14), but the LXX. have the same name in 14 as in 8, while in 15 they omit it altogether. In verse 3 the name is given under the different form of —

HE'GE (הֵגֵא: *Egeus*), probably a Persian name. *Aja* signifies eunuch in Sanskrit, in accordance with which the LXX. have τῷ εὐνούχῳ. Hegias, Ἡγίας, is mentioned by Ctesias as one of the people about Xerxes, Gesenius, *Thes.* Addenda, p. 83 *b*.

HEIFER (פָּרָה, עֶגְלָה: δάμαλις: *vacca*). The Hebrew language has no expression that exactly corresponds to our heifer; for both *eglah* and *parah* are applied to cows that have calved (1 Sam. vi. 7–12; Job xxi. 10; Is. vii. 21): indeed *eglah* means a young animal of any species, the full expression being *eglah bakar*, "heifer of kine" (Deut. xxi. 3; 1 Sam. xvi. 2; Is. vii. 21). The heifer or young cow was not commonly used for ploughing, but only for treading out the corn (Hos. x. 11; but see Judg. xiv. 18),[a] when it ran about without any headstall (Deut. xxv. 4); hence the expression an "unbroken heifer" (Hos. iv. 16; A. V. "backsliding"), to which Israel is compared. A similar sense has been attached to the expression "calf of three years old," i. e., *unsubdued*, in Is. xv. 5, Jer. xlviii. 34; but it is much more probably to be taken as a proper name, *Eglath Shelishiyah*, such names being not uncommon. The sense of "dissolute" is conveyed undoubtedly in Am. iv. 1. The comparison of Egypt to a "fair heifer" (Jer. xlvi. 20) may be an allusion to the well-known form under which Apis was worshipped (to which we may also refer the words in ver. 15, as understood in the LXX., "Why is the bullock, μόσχος ἐκλεκτός, swept away?"), the "destruction" threatened being the bite of the gad-fly, to which the word *keretz* would fitly apply. "To plough with another man's heifer" (Judg. xiv. 18) implies that an advantage has been gained by unfair means. The proper names Eglah, En-eglaim, and Parah, are derived from the Hebrew terms at the head of this article. W. L. B.

HEIR. The Hebrew institutions relative to inheritance were of a very simple character. Under the patriarchal system the property was divided

[a] "Ploughing with heifers, as implied in that passage, is sometimes practiced in Palestine at present" (See *Illustr. of Scripture*, p. 163.)

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among the sons of the legitimate wives (Gen. xxi. 10, xxiv. 36, xxv. 5), a larger portion being assigned to one, generally the eldest, on whom devolved the duty of maintaining the females of the family. [BIRTHRIGHT.] The sons of concubines were portioned off with presents (Gen. xxv. 6): occasionally they were placed on a par with the legitimate sons (Gen. xlix. 1 ff.), but this may have been restricted to cases where the children had been adopted by the legitimate wife (Gen. xxx. 3). At a later period the exclusion of the sons of concubines was rigidly enforced (Judg. xi. 1 ff.). Daughters had no share in the patrimony (Gen. xxxi. 14), but received a marriage portion, consisting of a maid-servant (Gen. xxix. 24, 29), or some other property. As a matter of special favor they sometimes took part with the sons (Job xlii. 15). The Mosaic law regulated the succession to real property thus: it was to be divided among the sons, the eldest receiving a double portion (Deut. xxi. 17), the others equal shares: if there were no sons, it went to the daughters (Num. xxvii. 8), on the condition that they did not marry out of their own tribe (Num. xxxvi. 6 ff.; Tob. vi. 12, vii. 13), otherwise the patrimony was forfeited (Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 7, § 5). If there were no daughters, it went to the brother of the deceased; if no brother, to the paternal uncle; and, failing these, to the next of kin (Num. xxvii. 9–11). In the case of a widow being left without children, the nearest of kin on her husband's side had the right of marrying her, and in the event of his refusal the next of kin (Ruth iii. 12, 13): with him rested the obligation of redeeming the property of the widow (Ruth iv. 1 ff.), if it had been either sold or mortgaged: this obligation was termed מִשְׁפַּט הַגְּאֻלָּה ("the right of inheritance"), and was exercised in other cases besides that of marriage (Jer. xxxii. 7 ff.). If none stepped forward to marry the widow, the inheritance remained with her until her death, and then reverted to the next of kin. The object of these regulations evidently was to prevent the alienation of the land, and to retain it in the same family: the Mosaic law enforced, in short, a strict entail. Even the assignment of the double portion, which under the patriarchal *regime* had been at the disposal of the father (Gen. xlviii. 22), was by the Mosaic law limited to the eldest son (Deut. xxi. 15–17). The case of Achsah, to whom Caleb presented a field (Josh. xv. 18, 19; Judg. i. 15), is an exception: but perhaps even in that instance the land reverted to Caleb's descendants either at the death of Achsah or in the year of Jubilee. The land being thus so strictly tied up, the notion of *heirship*, as we understand it, was hardly known to the Jews: succession was a matter of right, and not of favor — a state of things which is embodied in the Hebrew language itself, for the word יָרַשׁ (A. V. "to inherit") implies *possession*, and very often *forcible* possession (Deut. ii. 12; Judg. i. 20, xi. 24), and a similar idea lies at the root of the words אֲחֻזָּה and נַחֲלָה, generally translated "inheritance." Testamentary dispositions were of course superfluous: the nearest approach to the idea is the *blessing*, which in early times conveyed temporal as well as spiritual benefits (Gen. xxvii. 19, 37; Josh. xv. 19). The references to wills in St. Paul's writings are borrowed from the usages of Greece and Rome (Heb. ix. 17), whence the custom was introduced into Judæa:[a] several wills are noticed by Josephus in connection with the Herods (*Ant.* xiii. 16, § 1, xvii. 3, § 2; *B. J.* ii. 2 § 3).

With regard to *personal* property, it may be presumed that the owner had some authority over it, at all events during his lifetime. The admission of a slave to a portion of the inheritance with the sons (Prov. xvii. 2) probably applies only to the personalty. A presentation of half the personalty formed the marriage portion of Tobit's wife (Tob. viii. 21). A distribution of goods during the father's life-time is implied in Luke xv. 11–13: a distinction may be noted between οὐσία, a general term applicable to personalty, and κληρονομία, the *landed* property, which could only be divided after the father's death (Luke xii. 13).

There is a striking resemblance between the Hebrew and Athenian customs of heirship, particularly as regards heiresses (ἐπίκληροι), who were, in both nations, bound to marry their nearest relation: the property did not vest in the husband even for his lifetime, but devolved upon the son of the heiress as soon as he was of age, who also bore the name, not of his father, but of his maternal grandfather. The object in both countries was the same, namely, to preserve the name and property of every family (*Dict. of Ant.* art. Ἐπίκληρος). W. L. B.

HE'LAH (חֶלְאָה) [*rust*]: Ἀωδά; Alex. Αλαα: *Halua*), one of the two wives of Ashur, father of Tekoa (1 Chr. iv. 5). Her three children are enumerated in ver. 7. In the LXX. the passage is very much confused, the sons being ascribed to different wives from what they are in the Hebrew text.

HE'LAM (חֵילָם [perh. *power of the people*, Ges.]: Αἰλάμ: *Helam*), a place east of the Jordan, but west of the Euphrates ("the river"), at which the Syrians were collected by Hadarezer, and at which David met and defeated them (2 Sam. x. 16, 17). In the latter verse the name appears as Chelamah (חֶלְאָמָה), but the final syllable is probably only the particle of motion. This longer form, Χαλαμάκ, the present text[b] of the LXX. inserts in ver. 16 as if the name of the river [but Alex. and Comp. omit it]; while in the two other places it has Αἰλάμ, corresponding to the Hebrew text. By Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 6, § 3) the name is

[a] It has been suggested that in Gal. iv. 2 Paul may have referred to a peculiar testamentary law among the Galatians (see Gaius, *Institutiones*, i. § 55) conferring on the father a right to determine the time of the son's majority, instead of its being fixed by statute. In that case we should have an instance of the facility with which Paul could avail himself of his knowledge of minute local regulations in the lands which he visited. (See Baumg.-Crusius, *Comm. über den Brief an die Galater*, p. 91.) But that passage in Gaius, when more closely examined, proves not to be decisive as to the existence of such a right among the Galatians (see Lightfoot's *St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, p. 164, 2d ed.). The Apostle, in arguing his point (Gal. iv 2), may have framed a case of this nature for the sake of illustration, or have had in mind a certain discretionary power which the Roman laws granted to the father. H.

[b] This is probably a late addition, since in the LXX text as it stood in Origen's *Hexapla*, Χαλαμάκ was omitted after κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ (see Bahrdt, *ad loc.*).

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given as Χαλαμά, and as being that of the king of the Syrians beyond Euphrates — πρὸς Χαλαμὰς τὸν τῶν πέραν Εὐφράτ ιν Σύρων βασιλέα.

In the Vulgate no name is inserted after *fluvium*; but in ver. 16, for "came to Helam," we find *adduxit exercitum eorum*, reading חֵילָם, "their army." This too is the rendering of the old translator Aquila — ἐν δυνάμει αὐτῶν — of whose version v.l. 16 has survived. In 17 the Vulgate agrees with the A. V.

Many conjectures have been made as to the locality of *Helam*; but to none of them does any certainty attach. The most feasible perhaps is that it is identical with Alamatha, a town named by Ptolemy, and located by him on the west of the Euphrates near Nicephorium. G.

HEL'BAH (חֶלְבָּה [*fat*]: Χεββά; [Alex. Σχεδιαν (acc.); Comp. Ἐλβά:] *Helba*), a town of Asher, probably on the plain of Phœnicia, not far from Sidon (Judg. i. 31). J. L. P.

HEL'BON (חֶלְבּוֹן [*fat*, i. e. *fruitful*]: Χελβών; [Alex. Χεβρων]), a place only mentioned once in Scripture. Ezekiel, in describing the wealth and commerce of Tyre, says, "Damascus was thy merchant in the wine of Helbon [xxvii. 18]." The Vulgate translates these words *in vino pingui*; and some other ancient versions also make the word descriptive of the quality of the wine. There can be no doubt, however, that Helbon is a proper name. Strabo speaks of the wine of Chalybon (οἶνον ἐκ Συρίας τὸν Χαλυβώνιον) from Syria as among the luxuries in which the kings of Persia indulged (xv. p. 735); and Athenæus assigns it to Damascus (i. 22). Geographers have hitherto represented Helbon as identical with the city of Aleppo, called *Haleb* (حَلَب) by the Arabs; but there are strong reasons against this. The whole force and beauty of the description in Ezekiel consists in this, that in the great market of Tyre every kingdom and city found ample demand for its own staple products. Why, therefore, should the Damascenes supply wine of Aleppo, conveying it a long and difficult journey overland? If strange merchants had engaged in this trade, we should naturally expect them to be some maritime people who could carry it cheaply along the coast from the port of Aleppo.

A few years ago the writer directed attention to a village and district within a few miles of Damascus, still bearing the ancient name *Helbon* (the Arabic حَلْبُون corresponds exactly to the Hebrew חֶלְבּוֹן), and still celebrated as producing the finest grapes in the country. (See *Journal of Sac. Lit.* July 1853, p. 260; *Five Years in Damascus*, ii. 330 ff.). There cannot be a doubt that this village, and not Aleppo, is the Helbon of Ezekiel and Strabo. The village is situated in a wild glen, high up in Antilebanon. The remains of some large and beautiful structures are strewn around it. The bottom and sides of the glen are covered with terraced vineyards; and the whole surrounding country is rich in vines and fig-trees (*Handb. for Syr. and Pal.*, pp. 495–6).

J. L. P.

* The discovery of this Helbon is one of the results of missionary labor in that part of the East. Mr. Porter, who writes the article above, was formerly connected with the mission at Damascus. Dr. Robinson accepts the proposed identification as unquestionably correct. The name alone is not decisive, for *Haleb* (Aleppo) may answer to Helbon; but Aleppo "produces no wine of any reputation; nor is Damascus the natural channel of commerce between Aleppo and Tyre" (*Later Res.* iii. 472). Fairbairn (*Ezekiel and the Book of his Prophecy*, p. 301, 2d ed.) follows the old opinion. Rüetschi (Herzog's *Real.-Encyk.* v. 698) makes Ezekiel's Helbon and this one near Damascus the same, but thinks Ptolemy's Chalybon (see above) too far north to be identical with them. H.

HELCHI'AH (Χελκίας; [Vat. -κεε-.] *Helcias*), 1 Esdr. viii. 1. [HILKIAH.]

HELCHI'AS (*Helcias*) the same person as the preceding, 2 Esdr. i. 1. [HILKIAH.]

HEL'DAI [2 syl.] (חֶלְדַּי [*worldly, transient*]: Χολδία; [Vat. Χολδεια;] Alex. Χολδαΐ: *Holdai*). 1. The twelfth captain of the monthly courses for the temple service (1 Chr. xxvii. 15). He is specified as "the Netophathite," and as a descendant of Othniel.

2. An Israelite who seems to have returned from the Captivity; for whom, with others, Zechariah was commanded to make certain crowns as memorials (Zech. vi. 10). In ver. 14 the name appears to be changed to HELEM. The LXX. translate παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων.

HE'LEB (חֵלֶב [*milk*]: Vat. omits; Alex. Αλαφ; [Comp. Ἐλάβ:] *Heled*), son of Baanah, the Netophathite, one of the heroes of king David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 29). In the parallel list the name is given as —

HE'LED (חֵלֶד: Χθαδδ; [FA. Χοαοδ;] Alex. Ελαδ: *Heled*), 1 Chr. xi. 30 [where he is mentioned as one of "the valiant men" of David's army].

HE'LEK (חֶלֶק [*part, portion*]: Χελέγ, Alex. Χελεκ; [in Josh., Κελέζ, Alex. Φελεκ:] *Helec*), one of the descendants of Manasseh, the second son of Gilead (Num. xxvi. 30), and founder of the family of the HELEKITES. The Bene-Chelek [sons of C.] are mentioned in Josh. xvii. 2 as of much importance in their tribe. The name has not however survived, at least it has not yet been met with.

HE'LEKITES, THE (הַחֶלְקִי, i. e. *the Chelkite*: ὁ Χελεγί [Vat. -γει], Alex. Χελεκι: *familia Helecitarum*), the family descended from the foregoing (Num. xxvi. 30).

HE'LEM (חֵלֶם [*hammer* or *blow*]: [Rom. Βαηελάμ; Vat. Βαλααμ; Alex.] Ελαμ: *Helem*) A man named among the descendants of Asher, in a passage evidently much disordered (1 Chr. vii 35). If it be intended that he was the brother of Shamer, then he may be identical with Hotham, in ver. 32, the name having been altered in copying but this is mere conjecture. Burrington (i. 265 quotes two Hebrew MSS., in which the name written חלם, Cheles.

2. [LXX. τοῖς ὑπομένουσι.] A man mentioned only in Zech. vi. 14. Apparently the same who is given as HELDAI in ver. 10 (Ewald, *Propheten*, i. 536, *note*).

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HELEPH (חֶלֶף) [*exchange, instead of*]: Μαγαλάμ; Alex. Μελεφ — both include the preposition prefixed: *Heleph*), the place from which the boundary of the tribe of Naphtali started (Josh. xix. 33), but where situated, or on which quarter, cannot be ascertained from the text. Van de Velde (*Memoir*, p. 320) proposes to identify it with *Beit-lif*, an ancient site, nearly due east of the *Ras Abyad*, and west of *Kades*, on the edge of a very marked ravine, which probably formed part of the boundary between Naphtali and Asher (Van de Velde, *Syria*, i. 233; and see his map, 1858). G.

HEʻLEZ (חֶלֶץ [perh. *loins, thigh*, Gesen.]: Χελλής — the initial Χ is probably from the end of the preceding word, [Χελλής; 1 Chr. xxvii. 10 Vat. Χεσλης;] Alex. Ελλης, Χελλης: *Helez, Helles*). 1. One of "the thirty" of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 26; 1 Chr. xi. 27: in the latter, חֶלֶץ), an Ephraimite, and captain of the seventh monthly course (1 Chr. xxvii. 10). In both these passages of Chronicles he is called "the Pelonite," of which Kennicott decides that "the Paltite" of Samuel is a corruption (*Dissertation*, etc., pp. 183–184). [PALTITE.]

2. [Χελλής: *Helles.*] A man of Judah, son of Azariah (1 Chr. ii. 39); a descendant of Jerahmeel, of the great family of Hezron.

HEʻLI ('Ηλί, 'Ηλεί: *Heli*), the father of Joseph, the husband of the Virgin Mary (Luke iii. 23); maintained by Lord A. Hervey, the latest investigator of the genealogy of Christ, to have been the real brother of Jacob the father of the Virgin herself. (Hervey, *Genealogies*, pp. 130, 138.) The name, as we possess it, is the same as that employed by the LXX. in the O. T. to render the Hebrew עֵלִי, ELI the high-priest.

2. The third of three names inserted between ACHITOB and AMARIAS in the genealogy of Ezra, in 2 Esdr. i. 2 (compare Ezr. vii. 2, 3).

HELIʻAS, 2 Esdr. vii. 39. [ELIJAH.]

HELIODOʻRUS ('Ηλιόδωρος [*gift of the sun*]), the treasurer (ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων) of Seleucus Philopator, who was commissioned by the king, at the instigation of Apollonius [APOLLONIUS] to carry away the private treasures deposited in the Temple at Jerusalem. According to the narrative in 2 Macc. iii. 9 ff., he was stayed from the execution of his design by a "great apparition" (ἐπιφάνεια), in consequence of which he fell down "compassed with great darkness," and speechless. He was afterwards restored at the intercession of the high-priest Onias, and bore witness to the king of the inviolable majesty of the Temple (2 Macc. iii.). The full details of the narrative are not supported by any other evidence. Josephus, who was unacquainted with 2 Macc., takes no notice of it; and the author of the so-called iv. Macc. attributes the attempt to plunder the Temple to Apollonius, and differs in his account of the miraculous interposition, though he distinctly recognizes it (*de Macc.* 4 οὐρανόθεν ἔφιπποι προυφάνησαν ἄγγελοι . . . κατασεσὼν δὲ ἡμιθανὴς ὁ Απολλώνιος . . .). Heliodorus afterwards murdered Seleucus, and made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the Syrian crown B. C. 175 (App. *Syr.* p. 45). Cf. Wernsdorf, *De fide Lib. Macc.* § liv. Raphael's grand picture of "Heliodorus" will be known to most by copies and engravings, if not by the original. B. F. W.

HELʻKAI [2 syl.] (חִלְקִי [*whose portion is Jehovah*]: 'Ελκαΐ; [Vat. Alex. FA.[1] omit:] *Helcai*), a priest of the family of Meraioth (or Meremoth, see ver. 3), who was living in the days of Joiakim the high-priest, *i. e.* in the generation following the return from Babylon under Jeshua and Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 15; comp. 10, 12).

HELʻKATH (חֶלְקַת [*field*]: 'Εξελκεθ, [Χελκάτ;] Alex. Χελκαθ, [Θελκαθ:] *Halcath*, and *Helcath*), the town named as the starting-point for the boundary of the tribe of Asher (Josh. xix. 25), and allotted with its "suburbs" to the Gershonite Levites (xxi. 31). The enumeration of the boundary seems to proceed from south *to* north; but nothing absolutely certain can be said thereon, nor has any traveller recovered the site of Helkath. Eusebius and Jerome report the name much corrupted (*Onom.* Ethse), but evidently knew nothing of the place. Schwarz (p. 191) suggests the village *Yerka*, which lies about 8 miles east of *Akka* (see Van de Velde's map); but this requires further examination.

In the list of Levitical cities in 1 Chr. vi. HUKOK is substituted for Helkath. G.

HELʻKATH HAZʻZURIM (חֶלְקַת הַצֻּרִים [*field of the sharp edges*, Keil; but see *infra*]: μερὶς τῶν ἐπιβούλων — perhaps reading צָדִים; Aquila, Κλῆρος τῶν στερεῶν: *Ager robustorum*), a smooth piece of ground, apparently close to the pool of Gibeon, where the combat took place between the two parties of Joab's men and Abner's men, which ended in the death of the whole of the combatants, and brought on a general battle (2 Sam. ii. 16). [GIBEON; JOAB.] Various interpretations are given of the name. In addition to those given above, Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 485 *a*) renders it "the field of swords." The margin of the A. V. has "the field of strong men," agreeing with Aquila and the Vulgate; Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 147), "das Feld der Tückischen." G.

* The field received its name from the bloody duel fought there, as expressly said (2 Sam. ii. 16). The Scripture words put before us the horrible scene: "And they caught every one his fellow by the head and *thrust* his sword in his fellow's side; so they fell down together: wherefore that place was called Helkath-hazzurim." The name may be = "field of the rocks," *i. e.* of the strong men, firm as rocks (see Wordsworth, *in loc.*). H.

HELKIʻAS (Χελκίας; [Vat. Χελκειας:] Vulg. omits). A fourth variation of the name of Hilkiah the high-priest, 1 Esdr. i. 8. [HILKIAH.]

HELL. This is the word generally and unfortunately used by our translators to render the Hebrew *Sheol* (שְׁאוֹל, or שְׁאֹל: Ἅιδης, and once θάνατος, 2 Sam. xxii. 6: *Inferi* or *Inferna*, or sometimes *Mors*). We say unfortunately, because — although, as St. Augustine truly asserts, *Sheol*, with its equivalents *Inferi* and *Hades*, are never used in a *good* sense (*De Gen. ad Lit.* xii. 33), yet — the English word Hell is mixed up with numberless associations entirely foreign to the minds of the ancient Hebrews. It would perhaps have been better to retain the Hebrew word *Sheol*, or else render it always by "the grave" or "the pit." Ewald accepts Luther's word *Hölle*; even *Unterwelt*, which is suggested by De Wette, involves conceptions too *human* for the purpose.

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Passing over the derivations suggested by older writers, it is now generally agreed that the word comes from the root שְׁאוֹל, "to make hollow" (comp. Germ. *Hölle*, "hell," with *Höhle*, "a hollow"), and therefore means the vast hollow subterranean resting-place which is the common receptacle of the dead (Ges. *Thes.* p. 1348; Böttcher, *de Inferis*, c. iv. p. 137 ff.; Ewald, *ad Ps.* p. 42). It is deep (Job xi. 8) and dark (Job x. 21, 22), in the centre of the earth (Num. xvi. 30; Deut. xxxii. 22), having within it depths on depths (Prov. ix. 18), and fastened with gates (Is. xxxviii. 10) and bars (Job xvii. 16). Some have fancied (as Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* § 203, Eng. ed.) that the Jews, like the Greeks, believed in infernal rivers: thus Clemens Alex. defines Gehenna as "a river of fire" (*Fragm.* 38), and expressly compares it to the fiery rivers of Tartarus (*Strom.* v. 14, 92); and Tertullian says that it was supposed to resemble Pyriphlegethon (*Apolog.* cap. xlvii.). The notion, however, is not found in Scripture, for Ps. xviii. 5 is a mere metaphor. In this cavernous realm are the souls of dead men, the Rephaim and ill-spirits (Ps. lxxxvi. 13, lxxxix. 48; Prov. xxiii. 14; Ez. xxxi. 17, xxxii. 21). It is all-devouring (Prov. i. 12, xxx. 16), insatiable (Is. v. 14), and remorseless (Cant. viii. 6). The shadows, not of men only, but even of trees and kingdoms, are placed in Sheol (Is. xiv. 9–20; Ez. xxxi. 14–18, xxxii. *passim*).

It is clear that in many passages of the O. T. *Sheol* can only mean "the grave," and is so rendered in the A. V. (see, for example, Gen. xxxvii. 35, xlii. 38; 1 Sam. ii. 6; Job xiv. 13). In other passages, however, it seems to involve a notion of punishment, and is therefore rendered in the A. V. by the word "Hell." But in many cases this translation misleads the reader. It is obvious, for instance, that Job xi. 8; Ps. cxxxix. 8; Am. ix. 2 (where "hell" is used as the antithesis of "heaven"), merely illustrate the Jewish notions of the locality of *Sheol* in the bowels of the earth. Even Ps. ix. 17, Prov. xv. 24, v. 5, ix. 18, seem to refer rather to the danger of terrible and precipitate death than to a place of infernal anguish. An attentive examination of all the passages in which the word occurs will show that the Hebrew notions respecting *Sheol* were of a vague description. The rewards and punishments of the Mosaic law were temporal, and it was only gradually and slowly that God revealed to his chosen people a knowledge of future rewards and punishments. Generally speaking, the Hebrews regarded the grave as the final end of all sentient and intelligent existence, "the land where *all things are forgotten*" (Ps. lxxxviii. 10–12; Is. xxxviii. 9–20; Ps. vi. 5; Eccl. ix. 10; Ecclus. xvii. 27, 28). Even the righteous Hezekiah trembled lest, "when his eyes closed upon the cherubim and the mercy-seat," he should no longer "see the Lord, even the Lord in the land of the living."

In the N. T. the word *Hades* (like *Sheol*) sometimes means merely "the grave" (Rev. xx. 13; Acts ii. 31; 1 Cor. xv. 55), or in general "the unseen world." It is in this sense that the creeds say of our Lord κατῆλθεν ἐν ᾅδου or εἰς ᾅδου, *descendit ad inferos*, or *inferna*, meaning "the state of the dead in general, without any restriction of happiness or misery" (Beveridge *on Art.* iii.), a doctrine certainly, though only virtually, expressed in Scripture (Eph. iv. 9; Acts ii. 25–31). Similarly Josephus uses *Hades* as the name of the place whence the soul of Samuel was evoked (*Ant.* vi. 14, § 2). Elsewhere in the N. T. Hades is used of a place of torment (Luke xvi. 23; 2 Pet. ii. 4; Matt. xi. 23, &c.). Consequently it has been the prevalent, almost the universal, notion that Hades is an *intermediate state* between death and resurrection, divided into two parts, one the abode of the blessed and the other of the lost. This was the belief of the Jews after the exile, who gave to the places the names of Paradise and Gehenna (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 1, § 3; cf. Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* s. vv.), of the Fathers generally (Tert. *de Animâ*, c. lv.; Jerome *in Eccl.* iii.; Just. Mart. *Dial. c. Tryph.* § 105, &c.; see Pearson *on Creed, Art.* v.) and of many moderns (Trench *on the Parables* p. 467; Alford *on Luke* xvi. 23). In holding this view, main reliance is placed on the parable of Dives and Lazarus; but it is impossible to ground the proof of an important theological doctrine on a passage which confessedly abounds in Jewish metaphors. "Theologia parabolica non est demonstrativa" is a rule too valuable to be forgotten; and if we are to turn rhetoric into logic, and build a dogma on every metaphor, our belief will be of a vague and contradictory character. "Abraham's bosom," says Dean Trench, "is not heaven, though it will issue in heaven, so neither is Hades hell, though to issue in it, when death and Hades shall be cast into the lake of fire which is the proper hell. It is the place of painful restraint (φυλακή, 1 Pet. iii. 19; ἄβυσσος, Luke viii. 31), where the souls of the wicked are reserved to the judgment of the great day." But respecting the condition of the dead whether before or after the resurrection we know very little indeed; nor shall we know anything certain until the awful curtains of mortality are drawn aside. Dogmatism on this topic appears to be peculiarly misplaced. [See PARADISE.]

The word most frequently used in the N. T. for the place of future punishment is *Gehenna* (γέεννα), or *Gehenna of fire* (ἡ γ. τοῦ πυρός), and this word we must notice only so far as our purpose requires; for further information see GEHENNA and HINNOM. The valley of Hinnom, for which Gehenna is the Greek representative, once pleasant with the waters of Siloa ("irrigua et nemorosa, plenaque deliciis," Hieron. *ad Jer.* vii. 19, 31; Matt. v. 22), and which afterwards regained its old appearance ("*hodieque* hortorum præbens delicias," *id.*), was with its horrible associations of Moloch-worship (Jer. vii. 31, xix. 2–6; 2 K. xxiii. 10) so abhorrent to Jewish feeling that they adopted the word as a symbol of disgust and torment. The feeling was kept up by the pollution which the valley underwent at the hands of Josiah, after which it was made the common sink of all the filth and corruption in the city, ghastly fires being kept burning (according to R. Kimchi) to preserve it from absolute putrefaction (see authorities quoted in Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* s. v. *Hinnom*, etc.). The fire and the worm were fit emblems of anguish, and as such had seized hold of the Jewish imagination (Is. lxvi. 24; Jud. xvi. 17; Ecclus. vii. 17); hence the application of the word *Gehenna* and its accessories in Matt. v. 22, 29, 30; Luke xii. 5.

A part of the valley of Hinnom was named Tophet (2 K. xxiii. 10; for its history and derivation see TOPHET), a word used for what is defiled and abominable (Jer. vii. 31, 32, xix. 6–13). It was applied by the Rabbis to a place of future torment (Targ. on Is. xxx. 33; Talm. *Erubin*, f. 19 1; Böttcher, pp. 80, 85), but does not occur in the N. T. In the vivid picture of Isaiah (xxx. 33

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which is full of fine irony against the enemy, the name is applied to purposes of threatening (with a probable allusion to the recent acts of Hezekiah, see Rosenmüller, *ad loc.*). Besides the authorities quoted, see Bochart (*Phaleg*, p. 528), Ewald (*Proph.* ii. 55), Selden (*de Diis Syris*, p. 172 ff.), Wilson (*Lands of the Bible*, i. 499), etc.

The subject of the punishment of the wicked, and of Hell as a place of torment, belongs to a Theological rather than a Biblical Dictionary.

F. W. F.

* Some of the positions in the previous article cannot be viewed as well established. That "generally speaking, the Hebrews regarded the grave as the final end of all sentient and intelligent existence" is a statement opposed to the results of the best scholarship. Against it stand such considerations as these: a four hundred years' residence of the Israelites among a people proved to have held the doctrine of a future life; the Hebrew doctrine of the nature of the soul; the translation of Enoch and Elijah; the prevalent views of necromancy, or conjuring by the spirits of the dead, (a practice prohibited by law, and yet resorted to by a monarch of Israel); the constant assertion that the dead were gathered to their fathers, though buried far away; the explicit and deliberate utterances of many passages, *e. g.*, the 16th, 17th, 49th, 73d Psalms, Eccles. xii. 13, 14, Daniel xii. 2, 3; and the known fact that the doctrine of immortality existed among the Jews (excepting the small sect of Sadducees) at the time of Christ. The utterances about the silence and inactivity of the grave must therefore be understood from the present point of view, and as having reference to the activities of this life.

The statements of Gesenius and very many others about the gates and bars of Hades simply convert rhetoric into logic, and might with equal propriety invest the Kingdom of Heaven with "keys." The theory so prevalent, that Hades was the common province of departed spirits, divided, however, into two compartments, Paradise and Gehenna, seems to have been founded more upon the classical writers and the Rabbins — to whom it appeals so largely — than upon the Bible. It is undoubtedly true, that under the older economy the whole subject was much less distinct than under the new, and the Hades of the N. T. expresses more than the *Sheol* of the O. T. (See Fairbairn, *Hermeneut. Manual*, p. 290 ff.) *Sheol* was, no doubt, the unseen world, the state of the dead generally. So in modern times we often intentionally limit our views, and speak of the other world, the invisible world, the undiscovered country, the grave, the spirit land, etc. But vagueness of designation is not to be confounded with community of lot or identity of abode or condition.

Sheol, the unknown region into which the dying disappeared, was naturally and always invested with gloom to a sinful race. But the vague term was capable of becoming more or less definite according to the writer's thought. Most commonly it was simply the grave, as we use the phrase; sometimes the state of death in general; sometimes a dismal place opposed to heaven, *e. g.*, Job xi. 8, Ps. cxxxix. 8, Am. ix. 2; sometimes a place of extreme suffering, Ps. lxxxvi. 13, ix. 17, Prov. xxiii. 14. (See *Bibl. Sacra*, xiii. 155 ff.) No passage of the O. T., we believe, implies that the spirits of the good and bad were there brought together. The often cited passage (Is. xiv. 9) implies the contrary, showing us only the heathen kings meeting another king in mockery.

To translate this Hebrew term, the LXX. adopted the nearest Greek word, Hades, which by derivation signifies the invisible world. But the Greek word could not carry Greek notions into Hebrew theology.

When Christ and his Apostles came, they naturally laid hold of this Greek word already introduced into religious use. But, of course, they employed it from their own stand-point. And as it was the purpose of their mission to make more distinct the doctrine of retribution, and as under their teachings death became still more terrible to the natural man, so throughout the N. T. Hades seems invariably viewed as the enemy of man, and from its alliance with sin and its doom, as hostile to Christ and his church. In many instances it is with strict propriety translated "hell." Even in Acts ii. 27, 31, quoted from the O. T., Hades is the abode of the wicked dead. In Luke xvi. 23 it certainly is the place of torment. In Matt. xvi. 18 it is the abode and centre of those powers that were arrayed against Christ and his church. In Luke x. 15, Matt. xi. 23, it is the opposite of heaven. The word occurs, according to the Received Text, in 1 Cor. xv. 55; but the reading is not supported by the older MSS. The only remaining instances are the four that occur in Rev. i. 18, vi. 8, xx. 13, 14, where, though in three of these cases personified, it is still viewed as a terror to man and a foe to Christ and his kingdom, over which at length he has gained the victory. While therefore Gehenna is the term which most distinctly designates the place of future punishment, Hades also repeatedly is nearly its equivalent; and, notwithstanding the greater vagueness of the terms, it remains true, as Augustin asserts, that neither Hades nor *Sheol* are ever used in a good sense, or (we may add) in any other than a sense that carries the notion of terror.

S. C. B.

* For a full discussion of the terms and passages of the Old Testament relating to this subject, consult Böttcher, *De Inferis Rebusque post Mortem futuris ex Hebræorum et Græcorum Opinionibus*, Dresd. 1846, and for a view of the literature pertaining to it, see the bibliographical Appendix to Alger's *Critical Hist. of the Doctrine of a Future Life* (4th ed. New York, 1866), Nos. 1734–1863. See also the art. of Oehler, *Unsterblichkeit, Lehre des A. Test.*, in Herzog's *Real-Encyk.* xxi. 409 428; and Hävernick's *Vorlesungen über die Theologie des A. T.*, pp. 105–111. A.

HELLENIST (Ἑλληνιστής: *Græcus*; cf. Ἑλληνισμός, 2 Macc. iv 13). In one of the earliest notices of the first Christian Church at Jerusalem (Acts vi. 1), two distinct parties are recognized among its members, "Hebrews" and "Hellenists" (Grecians), who appear to stand towards one another in some degree in a relation of jealous rivalry. So again, when St. Paul first visited Jerusalem after his conversion, he "spake and disputed with the Hellenists" (Acts ix. 29), as if expecting to find more sympathy among them than with the rulers of the Jews. The term Hellenist occurs once again in the N. T. according to the common text, in the account of the foundation of the church at Antioch (Acts xi. 20),[a] but there the context, as well as the form of the sentence

[a] * On that passage see the note under GREEKS, GREEKS (Amer. ed. B.

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(καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕ., though the καὶ is doubtful), seems to require the other reading "Greeks" (Ἕλληνες), which is supported by great external evidence, as the true antithesis to "Jews" (Ἰουδαίοις, not Ἑβραίοις, v. 19).

The name, according to its derivation, whether the original verb (Ἑλληνίζω) be taken, according to the common analogy of similar forms (Μηδίζω, Ἀττικίζω, Φιλιππίζω), in the general sense of adopting the spirit and character of Greeks, or, in the more limited sense of using the Greek language (Xen. *Anab.* vii. 3, § 25), marks a class distinguished by peculiar habits, and not by descent. Thus the Hellenists as a body included not only the proselytes of Greek (or foreign) parentage (οἱ σεβόμενοι Ἕλληνες, Acts xvii. 4 (?); οἱ σεβόμενοι προσήλυτοι, Acts xiii. 43; οἱ σεβόμενοι, Acts xvii. 17), but also those Jews who, by settling in foreign countries, had adopted the prevalent form of the current Greek civilization, and with it the use of the common Greek dialect, to the exclusion of the Aramaic, which was the national representative of the ancient Hebrew. Hellenism was thus a type of life, and not an indication of origin. Hellenists might be Greeks, but when the latter term is used (Ἕλληνες, John xii. 20), the point of race and not of creed is that which is foremost in the mind of the writer.

The general influence of the Greek conquests in the East, the rise and spread of the Jewish *Dispersion*, and the essential antagonism of Jew and Greek, have been noticed in other articles [ALEXANDER THE GREAT; ALEXANDRIA; DISPERSION; ANTIOCHUS IV. EPIPHANES], and it remains only to characterize briefly the elements which the Hellenists contributed to the language of the N. T., and the immediate effects which they produced upon the Apostolic teaching:—

1. The flexibility of the Greek language gained for it in ancient time a general currency similar to that which French enjoys in modern Europe; but with this important difference, that Greek was not only the language of educated men, but also the language of the masses in the great centres of commerce. The colonies of Alexander and his successors originally established what has been called the Macedonian dialect throughout the East; but even in this the prevailing power of Attic literature made itself distinctly felt. Peculiar words and forms adopted at Alexandria were undoubtedly of Macedonian origin, but the later Attic may be justly regarded as the real basis of Oriental Greek. This first type was, however, soon modified, at least in common use, by contact with other languages. The vocabulary was enriched by the addition of foreign words, and the syntax was modified by new constructions. In this way a variety of local dialects must have arisen, the specific characters of which were determined in the first instance by the conditions under which they were formed, and which afterwards passed away with the circumstances which had produced them. But one of these dialects has been preserved after the ruin of the people among whom it arose, by being consecrated to the noblest service which language has yet fulfilled. In other cases the dialects perished together with the communities who used them in the common intercourse of life, but in that of the Jews the Alexandrine version of the O. T., acting in this respect like the great vernacular versions of England and Germany, gave a definiteness and fixity to the popular language which could not have been gained without the existence of some recognized standard. The style of the LXX. itself is, indeed, different in different parts, but the same general character runs through the whole, and the variations which it presents are not greater than those which exist in the different books of the N. T.

The functions which this Jewish-Greek had to discharge were of the widest application, and the language itself combined the most opposite features. It was essentially a fusion of Eastern and Western thought. For disregarding peculiarities of inflexion and novel words, the characteristic of the Hellenistic dialect is the combination of a Hebrew spirit with a Greek body, of a Hebrew form with Greek words. The conception belongs to one race, and the expression to another. Nor is it too much to say that this combination was one of the most important preparations for the reception of Christianity, and one of the most important aids for the adequate expression of its teaching. On the one hand, by the spread of the Hellenistic Greek, the deep, theocratic aspect of the world and life, which distinguishes Jewish thought, was placed before men at large; and on the other, the subtle truths, which philosophy had gained from the analysis of mind and action, and enshrined in words, were transferred to the service of revelation. In the fullness of time, when the great message came, a language was prepared to convey it; and thus the very dialect of the N. T. forms a great lesson in the true philosophy of history and becomes in itself a monument of the providential government of mankind.

This view of the Hellenistic dialect will at once remove one of the commonest misconceptions relating to it. For it will follow that its deviations from the ordinary laws of classic Greek are themselves bound by some common law, and that irregularities of construction and altered usages of words are to be traced to their first source, and interpreted strictly according to the original conception out of which they sprang. A popular, and even a corrupt, dialect is not less precise, or, in other words, is not less human than a polished one, though its interpretation may often be more difficult from the want of materials for analysis. But in the case of the N. T., the books themselves furnish an ample store for the critic, and the Septuagint, when compared with the Hebrew text, provides him with the history of the language which he has to study.

2. The adoption of a strange language was essentially characteristic of the true nature of Hellenism. The purely outward elements of the national life were laid aside with a facility of which history offers few examples, while the inner character of the people remained unchanged. In every respect the thought, so to speak, was clothed in a new dress. Hellenism was, as it were, a fresh incorporation of Judaism according to altered laws of life and worship. But as the Hebrew spirit made itself distinctly visible in the new dialect, so it remained undestroyed by the new conditions which regulated its action. While the Hellenistic Jews followed their natural instinct for trade, which was originally curbed by the Mosaic Law, and gained a deeper insight into foreign character, and with this a truer sympathy or at least a wider tolerance towards foreign opinions, they found means at the same time to extend the knowledge of the principles of their divine faith, and to gain respect and attention even from those who did not openly embrace their religion. Hellenism accomplished for the outer world what the

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Return [CYRUS] accomplished for the Palestinian Jews: it was the necessary step between a religion of form and a religion of spirit: it witnessed against Judaism as final and universal, and it witnessed for it, as the foundation of a spiritual religion which should be bound by no local restrictions. Under the influence of this wider instruction a Greek body grew up around the Synagogue, not admitted into the Jewish Church, and yet holding a recognized position with regard to it, which was able to apprehend the Apostolic teaching, and ready to receive it. The Hellenists themselves were at once missionaries to the heathen, and prophets to their own countrymen. Their lives were an abiding protest against polytheism and pantheism, and they retained with unshaken zeal the sum of their ancient creed, when the preacher had popularly occupied the place of the priest, and a service of prayer and praise and exhortation had succeeded in daily life to the elaborate ritual of the Temple. Yet this new development of Judaism was obtained without the sacrifice of national ties. The connection of the Hellenists with the Temple was not broken, except in the case of some of the Egyptian Jews. [THE DISPERSION.] Unity coexisted with dispersion; and the organization of a catholic church was foreshadowed, not only in the widening breadth of doctrine, but even externally in the scattered communities which looked to Jerusalem as their common centre.

In another aspect Hellenism served as the preparation for a catholic creed. As it furnished the language of Christianity, it supplied also that literary instinct which counteracted the traditional reserve of the Palestinian Jews. The writings of the N. T., and all the writings of the Apostolic age, with the exception of the original Gospel of St. Matthew, were, as far as we know, Greek; and Greek seems to have remained the sole vehicle of Christian literature, and the principal medium of Christian worship, till the Church of North Africa rose into importance in the time of Tertullian. The Canon of the Christian Scriptures, the early Creeds, and the Liturgies, are the memorials of this Hellenistic predominance in the Church, and the types of its working; and if in later times the Greek spirit descended to the investigation of painful subtleties, it may be questioned whether the fullness of Christian truth could have been developed without the power of Greek thought tempered by Hebrew discipline.

The general relations of Hellenism to Judaism are well treated in the histories of Ewald and Jost; but the Hellenistic language is as yet, critically speaking, almost unexplored. Winer's Grammar (*Gramm. d. N. T. Sprachidioms*, 6te Aufl. 1855 [7e Aufl. by Lünemann, 1867]) has done great service in establishing the idea of law in N. T. language, which was obliterated by earlier interpreters, but even Winer does not investigate the origin of the peculiarities of the Hellenistic dialect. The idioms of the N. T. cannot be discussed apart from those of the LXX.; and no explanation can be considered perfect which does not take into account the origin of the corresponding Hebrew idioms. For this work even the materials are as yet deficient. The text of the LXX. is still in a most unsatisfactory condition; and while Bruder's Concordance leaves nothing to be desired for the vocabulary of the N. T., Trommius's Concordance to the LXX., however useful, is quite untrustworthy for critical purposes. [See LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, Amer. ed.; also NEW TESTAMENT, IV.]

B. F. W.

HELMET. [ARMS, p. 161.]

HE'LON (חֵלֹן [*strong, powerful*]: Χαιλών: *Helon*), father of Eliab, who was the chief man of the tribe of Zebulun, when the census was taken in the wilderness of Sinai (Num. i. 9, ii. 7, vii. 24, 29, x. 16).

* **HELPS.** This is the term used in the authorized English Version, and in the Rheims N. T. for ἀντιλήψεις, 1 Cor. xii. 28. The Vulgate translates, *opitulationes*; Wycliffe, *helpyngis* (helpings); Tyndale, Cranmer, and the Geneva Bible, *helpers*; Luther, *Helfer*. The noun occurs only once in the N. T., but the verb ἀντιλαμβάνομαι, i. e. *to take in turn, to lay hold of, to help*, also *to take part in*, occurs three times, Luke i. 54 ("*hath holpen* his servant Israel"), Acts xx. 35 ("to support the weak"), 1 Tim. vi. 2 (*οἱ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι*, "partakers of the benefit"). With the classics ἀντίληψις signifies *a taking in turn, seizure; receipt; perception*, but with the later writers and in the O. T. Apocrypha (2 Macc. viii. 19; 3 Macc. v. 50; Ecclus. xi. 12; li. 7; 1 Esdr. viii. 27 al.) also *aid, support*. This must be the meaning of the word in 1 Cor. xii., and it is so understood by nearly all the commentators from Chrysostom (*ἀντέχεσθαι τῶν ἀσθενῶν*) down to De Wette, Meyer, Alford, Wordsworth, and Kling (in Lange's *Bibelwerk*). It corresponds with the meaning of the verb in Luke i. 54 and Acts xx. 35, and suits the connection. Paul enumerates the ἀντιλήψεις among the charismata, and puts them between the miraculous powers (δυνάμεις and χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων) which were not confined to any particular office, and the gifts of government and administration (κυβερνήσεις) which belonged especially to the presbyter-bishops, and in the highest degree to the Apostles as the *gubernatores ecclesiæ*. Ἀντιλήψεις doubtless comprehends the various duties of the *deacons* and *deaconesses* of the Apostles' church, especially the care of the poor and the sick. We may take it, however, in a more comprehensive sense for Christian charity and philanthropy. The plural indicates the diversity of the gift in its practical operation and application; comp. διακονίαι, 1 Cor. xii. 5. These *helps* or *helpings* are represented here as a gift of the Spirit The duty is based on the possession of the gift, but the gift is not confined to the deacons or any class of church officers. It is found also among the laity, especially the female portion, in all ages and all branches of Christendom. But from time to time God raises up heroes of Christian charity and angels of mercy whom He endows, in an extraordinary measure, with the charisma of ἀντιλήψις, διακονία, and ἀγάπη for the benefit of suffering humanity.

P. S.

* **HELPS,** Acts xxvii. 17 (*βοήθειαι*). See SHIPS, *Undergirding*.

HEM OF GARMENT (צִיצִת: κράσπεδον: *fimbria*). The importance which the later Jews, especially the Pharisees (Matt. xxiii. 5), attached to the hem or fringe of their garments was founded upon the regulation in Num. xv. 38, 39, which attached a symbolical meaning to it. We must not, however, conclude that the fringe owed its origin to that passage: it was in the first instance the ordinary mode of finishing the robe, the ends of the threads composing the woof being

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left in order to prevent the cloth from unraveling, just as in the Egyptian *calasiris* (Her. ii. 81; Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 90), and in the Assyrian robes as represented in the bas-reliefs of Nineveh, the blue ribbon being added to strengthen the border. The Hebrew word *tzitzith* is expressive of this *fretted edge*: the Greek κράσπεδα (the etymology of which is uncertain, being variously traced to κροσσός, ἄκρος πέδον, and κρηπίς) applies to the *edge* of a river or mountain (Xen. *Hist. Gr.* iii. 2, § 16, iv. 6 § 8), and is explained by Hesychius as τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄκρῳ τοῦ ἱματίου κεκλωσμένα ῥάμματα καὶ τὸ ἄκρον αὐτοῦ. The *beged* or outer robe was a simple quadrangular piece of cloth, and generally so worn that two of the corners hung down in front: these corners were ornamented with a "ribbon of blue," or rather *dark violet*, the ribbon itself being, as we may conclude from the word used, פָּתִיל, as narrow as a thread or piece of string. The Jews attached great sanctity to this fringe (Matt. ix. 20, xiv. 36; Luke viii. 44), and the Pharisees made it more prominent than it was originally designed to be, enlarging both the fringe and the ribbon to an undue width (Matt. xxiii. 5). Directions were given as to the number of threads of which it ought to be composed, and other particulars, to each of which a symbolical meaning was attached (Carpzov, *Apparat.* p. 198). It was appended in later times to the *talith* more especially, as being the robe usually worn at devotions: whence the proverbial saying quoted by Lightfoot (*Exercit.* on Matt. v. 40), "He that takes care of his fringes deserves a good coat." W. L. B.

HE'MAM (הֵימָם [*exterminating*, or *raging*]: Αἰμάν: *Heman*). Hori (*i. e.* Horite) and Hemam were sons (A. V. "children," but the word is *Bene*) of Lotan, the eldest son of Seir (Gen. xxxvi. 22). In the list in 1 Chr. i. the name appears as HOMAM, which is probably the correct form.

HE'MAN (הֵימָן [*true*, *reliable*]: [Αἰμουάν, Αἰνάν; Alex.] Αἰμαν, [Ημαν: *Eman*, *Heman*]). 1. Son of Zerah, 1 Chr. ii. 6; 1 K. iv. 31. See following article.

2. [Αἰμάν; Vat. 1 Chr. xxv. 6, Αἰμανει, 2 Chr. xxix. 14, Ωναιμαν; Alex. Ps. lxxxviii. 1, Αἰθαμ: *Hemam*, *Heman*, *Eman*.] Son of Joel, and grandson of Samuel the prophet, a Kohathite. He is called "the singer" (הַמְשֹׁרֵר), rather, the *musician*, 1 Chr. vi. 33, and was the first of the three chief Levites to whom was committed the vocal and instrumental music of the temple-service in the reign of David, as we read 1 Chr. xv. 16–22, Asaph and Ethan, or rather, according to xxv. 1, 3, Jeduthun,[a] being his colleagues. [JEDUTHUN.] The genealogy of Heman is given in 1 Chr. vi. 33–38 (A. V.), but the generations between Assir, the son of Korah, and Samuel are somewhat confused, owing to two collateral lines having got mixed. A rectification of this genealogy will be found at p. 214 of *the Genealogies of our Lord*, where it is shown that Heman is 14th in descent from Levi. A further account of Heman is given 1 Chr. xxv., where he is called (ver. 5) "the king's seer in the matters of God," the word חוֹזֵה, "seer," which in 2 Chr. xxxv. 15 is applied to Jeduthun, and in xxix. 30 to Asaph, being probably used in the same sense as is נָבָא, "prophesied," of Asaph and Jeduthun in xxv. 1–3. We there learn that Heman had fourteen sons, and three daughters [HANANIAH I.], of which the sons all assisted in the music under their father, and each of whom was head of one of the twenty-four wards of Levites, who "were instructed in the songs of the Lord," or rather, in sacred music. Whether or no this Heman is the person to whom the 88th Psalm is ascribed is doubtful. The chief reason for supposing him to be the same is, that as other Psalms are ascribed to Asaph and Jeduthun, so it is likely that this one should be to Heman the singer. But on the other hand he is there called 'the Ezrahite;" and the 89th Psalm is ascribed to "Ethan the Ezrahite."[b] But since Heman and Ethan are described in 1 Chr. ii. 6, as "sons of Zerah," it is in the highest degree probable that Ezrahite means "of the family of Zerah," and consequently that Heman of the 88th Psalm is different from Heman the singer, the Kohathite. In 1 K. iv. 31 again (Heb. v. 11), we have mention, as of the wisest of mankind, of Ethan the Ezrahite, Heman, Chalcol, and Darda, the sons of Mahol, a list corresponding with the names of the sons of Zerah, in 1 Chr. ii. 6. The inference from which is that there was a Heman, different from Heman the singer, of the family of Zerah the son of Judah, and that he is distinguished from Heman the singer, the Levite, by being called the Ezrahite. As regards the age when Heman the Ezrahite lived, the only thing that can be asserted is that he lived before Solomon, who was said to be "wiser than Heman," and after Zerah the son of Judah. His being called "son of Zerah" in 1 Chr. ii. 6 indicates nothing as to the precise age when he and his brother lived. They are probably mentioned in this abridged genealogy, only as having been illustrious persons of their family. Nor is anything known of Mahol their father. It is of course uncertain whether the tradition which ascribed the 88th Psalm to Heman's authorship is trustworthy. Nor is there anything in the Psalm itself which clearly marks the time of its composition. The 89th Psalm, ascribed to Ethan, seems to be subsequent to the overthrow of the kingdom of Judah, unless possibly the calamities described in the latter part of the Psalm may be understood of David's flight at Absalom's rebellion, in which case ver. 41 would allude to Shimei the son of Gera.

If Heman the Kohathite, or his father, had married an heiress of the house of Zerah, as the sons of Hakkoz did of the house of Barzillai, and was so reckoned in the genealogy of Zerah, then all the notices of Heman might point to the same person, and the musical skill of David's chief musician, and the wisdom of David's seer, and the genius of the author of the 88th Psalm, concurring in the same individual, would make him fit to be joined with those other worthies whose wisdom was only exceeded by that of Solomon. But it is impossible to assert that this was the case.

Rosenm. *Proleg. in Psalm.* p. xvii.; J. Olshausen, *on Psalms*, *Einleit.* p. 22 (*Kurzgef. Exeg. Handb.*). A. C. H.

[a] אֵיתָן and יְדוּתוּן are probably only clerical variations. See also 2 Chr. xxix. 13, 14.

[b] St. Augustine's copy read, with the LXX., *Israelite*, for *Ezrahite*, in the titles to the 88th and 89th Psalms. His explanation of the title of Ps. lxxxviii is a curious specimen of spiritualizing interpretation

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HE'MATH (חֲמָת [*fortress, citadel*]: Ἐμάθ; [Vat.] Alex. Ἐμαθ: *Emath*). Another form — not warranted by the Hebrew — of the well-known name HAMATH (Am. vi. 14).

HE'MATH (חַמַּת *i. e.* Hammath [*heat, warm spring*]: Αἰμάθ; [Vat. Μεσημα:] Vulg. translates *de calore*), a person, or a place, named in the genealogical lists of Judah, as the origin of the Kenites, and the "father" of the house of RECHAB (1 Chr. ii. 55).

HEM'DAN (חֶמְדָּן [*pleasant one*, Fürst]: Ἀμαδά: *Amdam* or *Hamdam*, some copies *Hamdon*), the eldest son of Dishon, son of Anah the Horite (Gen. xxxvi. 26). In the parallel list of 1 Chr. (i. 41) the name is changed to *Hamran* (חֲמְרָן), which in the A. V. is given as AMRAM, probably following the Vulgate *Hamram*, in the earliest MSS. *Amaran*.

The name Hemdan is by Knobel (*Genesis*, p. 256) compared with those of *Humeidy* and *Hamady*, two of the five families of the tribe of *Omran* or *Amran*, who are located to the E. and S. E. of Akaba. Also with the *Bene-Hamyde*, who are found a short distance S. of Kerek (S. E. corner of the Dead Sea); and from thence to *el-Busaireh*, probably the ancient BOZRAH, on the road to Petra. (See Burckhardt, *Syria*, etc., pp. 695, 407.)

HEM'LOCK. [GALL.]

HEN (חֵן [*favor, grace*]: *Hen*). According to the rendering of the passage (Zech. vi. 14) adopted in the A. V. Hen (or accurately Chen) is the name of a son of Zephaniah, and apparently the same who is called Josiah in ver. 10. But by the LXX. (χάρις), Ewald (*Gunst*), and other interpreters, the words are taken to mean "for the favor of the son of Zephaniah."

HEN. The hen is nowhere noticed in the Bible except in the passages (Matt. xxiii. 37; Luke xiii. 34) where our Saviour touchingly compares His anxiety to save Jerusalem to the tender care of a hen "gathering her chickens under her wings." The word employed is ὄρνις, which is used in the same specific sense in classical Greek (Aristoph. *Av.* 102, *Vesp.* 811). That a bird, so intimately connected with the household, and so common in Palestine, as we know from Rabbinical sources, should receive such slight notice, is certainly singular; it is almost equally singular that it is nowhere represented in the paintings of ancient Egypt (Wilkinson, i. 234).[a] W. L. B.

HE'NA (חֲנַע [*depression, low land*, Fürst]: Ἀνά; [in 2 K. xix., Vat. Ανες, Alex. Ανα; in Is., by confusion with next word, Rom. Ἀναγουγδα, Vat. Sin. Ἀναγουγανα:] *Ana*) seems to have been one of the chief cities of a monarchical state which the Assyrian kings had reduced shortly before the time of Sennacherib (2 K [xviii. 34,] xix. 13; Is. xxxvii. 13). Its connection with Sepharvaim, or Sippara, would lead us to place it in Babylonia, or at any rate on the Euphrates. Here, at no great distance from Sippara (now *Mosaib*), an ancient town called *Ana* or *Anah*, which seems to have been in former times a place of considerable importance. It is mentioned by Abulfeda, by William of Tyre, and others (see Asseman. *Bibl. Or.* vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 560, and p. 717). The conjecture by some (see Winer's *Realwörterbuch*, s. v.) that this may be Hena, is probable, and deserves acceptance. A further conjecture identifies *Ana* with a town called *Anat* (ה is merely the feminine termination), which is mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions as situated on an island in the Euphrates (Fox Talbot's *Assyrian Texts*, 21; Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, 355) at some distance below its junction with the *Chabour*; and which appears as Anatho (Ἀνα θώ) in Isidore of Charax (*Mans. Parth.* p. 4). The modern *Anat* is on the right bank of the stream, while the name also attaches to some ruins a little lower down upon the left bank; but between them is "a string of islands" (Chesney's *Euphrates Expedition*, i. 53), on one or more of which the ancient city may have been situated. G. R.

HEN'ADAD (חֲנָדָד [*favor of Hadad*, Fürst, Ges.]: Ἐνάδδ, [etc. :] *Henadad, Enadad*), the head of a family of Levites who took a prominent part in the rebuilding of the Temple under Jeshua (Ezr. iii. 9). Bavai and Binnui (Neh. iii. 18, 24), who assisted in the repair of the wall of the city, probably belonged to the same family. The latter also represented his family at the signing of the covenant (Neh. x. 9).

HE'NOCH (חֲנוֹךְ: Ἐνώχ: *Henoch*). 1. The form in which the well-known name ENOCH is given in the A. V. of 1 Chr. i. 3. The Hebrew word is the same both here and in Genesis, namely, *Chanoc*. Perhaps in the present case our translators followed the Vulgate.

2. So they appear also to have done in 1 Chr. i. 33 with a name which in Gen. xxv. 4 is more accurately given as HANOCH.

HE'PHER (חֵפֶר [*a well*]: Ὀφέρ: *Hepher*). 1. A descendant of Manasseh. The youngest of the sons of Gilead (Num. xxvi. 32), and head of the family of the HEPHERITES. Hepher was father of ZELOPHEHAD (xxvi. 33, xxvii. 1; [Josh. xvii. 2, 3]), whose daughters first raised the question of the right of a woman having no brother, to hold the property of her father.

2. (Ἡφέλ: *Hepher.*) The second son of Naarah, one of the two wives of Ashur, the "father of Tekoa" (1 Chr. iv. 6), in the genealogy of Judah.

3. [Rom. Vat. Alex. FA. corrupted by false division of the words; Comp. Ἀφάρ; Ald. Ἀφέρ.] The Mecherathite, one of the heroes of David's guard, according to the list of 1 Chr. xi. 36. In the catalogue of 2 Samuel this name does not exist (see xxiii. 34); and the conclusion of Kennicott, after a full investigation of the passages, is that the names in Samuel are the originals, and that Hepher is a mere corruption of them.

HE'PHER (חֵפֶר [*a well*]: Ὀφέρ; [Vat in 1 K. corrupt; Comp. Ἐφέρ·] *Opher*), a place in ancient Canaan, which, though not mentioned in the history of the conquest, occurs in the list of conquered kings (Josh. xii. 17). It was on the west of Jordan (comp. 7). So was also the "land of

[a] The common barn-door fowl are met with everywhere in Syria at the present day. The peasants rely on them, and the eggs from them, as one of their chief means of subsistence (Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 553 The eggs of the hen are no doubt meant in the Saviour's illustration (Luke xi. 12), which implies also that they were very abundant. H

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Hepher" (אֶרֶץ חֵ֫ל, *terra Epher*), which is named with Socoh as one of Solomon's commissariat districts (1 K. iv. 10). To judge from this catalogue it lay towards the south of central Palestine, at any rate below Dor. so that there cannot be any connection between it and GATH-HEPHER, which was in Zebulun near Sepphoris.

HE'PHERITES, THE (הַחֶפְרִי [patronym., see above], i. e. *the Hepherite*: ὁ Ὀφερί [Vat. -ρει-]: *familia Hepheritarum*), the family of Hepher the son of Gilead (Num. xxvi. 32).

HEPH'ZIBAH (חֶפְצִי־בָהּ: θέλημα ἐμόν: *voluntas mea in ea*). 1. A name signifying *My delight in her*, which is to be borne by the restored Jerusalem (Is. lxii. 4). The succeeding sentence contains a play on the word — "for Jehovah delighteth (חָפֵץ, *chapheṣ*) in thee."

2. (Ἀψιβά; [Vat.[1] Ὀψειβα:] Alex. Ὀφσιβα; Joseph. Ἀχιβά: *Haphsiba*). It was actually the name of the queen of King Hezekiah, and the mother of Manasseh (2 K. xxi. 1). In the parallel account (2 Chr. xxxiii. 1) her name is omitted. No clue is given us to the character of this queen. But if she was an adherent of Jehovah — and this the wife of Hezekiah could not fail to be — it is not impossible that the words of Is. lxii. 4 may contain a complimentary allusion to her.

HERALD (קָרוֹזְא [from the Pers., *crier, caller*, Dietr.]). The only notice of this officer in the O. T. occurs in Dan. iii. 4; the term there used is connected etymologically with the Greek κηρύσσω and κράζω, and with our "cry." There is an evident allusion to the office of the herald in the expressions κηρύσσω, κήρυξ, and κήρυγμα, which are frequent in the N. T., and which are but inadequately rendered by "preach," etc. The term "herald" might be substituted in 1 Tim. ii. 7; 2 Tim. i. 11; 2 Pet. ii. 5. W. L. B.

HER'CULES (Ἡρακλῆς [*Hera's glory*]), the name commonly applied by the western nations to the tutelary deity of Tyre, whose national title was *Melkart*[a] (מל קרת, *i. e.* מלך קרה, *the king of the city* = πολιοῦχος, Μελίκαρος, Phil. Bybl. ap. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* i. 10). The identification was based upon a similarity of the legends and attributes referred to the two deities, but Herodotus (ii. 44) recognized their distinctness, and dwells on the extreme antiquity of the Tyrian rite (Herod. *l. c.*; cf. Strabo, xvi. p. 757; Arr. *Alex.* ii. 16; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 5, § 3; *c. Apion.* i. 18). The worship of Melkart was spread throughout the Tyrian colonies, and was especially established at Carthage (cf. Hamilcar), where it was celebrated even with human sacrifices (Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 4 (5); cf. Jer. xix. 5). Mention is made of public embassies sent from the colonies to the mother state to honor the national God (Arr. *Alex.* ii. 24; Q. Curt. iv. 3; Polyb. xxxi. 20), and this fact places in a clearer light the offense of Jason in sending envoys (θεωροὺς) to his festival (2 Macc. iv. 19 ff.).

There can be little doubt but that Melkart is the proper name of the Baal — the Prince (הַבַּעַל) — mentioned in the later history of the O. T. The worship of "Baal" was introduced from Tyre (1 K. xvi. 31; cf. 2 K. xi. 18) after the earlier Canaanitish idolatry had been put down (1 Sam. vii. 4; cf. 1 K. xi. 5–8), and Melkart (Hercules) and Astarte appear in the same close relation (Joseph. *Ant.* l. c.) as Baal and Astarte. The objections which are urged against the identification appear to have little weight; but the supposed connections between Melkart and other gods (Moloch, etc. which have been suggested (Pauly, *Real-Encycl.* s. v. *Melcarth*) appear less likely (cf. Gesenius, *l. c.*; Movers, *Phönizier*, i. 176 ff., 385 ff.). [BAAL.]

The direct derivation of the word Hercules from Phœnician roots, either as חֹרְכֹל, *circuitor*, the traveller, in reference to the course of the sun, with whom he was identified, or to the journeys of the hero, or again as אַרְכֹל (Ἀρχαλεύς, *Etym. M.*), *the strong conquers*, has little probability.

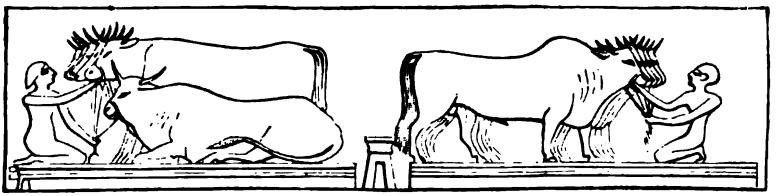
B. F. W.

HERD, HERDSMAN. The herd was greatly regarded both in the patriarchal and Mosaic period. Its multiplying was considered as a blessing, and its decrease as a curse (Gen. xiii. 2; Deut. vii. 14, xxviii. 4; Ps. cvii. 38, cxliv. 14; Jer. li. 23). The ox was the most precious stock next to horse and mule, and (since those were rare) the thing of greatest value which was commonly possessed (1 K. xviii. 5). Hence we see the force of Saul's threat (1 Sam. xi. 7). The herd yielded the most esteemed sacrifice (Num. vii. 3; Ps. lxix. 31 Is lxvi. 3); also flesh-meat and milk, chiefly converted, probably, into butter and cheese (Deut. xxxii. 14; 2 Sam. xvii. 29), which such milk yields more copiously than that of small cattle[b] (Arist. *Hist. Anim.* iii. 20). The full-grown ox is hardly ever slaughtered in Syria; but, both for sacrificial and convivial purposes, the young animal was preferred (Ex. xxix. 1) — perhaps three years might be the age up to which it was so regarded (Gen. xv. 9) — and is spoken of as a special dainty (Gen. xviii. 8; Am. vi. 4; Luke xv. 23). The case of Gideon's sacrifice was one of exigency (Judg. vi. 25) and exceptional. So that of the people (1 Sam. xiv. 32) was an act of wanton excess. The agricultural and general usefulness of the ox, in ploughing, threshing [AGRICULTURE], and as a beast of burden (1 Chr. xii. 40; Is. xlvi. 1), made such a slaughtering seem wasteful; nor, owing to difficulties of grazing, fattening, etc., is beef the product of an eastern climate. The animal was broken to service probably in his third year (Is. xv. 5; Jer. xlviii. 34; comp. Plin. *H. N.* viii. 70, ed. Par.). In the moist season, when grass abounded in the waste lands, especially in the "south" region,

[a] This identification is distinctly made in a Maltese inscription quoted by Gesenius (Ersch und Gruber's *Encyklop.* s. v. *Bel.*, and *Thesaurus*, s. v. בעל), where מלקרת בעל צרי answers to Ἡρακλεῖ ἱερατεύσαντι.

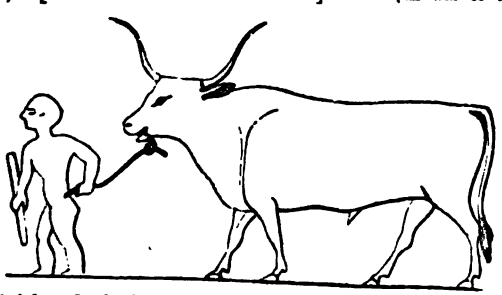
[1] These were common, and are frequently alluded to. The expression שְׁפוֹת־בָּקָר, 2 Sam. xvii. 29 means cheese of cows' milk; חֶמְאָה, Arab. خمى, Gen. xviii. 8, Is. vii. 15, 2 Sam. xvii. 29, Job xx. 17 Judg. v. 25, Prov. xxx. 33, is properly rendered "butter" (which Gesenius, *s. v.*, is mistaken in declaring to be "hardly known to the Orientals, except as a medicine"). The word גְּבִינָה, Job x. 10, is the same as the Arab جبن, applied by the Bedouins to their goats'-milk cheese. [BUTTER; CHEESE.]

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Egyptian farm-yard. (Wilkinson.)

herds grazed there; *e. g.* in Carmel on the W. side of the Dead Sea (1 Sam. xxv. 2; 2 Chr. xxvi. 10). Dothan also. Mishor, and Sharon (Gen. xxxvii. 17; comp. Robinson, iii. 122; Stanley, *S. & P.* pp. 247, 260, 484, 485; 1 Chr. xxvii. 29; Is. lxv. 10) were favorite pastures. For such purposes Uzziah built towers in the wilderness (2 Chr. xxvi. 10). Not only grass,[a] but foliage, is acceptable to the ox, and the hills and woods of Bashan and Gilead afforded both abundantly; on such upland (Ps. l. 10; lxv. 12) pastures cattle might graze, as also, of course, by river sides, when driven by the heat from the regions of the "wilderness." Especially was the eastern table-land (Ex. xxxix. 18; Num. xxxii. 4) "a place for cattle," and the pastoral tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh who settled there, retained something of the nomadic character and handed down some image of the patriarchal life (Stanley, *S. & P.* pp. 324–5). Herdsmen, etc., in Egypt were a low, perhaps the lowest, caste; hence as Joseph's kindred, through his position, were brought into contact with the highest castes, they are described as "an abomination;" but of the abundance of cattle in Egypt, and of the care there bestowed on them, there is no doubt (Gen. xlvii. 6, 17; Ex. ix. 4, 20). Brands were used to distinguish the owner's herds (Wilkinson, iii. 8, 195; iv. 125–131). So the plague of hail was sent to smite especially the cattle (Ps. lxxviii. 48), the first-born of which also were smitten (Ex. xii. 29). The Israelites departing stipulated for (Ex. x. 26) and took "much cattle" with them (xii. 38). [WILDERNESS OF WANDERING.] Cattle



A deformed oxherd, so represented to mark contempt. (Wilkinson.)

formed thus one of the traditions of the Israelitish nation in its greatest period, and became almost a part of that greatness. They are the object of providential care and legislative ordinance (Ex. xx 10, xxi. 28,[b] xxxiv. 19; Lev. xix. 19, xxv. 7; Deut. xi. 15, xxii. 1, 4, 10, xxv. 4; Ps. civ. 14; Is. xxx. 23; Jon. iv. 11), and even the Levites, though not holding land, were allowed cattle (Num. xxxv. 2, 3). When pasture failed, a mixture of various grains (called, Job vi. 5, בְּלִיל, rendered "fodder" in the A. V., and, Is. xxx. 24, "provender;"[c] comp. the Roman *farrago* and *ocymum*, Plin. xviii. 10 and 42) was used, as also תֶּבֶן, "chopped straw" (Gen. xxiv. 25; Is. xi. 7, lxv. 25), which was torn in pieces by the threshing-machine and used probably for feeding in stalls. These last formed an important adjunct to cattle-keeping, being indispensable for shelter at certain seasons (Ex. ix. 6, 19). The herd, after its harvest-duty was done, which probably caused it to be in high condition, was specially worth caring for; at the same time most open pastures would have failed because of the heat. It was then probably stalled, and would continue so until vegetation returned. Hence the failure of "the herd" from "the stalls" is mentioned as a feature of scarcity (Hab. iii. 17). "Calves of the stall" (Mal. iv. 2; Prov. xv. 17) are the objects of watchful care. The Reubenites, etc., bestowed their cattle "in cities" when they passed the Jordan to share the toils of conquest (Deut. iii. 19), *i. e.* probably in some pastures closely adjoining, like the "suburbs" appointed for the cattle of the Levites (Num. xxxv. 2, 3; Josh. xxi. 2). Cattle were ordinarily allowed as a prey in war to the captor (Deut. xx. 14; Josh. viii. 2), and the case of Amalek is exceptional, probably to mark the extreme curse to which that people was devoted (Ex. xvii. 14; 1 Sam. xv. 3). The occupation of herdsman was honorable in early times (Gen. xlvii. 6; 1 Sam. xi. 5; 1 Chr. xxvii. 29, xxviii. 1). Saul himself assumed it in the interval of his cares as king; also Doeg was certainly high in his confidence (1 Sam. xxi. 7). Pharaoh made some of Joseph's brethren "rulers over his cattle." David's herd-masters were among his chief officers of state. In Solomon's time the relative importance of the pursuit declined as commerce grew, but it was still extensive (Eccl. ii. 7; 1 K. iv. 23). It must have greatly suffered from the inroads of the

[a] In Num. xxii. 4, the word יֶרֶק, in A. V. "grass," usually includes all vegetation. Comp. Ex. x. 15, Is. xxxvii. 27; Cato, *de R. R.* c. 30; Varro, *de R. R.* i. 15, and ἡ δ. χλωρίς, Job viii. 12, xl. 15, seems used in a signification equally wide. [GRASS.]

[b] Rabbis differ on the question whether the owner of the animal was under this enactment liable or not liable. See *de Re Rust. Veterum Hebræorum*, c. ii., Ugolini xxix.

[c] The word seems to be derived from בָּלַל, to mix. The passage in Isaiah probably means that in the abundant yield of the crops the cattle should eat of the best, such as was usually consumed by man

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enemies to which the country under the later kings of Judah and Israel was exposed. Uzziah, however, (2 Chr. xxvi. 10), and Hezekiah (xxxii. 28, 29), resuming command of the open country, revived it. Josiah also seems to have been rich in herds (xxxv. 7–9). The prophet Amos at first followed this occupation (Am. i. 1, vii. 14). A goad was used (Judg. iii. 31; 1 Sam. xiii. 21, מַלְמָד, דָּרְבָּן), being, as mostly, a staff armed with a spike. For the word Herd as applied to swine, see SWINE; and on the general subject, Ugolini, xxix., *de R. R. vett. Hebr.* c. ii., which will be found nearly exhaustive of it. H. H.

HERES (Is. xix. 18; A. V. "destruction" or "the sun"). See IR-HA-HERES.

HERESH (חֶרֶשׁ = *artificer*: Ἀφής; [Vat. Ραραιηλ;] Alex. Apes: *carpentarius*), a Levite; one of the staff attached to the tabernacle (1 Chr. ix. 15).

HERMAS (Ἑρμᾶς, from Ἑρμῆς, the "Greek god of gain," or Mercury), the name of a person to whom St. Paul sends greeting in his Epistle to the Romans (xvi. 14), and consequently then resident in Rome, and a Christian: and yet the origin of the name, like that of the other four mentioned in the same verse, is Greek. However, in those days, even a Jew, like St. Paul himself, might acquire Roman citizenship. Irenæus, Tertullian, and Origen, agree in attributing to him the work called the *Shepherd:* which, from the name of Clement occurring in it, is supposed to have been written in the pontificate of Clement I.; while others affirm it to have been the work of a namesake in the following age, and brother to Pius I.; others again have argued against its genuineness. (Cave, *Hist. Lit.* s. v.; Bull, *Defens. Fid. Nic.* i. 2, 3–6; Dindorf, *Præf. ad Hermæ Past.*) From internal evidence, its author, whoever he was, appears to have been a married man and father of a family: a deep mystic, but without ecclesiastical rank. Further, the work in question is supposed to have been originally written in Greek — in which language it is frequently cited by the Greek Fathers — though it now only exists entire in a Latin version.[a] It was never received into the canon; but yet was generally cited with respect only second to that which was paid to the authoritative books of the N. T., and was held to be in some sense inspired (Caillau's *Patres*, tom. i. p. 17). It may be styled the *Pilgrim's Progress* of ante-Nicene times; and is divided into three parts: the first containing four visions, the second twelve moral and spiritual precepts, and the third ten similitudes, each intended to shadow forth some verity (Caillau, *ibid.*). Every man, according to this writer, is attended by a good and bad angel, who are continually attempting to affect his course through life; a doctrine which forcibly recalls the fable of Prodicus respecting the choice of Hercules (Xenoph. *Mem.* ii. 1).

The Hermas of the Epistle to the Romans is celebrated as a saint in the Roman calendar on May 9 (Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, May 9).

E. S. Ff.

HERMES (Ἑρμῆς), the name of a man mentioned in the same epistle with the preceding (Rom. xvi. 14). "According to the Greeks," says Calmet (*Dict.* s. v.), "he was one of the Seventy disciples and afterwards Bishop of Dalmatia." His festival occurs in their calendar upon April 8 (Neale, *Eastern Church*, ii. 774). E. S. Ff.

* **HERMES**, Acts xiv. 12. [MERCURY.]

HERMOGENES (Ἑρμογένης) [*born of Hermes*], a person mentioned by St. Paul in the latest of all his epistles (2 Tim. i. 15; see Alford's *Proleg.* c. vii. § 35), when "all in Asia" (*i. e.* those whom he had left there) "had turned away from him," and among their number "Phygellus and Hermogenes." It does not appear whether they had merely forsaken his cause, now that he was in bonds, through fear, like those of whom St. Cyprian treats in his celebrated work *De Lapsis;* or whether, like Hymenæus and Philetus (*ibid.* ch. ii. 18), they had embraced false doctrine. It is just possible that there may be a contrast intended between these two sets of deserters. According to the legendary history, bearing the name of Abdias (Fabricii *Cod. Apocryph. N. T.* p. 517), Hermogenes had been a magician, and was, with Philetus, converted by St. James the Great, who destroyed the charm of his spells. Neither the Hermogenes, who suffered in the reign of Domitian (Hofmann, *Lex. Univ.* s. v.; Alford *on* 2 *Tim.* i. 15), nor the Hermogenes against whom Tertullian wrote — still less the martyrs of the Greek calendar (Neale, *Eastern Church*, ii. p. 770, January 24, and p. 781, September 1) — are to be confounded with the person now under notice, of whom nothing more is known. E. S. Ff.

HERMON (חֶרְמוֹן [*prominent, lofty*]: Ἀερμών: [*Hermon*]), a mountain on the north-eastern border of Palestine (Deut. iii. 8; Josh. xii. 1), over against Lebanon (Josh. xi. 17), adjoining the plateau of Bashan (1 Chr. v. 23). Its situation being thus clearly defined in Scripture, there can be no doubt as to its identity. It stands at the southern end, and is the culminating point of the Anti-Libanus range; it towers high above the ancient border-city of Dan and the fountains of the Jordan, and is the most conspicuous and beautiful mountain in Palestine or Syria. The name *Hermon* was doubtless suggested by its appearance — "a lofty prominent peak," visible from afar (חֶרְמוֹן has the same meaning as the Arabic حَرَم); just as *Lebanon* was suggested by the white character of its limestone strata. Other names were also given to Hermon, each in like manner descriptive of some striking feature. The Sidonians called it *Sirion* (שִׂרְיוֹן, from שָׂרַד "to glitter"), and the Amorites *Senir* (שְׂנִיר, from שָׁנַן "to clatter"), both signifying "breastplate," and suggested by its rounded glittering top, when the sun's rays were reflected by the snow that covers it (Deut. iii. 9; Cant. iv. 8; Ez. xxvii. 5).

[a] * Nearly the whole of the Greek text of the *Shepherd* has now been recovered from a manuscript found at Mount Athos by Constantine Simonides, and a considerable portion of the work is preserved in the *Codex Sinaiticus* published by Tischendorf in 1862. The Greek text was first published by Anger and Dindorf at Leipsic in 1856, better by Tischendorf in Dressel's *Patres Apostolici*, Lips. 1857 (2d ed. with the readings of the *Cod. Sin.* 1868); but the best edition is that of Hilgenfeld, Fasc. iii. of his *Novum Testamentum extra Canonem receptum*, Lips. 1866. A.

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it was also named *Sion*, "the elevated" (שִׂיאֹן) towering over all its compeers (Deut. iv. 48). So now, at the present day, it is called *Jebel esh-Sheikh* (جبل الشيخ), "the chief mountain" — a name it well deserves; and *Jebel eth-Thelj* (جبل الثلج), "snowy mountain," which every man who sees it will say is peculiarly appropriate. When the whole country is parched with the summer-sun, white lines of snow streak the head of Hermon. This mountain was the great landmark of the Israelites. It was associated with their northern border almost as intimately as the sea was with the western (see יָם in Ex. xxvii. 12, A. V. "west;" Josh. viii. 9). They conquered all the land east of the Jordan, "from the river Arnon unto Mount Hermon" (Deut. iii. 8, iv. 48; Josh. xi. 17). Baal-gad, the border-city before Dan became historic, is described as "under Mount Hermon" (Josh. xiii. 5, xi. 17); and when the half-tribe of Manasseh conquered their whole allotted territory, they are said to have "increased from Bashan unto Baal-hermon and Senir, and unto Mount Hermon" (1 Chr. v. 23). In one passage Hermon would almost seem to be used to signify "north," as the word "sea" (יָם) is for "west" — "the north and the south Thou hast created them; Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy name" (Ps. lxxxix. 12). The reason of this is obvious. From whatever part of Palestine the Israelite turned his eyes northward, Hermon was there, terminating the view. From the plain along the coast, from the mountains of Samaria, from the Jordan valley, from the heights of Moab and Gilead, from the plateau of Bashan, that pale-blue, snow-capped cone forms the one feature on the northern horizon. The "dew of Hermon" is once referred to in a passage which has long been considered a geographical puzzle — "As the dew of Hermon, the dew that descended on the mountains of Zion" (Ps. cxxxiii. 3). *Zion* (צִיּוֹן) is probably used here for *Sion* (שִׂיאֹן), one of the old names of Hermon (Deut. iv. 48).[a] The snow on the summit of this mountain condenses the vapors that float during the summer in the higher regions of the atmosphere, causing light clouds to hover around it, and abundant dew to descend on it, while the whole country elsewhere is parched, and the whole heaven elsewhere cloudless.

Hermon has three summits, situated like the angles of a triangle, and about a quarter of a mile from each other. They do not differ much in elevation. This may account for the expression in Ps. xlii. 7 (6), "I will remember thee from the land of the Jordan and the *Hermons* (חֶרְמֹנִים) — perhaps also for the three appellations in 1 Chr. v. 23. On one of the summits are curious and interesting ruins. Round a rock which forms the crest of the peak are the foundations of a ruce circular wall, composed of massive stones; and within the circle is a large heap of hewn stones, surrounding the remains of a small and very ancient temple. This is evidently one of those "high places," which the old inhabitants of Palestine, and the Jews frequently in imitation of them, set up "upon every high mountain and upon every hill" (Deut. xii. 2; 2 K. xvii. 10, 11). In two passages of Scripture this mountain is called *Baal-hermon* (בַּעַל חֶרְמוֹן, Judg. iii. 3; 1 Chr. v. 23); and the only reason that can be assigned for it is that Baal was there worshipped. Jerome says of it, "dicitur que *in vertice ejus insigne templum*, quod ab ethnicis cultui habetur e regione Paneadis et Libani" — reference must here be made to the building whose ruins are still seen (*Onom.* s. v. *Hermon*). It is remarkable that Hermon was anciently encompassed by a circle of temples, *all facing the summit*. Can it be that this mountain was the great sanctuary of Baal, and that it was to the old Syrians what Jerusalem was to the Jews, and what Mekkah is to the Muslems? (See *Handb. for Syr. and Pal.* 454, 457; Reland, *Pal.* p. 323 ff.)

The height of Hermon has never been measured, though it has been often estimated. It is unquestionably the second mountain in Syria, ranking next to the summit of Lebanon near the Cedars, and only a few hundred feet lower than it. It may safely be estimated at 10,000 feet. It rises up an obtuse truncated cone, from 2000 to 3000 feet above the ridges that radiate from it — thus having a more commanding aspect than any other mountain in Syria. The cone is entirely naked. A coating of disintegrated limestone covers the surface, rendering it smooth and bleak. The snow never disappears from its summit. In spring and early summer the top is entirely covered. As summer advances the snow gradually melts from the tops of the ridges, but remains in long glittering streaks in the ravines that radiate from the centre, looking in the distance like the white locks that scantily cover the head of old age. (See *Five Years in Damascus*, vol. i.)

A tradition, originating apparently about the time of Jerome (Reland, p. 328), gave the name Hermon to the range of *Jebel ed-Duhy* near Tabor, the better to explain Ps. lxxxix. 12. The name still continues in the monasteries of Palestine, and has thus crept into books of travel. [GILBOA, *note.*] J. L. P.

* But few of the travellers in Syria have gone to the top of Hermon, and the view from it has not been often described. We are indebted to Mr. Tristram for the following sketch (*Land of Israel*, p. 614, 2d ed.): —

"We were at last on Hermon, whose snowy head had been a sort of pole-star for the last six months. We had looked at him from Sidon, from Tyre, from Carmel, from Gerizim, from the hills about Jerusalem, from the Dead Sea, from Gilead, and from Nebo; and now we were looking down on them all, as they stood out from the embossed map that lay spread at our feet. The only drawback was a light fleecy cloud which stretched from Carmel's top all along the Lebanon, till it rested upon *Jebel Sunnin*, close to Baal-bec. But it lifted sufficiently

[a] * It is against this equivalence that the consonants are different (see above) and that the meanings are different (*lofty: sunny, bright*). Besides, to make the dew of Hermon fall upon itself renders what follows irrelevant; for we can refer the blessing and the spiritual life spoken of only to Zion, the sacred mount. See under HERMON, THE DAY OF. E.

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to give us a peep of the Mediterranean in three places, and amongst them of Tyre. There was a haze, too, over the *Ghor* so that we could only see as far as *Jebel Ajlûn* and Gilead; but Lakes Huleh and Gennesaret, sunk in the depths beneath us, and reflecting the sunlight, were magnificent. We could scarcely realize that at one glance we were taking in the whole of the land through which, for more than six months, we had been incessantly wandering. Not less striking were the views to the north and east, with the head waters of the *Awaj* (Pharpar) rising beneath us, and the *Barada* (Abana), in the far distance, both rivers marking the courses of their fertilizing streams by the deep green lines of verdure, till the eye rested on the brightness of Damascus, and then turned up the wide opening of Cœle-Syria, until shut in by Lebanon.

"A ruined temple of Baal, constructed of squared stones arranged nearly in a circle, crowns the highest of the three peaks of Hermon, all very close together. We spent a great part of the day on the summit, but were before long painfully affected by the rarity of the atmosphere. The sun had sunk behind Lebanon before we descended to our tents, but long after we had lost him he continued to paint and gild Hermon with a beautiful mingling of Alpine and desert hues."

Mr. Porter, author of *Five Years in Damascus*, ascended Hermon in 1852. For an extended account of the incidents and results of the exploration, see *Bibl. Sacra*, xi. 41–56. See the notices, also, in Mr. Porter's *Handbook*, ii. 453 ff. Thomson (*Land and Book*, ii. 438) speaks of his surprise at finding that from the shores of the Dead Sea he had a distinct view of "Mount Hermon towering to the sky far, far up the *Ghor* to the north." It was a new evidence, he adds, that Moses also could have seen Hermon (Deut. xxxiv. 1 ff.) from the mountains of Moab [NEBO, Amer. ed.].

Sirion or Shirion, the Sidonian name of Hermon, signifies a "breast-plate," or "coat of mail;" and if (as assumed above), it be derived from יִרְיָה "to glitter," [a] it refers, naturally, not to any supposed resemblance of figure or shape, but to the shining appearance of that piece of armor. Hermon answers remarkably to that description. As seen at a distance through the transparent atmosphere, with the snow on its summit and stretching in long lines down its declivities, it glows and sparkles under the rays of the sun as if robed in a vesture of silver.

It is altogether probable that the Saviour's transfiguration took place on some one of the heights of Hermon. The Evangelists relate the occurrence in connection with the Saviour's visit to Cæsarea Philippi, which was in that neighborhood. Hence also the healing of the lunatic boy (Luke ix. 37) took place at the foot of Hermon. Dean Alford assumes (*Greek Test.* i. 168) that Jesus had been journeying southward from Cæsarea Philippi during the six or eight days which immediately preceded the transfiguration, and hence infers that the high mountain which he ascended must be sought near Capernaum. But that is not the more obvious view. Neither of the Evangelists says that Jesus was journeying southward during these days but, on the contrary, having stated just before that Jesus came into "the parts" (Matt. xvi. 13) or "the villages" (Mark viii. 27) of Cæsarea Philippi, they leave us to understand that he preached during the time mentioned, in that region, and then came to the mountain there on which he was transfigured. [TABOR.] H.

* **HERMON, DEW OF.** The dew on this mountain is proverbially excellent and abundant (see Ps. cxxxiii. 3). "More copious dew," says Tristram (*Land of Israel*, p. 608 f. 2d ed.), "we never experienced than that on Hermon. Everything was drenched with it, and the tents were small protection. The under sides of our macintosh sheets were in water, our guns were rusted, dew-drops were hanging everywhere. The hot air in the daytime comes streaming up the Ghor from the Huleh, while Hermon arrests all the moisture, and deposits it congealed at nights." As Mr. Porter states, "one of its hills is appropriately called Tell *Abu Nedy*, *i. e.* 'Father of the Dew,' for the clouds seem to cling with peculiar fondness round its wooded top and the little Wely of Sheikh *Abu Nedy*, which crowns it" (*Handbook*, ii. 463). Van de Velde (*Syr. and Pal.* i. 126) testifies to this peculiarity of Hermon.

It has perplexed commentators not a little to explain how the Psalmist (cxxxiii. 3) could speak of the dew of Hermon in the north of Palestine as falling on Zion in Jerusalem. The A. V. does not show the difficulty; for the words "and the dew" being interpolated between the clauses, the dew of Hermon appears there as locally different from that which descended on Mount Zion. But the Hebrew sentence will not bear that construction (see Hupfeld, *Die Psalmen*, iv. 320). Nor, where the places are so far apart from each other, can we think of the dew as carried in the atmosphere from one place to the other. Hupfeld (iv. 322) suggests that perhaps "as the dew of Hermon" may be a formula of blessing (comp. the curse on Gilboa, 2 Sam. i. 21), and as applied here may represent Zion as realizing the idea of that blessing, both spiritual and natural, in the highest degree. Böttcher (*Aehrenlese zum A. T.*, p. 58) assumes an appellative sense of חֶרְמוֹן, *i. e.* dew (not of any particular mountain of that name), but of lofty heights generally, which would include Zion. Hengstenberg's explanation is not essentially different from this (*Die Psalmen*, iv. 83), except that with him the generalized idea would be = Hermon-dew, instead of = Dew of Hermons. H

HER'MONITES, THE (חַרְמֹנִים: Ἑρμωνιείμ: *Hermoniim*) [in the A. V.]. Properly the "Hermons," with reference to the three [or two?] summits of Mount Hermon (Ps. xlii. 6 [7]) [HERMON, p. 1047.] W. A. W.

* **HER'MONS** (according to the Hebrew) Ps. xlii. 7 (6). Only one mountain is known in the Bible as Hermon; the plural name refers, no doubt, to the different summits for which this was noted. [HERMON.] See also Rob. *Phys. Geogr.* p. 347. H.

HER'OD (Ἡρῴδης, *i. e.* Hero'des). THE HERODIAN FAMILY. The history of the Herodian family presents one side of the last development of the Jewish nation. The evils which had existed in the hierarchy which grew up after the Return, found an unexpected embodiment in the

[a] * So Gesenius in Hoffmann's ed. 1847; but according to Dietrich and Fürst, from יָשַׁרְיָה, *to weave together, fasten*, as in making a shield. H

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tyranny of a foreign usurper. Religion was adopted as a policy; and the Hellenizing designs of Antiochus Epiphanes were carried out, at least in their spirit, by men who professed to observe the Law. Side by side with the spiritual "kingdom of God," proclaimed by John the Baptist, and founded by the Lord, a kingdom of the world was established, which in its external splendor recalled the traditional magnificence of Solomon. The simultaneous realization of the two principles, national and spiritual, which had long variously influenced the Jews, in the establishment of a dynasty and a church, is a fact pregnant with instruction. In the fullness of time a descendant of Esau established a false counterpart of the promised glories of Messiah.

Various accounts are given of the ancestry of the Herods; but neglecting the exaggerated statements of friends and enemies,[a] it seems certain that they were of Idumæan descent (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 1, 3), a fact which is indicated by the forms of some of the names which were retained in the family (Ewald, *Geschichte*, iv. 477, *note*). But though aliens by race, the Herods were Jews in faith. The Idumæans had been conquered and brought over to Judaism by John Hyrcanus (B. C. 130, Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 9, § 1); and from the time of their conversion they remained constant to their new religion, looking upon Jerusalem as their mother city and claiming for themselves the name of Jews (Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 7, § 7; *B. J.* i. 10, § 4, iv. 4, § 4).

The general policy of the whole Herodian family, though modified by the personal characteristics of the successive rulers, was the same. It centred in the endeavor to found a great and independent kingdom, in which the power of Judaism should subserve to the consolidation of a state. The protection of Rome was in the first instance a necessity, but the designs of Herod I. and Agrippa I. point to an independent eastern empire as their end, and not to a mere subject monarchy. Such a consummation of the Jewish hopes seems to have found some measure of acceptance at first [HERODIANS]; and by a natural reaction the temporal dominion of the Herods opened the way to the destruction of the Jewish nationality. The religion which was degraded into the instrument of unscrupulous ambition lost its power to quicken a united people. The high-priests were appointed and deposed by Herod I. and his successors with such a reckless disregard for the character of their office (Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenthums*, i. 322, 325, 421), that the office itself was deprived of its sacred dignity (comp. Acts xxiii. 2 ff.; Jost, 430, &c.). The nation was divided, and amidst the conflict of sects a universal faith arose, which more than fulfilled the nobler hopes that found no satisfaction in the treacherous grandeur of a court.

The family relations of the Herods are singularly complicated from the frequent recurrence of the same names, and the several accounts of Josephus are not consistent in every detail. The following table, however, seems to offer a satisfactory summary of his statements. The members of the Herodian family who are mentioned in the N. T are distinguished by capitals.

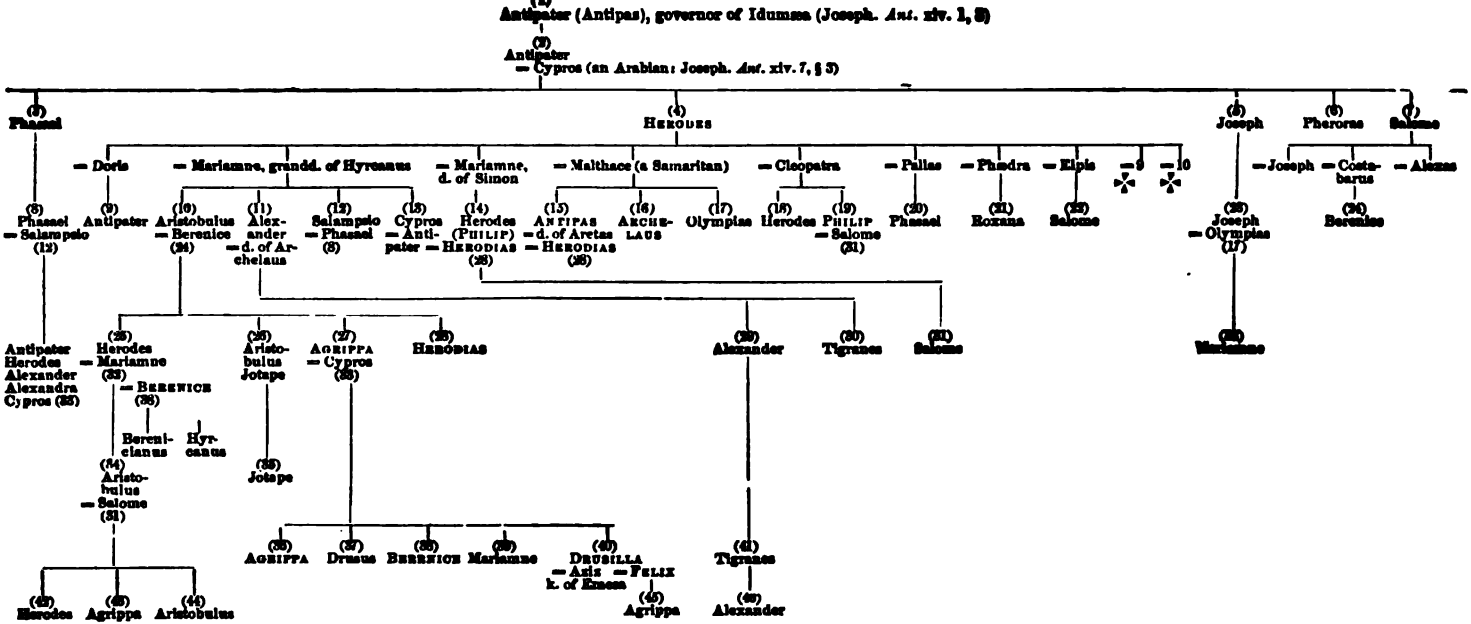
Josephus is the one great authority for the history of the Herodian family. The scanty notices which occur in Hebrew and classic writers throw very little additional light upon the events which he narrates. Of modern writers Ewald has treated the whole subject with the widest and clearest view. Jost in his several works has added to the records of Josephus gleanings from later Jewish writers. Where the original sources are so accessible, monographs are of little use. The following are quoted by Winer: Noldii *Hist. Idumæa* . . . Franeq. 1660; E. Spanhemii *Stemma* . . . *Herodis M.*, which are reprinted in Havercamp's *Josephus* (ii. 331 ff.; 402 ff.).

1. HEROD THE GREAT (Ἡρῴδης) was the second son of Antipater, who was appointed procurator of Judæa by Julius Cæsar, B. C. 47, and Cyprus, an Arabian of noble descent (Joseph. *Ant* xiv. 7, § 3). At the time of his father's elevation, though only fifteen[b] years old, he received the government of Galilee (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 9, § 2), and shortly afterwards that of Cœle-Syria. When Antony came to Syria, B. C. 41, he appointed Herod and his elder brother Phasael tetrarchs of Judæa (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 13, § 1). Herod was forced to abandon Judæa next year by an invasion of the Parthians, who supported the claims of Antigonus, the representative of the Asmonæan dynasty, and fled to Rome (B. C. 40). At Rome he was well received by Antony and Octavian, and was appointed by the senate king of Judæa to the exclusion of the Hasmonæan line (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 14, § 4; App. *Bell. C.* 39). In the course of a few years, by the help of the Romans, he took Jerusalem (B. C. 37), and completely established his authority throughout his dominions. An expedition which he was forced to make against Arabia saved him from taking an active part in the civil war, though he was devoted to the cause of Antony. After the battle of Actium he visited Octavian at Rhodes, and his noble bearing won for him the favor of the conqueror, who confirmed him in the possession of the kingdom, B. C. 31, and in the next yea. increased it by the addition of several important cities (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 10, § 1 ff.), and afterwards gave him the province of Trachonitis and the district of Paneas (Joseph. *Ant.* l. c.). The remainder of the reign of Herod was undisturbed by external troubles, but his domestic life was embittered by an almost uninterrupted series of injuries and cruel acts of vengeance. Hyrcanus, the grandfather of his wife Mariamne, was put to death shortly before his visit to Augustus. Mariamne herself, to whom he was passionately devoted, was next sacrificed to his jealousy. One execution followed another, till at last, in B. C. 6, he was persuaded to put to death the two sons of Mariamne, Alexander and Aristobulus, in whom the chief hope of the people lay. Two years afterwards he condemned to death An-

[a] The Jewish partisans of Herod (Nicolaus Damascenus, *ap.* Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 1, 3) sought to raise him to the dignity of a descent from one of the noble families which returned from Babylon; and, on the other hand, early Christian writers represented his origin as utterly mean and servile. Africanus has preserved a tradition (Routh, *Rell. Sacr.* ii. p. 236), on the authority of "the natural kinsmen of the Saviour," which makes Antipater, the father of Herod, the son of one Herod, a slave attached to the service of a temple of Apollo at Ascalon, who was taken prisoner by Idumæan robbers, and kept by them, as his father could not pay his ransom. The locality (cf. Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, § 30) no less than the office, was calculated to fix a heavy reproach upon the name (cf. Routh, *ad loc.*). This story is repeated with great inaccuracy by Epiphanius (*Hær.* xx.).

[b] Dindorf's ed. of Josephus (*l. c.*) reads twenty-five. A.

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Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 6, § 4.
Ant. xvii. 1, § 3.
B. J. i. 28, § 6

(4) *Herod the King*, Matt. ii. 1 ff.; Luke i. 5.
(13) *Herod the Tetrarch*, Matt. xiv. 1; Luke iii. 1, 19, ix. 7. *King Herod*, Mark vi. 14.
(37) *Herod the King*, Acts xii. 1.
(38) *King Agrippa*, Acts xxv. 13.

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Antipater, his eldest son, who had been their most active accuser, and the order for his execution was among the last acts of Herod's life, for he died himself five days after the death of his son, B. C. 4, in the same year which marks the true date of the Nativity. [JESUS CHRIST.]

These terrible acts of bloodshed which Herod perpetrated in his own family were accompanied by others among his subjects equally terrible, from the numbers who fell victims to them. The infirmities of his later years exasperated him to yet greater cruelty; and, according to the well-known story, he ordered the nobles whom he had called to him in his last moments to be executed immediately after his decease, that so at least his death might be attended by universal mourning (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 6, § 5). It was at the time of this fatal illness that he must have caused the slaughter of the infants at Bethlehem (Matt. ii. 16–18), and from the comparative insignificance of the murder of a few young children in an unimportant village when contrasted with the deeds which he carried out or designed, it is not surprising that Josephus has passed it over in silence. The number of children in Bethlehem and "all the borders thereof" (*ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ὁρίοις*) may be estimated at about ten or twelve;[a] and the language of the Evangelist leaves in complete uncertainty the method in which the deed was effected (*ἀποστείλας ἀνεῖλεν*). The scene of open and undisguised violence which has been consecrated by Christian art is wholly at variance with what may be supposed to have been the historic reality. At a later time the murder of the children seems to have been connected with the death of Antipater. Thus, according to the anecdote preserved by Macrobius (*c.* A. D. 410), "Augustus, cum audisset inter pueros quos in Syria Herodes, Rex Judæorum, *intra bimatum* (Matt. ii. 10; *ib.* Vulg. *a bimatu et infra*) jussit interfici, filium quoque ejus occisum, ait: Melius est Herodis porcum esse quam filium" (Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 4) But Josephus has preserved two very remarkable references to a massacre which Herod caused to be made shortly before his death, which may throw an additional light upon the history. In this it is said that Herod did not spare "those who seemed most dear to him" (*Ant.* xvi. 11, § 7), but "slew all those of his own family who sided with the Pharisees (*ὁ Φαρισαῖος*)" in refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the Roman emperor, while they looked forward to *a change in the royal line* (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 2, § 6; cf. Lardner, *Credibility*, &c., i. 278 ff., 332 f., 349 f.). How far this event may have been directly connected with the murder at Bethlehem it is impossible to say, from the obscurity of the details, but its occasion and character throw a great light upon St. Matthew's narrative.

In dealing with the religious feelings or prejudices of the Jews, Herod showed as great contempt for public opinion as in the execution of his personal vengeance. He signalized his elevation to the throne by offerings to the Capitoline Jupiter (Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenthums*, i. 318), and surrounded his person by foreign mercenaries, some of whom had been formerly in the service of Cleopatra (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 7, § 3; xvii. 1, § 1; 8, § 3). His coins and those of his successors bore only Greek legends; and he introduced heathen games within the walls of Jerusalem (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 8, § 1). He displayed ostentatiously his favor towards foreigners (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 5, § 3), and oppressed the old Jewish aristocracy (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 1, § 1). The later Jewish traditions describe him as successively the servant of the Hasmonæans and the Romans, and relate that one Rabbin only survived the persecution which he directed against them, purchasing his life by the loss of sight (Jost, i. 319, &c.).

While Herod alienated in this manner the affections of the Jews by his cruelty and disregard for the Law, he adorned Jerusalem with many splendid monuments of his taste and magnificence. The Temple, which he rebuilt with scrupulous care, so that it might seem to be a restoration of the old one rather than a new building (Jos. *Ant.* xv. § 11), was the greatest of these works. The restoration was begun B. C. 20, and the Temple itself was completed in a year and a half (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 11, § 6). The surrounding buildings occupied eight years more (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 11, § 5). But fresh additions were constantly made in succeeding years, so that at the time of the Lord's visit to Jerusalem at the beginning of His ministry, it was said that the Temple was "built (*ᾠκοδομήθη*) in forty and six years" (John ii. 20), a phrase which expresses the whole period from the commencement of Herod's work to the completion of the latest addition then made, for the final completion of the whole building is placed by Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 8, § 7, *ἤδη δὲ τότε καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐτετέλεστο*) in the time of Herod Agrippa II. (*c.* A. D. 50).

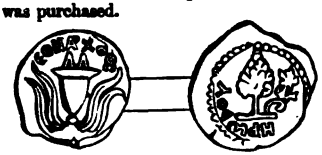
Yet even this splendid work was not likely to mislead the Jews as to the real spirit of the king. While he rebuilt the Temple at Jerusalem, he rebuilt also the Temple at Samaria (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 8, § 5), and made provision in his new city Cæsarea for the celebration of heathen worship (Jos. *Ant* xv. 9, § 5); and it has been supposed (Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenth.* i. 323) that the rebuilding of the Temple furnished him with the opportunity of destroying the authentic collection of genealogies which was of the highest importance to the priestly families Herod, as appears from his public designs, affected the dignity of a second Solomon, but he joined the license of that monarch to his magnificence; and it was said that the monument which he raised over the royal tombs was due to the fear which seized him after a sacrilegious attempt to rob them of secret treasures (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 7, § 1).

It is, perhaps, difficult to see in the character of Herod any of the true elements of greatness Some have even supposed that the title — the *great* — is a mistranslation for the *elder* (רבא, Jost, I. 319, *note*; *ὁ μέγας*, Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 473, &c.); and yet on the other hand he seems to have possessed the good qualities of our own Henry VIII. with his vices. He maintained peace at home during a long reign by the vigor and timely generosity of his administration. Abroad he conciliated the good-will of the Romans under circumstances of unusual difficulty. His ostentatious display and even his arbitrary tyranny was calculated to inspire Orientals with awe. Bold and yet prudent, oppressive and yet profuse, he had many of the character istics which make a popular hero; and the title

[a] The language of St. Matthew offers an instructive contrast to that of Justin M. (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 78): ὁ Ἡρώδης . . πάντας ἁπλῶς τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐν Βηθλεὲμ ἀνείλεσεν ἀναιρεθῆναι. Cf. Orig. *c. Cels.* p. 47, ed. Spenc. ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης ἀνεῖλε πάντα τὰ ἐν Βηθλεὲμ καὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις αὐτῆς παιδία . .

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which may have been first given in admiration of successful despotism now serves to bring out in clearer contrast the terrible price at which the success was purchased.



Copper Coin of Herod the Great.

Obv. HPΩΔOY. Bunch of grapes. Rev. EΘNAPXO. Macedonian helmet: in the field caduceus.

II. HEROD ANTIPAS (Ἀντίπατρος, Ἀντίπας) was the son of Herod the Great by Malthace, a Samaritan (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 1, § 3). His father had originally destined him as his successor in the kingdom (cf. Matt. ii. 22; ARCHELAUS), but by the last change of his will appointed him "tetrarch of Galilee and Perœa" (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 8, § 1, Ἡρ. ὁ τετράρχης, Matt. xiv. 1; Luke iii. 19, ix. 7; Acts xiii. 1; cf. Luke iii. 1, τετραρχοῦντος τῆς Γαλιλαίας Ἡρ.), which brought him a yearly revenue of 200 talents (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 13, § 4; cf. Luke viii. 3, Χουζᾶ ἐπιτρόπου Ἡρ.). He first married a daughter of Aretas, "king of Arabia Petræa," but after some time (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 5, § 1) he made overtures of marriage to Herodias, the wife of his half-brother Herod-Philip, which she received favorably. Aretas, indignant at the insult offered to his daughter, found a pretext for invading the territory of Herod, and defeated him with great loss (Jos. *l. c.*). This defeat, according to the famous passage in Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 5, § 2), was attributed by many to the murder of John the Baptist, which had been committed by Antipas shortly before, under the influence of Herodias (Matt. xiv. 4 ff.; Mark vi. 17 ff.; Luke iii. 19). At a later time the ambition of Herodias proved the cause of her husband's ruin. She urged him to go to Rome to gain the title of king (cf. Mark vi. 14, ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρ. by courtesy), which had been granted to his nephew Agrippa; but he was opposed at the court of Caligula by the emissaries of Agrippa [HEROD AGRIPPA], and condemned to perpetual banishment at Lugdunum, A. D. 39 (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 7, § 2), whence he appears to have retired afterwards to Spain (*B. J.* ii. 9, § 6; but see note on p. 796). Herodias voluntarily shared his punishment, and he died in exile. [HERODIAS.]

Pilate took occasion from our Lord's residence in Galilee to send Him for examination (Luke xxiii. 6 ff.) to Herod Antipas, who came up to Jerusalem to celebrate the Passover (cf. Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 6, § 3), and thus heal the feud which had existed between the tetrarch and himself (Luke xxiii. 12; cf. Luke xiii. 1, περὶ τῶν Γαλιλαίων, ὧν τὸ αἷμα Πιλάτος ἔμιξεν μετὰ τῶν θυσιῶν αὐτῶν).[a] The share which Antipas thus took in the Passion is specially noticed in the Acts (iv. 27) in connection with Ps. ii. 1, 2. His character, as it appears in the Gospels, answers to the general tenor of his life. He was unscrupulous (Luke iii. 19, περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐποίησεν πονηρῶν), tyrannical (Luke xiii. 31), and weak (Matt. xiv. 9). Yet his cruelty was marked by cunning (Luke xiii. 32, τῇ ἀλώπεκι ταύτῃ), and followed by remorse (Mark vi. 14). In contrast with Pilate he presents the type of an Eastern despot, capricious, sensual, and superstitious. This last element of superstition is both natural and clearly marked. For a time "he heard John gladly" (Mark vi. 20), and was anxious to see Jesus (Luke ix. 9, xxiii. 8), in the expectation, as it is said, of witnessing some miracle wrought by Him (Luke xiii. 31, xxiii. 8).

The city of TIBERIAS, which Antipas founded and named in honor of the emperor, was the most conspicuous monument of his long reign; but, like the rest of the Herodian family, he showed his passion for building cities in several places, restoring Sepphoris, near Tabor, which had been destroyed in the wars after the death of Herod the Great (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 12, § 9; xviii. 2, § 1) and Betharamphtha (Beth-haram) in Perœa, which he named Julias, "from the wife of the emperor" (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 2, 1; Hieron. Euseb. *Chron.* A. D. 29, *Livias*).

III. ARCHELAUS (Ἀρχέλαος [*ruler of the people*]) was, like Herod Antipas, the son of Herod the Great and Malthace. He was brought up with his brother at Rome (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 1, § 3), and in consequence of the accusations of his eldest brother Antipater, the son of Doris, he was excluded by his father's will from any share in his dominions. Afterwards, however, by a second change, the "kingdom" was left to him, which had been designed for his brother Antipas (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 8, § 1), and it was this unexpected arrangement which led to the retreat of Joseph to Galilee (Matt. ii. 22). Archelaus did not enter on his power without strong opposition and bloodshed (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 9); but Augustus confirmed the will of Herod in its essential provisions, and gave Archelaus the government of "Idumæa, Judæa, and Samaria, with the cities of Cæsarea, Sebaste, Joppa, and Jerusalem" (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 13, § 5), which produced a revenue of 400 (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 6, § 3) or 600 talents (*Ant.* xvii. 13, 5). For the time he received the title of Ethnarch, with the promise of that of king, if he proved worthy of it (Joseph. *l. c.*). His conduct justified the fears which his character inspired. After violating the Mosaic law by the marriage with Glaphyra, his brother's widow (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 13, § 1), he roused his subjects by his tyranny and cruelty to appeal to Rome for redress.[b] Augustus at once summoned him to his presence, and after his cause was heard he was banished to Vienne in Gaul (A. D. 7), where probably he died (Joseph. *l. c.*; cf. Strab. xvi. p. 765; Dio Cass. lv. 27); though in the time of Jerome, his tomb was shown near Bethlehem (*Onomasticon*).

IV. HEROD PHILIP I. (Φίλιππος, Mark vi. 17) was the son of Herod the Great, and Mariamne the

a * Pilate's sending Jesus to Herod seems to have been an expedient merely to dispose of the case, if possibly he might do so, in that way. Herod, conciliated by an apparent act of courtesy, may then have made advances on his part to the procurator, which led to the restoration of a better understanding between them. That it was their common enmity to Christ which made Herod and Pilate friends on this occasion (as is often said) does not agree with the manifest anxiety of Pilate to release Jesus. H

b * Of this character of Archelaus Matthew's statement (ii. 22) furnishes a significant intimation. On returning from Egypt Joseph evidently meant to go directly to Bethlehem; but hearing that Archelaus had succeeded Herod rather than some other one of his sons, he avoided that place and proceeded to Galilee. H.

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daughter of a high-priest Simon (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 5, 4), and must be carefully distinguished from the tetrarch Philip. [HEROD PHILIP II.] He married Herodias, the sister of Agrippa I., by whom he had a daughter Salome. Herodias, however, left him, and made an infamous marriage with his half-brother Herod Antipas (Matt. xiv. 3; Mark vi. 17; Luke iii. 19). He is called only Herod by Josephus, but the repetition of the name Philip is fully justified by the frequent recurrence of names in the Herodian family (*e. g.* Antipater). The two Philips were confounded by Jerome (*ad Matt.* l. c.), and the confusion was the more easy, because the son of Mariamne was excluded from all share in his father's possessions (*τῆς διαθήκης ἐξήλειψεν*) in consequence of his mother's treachery (Joseph. *B. J.* i. 30, § 7), and lived afterwards in a private station.

V. HEROD PHILIP II. (*Φίλιππος*) was the son of Herod the Great and Cleopatra (*Ἱεροσολυμῖτις*). Like his half-brothers[a] Antipas and Archelaus, he was brought up at Rome (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 1, § 3), and on the death of his father advocated the claims of Archelaus before Augustus (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 6, § 1). He received as his own government "Batanæa, Trachonitis, Auranitis (Gaulonitis), and some parts about Jamnia" (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 6, § 3), with the title of tetrarch (Luke iii. 1, *Φιλίππου . . . τετραρχοῦντος τῆς Ἰτουραίας καὶ Τραχωνίτιδος χώρας*). His rule was distinguished by justice and moderation (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 4, § 6), and he appears to have devoted himself entirely to the duties of his office without sharing in the intrigues which disgraced his family (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 5, 6). He built a new city on the site of Paneas, near the sources of the Jordan, which he called Cæsarea (*Καισαρεία ἡ Φιλίππου*, Matt. xvi. 13; Mark viii. 27), and raised Bethsaida (in lower Gaulonitis) to the rank of a city under the title of Julias (Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 9, § 1; xviii. 2, § 1), and died there A. D. 34 (xviii. 5, § 6). He married Salome, the daughter of Philip (1.) and Herodias (*Ant.* xviii. 6, § 4), but as he left no children at his death his dominions were added to the Roman province of Syria (xviii. 5, § 6).

VI. HEROD AGRIPPA I. (*Ἡρῴδης*, Acts; *Ἀγρίππας*. Joseph.) was the son of Aristobulus and Berenice, and grandson of Herod the Great. He was brought up at Rome with Claudius and Drusus, and after a life of various vicissitudes (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 7), was thrown into prison by Tiberius for an unguarded speech, where he remained till the accession of Caius (Caligula) A. D. 37. The new emperor gave him the governments formerly held by the tetrarchs Philip and Lysanias, and bestowed on him the ensigns of royalty and other marks of favor (Acts xii. 1, *Ἡρ. ὁ βασιλεύς*). The jealousy of Herod Antipas and his wife Herodias was excited by these distinctions, and they sailed to Rome in the hope of supplanting Agrippa in the emperor's favor. Agrippa was aware of their design, and anticipated it by a counter-charge against Antipas of treasonous correspondence with the Parthians. Antipas failed to answer the accusation, and was banished to Gaul (A. D. 39), and his dominions were added to those already held by Agrippa (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 7, § 2). Afterwards Agrippa rendered important services to Claudius (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 11, §§ 2, 3), and received from him in return (A. D. 41) the government of Judæa and Samaria; so that his entire dominions equaled in extent the kingdom of Herod the Great. Unlike his predecessors, Agrippa was a strict observer of the Law (Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 7, § 3), and he sought with success the favor of the Jews.[b] It is probable that it was with this view[c] he put to death James the son of Zebedee, and further imprisoned Peter (Acts xii. 1 ff.) But his sudden death, which followed immediately afterwards, interrupted his ambitious projects.

In the fourth year of his reign over the whole of Judæa (A. D. 44) Agrippa attended some games at Cæsarea, held in honor of the emperor. When he appeared in the theatre (Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 8, § 2, *δευτέρᾳ τῶν θεωριῶν ἡμέρᾳ*; Acts xii. 21, *τακτῇ ἡμέρᾳ*) in "a robe of silver stuff (*ἐξ ἀργύρου πεποιημένην πᾶσαν*, Joseph.; *δοθῆτα βασιλικήν*, Acts xii. 21) which shone in the morning light, his flatterers saluted him as a god; and suddenly he was seized with terrible pains, and being carried from the theatre to the palace died after five days' agony (*ἐφ' ἡμέρας πέντε τῷ τῆς γαστρὸς ἀλγήματι διεργασθεὶς τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν*, Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 8; *γενόμενος σκωληκόβρωτος ἐξέψυξεν*, Acts xii. 23; cf. 2 Macc. ix. 5–9).

By a singular and instructive confusion Eusebius (*H. E.* ii. 10; cf. Heinichen, *Exc.* 2, ad loc.) converts the owl, which, according to Josephus, appeared to Herod as a messenger of evil (*ἄγγελος κακῶν*) into "the angel" of the Acts, who was the unseen minister of the Divine Will (Acts xii. 23, *ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν ἄγγελος Κυρίου*; cf. 2 K. xix. 35, LXX.).

Various conjectures have been made as to the occasion of the festival at which the event took place. Josephus (*l. c.*) says that it was in "behalf of the emperor's safety," and it has been supposed that it might be in connection with his return from Britain; but this is at least very uncertain (cf. Wieseler, *Chron. d. Apost. Zeit.* p. 131 ff.). Josephus mentions also the concourse "of the chief men throughout the province" who were present on the occasion; and though he does not notice the embassy of the Tyrians and Agrippa's speech, yet his narrative is perfectly consistent with both facts.

VII. HEROD AGRIPPA II. (*Ἀγρίππας*, N. T. Joseph.) was the son of Herod Agrippa I. and Cypros, a grand-niece of Herod the Great. At the time of the death of his father, A. D. 44, he was at Rome, and his youth (he was 17 years old) prevented Claudius from carrying out his first intention of appointing him his father's successor (Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 9, §§ 1, 2). Not long afterwards, however, the emperor gave him (c. A. D. 50) the kingdom of Chalcis, which had belonged to his uncle (who died A. D. 48; Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 4, § 2; *B. J.* ii. 12, § 1); and then transferred him (A. D. 52) to the tetrarchies formerly held by Philip and

[a] Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 8, § 1 Josephus calls Philip *ὁμοπάτριον ἀδελφὸν γνήσιον*; but elsewhere he states their distinct descent.

[b] Jost (*Gesch. d. Judenthums*, i. 420) quotes a legend that Agrippa burst into tears on reading in a public service Deut. xvii. 15; whereupon the people cried out, "Be not distressed, Agrippa, thou art our brother" in virtue, that is, of his half-descent from the Hasmonæans.

[c] Jost (p. 421, &c.), who objects that these acts are inconsistent with the known humanity of Agrippa, entirely neglects the reason suggested by St. Luke (Acts xii. 3)

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Lysanias (Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 6, § 1; *B. J.* ii. 12, § 8), with the title of king (Acts xxv. 13, Ἀγρίππας ὁ βασιλεύς, xxvi. 2, 7, &c.).

Nero afterwards increased the dominions of Agrippa by the addition of several cities (*Ant.* xx. 6, § 4); and he displayed the lavish magnificence which marked his family by costly buildings at Jerusalem and Berytus, in both cases doing violence to the feelings of the Jews (*Ant.* xx. 7, § 11; 8, § 4). The relation in which he stood to his sister Berenice (Acts xxv. 13) was the cause of grave suspicion (Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 6, § 3), which was noticed by Juvenal (*Sat.* vi. 155 ff.). In the last Roman war Agrippa took part with the Romans, and after the fall of Jerusalem retired with Berenice to Rome, where he died in the third year of Trajan (A. D. 100), being the last prince of the house of Herod (Phot. *Cod.* 33).



Copper Coin of Herod Agrippa II. with Titus.

Obv.: ΑΥΤΟΚΡΤΙΤΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡCΕΒΑ. Head laureate to the right. Rev.: ΕΤΟ ΚS ΒΑ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ (year 26). Victory advancing to the right: in the field a star.

The appearance of St. Paul before Agrippa (A. D. 60) offers several characteristic traits. Agrippa seems to have been intimate with Festus (Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 7, § 11); and it was natural that the Roman governor should avail himself of his judgment on a question of what seemed to be Jewish law (Acts xxv. 18 ff., 26; cf. Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 8, § 7). The "pomp" (πολλὴ *φαντασία*) with which the king came into the audience chamber (Acts xxv. 23) was accordant with his general bearing; and the cold irony with which he met the impassioned words of the Apostle (Acts xxvi. 27, 28) suits the temper of one who was contented to take part in the destruction of his nation. B. F. W.

VIII. Berenice. [Berenice.]

IX. Drusilla. [Drusilla.]

HERODIANS (Ἡρῳδιανοί: [*Herodiani*]). In the account which is given by St. Matthew (xxii. 15 ff.) and St. Mark (xii. 13 ff.) of the last efforts made by different sections of the Jews to obtain from our Lord himself the materials for his accusation, a party under the name of *Herodians* is represented as acting in concert with the Pharisees[a] (Matt. xxii. 16; Mark xii. 13). St. Mark mentions the combination of the two parties for a similar object at an earlier period (Mark iii. 6), and in another place (viii. 15; cf. Luke xii. 1) he preserves a saying of our Lord, in which "the leaven of Herod" is placed in close connection with "the leaven of the Pharisees"). In the Gospel of St. Luke, on the other hand, the Herodians are not brought forward at all by name.

These very scanty notices of the Evangelists as to the position of the Herodians are not compensated by other testimonies; yet it is not difficult to fix their characteristics by a reference to the condition of Jewish feeling in the Apostolic age. There were probably many who saw in the power of the Herodian family the pledge of the preservation of their national existence in the face of Roman ambition. In proportion as they regarded the independent nationality of the Jewish people as the first condition of the fulfillment of its future destiny, they would be willing to acquiesce in the dominion of men who were themselves of foreign descent [Herod], and not rigid in the observance of the Mosaic ritual. Two distinct classes might thus unite in supporting what was a domestic tyranny as contrasted with absolute dependence on Rome — those who saw in the Herods a protection against direct heathen rule, which was the one object of their fear (cf. *Juchas. f.* 19, ap. Lightfoot, *Harm. Ev.* p. 470, ed. Leusd. "Herodes etiam senem Hillel magno in honore habuit; namque hi homines regem illum esse non segre ferebant"), and those who were inclined to look with satisfaction upon such a compromise between the ancient faith and heathen civilization, as Herod the Great and his successors had endeavored to realize, as the true and highest consummation of Jewish hopes.[b] On the one side the Herodians — partisans of Herod in the widest sense of the term — were thus brought into union with the Pharisees, on the other, with the Sadducees. Yet there is no reason to suppose that they endeavored to form any very systematic harmony of the conflicting doctrines of the two sects, but rather the conflicting doctrines themselves were thrown into the background by what appeared to be a paramount political necessity. Such coalitions have been frequent in every age; and the rarity of the allusions to the Herodians, as a marked body, seems to show that this, like similar coalitions, had no enduring influence as the foundation of party. The feelings which led to the coalition remained, but they were incapable of animating the common action of a united body for any length of time. B. F. W.

* On the occasion mentioned in Matt. xxii. 16 and Mark xii. 13, the Herodians appear as supporters of the claim of the Roman emperors to receive tribute-money from the Jews. This fact agrees

[a] Origen (*Comm. in Matt.* tom. xvii. § 26) regards this combination of the Herodians and Pharisees as a combination of antagonistic parties, the one favorable to the Roman government (εἰκὸς γὰρ ὅτι ἐν τῷ λαῷ τότε οἱ μὲν διδάσκοντες τελεῖν τὸν φόρον Καίσαρι ἐκαλοῦντο Ἡρῳδιανοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν μὴ θελόντων τοῦτο γίνεσθαι . . .), and the other opposed to it; but this view, which is only conjectural (εἰκός), does not offer a complete solution of the various relations of the Herodians to the other parties of the times. Jerome, following Origen, limits the meaning of the term yet more: "Cum Herodianis, id est, militibus Herodis, seu quos illudentes Pharisæi, quia Romanis tributa solvebant, Herodianos vocabant et non divino cultui deditos" (Hieron. *Comm. in Matt.* xxii. 15).

[b] In this way the Herodians were said to regard Herod (Antipas) as "the Messiah": Ἡρῳδιανοὶ καὶ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἦσαν οἱ τὸν Ἡρώδην Χριστὸν εἶναι λέγοντες, ὡς ἱστορεῖται (Vict. Ant. *ap.* Cram. *Cat. in Marc.* p. 400). Philastrius (*Hær.* xxviii.) applies the same belief to Herod Agrippa; Epiphanius (*Hær.* xix.) to Herod the Great. Jerome in one place (*ad Matt.* xxii. 15) calls the idea "a ridiculous notion of some Latin writers, which rests on no authority (*quod nusquam legimus*);" and again (*Dial. c. Lucifer.* xxiii.) mentions it in a general summary of heretical notions without hesitation. The belief was, in fact, one of general sentiment, and not of distinct and pronounced confession.

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sent with the view that they were essentially a political and not a religious party, and hence in this respect stood at the very opposite pole from the Pharisees, for the latter denied the Roman right of government and resisted all foreign innovations. It is remarkable that we find two such hostile parties acting together in any instance. And especially in regard to that earlier combination (Mark iii. 6), it does not appear from the narrative how a coalition of the Pharisees with the Herodians was to enable them to accomplish the death of Jesus. We can only conjecture how this may have been. The influence of Christ among the people in Galilee at that period was very great, and therefore any open act of violence on the part of his enemies was out of the question. Means more covert must be employed. The Herodians, as the partisans of Herod, had influence with that ruler; and the Pharisees, intriguing with them and fixing upon some political accusation, may have hoped to secure Herod's interposition in arresting and putting to death the object of their malice. It is not without significance that the overture for this alliance came from the Pharisees and not from the Herodians (*μετὰ τῶν Ἡρῳδιανῶν συμβούλιον ἐτοίουν*, Mark iii. 6). H.

HERO'DIAS (Ἡρῳδίας, a female patronymic from Ἡρῴδης; on patronymics and gentilic names in ιας, see Matthiæ, *Greek Gr.* § 101 and 103), the name of a woman of notoriety in the N. T., daughter of Aristobulus, one of the sons of Mariamne and Herod the Great, and consequently sister of Agrippa I.

She first married Herod, surnamed Philip, another of the sons of Mariamne and the first Herod (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 5, § 4; comp. *B. J.* i. 29, § 4), and therefore her full uncle; then she eloped from him, during his lifetime (*Ant.* ibid.), to marry Herod Antipas, her step-uncle, who had been long married to, and was still living with, the daughter of Æneas or Aretas — his assumed name — king of Arabia (*ibid.* xvii. 9, § 4). Thus she left her husband, who was still alive, to connect herself with a man whose wife was still alive. Her paramour was indeed less of a blood relation than her original husband; but being likewise the half-brother of that husband, he was already connected with her by affinity — so close that there was only one case contemplated in the Law of Moses where it could be set aside, namely, when the married brother had died childless (Lev. xviii. 16, and xx. 21, and for the exception Deut. xxv. 5 ff.). Now Herodias had already had one child — Salome — by Philip (*Ant.* viii. 5, § 4), and, as he was still alive, might have had more. Well, therefore, may she be charged by Josephus with the intention of confounding her country's institutions (*ibid.* xviii. 5, § 4); and well may St. John the Baptist have remonstrated against the enormity of such a connection with the tetrarch, whose conscience would certainly seem to have been a less hardened one (Matt. xiv. 9 says he "was sorry," Mark vi. 20 that he "feared" St. John; and "heard him gladly").

The consequences both of the crime, and of the reproof which it incurred, are well known. Aretas made war upon Herod for the injury done to his daughter, and routed him with the loss of his whole army (*Ant.* xviii. 5, § 1). The head of St. John the Baptist was granted to the request of Herodias (Matt. xiv. 8–11; Mark vi. 24–28). According to Josephus the execution took place in a fortress called Machærus, on the frontier between the dominions of Aretas and Herod, according to Pliny (v. 15), looking down upon the Dead Sea from the south (comp. Robinson, i. 570, *note*). And it was to the iniquity of this act, rather than to the immorality of that illicit connection that, the historian says, some of the Jews attributed the defeat of Herod. In the closing scene of her career, indeed, Herodias exhibited considerable magnanimity; as she preferred going with Antipas to Lugdunum,[a] and there sharing his exile and reverses, till death ended them, to the remaining with her brother Agrippa I., and partaking of his elevation (*Ant* xviii. 7, § 2).

There are few episodes in the whole range of the N. T. more suggestive to the commentator than this one scene in the life of Herodias.

1. It exhibits one of the most remarkable of the undesigned coincidences between the N. T. and Josephus; that there are some discrepancies in the two accounts, only enhances their value. More than this, it has led the historian into a brief digression upon the life, death, and character of the Baptist, which speaks volumes in favor of the genuineness of that still more celebrated passage, in which he speaks of "Jesus," that "wise man, if man he may be called" (*Ant.* xviii. 3, § 3; comp. xx. 9, § 1, unhesitatingly quoted as genuine by Euseb. *H. E.* i. 11).[b]

2. It has been warmly debated whether it was the adultery, or the incestuous connection, that drew down the reproof of the Baptist. It has been already shown that, either way, the offense merited condemnation upon more grounds than one.

3. The birthday feast is another undesigned coincidence between Scripture and profane history. The Jews abhorred keeping birthdays as a pagan custom (Bland *on Matt.* xiv. 6). On the other hand, it was usual with the Egyptians (Gen. xl. 20; comp. Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 4, § 7), with the Persians (Herod. i. 133), with the Greeks, even in the case of the dead, whence the Christian custom of keeping anniversaries of the martyrs (Bähr, *ad Herod.* iv. 26), and with the Romans (Pers. *Sat.* ii. 1–3). Now the Herods may be said to have gone beyond Rome in the observance of all that was Roman. Herod the Great kept the day of his accession; Antipas — as we read here — and Agrippa I., as Josephus tells us (*Ant.* xix. 7, § 1), their

[a] This town is probably Lugdunum Convenarum, a town of Gaul, situated on the right bank of the Garonne, at the foot of the Pyrenees, now *St. Bertrand de Comminges* (Murray, *Handb. of France*, p. 314) Eusebius, *H. E.* i. 11, says *Vienne*, confounding Antipas with Archelaus; Burton on Matt. xiv. 3, Alford, and moderns in general, *Lyons*. In Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 9, § 6), Antipas is said to have died in Spain — apparently, from the context, the land of his exile. A town on the frontiers therefore, like the above, would satisfy both passages.

[b] Tholuck has made admirable use of the argument from this source in his *Glaubwürdigkeit der Evang. Geschichte*, pp. 354–367. It is shown that the personal names, the places, dates, and customs, Jewish and Roman, mentioned or implied in the account of Herodias and of the beheading of John, are fully confirmed by contemporary writers. On the question whether Josephus and the evangelists disagree in regard to the place where John was imprisoned, see THERMAS. H

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birthday, with such magnificence, that the "birthdays of Herod" (Herodis dies) had passed into a proverb when Persius wrote (*Sat.* v. 180).

4. And yet dancing, on these festive occasions, was common to both Jew and Gentile; and was practiced in the same way — youths and virgins, singly, or separated into two bands, but never intermingled, danced to do honor to their deity, their hero, or to the day of their solemnity. Miriam (Ex. xv. 20), the daughter of Jephthah (Judges xi. 34), and David (2 Sam. vi. 14), are familiar instances in Holy Writ; the "Carmen Seculare" of Horace, to quote no more, points to the same custom amongst Greeks and Romans. It is plainly owing to the elevation of woman in the social scale, that dancing in pairs (still unknown to the East) has come into fashion.

5. The rash oath of Herod, like that of Jephthah in the O. T., has afforded ample discussion to casuists. It is now ruled that all such oaths, where there is no reservation, expressed or implied, in favor of the laws of God or man, are illicit and without force. And so Solomon had long since decided (1 K. ii. 20–24; see Sanderson, *De Juram. Oblig. Prælect.* iii. 16). E. S. Ff.

HERO'DION (Ἡρῳδίων: *Herodion*), a relative of St. Paul (*τὸν συγγενῆ μου*: *cognatus*), to whom he sends his salutation amongst the Christians of the Roman Church (Rom. xvi. 11). Nothing appears to be certainly known of him. By Hippolytus, however, he is said to have been bishop of Tarsus; and by Pseudo-Dorotheus, of Patræ (Winer, *sub voc.*).

HERON (אֲנָפָה). The Hebrew *anâphah* appears as the name of an unclean bird in Lev. xi. 19, Deut. xiv. 18. From the addition of the words "after her kind," we may infer that it was a generic name for a well-known class of birds, and hence it is the more remarkable that the name does not occur elsewhere in the Bible. It is quite uncertain what bird is intended; the only point on which any two commentators seem to agree is, that it is *not* the *heron*, for many suppose the preceding word, translated in the A. V. "stork," to apply in reality to the heron. The LXX. translates it χαράδριος, which may be regarded as applicable to all birds frequenting swampy ground (*ἐν χαράδραις*), but more particularly to the plover. This explanation loses what little weight it might otherwise have had, from the probability that it originated in a false reading, namely, *agaphah*, which the translators connected with *agaph*, "a bank." The Talmudists evidently were at a loss, for they describe it indefinitely as a "high-flying bird of prey" (*Chulin*, 63 a). The only ground on which an opinion can be formed, is the etymology of the word; it is connected by Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 127) with the root *anaph*, "to snort in anger," and is therefore applicable to some irritable bird, perhaps the goose. The parrot, swallow, and a kind of eagle have been suggested without any real reason. W. L. B.

HE'SED (חֶסֶד [*kindness, favor*]: Ἐσδί; Alex. Ἐσδ: *Benhesed*), the son of Hesed, or Ben-Chesed, was commissary for Solomon in the district of "the Arubboth, Socoh, and all the land of Hepher" (1 K. iv. 10).

HESH'BON (חֶשְׁבּוֹן [*prudence, understanding*]: Ἐσεβών; [Rom. Vat. in Josh. xxi. 39, Ἐσβών:] *Hesebon*), the capital city of Sihon king of the Amorites (Num. xxi. 26). It stood on the western border of the high plain (*Mishor*, Josh. xiii. 17), and on the boundary-line between the tribes of Reuben and Gad. The ruins of *Hesbân*, 20 miles east of the Jordan, on the parallel of the northern end of the Dead Sea, mark the site, as they bear the name, of the ancient Heshbon. The city is chiefly celebrated from its connection with Sihon, who was the first to give battle to the invading Israelites. He marched against them to Jahaz, which must have been situated a short distance south of Heshbon, and was there completely overthrown (Deut. ii. 32 ff.). Heshbon was rebuilt by the tribe of Reuben (Num. xxxii. 37), but was assigned to the Levites in connection with the tribe of Gad (Josh. xxi. 39). After the Captivity it fell into the hands of the Moabites, to whom it had originally belonged (Num. xxi. 26), and hence it is mentioned in the prophetic denunciations against Moab (Is. xv. 4; Jer. xlviii. 2, 34, 45). In the fourth century it was still a place of some note (*Onom.* s. v. *Esebon*), but it has now been for many centuries wholly desolate.

The ruins of Heshbon stand on a low hill rising out of the great undulating plateau. They are more than a mile in circuit; but not a building remains entire. Towards the western part is a singular structure, whose crumbling ruins exhibit the workmanship of successive ages—the massive stones of the Jewish period, the sculptured cornice of the Roman era, and the light Saracenic arch, all grouped together. There are many cisterns among the ruins; and towards the south, a few yards from the base of the hill, is a large ancient reservoir, which calls to mind the passage in Cant. vii. 4, "Thine eyes are like the fish-pools of Heshbon by the gate of Bath-rabbim." (See Burckhardt, *Trav. in Syr.*, p. 365; Irby and Mangles, p. 472.) [BATH-RABBIM.] J. L. P.

* For a description of the ruins of *Hesbân*, see Tristram's *Land of Israel*, p. 544, 2d ed. Among other monuments of the old city, he speaks of "the foundations of a forum, or public building of the Roman period, arranged exactly like the forum at Pompeii. . . . Some portions of the walls are standing — a few tiers of worn stones; and the space is thickly strewn with piles of Doric shafts, capitals of columns, broken entablatures, and large stones with the broad bevelled edge. In one edifice, of which a large portion remains, near the foot of the hill, Jewish stones, Roman arches, Doric pillars, and Saracenic arches, are all strangely mingled. . . . The old wells were so numerous that we had to ride with great care to avoid them." Instead of "fish-pools" said (A. V.) to have been at Heshbon (Cant. vii. 4), we should read "pools" or "tanks" (בְּרֵכוֹת): and, as we see above, the remains of water-works of this description are still abundant there. Of all the marks of antiquity the Arabs consider none more decisive than the ruins of cisterns or reservoirs (Wetzstein's *Reisebericht über Hauran*, etc., p. 86). H.

HESH'MON (חֶשְׁמוֹן [*thriving, fruitfulness*]: LXX. omits, both MSS.; [Comp. Ald. Ἀσεμών:] *Hassemon*), a place named, with others, as lying between Moladah and Beer-sheba (Josh. xv 27), and therefore in the extreme south of Judah. Nothing further is known of it; but may it not be another form of the name AZMON, given in Num. xxxiv. 4 as one of the landmarks of the southern boundary of Judah? G.

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HES'RON (חֶצְרוֹן [*enclosed*, as by a wall]: Ἀσρών; Alex. Ασρωμ: *Hesron*). HEZRON, the son of Reuben (Num. xxvi. 6, [21]). Our translators followed the Vulg. in adopting this form of the name. [In many modern editions of the A. V. however, it is spelt Hezron. A.] W. A. W.

HES'RONITES, THE (הַחֶצְרֹנִי: ὁ Ασρωνί; [Vat.] Alex. ο Ασρωνει: *Hesronita*). Descendants of Hesron, or Hezron, the son of Reuben (Num. xxvi. 6). [In many modern editions of the A. V. the word is spelt Hezronites. — A.] W. A. W.

HETH (חֵת, *i. e.* Cheth [*terror, giant*]: Χέτ: *Heth*), the forefather of the nation of THE HITTITES. In the genealogical tables of Gen. x. and 1 Chr. i., Heth is stated as a son of Canaan, younger than Zidon the firstborn, but preceding the Jebusite, the Amorite, and the other Canaanite families. Heth and Zidon alone are named as persons; all the rest figure as tribes (Gen. x. 15; 1 Chr. i. 13; LXX. τὸν Χεττᾶον: [Vulg. *Heth-æum*;] and so Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6, § 2).

The Hittites were therefore a Hamite race, neither of the "country" nor the "kindred" of Abraham and Isaac (Gen. xxiv. 3, 4; xxviii. 1, 2). In the earliest historical mention of the nation — the beautiful narrative of Abraham's purchase of the cave of Machpelah — they are styled, not Hittites, but Bene-Cheth (A. V. "sons, and children of Heth," Gen. xxiii. 3, 5, 7, 10, 16, 18, 20; xxv. 10; xlix. 32). Once we hear of "daughters of Heth" (xxvii. 46), the "daughters of the land;" at that early period still called, after their less immediate progenitor, "daughters of Canaan" (xxviii. 1, 8, compared with xxvii. 46, and xxvi. 34, 35).

In the Egyptian monuments the name *Chat* is said to stand for Palestine (Bunsen, *Ægypten*, quoted by Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 317, *note*). G.

HETH'LON (דֶּרֶךְ חֶתְלֹן, *the way of Hethlon* [*i. e.* of the *lurking-place* or *stronghold*]: [LXX. translate the name: *Hethalon*]), the name of a place on the northern border of the "promised land." It is mentioned only twice in Scripture (Ez. xlvii. 15, xlviii. 1). In all probability the "way of Hethlon" is the pass at the northern end of Lebanon, from the sea-coast of the Mediterranean to the great plain of Hamath, and is thus identical with "the entrance of Hamath" in Num. xxxiv. 8, &c. (See *Five Years in Damascus*, ii. 356.) J. L. P.

HEZ'EKI (חִזְקִי, *i. e.* Hizki, a short form of Hizkiah, *strength of Jehovah* = Hezekiah: Ἀζαεί; [Vat. Αζαει:] *Hezeci*), a man in the genealogies of Benjamin, one of the Bene-Elpaal [sons of E.], a descendant of Shaaraim (1 Chr. viii. 17).

HEZEKI'AH (חִזְקִיָּה. generally חִזְקִיָּהוּ, *Hizkiya'hu*, and also with initial י — יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ: LXX. and Joseph. Ἐζεκίας: *Ezechias*; = *strength of Jehovah*, comp. Germ. *Gotthard*, Ges.), twelfth king of Judah, son of the apostate Ahaz and Abi (or Abijah), ascended the throne at the age of 25 B. C. 726. Since, however, Ahaz died at the age of 36, some prefer to make Hezekiah only 20 years old at his accession (reading כ for כה), as otherwise he must have been born when Ahaz was a boy of 11 years old. This, indeed, is not impossible (Hiaron. *Ep. ad Vitalem*, 132, quoted by Bochart, *Geogr. Sacr.* p. 920; see Keil on 2 K. xviii. 1; Knobel, *Jes.* 22, &c.); but, if any change be desirable, it is better to suppose that *Ahaz* was 25 and not 20 years old at his accession (LXX. Syr Arab. 2 Chr. xxviii. 1), reading כה for כ in 2 K. xvi. 2.

Hezekiah was one of the three most perfect kings of Judah (2 K. xviii. 5; Ecclus. xlix. 4). His first act was to purge, and repair, and reopen with splendid sacrifices and perfect ceremonial, the Temple which had been despoiled and neglected during the careless and idolatrous reign of his father. This consecration was accompanied by a revival of the theocratic spirit, so strict as not even to spare "the high places," which, although tolerated by many well-intentioned kings, had naturally been profaned by the worship of images and Asherahs (2 K. xviii. 4). On the extreme importance and probable consequences of this measure, see HIGH PLACES. A still more decisive act was the destruction of a brazen serpent, said to have been the one used by Moses in the miraculous healing of the Israelites (Num. xxi. 9), which had been removed to Jerusalem, and had become, "down to those days," an object of adoration, partly in consequence of its venerable character as a relic, and partly perhaps from some dim tendencies to the ophiolatry common in ancient times (Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 622). To break up a figure so curious and so highly honored showed a strong mind, as well as a clear-sighted zeal, and Hezekiah briefly justified his procedure by calling the image נְחֻשְׁתָּן, "a brazen thing," possibly with a contemptuous play on the word נָחָשׁ, "a serpent." How necessary this was in such times may be inferred from the fact that "the brazen serpent" is, or was, reverenced in the Church of St. Ambrose at Milan (Prideaux, *Connect.* i. 19, Oxf. ed.).[a] When the kingdom of Israel had fallen, Hezekiah extended his pious endeavors to Ephraim and Manasseh, and by inviting the scattered inhabitants to a peculiar Passover kindled *their* indignation also against the idolatrous practices which still continued among them. This Passover was, from the necessities of the case, celebrated at an unusual, though not illegal (Num. ix. 10, 11) time, and by an excess of Levitical zeal, it was continued for the unprecedented period of fourteen days. For these latter facts the Chronicler (2 Chr. xxix., xxx., xxxi.) is our sole authority, and he characteristically narrates them at great length. It would appear at first sight that this Passover was celebrated immediately after the purification of the Temple (see Prideaux, *l. c.*), but careful consideration makes it almost certain that it could not have taken place before the sixth year of Hezekiah's reign, when the fall of Samaria had stricken remorseful terror into the heart of Israel (2 Chr. xxxi. 1, xxx. 6, 9, and Keil on 2 K. xviii. 3).

By a rare and happy providence the most pious of kings was confirmed in his faithfulness, and seconded in his endeavors by the powerful assistance of the noblest and most eloquent of prophets. The influence of Isaiah was, however, not gained without a struggle with the "scornful" remnant of the former royal counsellors (Is. xxviii. 14), who in all probability recommended to the king such

[a] "Un serpent de bronze qui selon une croyance populaire serait celui que leva Moïse, et qui *doit suffire à la fin du monde*." *Itin. de l'Italie*, p. 117.

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alliances and compromises as would be in unison rather with the dictates of political expediency, than with that sole unhesitating trust in the arm of Jehovah which the prophets inculcated. The leading man of this cabinet was Shebna, who, from the omission of his father's name, and the expression in Is. xxii. 16 (see Blunt, *Undes. Coincidences*), was probably a foreigner, perhaps a Syrian (Hitzig). At the instance of Isaiah, he seems to have been subsequently degraded from the high post of prefect of the palace (which office was given to Eliakim, Is. xxii. 21), to the inferior, though still honorable, station of state-secretary (סֹפֵר, 2 K. xviii. 18); the further punishment of exile with which Isaiah had threatened him (xxii. 18) being possibly forgiven on his amendment, of which we have some traces in Is. xxxvii. 2 ff. (Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 617).

At the head of a repentant and united people, Hezekiah ventured to assume the aggressive against the Philistines, and in a series of victories not only rewon the cities which his father had lost (2 Chr. xxviii. 18), but even dispossessed them of their own cities except Gaza (2 K. xviii 3) and Gath (Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 13, § 3). It was perhaps to the purposes of this war that he applied the money which would otherwise have been used to pay the tribute exacted by Shalmanezer, according to the agreement of Ahaz with his predecessor, Tiglath Pileser. When, after the capture of Samaria, the king of Assyria applied for this impost, Hezekiah refused it, and in open rebellion omitted to send even the usual presents (2 K. xviii. 7), a line of conduct to which he was doubtless encouraged by the splendid exhortation of his prophetic guide.

Instant war was averted by the heroic and long-continued resistance of the Tyrians under their king Elulæus (Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 14), against a siege, which was abandoned only in the fifth year (Grote, *Greece*, iii. 359, 4th ed.), when it was found to be impracticable. This must have been a critical and intensely anxious period for Jerusalem, and Hezekiah used every available means to strengthen his position, and render his capital impregnable (2 K. xx. 20; 2 Chr. xxxii. 3–5, 30; Is. xxii. 8–11, xxxiii. 18; and to these events Ewald also refers Ps. xlviii. 13). But while all Judæa trembled with anticipation of Assyrian invasion, and while Shebna and others were relying "in the shadow of Egypt," Isaiah's brave heart did not fail, and he even denounced the wrath of God against the proud and sinful merchant-city (Is. xxiii.), which now seemed to be the main bulwark of Judæa against immediate attack.

It was probably during the siege of Samaria that Shalmanezer died, and was succeeded by Sargon, who, jealous of Egyptian influence in Judæa, sent an army under a Tartan or general (Is. xx. 1), which penetrated Egypt (Nah. iii. 8–10) and destroyed No-Amon; although it is clear from Hezekiah's rebellion (2 K. xviii. 7) that it can have produced but little permanent impression. Sargon, in the tenth year of his reign (which is the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah), made an expedition to Palestine; but his annals make no mention of any conquests from Hezekiah on this occasion, and he seems to have occupied himself in the siege of Ashdod (Is. xx. 1), and in the inspection of mines (Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Geogr.* ix.). This must therefore be the expedition alluded to in 2 K. xviii. 13; Is. xxxvi. 1; an expedition which is merely alluded to, as it led to no result. But if the Scripture narrative is to be reconciled with the records of Assyrian history it seems necessary to make a transposition in the text of Isaiah (and therefore of the book of Kings). That some such expedient must be resorted to, if the Assyrian history is trustworthy, is maintained by Dr. Hincks in a paper *On the rectification of Chronology, which the newly-discovered Apis-steles render necessary.* "The text," he says, "as it originally stood, was probably to this effect: 2 K. xviii. 13. Now in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah *the king of Assyria came up* [alluding to the attack mentioned in Sargon's *Annals*]; xx. 1–19. In those days was king Hezekiah sick unto death, etc., xviii. 13. And Sennacherib, king of Assyria, came up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them, etc., xviii. 13, xix. 37" (Dr. Hincks, in *Journ. of Sacr. Lit.* Oct. 1858). Perhaps some later transcriber, unaware of the earlier and unimportant invasion, confused the allusion to Sargon in 2 K. xviii. 13 with the detailed story of Sennacherib's attack (2 K. xviii. 14 to xix. 37), and, considering that the account of Hezekiah's illness broke the continuity of the narrative, removed it to the end.

According to this scheme, Hezekiah's dangerous illness (2 K. xx.; Is. xxxviii.; 2 Chr. xxxii. 24) nearly synchronized with Sargon's futile invasion, in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign, eleven years before *Sennacherib's* invasion. That it must have *preceded* the attack of Sennacherib is nearly obvious from the promise in 2 K. xx. 6, as well as from modern discoveries (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* i. 145); and such is the view adopted by the Rabbis (*Seder Olam*, cap. xxiii.), Usaher, and by most commentators, except Vitringa and Gesenius (Keil, *ad loc.*; Prideaux, i. 22). There seems to be no ground whatever for the vague conjecture so confidently advanced (Winer, s. v. *Hiskias*; Jahn, *Hebr. Commun.* § xli.) that the king's illness was the same plague which had destroyed the Assyrian army. The word שְׁחִין is not elsewhere applied to the plague, but to carbuncles and inflammatory ulcers (Ex. ix. 9; Job ii. 7, &c.). Hezekiah, whose kingdom was in a dangerous crisis, who had at that time no heir (for Manasseh was not born till long afterwards, 2 K. xxi. 1), and who regarded death as the end of existence (Is. xxxviii.), "turned his face to the wall and wept sore" at the threatened approach of dissolution. God had compassion on his anguish, and heard his prayer. Isaiah had hardly left the palace when he was ordered to promise the king immediate recovery, and a fresh lease of life, ratifying the promise by a sign, and curing the boil by a plaster of figs, which were often used medicinally in similar cases (Ges. *Thes.* i. 311; Celsius, *Hierobot.* ii. 377; Bartholinus, *De Morbis Biblicis*, x. 47). What was the exact nature of the disease we cannot say; according to Meade it was fever terminating in abscess. For some account of the retrogression of the shadow on the sundial of Ahaz, see DIAL. On this remarkable passage we must be content to refer the reader to Carpzov, *App. Crit.* p. 351 ff.; Winer, s. v. *Hiskias* and *Uhren*; Rawlinson, *Herod.* ii. 332 ff.; the elaborate notes of Keil on 2 K. xx.; Rosenmüller and Gesenius on Is. xxxviii., and especially Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 638.

Various ambassadors came with letters and gifts to congratulate Hezekiah on his recovery (2 Chr. xxxii. 23), and among them an embassy from Merodach-

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Merodach-Baladan (or Berodach, 2 K. xx. 12; ὁ Βαλαδάν, Joseph. *l. c.*), the viceroy of Babylon, the Mardokempados of Ptolemy's canon. The ostensible object of this mission was to compliment Hezekiah on his convalescence (2 K. xx. 12; Is. xxxix. 1), and "to inquire of the wonder that was done in the land" (2 Chr. xxxii. 31), a rumor of which could not fail to interest a people devoted to astrology. But its real purpose was to discover how far an alliance between the two powers was possible or desirable, for Mardokempados, no less than Hezekiah, was in apprehension of the Assyrians. In fact Sargon expelled him from the throne of Babylon in the following year (the 16th of Hezekiah), although after a time he seems to have returned and reëstablished himself for six months, at the end of which he was murdered by Belibos (Dr. Hincks, *l. c.*; Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Geogr.* ch. viii.; Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* i. 141). Community of interest made Hezekiah receive the overtures of Babylon with unconcealed gratification; and, perhaps, to enhance the opinion of his own importance as an ally, he displayed to the messengers the princely treasures which he and his predecessors had accumulated. The mention of such rich stores is an additional argument for supposing these events to have happened before Sennacherib's invasion (see 2 K. xviii. 14–16), although they are related after them in the Scripture historians. If ostentation were his motive it received a terrible rebuke, and he was informed by Isaiah that from the then tottering and subordinate province of Babylon, and not from the mighty Assyria, would come the ruin and captivity of Judah (Is. xxxix. 5). This prophecy and the one of Micah (Mic. iv. 10) are the earliest definition of the locality of that hostile power, where the clouds of exile so long threatened (Lev. xxvi. 33; Deut. iv. 27, xxx. 3) were beginning to gather. It is an impressive and fearful circumstance that the moment of exultation was chosen as the opportunity for warning, and that the prophecies of the Assyrian deliverance are set side by side with those of the Babylonish Captivity (Davidson *On Prophecy*, p. 256). The weak friend was to accomplish that which was impossible to the powerful foe. But, although pride was the sin thus vehemently checked by the prophet, Isaiah was certainly not blind to the *political* motives (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 2, § 2), which made Hezekiah so complaisant to the Babylonian ambassadors. Into those motives he had inquired in vain, for the king met *that* portion of his question ("What said these men?") by emphatic silence. Hezekiah's meek answer to the stern denunciation of future woe has been most unjustly censured as "a false resignation which combines selfishness with silliness" (Newman, *Hebr. Mon.* p. 274). On the contrary it merely implies a conviction that God's decree could not be otherwise than just and right, and a natural thankfulness for even a temporary suspension of its inevitable fulfilment.

Sargon was succeeded (B. C. 702) by his son Sennacherib, whose two invasions occupy the greater part of the Scripture records concerning the reign of Hezekiah. The first of these took place in the third year of Sennacherib (B. C. 700), and occupies only three verses (2 K. xviii. 13–16), though the route of the advancing Assyrians may be traced in Is. x. 5, xi. The rumor of the invasion roused Hezekiah's exertions, and he prepared for a siege by providing offensive and defensive armor, stopping up the wells, and diverting the watercourses, conducting the water of Gihon into the city by a subterranean canal (Ecclus. xlviii. 17. For a similar precaution taken by the Mohammedans, see Will. Tyr. viii. 7, Keil). But the main hope of the political faction was the alliance with Egypt, and they seem to have sought it by presents and private entreaties (Is. xxx. 6), especially with a view to obtaining chariots and cavalry (Is. xxxi. 1–3), which was the weakest arm of the Jewish service, as we see from the derision which it excited (2 K. xviii. 23). Such overtures kindled Isaiah's indignation, and Shebna may have lost his high office by recommending them. The prophet clearly saw that Egypt was too weak and faithless to be serviceable, and the applications to Pharaoh (who is compared by Rabshakeh to one of the weak reeds of his own river), implied a want of trust in the help of God. But Isaiah did *not* disapprove of the spontaneously proffered assistance of the tall and warlike Ethiopians (Is. xviii. 2, 7, acc. to Ewald's trans.); because he may have regarded it as a providential aid.

The account given of this first invasion in the *Annals of Sennacherib* is that he attacked Hezekiah, because the Ekronites had sent their king Padiya (or "Haddiya" acc. to Col. Rawlinson) as a prisoner to Jerusalem (cf. 2 K. xviii. 8); that he took forty-six cities ("all the fenced cities" in 2 K. xviii. 13 is apparently a general expression, cf. xix. 8) and 200,000 prisoners; that he besieged Jerusalem with mounds (cf. 2 K. xix. 32); and although Hezekiah promised to pay 800 talents of silver (of which perhaps 300 only were ever paid) and 30 of gold (2 K. xviii. 14; but see Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 145), yet not content with this he mulcted him of a part of his dominions, and gave them to the kings of Ekron, Ashdod, and Gaza (Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. 475 ff). So important was this expedition that Demetrius, the Jewish historian, even attributes to Sennacherib the Great Captivity (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* p. 146, *ed. Sylb.*). In almost every particular this account agrees with the notice in Scripture, and we may see a reason for so great a sacrifice on the part of Hezekiah in the glimpse which Isaiah gives us of his capital city driven by desperation into licentious and impious mirth (xxii. 12–14). This campaign must at least have had the one good result of proving the worthlessness of the Egyptian alliance; for at a place called Altagû (the Eltekon of Josh. xv. 59?) Sennacherib inflicted an overwhelming defeat on the combined forces of Egypt and Ethiopia, which had come to the assistance of Ekron. But Isaiah regarded the purchased treaty as a cowardly defection, and the sight of his fellow-citizens gazing peacefully from the house-tops on the bright array of the car-borne and quivered Assyrians, filled him with indignation and despair (Is. xxii. 1–7, if the latest explanations of this chapter be correct).

Hezekiah's bribe (or fine) brought a temporary release, for the Assyrians marched into Egypt, where, if Herodotus (ii. 141) and Josephus (*Ant.* x. 1–3) are to be trusted, they advanced without resistance to Pelusium, owing to the hatred of the warrior-caste against Sethos the king-priest of Pthah, who had, in his priestly predilections, interfered with their prerogatives. In spite of this advantage, Sennacherib was forced to raise the siege of Pelusium, by the advance of Tirhakah or Tarakos, the ally of Sethos and Hezekiah, who afterwards united the crowns of Egypt and Ethiopia. This magnificent Ethiopian hero, who had extended

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his conquests to the pillars of Hercules (Strab. xv. 472), was indeed a formidable antagonist. His deeds are recorded in a temple at Medineet Haboo, but the jealousy of the Memphites (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. 141) concealed his assistance, and attributed the deliverance of Sethos to the miraculous interposition of an army of mice (Herod. ii. 141). This story may have had its source, however, not in jealousy, but in the use of a mouse as the emblem of destruction (Horapoll. *Hierogl.* i. 50; Rawlinson, *Herod.* ad loc.), and of some sort of disease or plague (? 1 Sam. vi. 18; Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* § 185). The legend doubtless gained ground from the extraordinary circumstances which afterwards ruined the army of Sennacherib. We say *afterwards*, because, however much the details of the two occurrences may have been confused, we cannot agree with the majority of writers (Prideaux, Bochart, Michaelis, Jahn, Keil, Newman, etc.) in identifying the flight of Sennacherib from Pelusium with the event described in 2 K. xix. We prefer to follow Josephus in making them allude to distinct events.

Returning from his futile expedition (ἄπρακτος ἀνεχώρησε, Joseph. *Ant.* x. 1, § 4), Sennacherib "dealt treacherously" with Hezekiah (Is. xxxiii. 1) by attacking the stronghold of Lachish. This was the commencement of that *second* invasion, respecting which we have such full details in 2 K. xviii. 17 ff.; 2 Chr. xxxii. 9 ff.; Is. xxxvi. That there were two invasions (contrary to the opinion of Layard, Bosanquet, Vance Smith, etc.) is clearly proved by the details of the first given in the Assyrian annals (see Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. p. 477). Although the annals of Sennacherib on the great cylinder in the Brit. Museum reach to the end of his *eighth* year, and this second invasion belongs to his fifth year (B. C. 698, the twenty-eighth year of Hezekiah), yet no allusion to it has been found. So shameful a disaster was naturally concealed by national vanity. From Lachish he sent against Jerusalem an army under two officers and his cupbearer the orator Rabshakeh, with a blasphemous and insulting summons to surrender, deriding Hezekiah's hopes of Egyptian succor, and apparently endeavoring to inspire the people with distrust of his religious innovations (2 K. xviii. 22, 25, 30). The reiteration and peculiarity of the latter argument, together with Rabshakeh's fluent mastery of Hebrew (which he used to tempt the people from their allegiance by a glowing promise, v. 31, 32), give countenance to the supposition that he was an apostate Jew. Hezekiah's ministers were thrown into anguish and dismay; but the undaunted Isaiah hurled back threatening for threatening with unrivaled eloquence and force. He even prophesied that the fires of Tophet were already burning in expectancy of the Assyrian corpses which were destined to feed their flame. Meanwhile Sennacherib, having taken Lachish (an event possibly depicted on a series of slabs at Mosul, Layard, *N. and B.* 148–152), was besieging Libnah, when, alarmed by a "rumor" of Tirhakah's advance (to avenge the defeat at Altaqû?), he was forced to relinquish once more his immediate designs, and content himself with a defiant letter to Hezekiah. Whether on this occasion he encountered and defeated the Ethiopians (as Prideaux precariously infers from Is. xx. *Connect.* i. p. 26), or not, we cannot tell. The next event of the campaign, about which we are informed, is that the Jewish king with simple piety prayed to God with Sennacherib's letter outspread before him (cf. 1 Macc. iii. 48), and received a prophecy of immediate deliverance. Accordingly "that night the Angel of the Lord went out and smote in the camp of the Assyrians 185,000 men."

There is no doubt that some secondary cause was employed in the accomplishment of this event. We are certainly "not to suppose," as Dr. Johnson observed, "that the angel went about with a sword in his hand stabbing them one by one, but that some powerful natural agent was employed." The Babylonish Talmud and some of the Targums attribute it to storms of lightning (Vitringa, Vogel, etc.); Prideaux, Heine (*de causâ Strag. Assyr.*), and Faber to the Simoon; R. Jose, Ussher, Preiss (*de causâ clad. Assyr.*), etc., etc., to a nocturnal attack by Tirhakah; Paulus to a poisoning of the waters; and finally Josephus, followed by an immense majority of ancient and modern commentators, including even Keil, to the Pestilence. This would be a cause not only adequate (Justin, xix. 11; Diodor. xix. p. 434: see the other instances quoted by Rosenmüller, Winer, Keil, Jahn, etc.), but most probable in itself from the crowded and terrified state of the camp. There is therefore no necessity to adopt the ingenious conjectures by which Döderlein, Koppe, and Wessler endeavor to get rid of the large number 185,000.[a]

After this reverse Sennacherib fled precipitately to Nineveh, where he revenged himself on as many Jews as were in his power (Tob. i. 18), and after many years (not fifty-five days, as Tobit says, i. 21), was murdered by two of his sons as he drank himself drunk in the house of Nisroch (Assarac?) his god. He certainly lived till B. C. 680, for his 22d year is mentioned on a clay tablet (Rawlinson, *l. c.*); he must therefore have survived Hezekiah by some seventeen years. It is probable that several of the Psalms (*e. g.* xlvi.–xlviii., lxxvi.) allude to his discomfiture.

Hezekiah only lived to enjoy for about one year more his well-earned peace and glory. He slept with his fathers after a reign of twenty-nine years, in the 56th year of his age (B. C. 697), and was buried with great honor and universal mourning "in the chiefest of the sepulchres (or 'the road leading up to the sepulchres,' ἐν ἀναβάσει τάφων, LXX., because, as Thenius conjectures, the actual sepulchres were full) of the sons of David" (2 Chr. xxxii. 33). He had found time for many works of peace in the noble and almost blameless course of his troubled life, and to his pious labors we are in-

[a] * Stanley's note may be cited here: "By what special means this great destruction was effected, with how large or small a remnant Sennacherib returned, is not told. It might be a pestilential blast (Is. xxxvii. 7; Joseph. *Ant.* x. 1, § 5), according to the analogy by which a pestilence is usually described in Scripture under the image of a destroying angel (Ps. lxxviii. 49; 2 Sam. xxiv. 16); and the numbers are not greater than are recorded as perishing within very short periods — 150,000 Carthaginians in Sicily, 500,000 in seven months at Cairo (Gesenius, *ad loc.*). It might be accompanied by a storm. So Vitringa understood it, and this would best suit the words in Is. xxx. 29' (*History of the Jewish Church*, ii. 530). A mutilated account of this wonder was current among the Egyptians. They ascribed it, as a matter of course, to their own divinities, but unquestionably had in view the same occurrence (see Rawlinson, *Herod.* ii. 141).

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[illegible]ibted for at least one portion of the present canon (Prov. xxv. 1; Ecclus. xlviii. 17 ff.). He can have no finer panegyric than the words of the son of Sirach, "even the kings of Judah failed, for they forsook the law of the Most High; *all except David, and Ezekias, and Judas failed.*"

Besides the many authors and commentators who have written on this period of Jewish history (on which much light has been recently thrown by Mr. Layard, Sir G. Wilkinson, Sir. H. Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks, and other scholars who have studied the Nineveh remains), see for continuous lives of Hezekiah, Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 13–x. 2), Prideaux (*Connect.* i. 16–30), Jahn (*Hebr. Comm.* § xli.), Winer (s. v. *Hiskias*), and Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 614–644, 2d ed.). F. W. F.

* Dean Stanley devotes a long lecture (*History of the Jewish Church*, ii. 505–540) to the character of Hezekiah, and the events with which he was connected. "The reign of Hezekiah is the culminating point of interest in the history of the kings of Judah." Yet the interest of his personal history is mainly that which arises from the contemplation of his example as one of faith and piety, and of the wonderful deliverances vouchsafed to the nation for his sake, though both these and his earnest efforts for the reformation of the people served only to delay, but not to avert the hastening ruin of the commonwealth. The sketch drawn by Mr. Stanley of Hezekiah's repairing to the temple with the defiant letter of Sennacherib, to spread it before Jehovah and to implore his help, brings out the monarch's character at that most critical juncture in its best light. The Assyrian conqueror had sent from Lachish, demanding the submission of Hezekiah and the surrender of Jerusalem into the hands of his general. On hearing this summons, Eliakim, Shebna, and Joah, Hezekiah's three highest officers, "tore their garments in horror, and appeared in that state before the king. He, too, gave way to the same uncontrolled burst of grief. He and they both dressed themselves in sackcloth, and the king took refuge in the Temple. The ministers went to seek comfort from Isaiah. The insulting embassy returned to Sennacherib. The army was moved from Lachish and lay in front of the fortress of Libnah. A letter couched in terms like those already used by his envoys, was sent direct from the king of Assyria to the king of Judah. What would be their fate if they were taken, they might know from the fate of Lachish, which we still see on the sculptured monuments, where the inhabitants are lying before the king, stripped in order to be flayed alive. Hezekiah took the letter, and penetrating, as it would seem, into the Most Holy Place, laid it before the Divine Presence enthroned above the cherubs, and called upon him whose name it insulted, to look down and see with his own eyes the outrage that was offered to him. From that dark recess no direct answer was vouchsafed. The answer came through the mouth of Isaiah. From the first moment that Sennacherib's army had appeared, he had held the same language of unbroken hope and confidence, clothed in every variety of imagery. . . . It was a day of awful suspense. In proportion to the strength of Isaiah's confidence and of Hezekiah's devotion, would have been the ruin of the Jewish church and faith, if they had been disappointed of their hope. It was a day of suspense also for the two great armies which were drawing near to their encounter on the confines of Palestine. Like Antiochus in the siege of Orleans, Hezekiah must have looked southward and westward with ever keener and keener eagerness. For already there was a rumor that Tirhakah, the king of Egypt, was on his way to the rescue. Already Sennacherib had heard the rumor, and it was this which precipitated his endeavor to intimidate Jerusalem into submission. The evening closed in on what seemed to be the devoted city. The morning dawned, and with the morning came the tidings from the camp at Libnah, that they were delivered. 'It came to pass that night (2 K. xix. 35) that the Angel of Jehovah went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians a hundred and fourscore and five thousand.' . . . The Assyrian king at once returned, and, according to the Jewish tradition, wreaked his vengeance on the Israelite exiles whom he found in Mesopotamia. He was the last of the great Assyrian conquerors. No Assyrian host again ever crossed the Jordan. Within a few years from that time . . . the Assyrian power suddenly vanished from the earth."

It was in all probability at the time of Sennacherib's first invasion of Palestine that Hezekiah purchased his exemption from subjection to the Assyrian yoke by the payment of a fine. If the Assyrian inscriptions are rightly interpreted, they furnish an important confirmation of the Biblical account of this expedition, and of its results as regards Hezekiah and the Jews. The boastful record on one of the cylinders is said to read as follows: "'And because Hezekiah, king of Judah,' says Sennacherib, 'would not submit to my yoke, I came up against him, and by force of arms and by the might of my power, I took *forty-six of his strong fenced cities*; and of the smaller towns which were scattered about, I took and plundered a countless number. And from these places I captured and carried off as spoil two hundred thousand one hundred and fifty people, old and young, male and female, together with horses and mares, asses and camels, oxen and sheep, a countless multitude. And Hezekiah himself I shut up in Jerusalem, his capital city, like a bird in a cage, building towers round the city to hem him in, and raising banks of earth against the gates, so as to prevent escape. . . . Then upon this Hezekiah there fell the fear of the power of my arms, and he sent out to me the chiefs and the elders of Jerusalem with 30 talents of gold and 800 talents of silver, and divers treasures, a rich and immense booty. (See 2 K. xviii. 13–16.) . . . All these things were brought to me at Nineveh, the seat of my government, Hezekiah having sent them by way of tribute, and as a token of his submission to my power.'" (See Rawlinson's *Bampton Lectures* for 1859, p. 316 f., Amer. ed.) Dean Milman also calls attention to this coincidence (*History of the Jews*, i. 427, Amer. ed.).

The chronological order of some of the events in Hezekiah's life is not easily adjusted. The events are related in different books (Kings, Chronicles, Micah, Isaiah), and not with many notations of time. M. von Niebuhr treats of some of the questions relating to the synchronism of Hezekiah's history with that of the Babylonians and Egyptians (*Geschichte Assur's u. Babel's*, pp. 71, 76, 88, 100 f., 179). For valuable articles on Hezekiah, see Winer's *Bibl. Realw.* i. 496–499; Herzog's *Real-Encyk.* vi. 151–157; and Zeller's *Bibl. Wörterb.* i. 612–615, 2te Aufl. For information on related subjects, the reader is referred in this Dictionary to DIAL; ISAIAH; SARGON; SENNACHERIB; LACHISH; and MICAH. H.

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2 [Ἐζεκία.] Son of Neariah, one of the descendants of the royal family of Judah (1 Chr. iii. 23).

3. [*Ezecias*; ed. 1590, *-chias*.] The same name, though rendered in the A. V. HIZKIAH, is found in Zeph. i. 1.

4. ATER-OF-HEZEKIAH. [ATER.] F. W. F.

HE'ZION (חֶזְיוֹן [*sight, vision*]: Ἀζίν; [Vat. Ἀζειν;] Alex. Ἀζαηλ: *Hezion*), a king of Aram (Syria) father of Tabrimon, and grandfather of Benhadad I. He and his father are mentioned only in 1 K. xv. 18, and their names are omitted by Josephus. In the absence of all information, the natural suggestion is that he is identical with REZON, the contemporary of Solomon, in 1 K. xi. 23; the two names being very similar in Hebrew, and still more so in other versions (compare Arab. and Peshito on the latter passage); and indeed this conclusion has been adopted by some translators and commentators (Junius, Kühler, Dathe, Ewald). Against it are (*a*), that the number of generations of the Syrian kings would then be one less than those of the contemporary kings of Judah. But then the reign of Abijam was only three years, and in fact Jeroboam outlived both Rehoboam and his son. (*b.*) The statement of Nicolaus of Damascus (Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 5, § 2), that from the time of David for ten generations the kings of Syria were one dynasty, each king taking the name of Hadad, "as did the Ptolemies in Egypt." But this would exclude, not only Hezion and Tabrimon, but Rezon, unless we may interpret the last sentence to mean that the official title of Hadad was held in addition to the ordinary name of the king. [REZON; TABRIMON.] G.

HE'ZIR (חֵזִיר [*swine*]: Χηζίν; [Vat. Χηζειν;] Alex. Ιεζειρ; [Comp. Χηζειρ: *Hezir*]). 1. A priest in the time of David, leader of the 17th monthly course in the service (1 Chr. xxiv. 15).

2. [Ἡζίρ; Vat. Alex. FA. Ηζειρ: *Hazir*.] One of the heads of the people (laymen) who sealed the solemn covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 20).

HEZ'RAI [2 syl.] (חֶצְרַי [= חֶצְרוֹן, Hezron, which see], according to the *Keri* of the Masorets, but the original reading of the text, *Cetib*, has חצרו = Hezro: Ἀσαραΐ; [Alex. Ασαραι:] *Hesrai*), a native of Carmel, perhaps of the southern one, and in that case possibly once a slave or adherent of Nabal; one of the 30 heroes of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 35). In the parallel list the name appears as —

HEZ'RO (חֶצְרוֹ [see *infra*]: Ἡσαρέ; Alex. Ασαραι; [Ald. Ἀσαραΐ: Comp. Ἐσρί:] *Hesro*), in 1 Chr. xi. 37. Kennicott, however (*Dissertation*, pp. 207, 208), decides, on the almost unanimous authority of the ancient versions, that Hetzrai is the original form of the name.

HEZ'RON (חֶצְרוֹן [*blooming*, Fürst; but *walled*, as a garden, Ges.]: Ἀσρών; [Alex. in Num., Ασρωμ:] *Hesron*). 1. A son of Reuben (Gen. xlvi. 9; Ex. vi. 14), who founded the family of the Hezronites (Num. xxvi. 6).

2. A son of Pharez, and one of the direct ancestors of David (Gen. xlvi. 12; Ruth iv. 18); in LXX. Ἐσρών (once var. lect. Grab. Ἀσρών), and Ἐσρώμ, which is followed in Matt. i. 3. [Vat. in Ruth, Εσρωρ; in 1 Chr. ii. 9, 18, 21, 25, Εσερων; in Ruth iv. 1, Αρσων: Vulg. *Hesron*, in Ruth *Esron*.] T. E. B.

HEZ'RONITES, THE (הַחֶצְרֹנִי: ὁ Ασρωνί [Vat. -νει]: *Hesronita*). A branch of the tribe of Judah, descendants of Hezron, the son of Pharez (Num. xxvi. 21). [In the A. V. ed. 1611 the word is spelt Hesronites. — A.] W. A. W.

HID'DAI [2 syl.] (הִדַּי [*mighty chief*] Alex. Αθθαι; [Comp. Ἠδαΐ; Ald. Οιρί;] Vat omits: *Heddai*), one of the thirty-seven heroes of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 30), described as "of the torrents of Gaash." In the parallel list of 1 Chr. (xi. 32) the name is given as HURAI. Kennicott (*Dissert.* p. 194) decides in favor of "Hurai" on grounds for which the reader must be referred to his work.

HIDDE'KEL (חִדֶּקֶל [*sharp, swift*, Distr. in Ges. 6te Aufl.]: Τίγρις; [in Dan. (Theodot.),] Τίγρις Ἐδδεκέλ [Alex. Ενδεκελ]: *Tygris, Tigris*), one of the rivers of Eden, the river which "goeth eastward to Assyria" (Gen. ii. 14), and which Daniel calls "the Great river" (Dan. x. 4), seems to have been rightly identified by the LXX. with the Tigris. It is difficult to account for the initial ח, unless it be for חַי, "lively," which is used of running water in Gen. xxvi. 19. *Dekel* (דֶּקֶל) is clearly an equivalent of *Digla* or *Diglath*, a name borne by the Tigris in all ages. The form *Diglath* occurs in the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, in Josephus (*Ant.* i. 1), in the Armenian Eusebius (*Chron. Can.* pars i. c. 2), in Zonaras (*Ann.* i. 2), and in the Armenian version of the Scriptures. It is hardened to *Diglit* (Diglito) by Pliny (*H. N.* vi. 27). The name now in use among the inhabitants of Mesopotamia is *Dijleh*.

It has generally been supposed that *Digla* is a mere Semitic corruption of *Tigra*, and that this latter is the true name of the stream. Strabo (xi. 14, § 8), Pliny (*loc. cit.*) and other writers tell us that the river received its designation from its rapidity, the word Tigris (*Tigra*) meaning in the Medo-Persic language "an arrow." This seems probable enough; but it must be observed that the two forms are found side by side in the Babylonian transcript of the Behistun inscription, and that the ordinary name of the stream in the inscriptions of Assyria is *Tiggar*. Moreover, if we allow the *Dekel* of *Hiddekel*, to mean the Tigris, it would seem probable that this was the more ancient of the two appellations. Perhaps, therefore, it is best to suppose that there was in early Babylonian a root *dik*, equivalent in meaning, and no doubt connected in origin, with the Aryan *tig* or *tij*, and that from these two roots were formed independently the two names, *Dekel*, *Dikla*, or *Digla*, and *Tiggar*, *Tigra*, or Tigris. The stream was known by either name indifferently; but on the whole the Aryan appellation predominated in ancient times, and was that most commonly used even by Semitic races. The Arabians, however, when they conquered Mesopotamia, revived the true Semitic title, and this (*Dijleh*) continues to be the name by which the river is known to the natives down to the present day. The course of the river is described under TIGRIS. G. R.

HI'EL (חִיאֵל, perhaps for יְחִיאֵל [*God lives*, Ges.]: Ἀχιήλ; [Vat. Αχιηλ; Comp. Χιήλ:] *Hiel*), a native of Bethel, who rebuilt Jericho in the reign of Ahab (1 K. xvi. 34); and in whom was fulfilled the curse pronounced by Joshua

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(Josh. vi 26). Strabo speaks of this cursing of a destroyed city as an ancient custom, and instances the curses imprecated by Agamemnon and Croesus (Grot. *Annot. ad Josh.* vi. 26); Masius compares the cursing of Carthage by the Romans (Pol. *Syn.*). The term Bethelite (בֵּית הָאֵלִי) here only is rendered *family of cursing* (Pet. Mart.), and also *house* or *place of cursing* (Arab., Syr., and Chald. versions), qu. בֵּית אָלָה; but there seems no reason for questioning the accuracy of the LXX. ὁ Βαιθηλίτης, which is approved by most commentators, and sanctioned by Ges. (*Lex.* s. v.). The rebuilding of Jericho was an intrusion upon the kingdom of Jehoshaphat, unless with Pet. Mart. we suppose that Jericho had already been detached from it by the kings of Israel. T. E. B.

HIERAP'OLIS (Ἱεράπολις [*sacred city*]). This place is mentioned only once in Scripture, and that incidentally, namely, in Col. iv. 13, where its church is associated with those of COLOSSÆ and LAODICEA. Such association is just what we should expect; for the three towns were all in the basin of the Mæander, and within a few miles of one another. It is probable that Hierapolis was one of the "inlustres Asiæ urbes" (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 27) which, with Laodicea, were simultaneously desolated by an earthquake about the time when Christianity was established in this district. There is little doubt that the church of Hierapolis was founded at the same time with that of Colossæ, and that its characteristics in the apostolic period were the same. Its modern name is *Pambouk-Kalessi*. The most remarkable feature of the neighborhood consists of the hot calcareous springs, which have deposited the vast and singular incrustations noticed by travellers. See, for instance, Chandler, *Trav. in Asia Minor* (1817), i. 264–272; Hamilton, *Res. in Asia Minor* (1842), i. 507–522. The situation of Hierapolis is extremely beautiful; and its ruins are considerable, the theatre and gymnasium being the most conspicuous. J. S. H.

* Arundel passed within sight of Hierapolis, which he describes as high up on the mountain side, on a terrace extending several miles (*Discoveries in Asia Minor*, ii. 200). Richter (*Wallfahrten*, p. 533 ff.) states that Hierapolis and Laodicea (mentioned together, Col. iv. 13) lie within view of each other on opposite sides of the Lycus. For notices by still other travellers, see Pococke's *Description of the East*, etc., ii. pt. ii. 75; Fellows's *Asia Minor*, p. 283 ff.: and Schubert's *Reise in das Morgenland*, p. 283. The various observations are brought concisely together in Lewin's sketch (*Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, i. 304 f.). Epaphras may have founded the church at Hierapolis; and at all events, that city was one of the places where he manifested that zeal for the truth accredited to him by the Apostle (Col. iv. 13). The celebrated Stoic philosopher, Epictetus, was a native of Hierapolis, and nearly contemporary with Paul and Epaphras. H.

HIER'EEL (Ἱερσήλ: *Jeelech*), 1 Esdr. ix. 21. [JEHIEL.]

HIER'EMOTH (Ἱερεμώθ: *Erimoth*). 1. Esdr. ix. 27. [JEREMOTH.]

2. [*Jerimoth.*] 1 Esdr. ix. 30. [RAMOTH.]

HIERIE'LUS (Ἱεζοιήλος, *i. e.* Iezrielos; [Vat. Ἱεζοριηλος; Ald. Ἱερίηλος:] *Jezrelus*), 1 Esdr. ix. 27. This answers to JEHIEL in the list of Ezr. x.; but whence our translators obtained their form of the name does not appear.

* Our translators evidently derived this form of the name from the Aldine edition of the LXX. which they have so often followed in the Apocrypha. A.

HIER'MAS (Ἱερμάς; [Vat. Ἱερμα:] *Remias*), 1 Esdr. ix. 26. [RAMIAH.]

HIERON'YMUS (Ἱερώνυμος [*sacred-named*]: *Hieronymus*), a Syrian general in the time of Antiochus V. Eupator (2 Macc. xii. 2). The name was made distinguished among the Asiatic Greeks by Hieronymus of Cardia, the historian of Alexander's successors. B. F. W.

* **HIERU'SALEM** is used in the A. V. ed. 1611, and other early editions, for JERUSALEM.

HIGGAI'ON [3 syl.] (הִגָּיוֹן: ψδή), a word which occurs three times in the book of Psalms (ix. 17 [16], xix. 15 [14], xcii. 4 [3]). Mendelssohn translates it *meditation, thought, idea*. Knapp (*Die Psalmen*) identifies it, in Ps. ix. 17, with the Arabic הגא and הגי, "to mock," and hence his rendering "What a shout of laughter!" (because the wicked are entrapped in their own snares); but in Ps. xcii. 4, he translates it by "Lieder" (songs). R. David Kimchi likewise assigns two separate meanings to the word; on Ps. ix. 17 he says, "This aid is for us (a subject of) meditation and thankfulness," whilst in his commentary on the passage Ps. xcii. 4, he gives to the same word the signification of *melody*, "this is the melody of the hymn when it is recited (played) on the harp." "We will meditate on this forever" (Rashi, *Comm. on Ps.* ix. 17). In Ps. ix. 17, Aben Ezra's Comment. on "Higgaion Selah" is, "this will I record in truth:" on Ps. xcii. 4 he says, "Higgaion means the melody of the hymn, or it is the name of a musical instrument." According to Fürst, הגיון is derived from הגה, "to whisper:" (*a*) it refers to the vibration of the harp, or to the opening of an interlude, an opinion supported by the LXX., Symmachus, and Aquilas: (*b*) it refers to *silent meditation*: this is agreeable to the use of the word in the Talmud and in the Rabbinical writings; hence הגיון for *logic* (*Concord. Hebr. atque Chald.*).

It should seem, then, that Higgaion has two meanings, one of a general character implying *thought, reflection*, from הגה (comp. והגיון לבי, Ps. ix. 17, and והגיונם עלי כל היום, Lam. iii. 62), and another in Ps. ix. 17 and Ps xcii. 4, of a technical nature, bearing on the import of musical sounds or signs well known in the age of David, but the precise meaning of which cannot at this distance of time be determined.

D. W. M.

HIGH PLACES (בָּמוֹת): in the historical books, τὰ ὑψηλά, τὰ ὕψη; in the Prophets, βωμοί; in the Pentateuch, στῆλαι, Lev. xxvi. 30, &c.; and once εἴδωλα, Ez. xvi. 16: *excelsa, fana*). From the earliest times it was the custom among all nations to erect altars and places of worship on lofty and conspicuous spots. We find that the Trojans sacrificed to Zeus on Mount Ida (*Il.* x. 171), and we are repeatedly told that such was the custom of the Persians, Greeks Germans, etc.,

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because they fancied that the hill-tops were nearer heaven, and therefore the most favorable places for prayer and incense (Herod. i. 131; Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 7; *Mem.* iii. 8, § 10; Strab. xv. p. 732; Luc. *de Sacrif.* i. 4; Creuzer, *Symb.* i. 159; Winer, *s. v. Berggötter*). To this general custom we find constant allusion in the Bible (Is. lxv. 7; Jer. iii. 6; Ez. vi. 13, xviii. 6; Hos. iv. 13), and it is especially attributed to the Moabites (Is. xv. 2, xvi. 12; Jer. xlviii. 35). Even Abraham built an altar to the Lord on a mountain near Bethel (Gen. xii. 7, 8; cf. xxii. 2–4, xxxi. 54) which shows that the practice was then as innocent as it was natural; and although it afterwards became mingled with idolatrous observances (Num. xxiii. 3), it was in itself far less likely to be abused than the consecration of groves (Hos. iv. 13). The external religion of the patriarchs was in some outward observances different from that subsequently established by the Mosaic law, and therefore they should not be condemned for actions which afterwards became sinful only because they were forbidden (Heidegger, *Hist. Patr.* II. iii. § 53). [BAMAH.]

It is, however, quite obvious that if every grove and eminence had been suffered to become a place for legitimate worship, especially in a country where they had already been defiled with the sins of polytheism, the utmost danger would have resulted to the pure worship of the one true God (Hävernick, *Einl.* i. p. 592). It would infallibly have led to the adoption of nature-goddesses, and "gods of the hills" (1 K. xx. 23). It was therefore implicitly forbidden by the law of Moses (Deut. xii. 11–14), which also gave the strictest injunction to destroy these monuments of Canaanitish idolatry (Lev. xxvi. 30; Num. xxxiii. 52; Deut. xxxiii. 29, ubi LXX. τραχηλος), without stating any general reason for this command, beyond the fact that they *had* been connected with such associations. It seems, however, to be assumed that every Israelite would perfectly understand why groves and high places were prohibited, and therefore they are only condemned by virtue of the injunction to use but *one* altar for the purposes of sacrifice (Lev. xvii. 3, 4; Deut. xii. *passim*, xvi. 21; John iv. 20).

The command was a *prospective* one, and was not to come into force until such time as the tribes were settled in the promised land, and "had rest from all their enemies round about." Thus we find that both Gideon and Manoah built altars on high places by Divine command (Judg. vi. 25, 26, xiii. 16–23), and it is quite clear from the tone of the book of Judges that the law on the subject was either totally forgotten or practically obsolete. Nor could the unsettled state of the country have been pleaded as an excuse, since it seems to have been most fully understood, even during the life of Joshua, that burnt-offerings could be legally offered on *one* altar only (Josh. xxii. 29). It is more surprising to find this law absolutely ignored at a much later period, when there was no intelligible reason for its violation — as by Samuel at Mizpah (1 Sam. vii. 10) and at Bethlehem (xvi. 5); by Saul at Gilgal (xiii. 9) and at Ajalon (? xiv. 35); by David (1 Chr. xxi. 26); by Elijah on Mount Carmel (1 K. xviii. 30); and by other prophets (1 Sam. x. 5). To suppose that in *all* these cases the rule was superseded by a Divine intimation appears to us an unwarrantable expedient, the more so as the actors in the transactions do not appear to be aware of anything extraordinary in their conduct. The Rabbis have invented elaborate methods to account for the anomaly: thus they say that high places were allowed until the building of the Tabernacle; that they were then illegal until the arrival at Gilgal, and then during the period while the Tabernacle was at Shiloh; that they were once more permitted whilst it was at Nob and Gideon (cf. 2 Chr. i. 3), until the building of the Temple at Jerusalem rendered them finally unlawful (R. Sol. Jarchi, Abarbanel, etc., quoted in Carpzov, *App. Crit.* p. 333 ff.; Reland, *Ant. Hebr.* i. 8 ff.). Others content themselves with saying that until Solomon's time all Palestine was considered holy ground, or that there existed a recognized exemption in favor of high places for private and spontaneous, though not for the stated and public sacrifices.

Such explanations are sufficiently unsatisfactory; but it is at any rate certain that, whether from the obvious temptations to the disobedience, or from the example of other nations, or from ignorance of any definite law against it, the worship in high places was organized and all but universal throughout Judæa, not only during (1 K. iii. 2–4), but even after the time of Solomon. The convenience of them was obvious, because, as local centres of religious worship, they obviated the unpleasant and dangerous necessity of visiting Jerusalem for the celebration of the yearly feasts (2 K. xxiii. 9). The tendency was ingrained in the national mind; and although it was severely reprehended by the later historians, we have no proof that it was known to be sinful during the earlier periods of the monarchy, except of course where it was directly connected with idolatrous abominations (1 K. xi. 7; 2 K. xxiii. 13). In fact the high places seem to have supplied the need of synagogues (Ps. lxxiv. 8), and to have obviated the extreme self-denial involved in having but one legalized locality for the highest forms of worship. Thus we find that Rehoboam established a definite worship at the high places, with its own peculiar and separated priesthood (2 Chr. xi. 15; 2 K. xxiii. 9), the members of which were still considered to be priests of Jehovah (although in 2 K. xxiii. 5 they are called by the opprobrious term כְּמָרִים). It was therefore no wonder that Jeroboam found it so easy to seduce the people into his symbolic worship at the high places of Dan and Bethel, at each of which he built a chapel for his golden calves. Such chapels were of course frequently added to the mere altars on the hills, as appears from the expressions in 1 K. xi. 7; 2 K. xvii. 9, &c. Indeed, the word בָּמוֹת became so common that it was used for any idolatrous shrine even in *a valley* (Jer. vii. 31), or in the streets of cities (2 K. xvii. 9; Ez. xvi. 31). These chapels were probably not structures of stone, but mere tabernacles hung with colored tapestry (Ez. xvi. 16; ἐμβόλισμα, Aqu. Theod.; Jer. *ad loc.*; εἴδωλον βαπτόν, LXX.), like the σκηνὴ λεμὰ of the Carthaginians (Diod. Sic. xx. 65; Creuzer, *Symbol.* v. 176, quoted by Ges. *Thes.* i. 188), and like those mentioned in 2 K. xxiii. 7; Am. v. 26.

Many of the pious kings of Judah were either too weak or too ill informed to repress the worship of Jehovah at these local sanctuaries, while they of course endeavored to prevent it from being contaminated with polytheism. It is therefore appended as a matter of blame or a (perhaps venial) drawback to the character of some of the most pious princes that they tolerated this disobedience to the provis

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ns of Deuteronomy and Leviticus. On the other hand it is mentioned as an aggravation of the sinfulness of other kings that they built or raised high places (2 Chr. xxi. 11, xxviii. 25), which are generally said to have been dedicated to idolatrous purposes. It is almost inconceivable that so direct a violation of the theocratic principle as the permitted existence of false worship should have been tolerated by kings of even ordinary piety, much less by the highest sacerdotal authorities (2 K. xii. 3). When therefore we find the recurring phrase, "only the high places were not taken away; as yet the people did sacrifice and burn incense on the high places" (2 K. xiv. 4, xv. 4, 35; 2 Chr. xv. 17, &c.), we are forced to limit it (as above) to places dedicated to Jehovah only. The subject, however, is made more difficult by a double discrepancy, for the assertion, that Asa "took away the high places" (2 Chr. xiv. 3), is opposite to what is stated in the first book of Kings (xv. 14), and a similar discrepancy is found in the case of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xvii. 6, xx. 33). Moreover in both instances the chronicler is apparently at issue with *himself* (xiv. 3, xv. 17, xvii. 6, xx. 33). It is incredible that this should have been the result of carelessness or oversight, and we must therefore suppose, either that the earlier notices expressed the will and endeavor of these monarchs to remove the high places, and that the later ones recorded their failure in the attempt (Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 468; Keil, *Apolog. Versuch*, p. 290; Winer, *s. vv. Asa, Josaphat*); or that the statements refer respectively to Bamoth, dedicated to Jehovah and to idols (Michaelis, Schulz, Bertheau on 2 Chr. xvii. 6, &c.). "Those devoted to false gods were removed, those misdevoted to the true God were suffered to remain. The kings opposed impiety, but winked at error" (Bishop Hall).

At last Hezekiah set himself in good earnest to the suppression of this prevalent corruption (2 K. xviii. 4, 22), both in Judah and Israel (2 Chr. xxxi. 1), although, so rapid was the growth of the evil, that even his sweeping reformation required to be finally consummated by Josiah (2 K. xxiii.), and that too in Jerusalem and its immediate neighborhood (2 Chr. xxxiv. 3). The measure must have caused a very violent shock to the religious prejudices of a large number of people, and we have a curious and almost unnoticed trace of this resentment in the fact that Rabshakeh appeals to the discontented faction, and represents Hezekiah as a dangerous innovator who had provoked God's anger by his arbitrary impiety (2 K. xviii. 22; 2 Chr. xxxii. 12). After the time of Josiah we find no further mention of these Jehovistic high places.

F. W. F.

HIGH-PRIEST (הַכֹּהֵן, with the definite article, i. e. *the Priest;* and in the books subsequent to the Pentateuch with the frequent addition הַגָּדוֹל and הָרֹאשׁ). Lev. xxi. 10 seems to exhibit the epithet גָּדוֹל (as ἀρχιερεύς and δίδυμος in the N. T.) in a transition state, not yet wholly technical; and the same may be said of Num. xxxv. 25, where the explanation at the end of the verse, "which was anointed with the holy oil," seems to show that the epithet גָּדוֹל was not yet quite established as distinctive of the chief priest (*cf.* ver. 28). In all other passages of the Pentateuch it is simply "the priest," Ex. xxix. 30, 44; Lev. xvi. 32: or yet more frequently "Aaron," or "Aaron the priest," as Num. iii. 6, iv. 33; Lev. i 7, &c. So too "Eleazar the priest," Num. xxvii. 22, xxxi. 26, 29, 31, &c. In the LXX. ὁ ἀρχιερεύς, or ἱερεύς, where the Heb. has only הַכֹּהֵן. Vulg. *sacerdos magnus*, or *primus pontifex, princeps sacerdotum*.

In treating of the office of high-priest among the Israelites it will be convenient to consider it—I. Legally. II. Theologically. III. Historically.

I. The *legal* view of the high-priest's office comprises all that the law of Moses ordained respecting it. The first distinct separation of Aaron to the office of the priesthood, which previously belonged to the firstborn, was that recorded Ex. xxviii. A partial anticipation of this call occurred at the gathering of the manna (ch. xvi.), when Moses bid Aaron take a pot of manna, and lay it up before the Lord: which implied that the ark of the Testimony would thereafter be under Aaron's charge, though it was not at that time in existence. The taking up of Nadab and Abihu with their father Aaron to the Mount, where they beheld the glory of the God of Israel, seems also to have been intended as a preparatory intimation of Aaron's hereditary priesthood. See also xxvii. 21. But it was not till the completion of the directions for making the tabernacle and its furniture that the distinct order was given to Moses, "Take thou unto thee Aaron thy brother, and his sons with him, from among the children of Israel, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office, even Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar, Aaron's sons" (Ex. xxviii. 1). And after the order for the priestly garments to be made "for Aaron and his sons," it is added, "and the priest's office shall be theirs for a perpetual statute; and thou shalt consecrate Aaron and his sons," and "I will sanctify both Aaron and his sons to minister to me in the priest's office," xxix. 9, 44.

We find from the very first the following characteristic attributes of Aaron and the high-priests his successors, as distinguished from the other priests.

(1.) Aaron alone was anointed. "He poured of the anointing oil upon Aaron's head, and anointed him to sanctify him" (Lev. viii. 12); whence one of the distinctive epithets of the high-priest was הַכֹּהֵן הַמָּשִׁיחַ, "the anointed priest" (Lev. iv. 3, 5, 16, xxi. 10; see Num. xxxv. 25). This appears also from Ex. xxix. 29, 30, where it is ordered that the one of the sons of Aaron who succeeds him in the priest's office shall wear the holy garments that were Aaron's for seven days, to be *anointed* therein, and to be consecrated in them. Hence Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* i. 6; *Dem. Evang.* viii.) understands the Anointed (A. V. "Messiah," or, as the LXX. read, χρίσμα) in Dan. ix. 26, the *anointing* of the Jewish high-priests: "It means nothing else than the succession of high-priests, whom the Scripture commonly calls χριστούς, anointed;" and so too Tertullian and Theodoret (Rosenm. *ad l. c.*). The anointing of the sons of Aaron, *i. e.*, the common priests, seems to have been confined to sprinkling their garments with the anointing oil (Ex. xxix. 21, xxviii. 41, &c.), though according to Kalisch on Ex. xxix. 9, and Lightfoot, following the Rabbinical interpretation, the difference consists in the abundant pouring of oil (שֶׁמֶן) on the head of the high-priest, from whence it was drawn with the finger into two streams, in the

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shape of a Greek X, while the priests were merely marked with the finger dipped in oil on the forehead (מָשַׁח). But this is probably a late invention of the Rabbins. The anointing of the high-priest is alluded to in Ps. cxxxiii. 2: "It is like the precious ointment upon the head, that ran down upon the beard, even Aaron's beard, that went down to the skirts of his garments." The composition of this anointing oil, consisting of myrrh, cinnamon, calamus, cassia, and olive oil, is prescribed Ex. xxx. 22–25, and its use for any other purpose but that of anointing the priests, the tabernacle, and the vessels, was strictly prohibited on pain of being "cut off from his people." The manufacture of it was intrusted to certain priests, called apothecaries (Neh. iii. 8). But this oil is said to have been wanting under the second Temple (Prideaux, i. 151; Selden, cap. ix.).



High-priest.

(2.) The high-priest had a peculiar dress, which, as we have seen, passed to his successor at his death. This dress consisted of eight parts, as the Rabbins constantly note, the *breastplate*, the *ephod* with its curious girdle, the *robe* of the ephod, the *mitre*, the *broidered coat* or diaper tunic, and the *girdle*, the materials being gold, blue, red, crimson, and fine (white) linen (Ex. xxviii.). To the above are added, in ver. 42, the *breeches* or *drawers* (Lev. xvi. 4) of linen; and to make up the number 8, some reckon the high-priest's mitre, or the plate (צִיץ) separately from the bonnet; while others reckon the curious girdle of the ephod separately from the ephod.[a]

Of these 8 articles of attire, 4, namely, the coat or tunic, the girdle, the breeches, and the bonnet or turban, מִגְבָּעָה, instead of the mitre, מִצְנֶפֶת belonged to the common priests.

It is well known how, in the Assyrian sculptures the king is in like manner distinguished by the shape of his head-dress; and how in Persia none but the king wore the cidaris or erect tiara.[c] Taking the articles of the high-priest's dress in the order in which they are enumerated above, we have (*a*) the breastplate, or, as it is further named (Ex. xxviii. 15, 29, 30), the breastplate of judgment, חֹשֶׁן מִשְׁפָּט, λογεῖον τῶν κρίσεων (ἐκ τῆς κρίσεως) in the LXX., and only in ver. 4, περισταθιον. It was, like the inner curtains of the tabernacle, the vail, and the ephod, of "cunning work," מַעֲשֵׂה חֹשֵׁב, "opus plumarium," and "arte plumaria," Vulg. [See EMBROIDERER.] The breastplate was originally 2 spans long, and 1 span broad, but when doubled it was square, the shape in which it was worn. It was fastened at the top by rings and chains of wreathen gold to the two onyx stones on the shoulders, and beneath with two other rings and a lace of blue to two corresponding rings in the ephod, to keep it fixed in its place, above the curious girdle. But the most remarkable and most important parts of this breastplate, were the 12 precious stones, set in 4 rows, 3 in a row, thus corresponding to the 12 tribes, and divided in the same manner as their camps were; each stone having the name of one of the children of Israel engraved upon it. Whether the order followed the ages of the sons of Israel, or, as seems most probable, the order of the encampment, may be doubted; but unless any appropriate distinct symbolism of the different tribes be found in the names of the precious stones, the question can scarcely be decided. According to the LXX. and Josephus, and in accordance with the language of Scripture, it was these stones which constituted the Urim and Thummim, nor does the notion advocated by Gesenius after Spencer and others, that these names designated two little images placed between the folds of the breastplate, seem to rest on any sufficient ground, in spite of the Egyptian analogy[d] brought to bear upon it. Josephus's opinion, on the other hand, improved upon by the Rabbins, as to the manner in which the stones gave out the oracular answer, by preternatural illumination, appears equally destitute of probability. It seems to be far simplest and most in agreement with the different accounts of inquiries made by Urim and Thummim (1 Sam. xiv. 3, 18, 19, xxiii. 2, 4, 9, 11, 12, xxviii. 6; Judg. xx. 28; 2 Sam. v. 23, &c.) to suppose that the answer was given simply by the Word of the Lord to the high-priest (comp. John xi. 51), when he had inquired of the Lord clothed with the ephod and breastplate. Such a view agrees with the true notion of the breastplate, of which it was not the leading characteristic to be oracular (as the term λογεῖον supposes, and as is by many thought to be intimated by the descriptive addition "of judgment," *i. e.*, as they

[a] In Lev. viii. 7–12 there is a complete account of the putting on of these garments by Aaron, and the whole ceremony of his consecration and that of his sons. It there appears distinctly that, besides the girdle common to all the priests, the high-priest also wore the curious girdle of the ephod.

[b] Josephus, however, whom Bähr follows, calls the bonnets of the priests by the name of מִצְנֶפֶת. See below.

[c] Bähr compares also the apices of the flamens Dialis.

[d] For an account of the image of Thmei worn by the Egyptian judge and priest, see Kalisch's note on Ex. xxviii.; Hengstenberg's *Egypt and the Books of Moses*; Wilkinson's *Egyptians*, ii. 27, &c.

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understand it, "decision"), but only an incidental privilege connected with its fundamental meaning. What that meaning was we learn from Ex. xxviii. 30, where we read "Aaron shall bear the judgment of the children of Israel upon his heart before the Lord continually." Now מִשְׁפָּט is the judicial sentence by which any one is either justified or condemned. In prophetic vision, as in actual oriental life, the sentence of justification was often expressed by the nature of the robe worn. "He hath clothed me with the garments of salvation, He hath covered me with the robe of righteousness, as a bridegroom deckuth himself with ornaments, and as a bride adorneth herself with her jewels" (Is. lxi. 10), is a good illustration of this; cf. lxii. 3. In like manner, in Rev. iii. 5, vii. 9, xix. 14, &c., the white linen robe expresses the righteousness or justification of saints. Something of the same notion may be seen in Esth. vi. 8, 9, and on the contrary ver. 12.

The addition of precious stones and costly ornaments expresses glory beyond simple justification. Thus in Is. lxii. 3, "Thou shalt be a crown of glory in the hand of the Lord, and a royal diadem in the hand of thy God." Exactly the same symbolism of glory is assigned to the precious stones in the description of the New Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 11, 19–21), a passage which ties together with singular force the arrangement of the tribes in their camps, and that of the precious stones in the breastplate. But, moreover, the high-priest being a representative personage, the fortunes of the whole people would most properly be indicated in his person. A striking instance of this, in connection too with symbolical dress, is to be found in Zech. iii. "Now Joshua (the high-priest, ver. 1) was clothed with filthy garments and stood before the angel. And he answered and spake unto those that stood before him, saying, Take away the filthy garments from him. And unto him he said, Behold, I have caused thine iniquity to pass from thee, and I will clothe thee with change of raiment. And I said, Let them set a fair mitre (צָנִיף) upon his head. So they set a fair mitre upon his head, and clothed him with garments." Here the priest's garments, בְּגָדִים, and the mitre, expressly typify the restored righteousness of the nation. Hence it seems to be sufficiently obvious that the breastplate of righteousness or judgment, resplendent with the same precious stones which symbolize the glory of the New Jerusalem, and on which were engraved the names of the 12 tribes, worn by the high-priest, who was then said to bear the judgment of the children of Israel upon his heart, was intended to express by symbols the acceptance of Israel grounded upon the sacrificial functions of the high-priest. The sense of the symbol is thus nearly identical with such passages as Num. xxiii. 21, and the meaning of the Urim and Thummim is explained by such expressions as קוּמִי אוֹרִי כִּי־בָא אוֹרֵךְ, "Arise, shine; for thy light is come" (Is. lx. 1). Thummim expresses alike complete prosperity and complete innocence, and so falls in exactly with the double notion of light (Is. lx. 1, and lxii. 1, 2). The privilege of receiving an answer from God bears the same relation to the general state of Israel symbolized by the priest's dress, that the promise in Is. liv. 13, "All thy children shall be taught of the Lord" does to the preceding description, "I will lay thy stones with fair colors, and lay thy foundations with sapphires, and I will make thy windows of agates, and thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy borders of pleasant stones," ver. 11, 12, comp. also ver. 14 and 17 (Heb.). It is obvious to add how entirely this view accords with the blessing of Levi in Deut. xxxiii. 8, where Levi is called God's holy one, and God's Thummim and Urim are said to be given to him, because he came out of the trial so clear in his integrity. (See also Bar. v. 2.)

(*b.*) The Ephod (אֵפוֹד). This consisted of two parts, of which one covered the back, and the other the front, *i. e.*, the breast and upper part of the body, like the ἐπωμίς of the Greeks (see *Dict. of Antiquities*, art. *Tunica*, p. 1172). These were clasped together on the shoulder with two large onyx stones, each having engraved on it 6 of the names of the tribes of Israel. It was further united by a "curious girdle" of gold, blue, purple, scarlet, and fine twined linen round the waist. Upon it was placed the breastplate of judgment, which in fact was a part of the ephod, and included in the term in such passages as 1 Sam. ii. 28, xiv. 3, xxiii. 9, and was fastened to it just above the curious girdle of the ephod. Linen ephods were also worn by other priests (1 Sam. xxii. 18), by Samuel, who was only a Levite (1 Sam. ii. 18), and by David when bringing up the ark (2 Sam. vi. 14). The expression for wearing an ephod is "*girded* with a linen ephod." The ephod was also frequently used in the idolatrous worship of the Israelites. See Judg. viii. 27, xvii. 5, &c. [EPHOD; GIRDLE.]

(*c.*) The Robe of the ephod (מְעִיל). This was of inferior material to the ephod itself, being all of blue (Ex. xxviii. 31), which implied its being only of "woven work" (מַעֲשֵׂה אֹרֵג, xxxix. 22). It was worn immediately under the ephod, and was longer than it, though not so long as the broidered coat or tunic (כְּתֹנֶת תַּשְׁבֵּץ), according to some statements (Bähr, Winer, Kalisch, etc.). The Greek rendering, however, of מְעִיל, ποδήρης, and Josephus's description of it (*B. J.* v. 5, § 7) seem to outweigh the reasons given by Bähr for thinking the robe only came down to the knees, and to make it improbable that the tunic should have been seen below the robe. It seems likely therefore that the sleeves of the tunic, of white diaper linen, were the only parts of it which were visible, in the case of the high-priest, when he wore the blue robe over it. For the blue robe had no sleeves, but only slits in the sides for the arms to come through. It had a hole for the head to pass through, with a border round it of woven work, to prevent its being rent. The skirt of this robe had a remarkable trimming of pomegranates in blue, red, and crimson, with a bell of gold between each pomegranate alternately. The bells were to give a sound when the high-priest went in and came out of the Holy Place. Josephus in the *Antiquities* gives no explanation of the use of the bells, but merely speaks of the studied beauty of their appearance. In his Jewish War, however, he tells us that the bells signified thunder, and the pomegranates lightning. For Philo's very curious observations see Lightfoot's Works, ix. p. 25.

Neither does the son of Sirach very distinctly explain [illegible] (Ecclus. xlv.), who in his description of

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the high-priest's attire seems chiefly impressed with its beauty and magnificence, and says of this trimming, "He compassed him with pomegranates and with many golden bells round about, that as he went there might be a sound, and a noise made that might be heard in the temple, for a memorial to the children of his people." Perhaps, however, he means to intimate that the use of the bells was to give notice to the people outside, when the high-priest went in and came out of the sanctuary, as Whiston, Vatablus, and many others have supposed.

(*d.*) The fourth article peculiar to the high-priest is the mitre or upper turban, with its gold plate, engraved with HOLINESS TO THE LORD, fastened to it by a ribbon of blue. Josephus applies the term מִצְנֶפֶת (*μασναεμφθής*) to the turbans of the common priests as well, but says that in addition to this, and sewn on to the top of it, the high-priest had another turban of blue: that beside this he had outside the turban a triple crown of gold, consisting, that is, of 3 rims one above the other, and terminating at top in a kind of conical calyx, like the inverted calyx of the herb hyoscyamus. Josephus doubtless gives a true account of the high-priest's turban as worn in his day. It may be fairly conjectured that the crown was appended when the Asmoneans united the temporal monarchy with the priesthood, and that this was continued, though in a modified shape,[a] after the sovereignty was taken from them. Josephus also describes the *πέταλον*, the lamina or gold plate, which he says covered the forehead of the high-priest. In *Ant.* vii. 3, § 8, he says that the identical gold plate made in the days of Moses existed in his time; and Whiston adds in a note that it was still preserved in the time of Origen, and that the inscription on it was engraved in Samaritan characters (*Ant.* iii. 8, § 6). It is certain that R. Eliezer, who flourished in Hadrian's reign, saw it at Rome. It was doubtless placed, with other spoils of the Temple, in the Temple of Peace, which was burnt down in the reign of Commodus. These spoils, however, are expressly mentioned as part of Alaric's plunder when he took Rome. They were carried by Genseric into Africa, and brought by Belisarius to Byzantium, where they adorned his triumph. On the warning of a Jew the emperor ordered them back to Jerusalem, but what became of them is not known (Reland, *de Spoliis Templi*).

(*e.*) The broidered coat, כְּתֹנֶת תַּשְׁבֵּץ, was a tunic or long shirt of linen with a tessellated or diaper pattern, like the setting of a stone. The girdle, אַבְנֵט, also of linen, was wound round the body several times from the breast downwards, and the ends hung down to the ankles. The breeches or drawers, מִכְנְסֵי בַד, of linen, covered the loins and thighs; and the bonnet or מִגְבָּעָה was a turban of linen, partially covering the head, but not in the form of a cone like that of the high-priest when the mitre was added to it. These four last were common to all priests. Josephus speaks of the robes (*ἐνδύματα*) of the chief priests, and the tunics and girdles of the priests, as forming part of the spoil of the Temple, (*B. J.* vi. 8, § 3). Aaron, and at his death Eleazar (Num. xx. 26, 28), and their successors in the high-priesthood, were solemnly inaugurated into their office by being clad in these eight articles of dress on seven successive days. From the time of the second Temple, when the sacred oil (said to have been hid by Josiah, and lost) was wanting, this putting on of the garments was deemed the official investiture of the office. Hence the robes, which had used to be kept in one of the chambers of the Temple, and were by Hyrcanus deposited in the Baris, which he built on purpose, were kept by Herod in the same tower, which he called Antonia, so that they might be at his absolute disposal. The Romans did the same till the government of Vitellius in the reign of Tiberius, when the custody of the robes was restored to the Jews (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 4; xviii. 4, § 3).

(3.) Aaron had peculiar functions. To him alone it appertained, and he alone was permitted, to enter the Holy of Holies, which he did once a year, on the great day of atonement, when he sprinkled the blood of the sin-offering on the mercy-seat, and burnt incense within the vail (Lev. xvi.). He is said by the Talmudists, with whom agree Lightfoot, Selden, Grotius, Winer, Bähr, and many others, not to have worn his full pontifical robes on this occasion, but to have been clad entirely in white linen (Lev. xvi. 4, 32). It is singular, however, that on the other hand Josephus says that the great fast day was the chief, if not the only day in the year, when the high-priest wore all his robes (*B. J.* v. 5, § 7), and in spite of the alleged impropriety of his wearing his splendid apparel on a day of humiliation, it seems far more probable that on the one occasion when he performed functions peculiar to the high-priest, he should have worn his full dress. Josephus too could not have been mistaken as to the fact, which he repeats (*cont. Ap.* lib. ii. § 7), where he says the high-priests alone might enter into the Holy of Holies, "propriâ stolâ circumamicti." For although Selden,[b] who strenuously supports the Rabbinical statement that the high-priest only wore the 4 linen garments when he entered the Holy of Holies, endeavors to make Josephus say the same thing, it is impossible to twist his words into this meaning. It is true on the other hand, that Lev. xvi. distinctly prescribes that Aaron should wear the 4 priestly garments of linen when he entered into the Holy of Holies, and put them off immediately he came out, and leave them in the Temple; no one being present in the Temple while Aaron made the atonement (ver. 17). Either therefore in the time of Josephus this law was not kept in practice, or else we must reconcile the apparent contradiction by supposing that in consequence of the great jealousy with which the high-priest's robes were kept by the civil power at this time, the custom had arisen for him to wear them, not even always on the 3 great festivals (*Ant.* xviii. 4, § 3), but only on the great day of expiation. Clad in this gorgeous attire he would enter the Temple in presence of all the people, and after having performed in secret, as the law requires, the rites of expiation in the linen dress, he would resume his pontifical robes and so appear again in public. Thus his wearing the robes would easily come to be identified chiefly with the day of atonement, and this is perhaps the most probable ex-

[a] Josephus (*A. J.* xx. 10) says that Pompey would not allow Hyrcanus to wear the diadem, when he restored him to the high priesthood

[b] Selden himself remarks (cap. vii. *in fin.*) that Josephus and others always describe the pontifical robes by the name of τῆς στολῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς.

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plantation. In other respects the high-priest performed the functions of a priest, but only on new moons and other great feasts, and on such solemn occasions as the dedication of the Temple under Solomon, under Zerubbabel, etc. [ATONEMENT, DAY OF.]

(4.) The high-priest had a peculiar place in the law of the manslayer, and his taking sanctuary in the cities of refuge. The manslayer might not leave the city of refuge during the lifetime of the existing high-priest who was anointed with the holy oil (Num. xxxv. 25, 28). It was also forbidden to the high-priest to follow a funeral, or rend his clothes for the dead, according to the precedent in Lev. x. 6.

The other respects in which the high-priest exercised superior functions to the other priests arose rather from his position and opportunities, than were distinctly attached to his office, and they consequently varied with the personal character and abilities of the high-priest. Such were reforms in religion, restorations of the Temple and its service, the preservation of the Temple from intrusion or profanation, taking the lead in ecclesiastical or civil affairs, judging the people, presiding in the Sanhedrim (which, however, he is said by Lightfoot rarely to have done), and other similar transactions, in which we find the high-priest sometimes prominent, sometimes not even mentioned. (See the historical part of this article.) Even that portion of power which most naturally and usually fell to his share, the rule of the Temple, and the government of the priests and Levites who ministered there, did not invariably fall to the share of the high-priest. For the title "Ruler of the House of God," נְגִיד בֵּית־הָאֱלֹהִים, which usually denotes the high-priest, is sometimes given to those who were not high-priests, as *e. g.* to Pashur the son of Immer in Jer. xx. 1: comp. 1 Chr. xii. 27. The Rabbins speak very frequently of one second in dignity to the high-priest, whom they call the *sagan*, and who often acted in the high-priest's room.[a] He is the same who in the O. T. is called "the second priest" (2 K. xxiii. 4, xxv. 18). They say that Moses was *sagan* to Aaron. Thus too it is explained of Annas and Caiaphas (Luke iii. 2), that Annas was *sagan*. Ananias is also thought by some to have been *sagan*, acting for the high-priest (Acts xxiii. 2). In like manner they say Zadok and Abiathar were high-priest and *sagan* in the time of David. The *sagan* is also very frequently called *memunneh*, or prefect of the Temple, and upon him chiefly lay the care and charge of the Temple services (Lightfoot, *passim*). If the high-priest was incapacitated from officiating by any accidental uncleanness, the *sagan* or vice-high-priest took his place. Thus, *e. g.*, the Jerusalem Talmud tells a story of Simon son of Kamith, that "on the eve of the day of expiation, he went out to speak with the king, and some spittle fell upon his garments and defiled him: therefore Judah his brother went in on the day of expiation, and served in his stead; and so their mother Kamith saw two of her sons high-priests in one day. She had seven sons, and they all served in the high-priesthood" (Lightfoot, ix. 35). It does not appear by whose authority the high-priests were appointed to their office before there were kings of Israel. But as we find it invariably done by the civil power in later times, it is probable that, in the times preceding the monarchy, it was by the elders, or Sanhedrim. The installation and anointing of the high-priest or clothing him with the eight garments, which was the formal investiture, is ascribed by Maimonides to the Sanhedrim at all times (Lightfoot, ix 22).

It should be added, that the usual age for entering upon the functions of the priesthood, according to 2 Chr. xxxi. 17, is considered to have been 20 years, though a priest or high-priest was not actually incapacitated if he had attained to puberty, as appears by the example of Aristobulus, who was high-priest at 17. Onias, the son of Simon the Just, could not be high-priest, because he was but a child at his father's death. Again, according to Lev. xxi., no one that had a blemish could officiate at the altar. Moses enumerates 11 blemishes, which the Talmud expands into 142. Josephus relates how Antigonus mutilated Hyrcanus's ears, to incapacitate him for being restored to the high-priesthood. Illegitimate birth was also a bar to the high-priesthood, and the subtlety of Jewish distinctions extended this illegitimacy to being born of a mother who had been taken captive by heathen conquerors (Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. § 7). Thus Eleazar said to John Hyrcanus (though, Josephus says, falsely) that if he was a just man, he ought to resign the pontificate, because his mother had been a captive, and he was therefore incapacitated. Lev. xxi. 13, 14, was taken as the ground of this and similar disqualifications. For a full account of this branch of the subject the reader is referred to Selden's learned treatises *De Successionibus*, etc., and *De Succes. in Pontif. Ebræor.*; and to Prideaux, ii. 306. It was the universal opinion of the Jews that the deposition of a high-priest, which became so common, was unlawful. Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 3) says that Antiochus Epiphanes was the first who did so, when he deposed Jesus or Jason; Aristobulus, who deposed his brother Hyrcanus, the second; and Herod, who took away the high-priesthood from Ananelus to give it to Aristobulus, the third. See the story of Jonathan son of Ananus, *Ant.* xix. 6, § 4.

II. *Theologically.* The theological view of the high-priesthood does not fall within the scope of this Dictionary. It must suffice therefore to indicate that such a view would embrace the consideration of the office, dress, functions, and ministrations of the high-priest, considered as typical of the priesthood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and as setting forth under shadows the truths which are openly taught under the Gospel. This has been done to a great extent in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and is occasionally done in other parts of Scripture, as, *e. g.*, Rev. i. 13, where the ποδήρης, and the girdle about the paps, are distinctly the robe, and the curious girdle of the ephod, characteristic of the high-priest. It would also embrace all the moral and spiritual teaching supposed to be intended by such symbols. Philo (*de vitâ Mosis*), Origen (*Homil. in Levit.*), Eusebius (*Demonst. Evang.* lib. iii.); Epiphanius (*cont. Melchized.* iv. &c.), Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* i., and Elias Cretens. *Comment.* p. 195), Augustine (*Quæst. in Exod.*) may be cited among many others of the ancients who have more or less thus treated the subject. Of moderns, Bähr (*Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*), Fairbairn (*Typology of Script.*), Kalisch (*Commentary on Exod.*) have entered fully into this sub-

[a] There is a controversy as to whether the deputy high-priest was the same as the *sagan*. Lightfoot thinks not.

est, both from the Jewish and Christian point of view. [See end of the article.]

III. To pass to the historical view of the subject. The history of the high-priests embraces a period of about 1370 years, according to the opinion of the present writer, and a succession of about 80 high-priests, beginning with Aaron, and ending with Phannias. "The number of all the high-priests (says Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 10) from Aaron . . . until Phanias . . . was 83," where he gives a comprehensive account of them. They naturally arrange themselves into three groups: (*a*) those before David; (*b*) those from David to the Captivity; (*c*) those from the return from the Babylonish Captivity till the cessation of the office at the destruction of Jerusalem. The two former have come down to us in the canonical books of Scripture, and so have a few of the earliest and the latest of the latter; but for by far the larger portion of the latter group we have only the authority of Josephus, the Talmud, and some other profane writers.

(*a*.) The high-priests of the first group who are distinctly made known to us as such, are: (1) Aaron; (2) Eleazar; (3) Phinehas; (4) Eli; (5) Ahitub (1 Chr. ix. 11: Neh. xi. 11: 1 Sam. xiv. 3); (6) Ahiah; (7) Ahimelech. Phinehas the son of Eli, and father of Ahitub, died before his father, and so was not high-priest. Of the above the three first succeeded in regular order, Nadab and Abihu, Aaron's eldest sons, having died in the wilderness (Lev. x.). But Eli, the 4th, was of the line of Ithamar. What was the exact interval between the death of Phinehas and the accession of Eli, what led to the transference of the chief priesthood from the line of Eleazar to that of Ithamar, and whether any, or which, of the descendants of Eleazar between Phinehas and Zadok (seven in number, namely, Abishua, Bukki, Uzzi, Zerahiah, Meraioth, Amariah, Ahitub), were high-priests, we have no means of determining from Scripture. Judg. xx. 28, leaves Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, priest at Shiloh, and 1 Sam. i. 3, 9, finds Eli high-priest there, with two grown-up sons priests under him. The only clew is to be found in the genealogies, by which it appears that Phinehas was 6th in succession from Levi, while Eli, supposing him to be the same generation as Samuel's grandfather, would be 10th. If, however, Phinehas lived, as is probable, to a great old age, and Eli, as his age admits, be placed about half a generation backward, a very small interval will remain. Josephus asserts (*Ant.* viii. 1, § 3) that the father of Bukki — whom he calls Joseph, and (*Ant.* v. 11, § 5) Abiezer, *i. e.*, Abishua — was the last high-priest of Phinehas's line, before Zadok. This is probably a true tradition, though Josephus, with characteristic levity, does not adhere to it in the above passage of his 5th book, where he makes Bukki and Uzzi to have been both high-priests, and Eli to have succeeded Uzzi; or in bk. xx. 10, where he reckons the high-priests before Zadok and Solomon to have been 13 (a reckoning which includes apparently all Eleazar's descendants down to Ahitub), and adds Eli and his son Phinehas, and Abiathar, whom he calls Eli's grandson. If Abishua died, leaving a son or grandson under age, Eli, as head of the line of Ithamar, might have become high-priest as a matter of course, or he might have been appointed by the elders. His having judged Israel 40 years (1 Sam. v. 18) marks him as a man of ability. If Ahiah and Ahimelech are not variations of the name of the same person, they must have been brothers since both were sons of Ahitub. The high-priests then before David's reign may be set down as *eight* in number, of whom *seven* are said in Scripture to have been high-priests, and *one* by Josephus alone. The bearing of this on the chronology of the times from the Exodus to David, tallying as it does with the number of the ancestors of David, is too important to be passed over in silence. It must also be noted that the tabernacle of God, during the high-priesthood of Aaron's successors of this first group, was pitched at Shiloh in the tribe of Ephraim, a fact which marks the strong influence which the temporal power already had in ecclesiastical affairs, since Ephraim was Joshua's tribe, as Judah was David's (Josh. xxiv. 30, 33; Judg. xx. 27, 28, xxi. 21; 1 Sam. i. 3, 9, 24, iv. 3, 4, xiv. 3, &c.; Ps. lxxviii. 60). This strong influence and interference of the secular power is manifest throughout the subsequent history. This first period was also marked by the calamity which befell the high-priests as the guardians of the ark, in its capture by the Philistines. This probably suspended all inquiries by Urim and Thummim, which were made before the ark (1 Chr. xiii. 3; comp Judg. xx. 27; 1 Sam. vii. 2. xiv. 18), and must have greatly diminished the influence of the high-priests, on whom the largest share of the humiliation expressed in the name Ichabod would naturally fall. The rise of Samuel as a prophet at this very time, and his paramount influence and importance in the state, to the entire eclipsing of Ahiah the priest, coincides remarkably with the absence of the ark, and the means of inquiring by Urim and Thummim.

(*b*.) Passing to the second group, we begin with the unexplained circumstance of there being two priests in the reign of David, apparently of nearly equal authority, namely, Zadok and Abiathar (1 Chr. xv. 11; 2 Sam. viii. 17). Indeed, it is only from the deposition of Abiathar, and the placing of Zadok in his room, by Solomon (1 K. ii. 35), that we learn certainly that Abiathar was the high-priest, and Zadok the second. Zadok was son of Ahitub, of the line of Eleazar (1 Chr. vi. 8), and the first mention of him is in 1 Chr. xii. 28, as "a young man, mighty in valor," who joined David in Hebron after Saul's death, with 22 captains of his father's house. It is therefore not unlikely that after the death of Ahimelech and the secession of Abiathar to David, Saul may have made Zadok priest, as far as it was possible for him to do so in the absence of the ark and the high-priest's robes, and that David may have avoided the difficulty of deciding between the claims of his faithful friend Abiathar, and his new and important ally Zadok (who perhaps was the means of attaching to David's cause the 4600 Levites and the 3700 priests who came under Jehoiada their captain, vv. 26, 27), by appointing them to a joint priesthood: the first place, with the Ephod, and Urim and Thummim, remaining with Abiathar, who was in actual possession of them. Certain it is that from this time Zadok and Abiathar are constantly named together, and singularly Zadok always first, both in the book of Samuel and that of Kings. We can, however trace very clearly up to a certain point the division of the priestly offices and dignities between them coinciding, as it did, with the divided state of the Levitical worship in David's time. For we learn from 1 Chr. xvi. 1–7, 37, compared with 39, 40 and yet more distinctly from 2 Chr. i. 3, 4, 5, that the tabernacle and the brazen altar made by Moses

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and Bezaleel in the wilderness were at this time at Gibeon, while the ark was at Jerusalem, in the separate tent made for it by David. [GIBEON, p. 893.] Now Zadok the priest and his brethren the priests were left "before the tabernacle at Gibeon" to offer burnt-offerings unto the Lord morning and evening, and to do according to all that is written in the law of the Lord (1 Chr. xvi. 39, 40). It is therefore obvious to conclude that Abiathar had special charge of the ark and the services connected with it, which agrees exactly with the possession of the ephod by Abiathar, and his previous position with David before he became king of Israel, as well as with what we are told 1 Chr. xxvii. 34, that Jehoiada and Abiathar were the king's counsellors next to Ahithophel. Residence at Jerusalem with the ark, and the privilege of inquiring of the Lord before the ark, both well suit his office of counsellor. Abiathar, however, forfeited his place by taking part with Adonijah against Solomon, and Zadok was made high-priest in his place. The pontificate was thus again consolidated and transferred permanently from the line of Ithamar to that of Eleazar. This is the only instance recorded of the deposition of a high-priest (which became common in later times, especially under Herod and the Romans) during this second period. It was the fulfillment of the prophetic denunciations of the sin of Eli's sons (1 Sam. ii., iii.).

The first considerable difficulty that meets us in the historical survey of the high-priests of the second group is to ascertain who was high-priest at the dedication of Solomon's Temple — Josephus (*Ant.* x. 8, § 6) asserts that Zadok was, and the *Seder Olam* makes him the high-priest in the reign of Solomon. But first it is very improbable that Zadok, who must have been very old at Solomon's accession (being David's contemporary), should have lived to the 11th year of his reign; and next, 1 K. iv. 2 distinctly asserts that Azariah the son of Zadok was priest under Solomon, and 1 Chr. vi. 10 tells us of Azariah,[a] "he it is that executed the priest's office in the Temple that Solomon built in Jerusalem," obviously meaning at its first completion. We can hardly therefore be wrong in saying that Azariah the son of Ahimaaz was the first high-priest of Solomon's Temple. The non-mention of him in the account of the dedication of the Temple, even where one would most have expected it (as 1 K. viii. 3, 6, 10, 11, 62; 2 Chr. v. 7, 11, &c.), and the prominence given to Solomon — the civil power — are certainly remarkable. Compare also 2 Chr. viii. 14, 15. The probable inference is that Azariah had no great personal qualities or energy. In constructing the list of the succession of priests of this group, our method must be to compare the genealogical list in 1 Chr. vi. 8–15 (A. V.) with the notices of high-priests in the sacred history, and with the list given by Josephus, who, it must be remembered, had access to the lists preserved in the archives at Jerusalem: testing the whole by the application of the ordinary rules of genealogical succession. Now as regards the genealogy, it is seen at once that there is something defective; for whereas from David to Jeconiah there are 20 kings, from Zadok to Jehozadak there are but 13 priests. Moreover the passage in question is not a list of high-priests, but the pedigree of Jehozadak. Then again, while the pedigree in its six first generations from Zadok, inclusive, exactly suits the history — for it makes Amariah the sixth priest, while the history (2 Chr. xix. 11) tells us he lived in Jehoshaphat's reign, who was the sixth king from David, inclusive; and while the same pedigree in its five last generations also suits the history — inasmuch as it places Hilkiah the son of Shallum fourth from the end, and the history tells us he lived in the reign of Josiah, the fourth king from the end — yet is there a great gap in the middle. For between Amariah, the high-priest in Jehoshaphat's reign, and Shallum the father of Hilkiah, the high-priest in Josiah's reign — an interval of about 240 years — there are but two names, Ahitub and Zadok, and those liable to the utmost suspicion from their reproducing the same sequence which occurs in the earlier part of the same genealogy — Amariah, Ahitub, and Zadok. Besides which they are not mentioned by Josephus. This part, therefore, of the pedigree is useless for our purpose. But the historical books supply us with four or five names for this interval, namely, Jehoiada in the reigns of Athaliah and Joash, and probably still earlier; Zechariah his son; Azariah in the reign of Uzziah; Urijah in the reign of Ahaz; and Azariah in the reign of Hezekiah. If, however, in the genealogy of 1 Chr. vi. Azariah and Hilkiah have been accidentally transposed, as is not unlikely, then the Azariah who was high-priest in Hezekiah's reign will be the Azariah of 1 Chr. vi. 13, 14. Putting the additional historical names at four, and deducting the two suspicious names from the genealogy, we have 15 high-priests indicated in Scripture as contemporary with the 20 kings, with room, however, for one or two more in the history. Turning to Josephus, we find his list of 17 high-priests (whom he reckons as 18 (*Ant.* xx. 10), as do also the Rabbins) in places exceedingly corrupt, a corruption sometimes caused by the end of one name sticking on to the beginning of the following (as in Axioramus), sometimes apparently by substituting the name of the contemporary king or prophet for that of the high-priest, as Joel and Jotham. Perhaps, however, Sudeas, who corresponds to Zedekiah in the reign of Amaziah in the *Seder Olam*, and Odeus, who corresponds to Hoshaiah in the reign of Manasseh, according to the same Jewish chronicle, may really represent high-priests whose names have not been preserved in Scripture. This would bring up the number to 17, or, if we retain Azariah as the father of Seraiah, to 18, which agrees with the 20 kings.

Reviewing the high-priests of this second group, the following are some of the most remarkable incidents: — (1) The transfer of the seat of worship from Shiloh in the tribe of Ephraim to Jerusalem in the tribe of Judah, effected by David,[b] and consolidated by the building of the magnificent Temple of Solomon. (2.) The organization of the temple service under the high-priests, and the division of the priests and Levites into courses, who resided at the Temple during their term of service — all which necessarily put great power into the hands of an able high-priest. (3.) The revolt of the ten tribes

[a] It appears from 1 Chr. vi. 9 that Azariah was grandson to Zadok, being the son of Ahimaaz. The notice in ver. 10 seems to belong to him, and not to the son of Johanan.

[b] * Its transfer by David was not immediate, for the ark after its capture by the Philistines at the time of Eli's death, was kept at several other places before its ultimate removal to Jerusalem. [SHILOH; TABERNACLE, *History*.] H

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from the dynasty of David and from the worship at Jerusalem, and the setting up of a schismatical priesthood at Dan and Beer-sheba (1 K. xii. 31; 2 Chr. xiii. 9, &c.). (4.) The overthrow of the usurpation of Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, by Jehoiada the high-priest, whose near relationship to king Joash, added to his zeal against the idolatries of the house of Ahab, stimulated him to head the revolution with the force of priests and Levites at his command. (5.) The boldness and success with which the high-priest Azariah withstood the encroachments of the king Uzziah upon the office and functions of the priesthood. (6.) The repair of the temple by Jehoiada, in the reign of Joash, the restoration of the temple services by Azariah in the reign of Hezekiah, and the discovery of the book of the law, and the religious reformation by Hilkiah in the reign of Josiah. [HILKIAH.] (7.) In all these great religious movements, however, excepting the one headed by Jehoiada, it is remarkable how the civil power took the lead. It was David who arranged all the temple service, Solomon who directed the building and dedication of the temple, the high-priest being not so much as named; Jehoshaphat who sent the priests about to teach the people, and assigned to the high-priest Amariah his share in the work; Hezekiah who headed the reformation, and urged on Azariah and the priests and Levites; Josiah who encouraged the priests in the service of the house of the Lord. On the other hand we read of no opposition to the idolatries of Manasseh by the high-priest, and we know how shamefully subservient Urijah the high-priest was to king Ahaz, actually building an altar according to the pattern of one at Damascus, to displace the brazen altar, and joining the king in his profane worship before it (2 K. xvi. 10–16). The preponderance of the civil over the ecclesiastical power, as an historical fact, in the kingdom of Judah, although kept within bounds by the hereditary succession of the high-priests, seems to be proved from these circumstances.

The priests of this series ended with Seraiah, who was taken prisoner by Nebuzar-adan, and slain at Riblah by Nebuchadnezzar, together with Zephaniah the second priest or *sagan*, after the burning of the temple and the plunder of all the sacred vessels (2 K. xxv. 18). His son Jehozadak or Josedech was at the same time carried away captive (1 Chr. vi. 15).

The time occupied by these (say) eighteen high-priests who ministered at Jerusalem, was about 454 years, which gives an average of something more than twenty-five years to each high-priest. It is remarkable that not a single instance is recorded after the time of David of an inquiry by Urim and Thummim as a means of inquiring of the Lord. The ministry of the prophets seems to have superseded that of the high-priests (see e. g. 2 Chr. xv., xviii., xx. 14, 15; 2 K. xix. 1, 2, xxii. 12–14; Jer. xxi. 1, 2). Some think that Urim and Thummim ceased with the theocracy; others with the division of Israel into two kingdoms. Nehemiah seems to have expected the restoration of it (Neh. vii. 65), and so perhaps did Judas Maccabæus, 1 Macc. iv. 46; comp. xiv. 41, while Josephus affirms that it had been exercised for the last time 200 years before he wrote, namely, by John Hyrcanus (Whiston, *Note on Ant.* iii. 8, and Prid. *Connect.* i. 150, 151). It seems therefore scarcely true to reckon Urim and Thummim as one of the marks of God's presence with Solomon's Temple, which was wanting to the second Temple (Prid. i. 138, 144 ff.). This early cessation of answers by Urim and Thummim though the high-priest's office and the wearing of the breastplate continued in force during so many centuries, seems to confirm the notion that such answers were not the fundamental, but only the accessory uses of the breastplate of judgment.

(c) An interval of about fifty-two years elapsed between the high-priests of the second and third group, during which there was neither temple, nor altar, nor ark, nor priest. Jehozadak, or Josedech, as it is written in Haggai (i. 1, 14, &c.), who should have succeeded Seraiah, lived and died a captive at Babylon. The pontifical office revived in his son Jeshua, of whom such frequent mention is made in Ezra and Nehemiah, Haggai, and Zechariah, 1 Esdr. and Ecclus.; and he therefore stands at the head of this third and last series, honorably distinguished for his zealous coöperation with Zerubbabel in rebuilding the Temple, and restoring the dilapidated commonwealth of Israel. His successors, as far as the O. T. guides us, were Joiakim, Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan (or Jonathan), and Jaddua. Of these we find Eliashib hindering rather than seconding the zeal of the devout Tirshatha Nehemiah for the observance of God's law in Israel (Neh. xiii. 4, 7); and Johanan, Josephus tells us, murdered his own brother Jesus or Joshua in the Temple, which led to its further profanation by Bagoses, the general of Artaxerxes Mnemon's army (*Ant.* xi. 7). Jaddua was high-priest in the time of Alexander the Great. Concerning him Josephus relates the story that he went out to meet Alexander at Sapha (probably the ancient Mizpeh) at the head of a procession of priests; and that when Alexander saw the multitude clothed in white, and the priests in their linen garments, and the high-priest in blue and gold, with the mitre on his head, and the gold plate, on which was the name of God, he stepped forward alone and adored the Name, and hastened to embrace the high-priest (*Ant.* xi. 8, § 5). Josephus adds among other things that the king entered Jerusalem with the high-priest, and went up to the Temple to worship and offer sacrifice; that he was shown the prophecies of Daniel concerning himself, and at the high-priest's intercession granted the Jews liberty to live according to their own laws, and freedom from tribute on the Sabbatical years. The story, however, has not obtained credit. It was the brother of this Jaddua, Manasseh, who, according to the same authority, was at the request of Sanballat made the first high-priest of the Samaritan temple by Alexander the Great.

Jaddua was succeeded by Onias I., his son, and he again by Simon the Just, the last of the men of the great synagogue, as the Jews speak, and to whom is usually ascribed the completion of the Canon of the O. T. (Prideaux, *Conn.* i. 545). Of him Jesus, the son of Sirach, speaks in terms of most glowing eulogy in Ecclus. i., and ascribing to him the repair and fortification of the Temple, with other works. The passage (1–21) contains an interesting account of the ministrations of the high-priest. Upon Simon's death, his son Onias being under age, Eleazar, Simon's brother, succeeded him. The high-priesthood of Eleazar is memorable as being that under which the LXX. version of the Scriptures was made at Alexandria for Ptolemy Philadelphus, according to the account of Josephus taken from Aristeas (*Ant.* xii. 2). This translation

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of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, valuable as it was with reference to the wider interests of religion, and marked as was the Providence which gave it to the world at this time as a preparation for the approaching advent of Christ, yet viewed in its relation to Judaism and the high-priesthood, was a sign, and perhaps a helping cause of their decay. It marked a growing tendency to Hellenize, utterly inconsistent with the spirit of the Mosaic economy. Accordingly in the high-priesthood of Eleazar's rival nephews, Jesus and Onias, we find their very names changed into the Greek ones of Jason and Menelaus, and with the introduction of this new feature of rival high-priests we find one of them, Menelaus, strengthening himself and seeking support from the Syro-Greek kings against the Jewish party, by offering to forsake their national laws and customs, and to adopt those of the Greeks. The building of a gymnasium at Jerusalem for the use of these apostate Jews, and their endeavor to conceal their circumcision when stripped for the games (1 Macc. i. 14, 15; 2 Macc. iv. 12–15; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 5, § 1), show the length to which this spirit was carried. The acceptance of the spurious priesthood of the temple of Onion from Ptolemy Philometor by Onias (the son of Onias the high-priest), who would have been the legitimate high-priest on the death of Menelaus, his uncle, is another striking indication of the same degeneracy. By this flight of Onias into Egypt the succession of high-priests in the family of Jozadak ceased: for although the Syro-Greek kings had introduced much uncertainty into the succession, by deposing at their will obnoxious persons, and appointing whom they pleased, yet the dignity had never gone out of the one family. Alcimus, whose Hebrew name was Jakim (1 Chr. xxiv. 12), or perhaps Jachin (1 Chr. ix. 10, xxiv. 17), or, according to Ruffinus (ap. Selden), Joachim, and who was made high-priest by Antiochus Eupator on Menelaus being put to death by him, was the first who was of a different family. One, says Josephus, that "was indeed of the stock of Aaron, but not of this family" of Jozadak.

What, however, for a time saved the Jewish institutions, infused a new life and consistency into the priesthood and the national religion, and enabled them to fulfill their destined course till the advent of Christ, was the cruel and impolitic persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes. This thoroughly aroused the piety and national spirit of the Jews, and drew together in defense of their temple and country all who feared God and were attached to their national institutions. The result was that after the high-priesthood had been brought to the lowest degradation by the apostasy and crimes of the last Onias or Menelaus, and after a vacancy of seven years had followed the brief pontificate of Alcimus, his no less infamous successor, a new and glorious succession of high-priests arose in the Asmonean family, who united the dignity of civil rulers, and for a time of independent sovereigns, to that of the high-priesthood. Josephus, who is followed by Lightfoot, Selden, and others, calls Judas Maccabæus "high-priest of the nation of Judah" (*Ant.* xii. 10, § 6), but, according to the far better authority of 1 Macc. x. 20, it was not till after the death of Judas Maccabæus that Alcimus himself died, and that Alexander, king of Syria, made Jonathan, the brother of Judas, high-priest. Josephus himself too calls Jonathan "the first of the sons of Asamonæus, who was high-priest" (*Vita*, § 1). It is possible, however, that Judas may have been elected by the people to the office of high-priest, though never confirmed in it by the Syrian kings. The Asmonean family were priests of the course of Joiarib, the first of the twenty-four courses (1 Chr. xxiv. 7), and whose return from captivity is recorded 1 Chr. ix. 10 Neh. xi. 10. They were probably of the house of Eleazar, though this cannot be affirmed with certainty; and Josephus tells us that he himself was related to them, one of his ancestors having married a daughter of Jonathan, the first high-priest of the house. This Asmonean dynasty lasted from B. C. 153 till the family was damaged by intestine divisions, and then destroyed by Herod the Great. Aristobulus, the last high-priest of his line, brother of Mariamne, was murdered by order of Herod, his brother-in-law, B. C. 35. The independence of Judæa, under the priest-kings of this race, had lasted till Pompey took Jerusalem, and sent king Aristobulus II. (who had also taken the high-priesthood from his brother Hyrcanus) a prisoner to Rome. Pompey restored Hyrcanus to the high-priesthood, but forbad him to wear the diadem. Everything Jewish was now, however, hastening to decay. Herod made men of low birth high-priests, deposed them at his will, and named others in their room. In this he was followed by Archelaus, and by the Romans when they took the government of Judæa into their own hands; so that there were no fewer than twenty-eight high-priests from the reign of Herod to the destruction of the Temple by Titus, a period of 107 years.[a] The N. T. introduces us to some of these later, and oft-changing high-priests, namely, Annas and Caiaphas — the former, high-priest at the commencement of John Baptist's ministry, with Caiaphas as second priest; and the latter high-priest himself at our Lord's crucifixion — and Ananias, thought to be the same as Ananus who was murdered by the Zealots just before the siege of Jerusalem, before whom St. Paul was tried, as we read Acts xxiii., and of whom he said "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall." Theophilus, the son of Ananus, was the high-priest from whom Saul received letters to the synagogue at Damascus (Acts ix. 1, 14, Kuinoel). Both he and Ananias seem certainly to have presided in the Sanhedrim, and that officially, nor is Lightfoot's explanation (viii. 450, and 484) of the mention of the high-priest, though Gamaliel and his son Simeon were respectively presidents of the Sanhedrim, at all probable or satisfactory (see Acts v. 17, &c.). The last high-priest was appointed by lot by the Zealots from the course of priests called by Josephus Eniachim (probably a corrupt reading for Jachim). He is thus described by the Jewish historian. "His name was Phannias: he was the son of Samuel of the village of Aphtha, a man not only not of the number of the chief priests, but who, such a mere rustic was he, scarcely knew what the high-priesthood meant. Yet did they drag him reluctant from the country, and setting him forth in a borrowed character as on the stage, they put the sacred vestments on him.

[a] Josephus tells us of one Ananus and his five sons who all filled the office of high-priest in turn. One of these, Ananus the younger, was deposed by king Agrippa for the part he took in causing "James the brother of Jesus who was called Christ" to be stoned (*Ant.* xx. 9, § 1).

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and instructed him how to act on the occasion. This shocking impiety, which to them was a subject of merriment and sport, drew tears from the other priests, who beheld from a distance their law turned into ridicule, and groaned over the subversion of the sacred honors" (*B. J.* iv. 3, § 8). Thus ignominiously ended the series of high-priests which had stretched in a scarcely broken line, through nearly fourteen, or, according to the common chronology, sixteen centuries. The Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman empires, which the Jewish high-priests had seen in turn overshadowing the world, had each, except the last, one by one withered away and died — and now the last successor of Aaron was stripped of his sacerdotal robes, and the temple which he served laid level with the ground to rise no more. But this did not happen till the true High-priest and King of Israel, the Minister of the sanctuary and of the true Tabernacle which the Lord pitched, and not man, had offered His one sacrifice, once for all, and had taken His place at the right hand of the Majesty in the heavens, bearing on His breast the judgment of His redeemed people, and continuing a Priest forever, in the Sanctuary which shall never be taken down!

The subjoined table shows the succession of high-priests, as far as it can be ascertained, and of the contemporary civil rulers.

CIVIL RULER.	HIGH-PRIEST.
Moses	Aaron.
Joshua	Eleazar.
Othniel	Phinehas.
Abishua	Abishua.
Eli	Eli.
Samuel	Ahitub.
Saul	Ahijah.
David	Zadok and Abiathar.
Solomon	Azariah.
Abijah	Johanan.
Asa	Amariah.
Jehoshaphat	Amariah.
Jehoram	Jehoiada.
Ahasiah	"
Jehoash	Do. and Zechariah
Amaziah	?
Uzziah	Azariah.
Jotham	?
Ahaz	Urijah.
Hezekiah	Azariah.
Manasseh	Shallum.
Amon	"
Josiah	Hilkiah.
Jehoiakim	Azariah ?
Zedekiah	Seraiah.
Evil-Merodach	Jehozadak.
Zerubbabel (Cyrus and Darius).	Jeshua.
Mordecai ? (Xerxes) . .	Joiakim.
Ezra and Nehemiah (Artaxerxes).	Eliashib.
Darius Nothus	Joiada.
Artaxerxes Mnemon . .	Johanan
Alexander the Great . .	Jaddua.
Onias I. (Ptolemy Soter, Antigonus).	Onias I.
Ptolemy Soter	Simon the Just.
Ptolemy Philadelphus .	Eleazar.
"	Manasseh.
Ptolemy Euergetes . .	Onias II.
Ptolemy Philopator . .	Simon II.
Ptolemy Epiphanes and Antiochus.	Onias III.
Antiochus Epiphanes . .	(Joshua, or) Jason.
" . . .	Onias, or Menelaus.

CIVIL RULER.	HIGH-PRIEST.
Demetrius	Jacimus, or Alcimus
Alexander Balas . .	Jonathan, brother of Judas Maccabæus (Asmonean).
Simon (Asmonean) . .	Simon (Asmonean).
John Hyrcanus (Asm.) .	John Hyrcanus (Do.).
King Aristobulus (Asm.)	Aristobulus (Do.).
King Alexander Jannæus (Asmonean).	Alexander Jannæus (Do.)
Queen Alexandra (Asm.)	Hyrcanus II. (Do.).
King Aristobulus II. (Asmonean).	Aristobulus II. (Do.).
Pompey the Great and Hyrcanus, or rather, towards the end of his pontificate, Antipater.	Hyrcanus II. (Do.).
Pacorus the Parthian . .	Antigonus (Do.).
Herod, K. of Judæa . .	Ananelus.
"	Aristobulus (last of Asmoneans) murdered by Herod.
"	Ananelus restored.
Herod the Great . . .	Jesus, son of Phabes.
"	Simon, son of Boëthus, father-in-law to Herod.
"	Matthias, son of Theophilus.
"	Joazarus, son of Simon [rather, Boëthus, Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 1, § 1].
Archelaus, K. of Judæa .	Eleazar.
"	Jesus, son of Sie.
"	Joazarus (second time).
Cyrenius, governor of Syria, second time.	Ananus.
Valerius Gratus, procurator of Judæa	Ishmael, son of Phabi.
"	Eleazar, son of Ananus.
"	Simon, son of Kamith.
"	Caiaphas, called also Joseph.
Vitellius, governor of Syria	Jonathan, son of Ananus
"	Theophilus, brother of Jonathan.
Herod Agrippa	Simon Cantheras.
"	Matthias, brother of Jonathan, son of Ananus.
"	Elionæus, son of Cantheras.
Herod, king of Chalcis .	Joseph, son of Camei.
"	Ananias, son of Nebedæus
"	Jonathan.
"	Ishmael, son of Phabi.
"	Joseph, son of Simon.
"	Ananus, son of Ananus, or Ananias.
["	Jesus, son of Damnæus.]
Appointed by the people	Jesus, son of Gamaliel.
Do. (Whiston on *B. J.* iv. 3, § 6).	Matthias, son of Theophilus.
Chosen by lot . . .	Phannias, son of Samuel

The latter part of the above list is taken partly from Lightfoot, vol. ix. p. 26 ff. — also in part from Josephus directly, and in part from Whiston's note on *Ant.* xx. 8, § 5. A. C. H.

* The subject of the preceding article and that of Priests are so related to each other, that writers have usually discussed them under the same head. For a list of some of the writers who have treated of the topics more or less in connection with each other, see under PRIESTS. H

* **HIGHWAY.** [HEDGES; WAY.]

HILEN (חִילֶן [perh. *fortress*, Fürst]:

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Ἐλνά; Alex. Νηλων: [a] *Helon*), the name of a city of Judah allotted with its "suburbs" to the priests (1 Chr. vi. 58); and which in the corresponding lists of Joshua is called HOLON. G.

HILKI'AH (חִלְקִיָּהוּ and חִלְקִיָּה, *the Lord* [*Jehovah*] *is my portion*: Χελκίας; [in 2 K. xviii. 18, Alex. Χαλκίας; 26, 37, Vat. Alex. -κει-:] *Hebrins*). 1. HILKIA'HU, father of Eliakim (2 K. xviii. [18, 26,] 37; Is. xxii. 20, xxxvi. [3,] 22). [ELIAKIM.]

2. [Vat. genr. Χελκειας: in Ezr. vii. 1, Vat. Ελκειας, Alex. Χελκειας; in Neh. xi. 11, Rom. Ἐλχία, Vat. FA. Ελκεια.] High-priest in the reign of Josiah (2 K. xxii. 4 ff.; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 9 ff.; 1 Esdr. i. 8). According to the genealogy in 1 Chr. vi. 13 (A. V.) he was son of Shallum, and from Ezr. vii. 1, apparently the ancestor of Ezra the scribe. His high-priesthood was rendered particularly illustrious by the great reformation effected under it by king Josiah, by the solemn Passover kept at Jerusalem in the 18th year of that king's reign, and above all by the discovery which he made of the book of the law of Moses in the Temple. With regard to the latter, Kennicott (*Heb. Text*, ii. 299) is of opinion that it was the original autograph copy of the Pentateuch written by Moses which Hilkiah found. He argues from the peculiar form of expression in 2 Chr. xxxiv. 14, סֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה יְהוָה בְּיַד מֹשֶׁה. "the book of the law of Jehovah by the hand of Moses;" whereas in the fourteen other places in the O. T. where the law of Moses or the book of Moses are mentioned, it is either "the book of Moses," or "the law of Moses," or "the book of the law of Moses." But the argument is far from conclusive, because the phrase in question may quite as properly signify "the book of the law of the Lord given through Moses." Compare the expression ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου (Gal. iii. 19), and בְּיַד מֹשֶׁה (Ex. ix. 35, xxxv. 29; Neh. x. 29; 2 Chr. xxxv. 6; Jer. l. 1). Though, however, the copy cannot be proved to have been Moses' autograph from the words in question, it seems probable that it was, from the place where it was found, namely, in the Temple; and, from its not having been discovered before, but being only brought to light on the occasion of the repairs which were necessary, and from the discoverer being the high-priest himself, it seems natural to conclude that the particular part of the Temple where it was found was one not usually frequented, or ever by any but the high-priest. Such a place exactly was the one where we know the original copy of the law was deposited by command of Moses, namely, by the side of the ark of the covenant within the vail, as we learn from Deut. xxxi. 9, 26. A difficult and interesting question arises, What was the book found by Hilkiah? Was it the whole Pentateuch, as Le Clerc, Keil, Ewald, etc., suppose, or the three middle books, as Bertheau, or the book of Deuteronomy alone, as De Wette, Gesenius, Rosenmüller, etc.? Our means of answering this question seem to be limited, (1) to an examination of the terms in which the depositing the book of the law by the ark was originally enjoined; (2) to an examination of the contents of the book discovered by Hilkiah, as far as they transpire; (3) to any indications which may be gathered from the contemporary writings of Jeremiah, or from any other portions of Scripture. As regards the first, a comparison of Deut. i. 5 with xxxi. 9; the consideration how exactly suited Deuteronomy is for the purpose of a public recital, as commanded Deut. xxxi. 10–13, whereas the recital of the whole Pentateuch is scarcely conceivable; and perhaps even the smaller bulk of a copy of Deuteronomy compared with that of the whole law, considered with reference to its place by the ark, point strongly to the conclusion that "the book of the law" ordered to be put "in the side of the ark of the covenant" was the book of Deuteronomy alone, whether or no exactly in its present form is a further question. As regards the second, the 28th and 29th chapters of Deut. seem to be those especially referred to in 2 K. xxii. 13, 16, 17, and 2 K. xxiii. 2, 3 seem to point directly to Deut. xxix. 1, in the mention of the covenant, and ver. 3 of the former to Deut. xxx. 2, in the expression *with all their heart and all their soul*. The words in 2 Chr. xxxv. 3, "The Levites that taught all Israel," seem also to refer to Deut. xxxiii. 10. All the actions of Josiah which followed the reading of the book found, the destruction of all idolatrous symbols, the putting away of wizards and workers with familiar spirits, and the keeping of the Passover, were such as would follow from hearing the 16th, 18th, and other chapters of Deuteronomy, while there is not one that points to any precept contained in the other books, and not in Deuteronomy. If there is any exception to this statement it is to be found in the description of the Passover in ch. xxxv. The phrases "on the fourteenth day of the first month," in ver. 1: "Sanctify yourselves, and prepare your brethren, that they may do according to the word of the Lord by the hand of Moses," ver. 6; "The priests sprinkled the blood," ver. 11; and perhaps the allusion in ver. 12, may be thought to point to Lev. xxiii. 5, or Num. ix. 3; to Lev. xxii. and Num. viii. 20–22; to Lev. i. 5; iii. 2, &c.; and to Lev. iii. 3–5, &c. respectively. But the allusions are not marked, and it must be remembered that the Levitical institutions existed in practice, and that the other books of Moses were certainly extant, though they were not kept by the side of the ark. As regards the third, it is well known how full the writings of Jeremiah are of direct references and of points of resemblance to the book of Deuteronomy. Now this is at once accounted for on the supposition of the law thus found by Hilkiah being that book, which would thus naturally be an object of special curiosity and study to the prophet, and as naturally influence his own writings. Moreover, in an undated prophecy of Jeremiah's (ch. xi.[b]), which seems to have been occasioned by the finding of this covenant — for he introduces the mention of "the words of this covenant" quite abruptly — he quotes word for word from Deut. xxvii. 26, answering AMEN himself, as the people are there directed to do, with reference to the curse for disobedience (see ver. 3, 5); a very strong confirmation of the preceding arguments which tend to prove that Deuteronomy was the book found by Hilkiah. But again: in Josh. viii. we have the account of the first execution by Joshua and the Israelites of that which Moses had commanded relative to writing the law

[a] In the LXX. this name appears in ver. 59, having changed places with Jattir.

[b] Hitzig, on Jer. xl., also supposes the expressions in this chapter to have been occasioned by the finding of the book of the law.

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upon stones to be set upon Mount Ebal; and it is added in ver. 34, "and afterwards he read all the words of the law, the blessings and cursings, according to all that is written in the book of the law." In ver 32 he had said "he wrote there upon the stones a copy of the law of Moses." Now not only is it impossible to imagine that the whole Pentateuch was transcribed on these stones, but all the references which transpire are to the book of Deuteronomy. The altar of whole stones untouched by iron tool, the peace-offerings, the blessings and the cursings, as well as the act itself of writing the law on stones and setting them on Mount Ebal, and placing half the tribes on Mount Ebal, and the other half on Mount Gerizim, all belong to Deuteronomy. And therefore when it is added in ver. 35, "There was not a word of all that Moses commanded which Joshua read not before all the congregation of Israel," we seem constrained to accept the words with the limitation to the book of Deuteronomy, as that which alone was ordered by Moses to be thus publicly read. And this increases the probability that here too the expression is limited to the same book.

The only discordant evidence is that of the book of Nehemiah. In the 8th chapter of that book, and ix. 3, we have the public reading by Ezra of "the book of the law of Moses" to the whole congregation at the feast of Tabernacles, in evident obedience to Deut. xxxi. 10–13. But it is quite certain, from Neh. viii. 14–17, that on the second day they read out of Leviticus, because the directions about dwelling in booths are found there only, in ch. xxiii. Moreover in the prayer of the Levites which follows Neh. ix. 5, and which is apparently based upon the previous reading of the law, reference is freely made to all the books of Moses, and indeed to the later books also. It is, however, perhaps not an improbable inference that, Ezra having lately completed his edition of the Holy Scriptures, more was read on this occasion than was strictly enjoined by Deut. xxxi., and that therefore this transaction does not really weaken the foregoing evidence.

But no little surprise has been expressed by critics at the previous non-acquaintance with this book on the part of Hilkiah, Josiah, and the people generally, which their manner of receiving it plainly evidences; and some have argued from hence that "the law of Moses" is not of older date than the reign of Josiah; in fact that Josiah and Hilkiah invented it, and pretended to have found a copy in the Temple in order to give sanction to the reformation which they had in hand. The following remarks are intended to point out the true inferences to be drawn from the narrative of this remarkable discovery in the books of Kings and Chronicles. The direction in Deut. xxxi. 10–13 for the public reading of the law at the feast of Tabernacles on each seventh year, or year of release, to the whole congregation, as the means of perpetuating the knowledge of the law, sufficiently shows that at that time a multiplication of copies and a multitude of readers was not contemplated. The same thing seems to be implied also in the direction given in Deut. xvii. 18, 19, concerning the copy of the law to be made, for the special use of the king, distinct from that in the keeping of the priests and Levites. And this paucity of copies and of readers is just what one would have expected in an age when the art of reading and writing was confined to the professional scribes, and the very few others who, like Moses had learnt the art in Egypt (Acts vii. 22). The troublous times of the Judges were obviously more likely to obliterate than to promote the study of letters. And whatever occasional revival of sacred learning may have taken place under such kings as David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, Uzziah, Jotham, and Hezekiah, yet on the other hand such reigns as that of Athaliah, the last years of Joash, that of Ahaz, and above all the long reign of Manasseh, with their idolatries and national calamities, must have been most unfavorable to the study of "the sacred letters." On the whole, in the days of Josiah irreligion and ignorance had overflowed all the dykes erected to stay their progress. In spite of such occasional acts as the public reading of the law to the people, enjoined by Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xvii. 9), and such insulated evidences of the king's reading the law, as commanded by Moses, as the action recorded of Amaziah affords (2 K. xiv. 6) — where by the way the reference is still to the book of Deuteronomy — and the yet more marked acquaintance with the law attributed to Hezekiah (2 K. xviii. 5, 6) [GENEALOGY], everything in Josiah's reign indicates a very low state of knowledge. There were indeed still professional scribes among the Levites (2 Chr. xxxiv. 13), and Shaphan was the king's scribe. But judging from the narrative, 2 K. xxii. 8, 10; 2 Chr. xxxiv., it seems probable that neither Hilkiah nor Josiah could read. The same may perhaps be said of Jeremiah, who was always attended by Baruch the scribe, who wrote down the words of Jeremiah from his mouth (Jer. xxxvi. 2, 4, 6, 8, 18, 28, 32. xlv., &c.). How then can we wonder that under such circumstances the knowledge of the law had fallen into desuetude? or fail to see in the incident of the startling discovery of the copy of it by Hilkiah one of those many instances of simple truthfulness which impress on the Scripture narrative such an unmistakable stamp of authenticity, when it is read in the same guileless spirit in which it is written? In fact, the ignorance of the law of Moses which this history reveals is in most striking harmony with the prevalent idolatry disclosed by the previous history of Judæa, especially since its connection with the house of Ahab, as well as with the low state of education which is apparent from so many incidental notices.

The story of Hilkiah's discovery throws no light whatever upon the mode in which other portions of the Scriptures were preserved, and therefore this is not the place to consider it. But Thenius truly observes that the expression in 2 K. xxii. 8 clearly implies that the existence of the law of Moses was a thing well known to the Jews. It is interesting to notice the concurrence of the king with the high-priest in the restoration of the Temple, as well as the analogy of the circumstances with what took place in the reign of Joash, when Jehoiada was high-priest, as related 2 Chr. xxiv. (Bertheau, *ad loc.*; Prideaux, *Connect.* i. 43, 315; Lewis, *Orig. Heb.* bk. viii. ch. 8, &c.) [CHELCIAS.]

A. C. H.

3. HILKI'AH (LXX. [Rom. Vat.] omit; [Alex. Χελκιας; Comp. Ald. Χελκίας or -α:] *Helcias*), Merarite Levite, son of Amzi, one of the ancestors of ETHAN (1 Chr. vi. 45; Heb. 30).

4. [Vat. omits; Alex. Χελκειας.] HILKIA'HU another Merarite Levite, second son of Hosah, among the doorkeepers of the tabernacle in the time of king David (1 Chr. xxvi. 11).

5. [In Neh. viii. 4, Χελκία, Vat. Ελκεια, Alex Χελκειᾳ; in xii. 7, Rom. Vat. Alex. FA.[1] omit

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as in ix. xii. 2., exc. Rom. Ἐλκίᾳ.] HILKI'AH; one of those who stood on the right hand of Ezra when he read the law to the people. Doubtless a Levite, and probably a priest (Neh. viii. 4). He may be identical with the Hilkiah who came up in the expedition with Jeshua and Zerubbabel (xii. 7), and whose descendant Hashabiah is commemorated as living in the days of Joiakim (xii. 21).

6. HILKIA'HU; a priest, of Anathoth, father of the prophet JEREMIAH (Jer. i. 1).

7. HILKI'AH, father of Gemariah, who was one of Zedekiah's envoys to Babylon (Jer. xxix. 3).

HIL'LEL (הִלֵּל [*rich in praise*, Fürst]: Ἐλαήλ: Alex. Ἐελλημ; Joseph. Ἔλληλος: *Illel*), a native of Pirathon in Mount Ephraim, father of ABDON, one of the judges of Israel (Judg. xii. 13, 15).

HILLS. The structure and characteristics of the hills of Palestine will be most conveniently noticed in the general description of the features of the country. [PALESTINE.] But it may not be unprofitable to call attention here to the various Hebrew terms for which the word "hill" has been employed in the Auth. Version.

1. *Gibeah*, גִּבְעָה, from a root akin to גָּבַב, which seems to have the force of curvature or humpishness. A word involving this idea is peculiarly applicable to the rounded hills of Palestine, and from it are derived, as has been pointed out under GIBEAH, the names of several places situated on hills. Our translators have been consistent in rendering *gibeah* by "hill;" in four passages only qualifying it as "little hill," doubtless for the more complete antithesis to "mountain" (Ps. lxv. 12, lxxii. 3, cxiv. 4, 6).

2. But they have also employed the same English word for the very different term *har*, הַר, which has a much more extended sense than *gibeah*, meaning a whole district rather than an individual eminence, and to which our word "mountain" answers with tolerable accuracy. This exchange is always undesirable, but it sometimes occurs so as to confuse the meaning of a passage where it is desirable that the topography should be unmistakable. For instance, in Ex. xxiv. 4, the "hill" is the same which is elsewhere in the same chapter (12, 13, 18, &c.) and book, consistently and accurately rendered "mount" and "mountain." In Num. xiv. 44, 45, the "hill" is the "mountain" of ver. 40, as also in Deut. i. 41, 43, compared with 24, 44. In Josh. xv. 9, the allusion is to the Mount of Olives, correctly called "mountain" in the preceding verse; and so also in 2 Sam. xvi. 13. The country of the "hills," in Deut. i. 7; Josh. ix. 1, x. 40, xi. 16, is the elevated district of Judah, Benjamin, and Ephraim, which is correctly called "the mountain" in the earliest descriptions of Palestine (Num. xiii. 29), and in many subsequent passages. The "holy hill" (Ps. iii. 4), the "hill of Jehovah" (xxiv. 3), the "hill of God" (lxviii. 15), are nothing else than "Mount Zion." In 2 K. i. 9 and ver. 27, the use of the word "hill" obscures the allusion to Carmel, which in other passages of the life of the prophet (*e. g.* 1 K. xviii. 19; 2 K. iv. 25) has the term "mount" correctly attached to it. Other places in the historical books in which the same substitution weakens the force of the narrative, are as follows: Gen. vii. 19; Deut. viii. 7; Josh. xiii. 6, xviii. 13, 14; Judg. xvi. 3; 1 Sam. xxiii. 14; xxv. 20; xxvi. 13; 2 Sam. xiii. 34, 1 K. xx. 23, 28, xxii. 17, &c.

3. On one occasion the word *Ma'aleh*, מַעֲלֶה, is rendered "hill," namely, 1 Sam. ix. 11, where it would be better to employ "ascent" or some similar term.

4. In the N. T. the word "hill" is employed to render the Greek word βουνός; but on one occasion it is used for ὄρος, elsewhere "mountain," so as to obscure the connection between the two parts of the same narrative. The "hill" from which Jesus was coming down in Luke ix. 37, is the same as "the mountain" into which He had gone for His transfiguration the day before (comp. ver. 28). In Matt. v. 14, and Luke iv. 29, ὄρος is also rendered "hill," but not with the inconvenience just noticed. In Luke i. 39 [and 65] the "hill country" (ἡ ὀρεινή) is the same "mountain of Judah" [sing. = collective] to which frequent reference is made in the O. T. G.

HIN. [MEASURES.]

HIND (אַיָּלָה: ἔλαφος: *cervus*), the female of the common stag or *cervus elaphus*. It is frequently noticed in the poetical parts of Scripture as emblematic of activity (Gen. xlix. 21; 2 Sam xxii. 34; Ps. xviii. 33; Hab. iii. 19), gentleness (Prov. v. 19), feminine modesty (Cant. ii. 7, iii. 5), earnest longing (Ps. xlii. 1), and maternal affection (Jer. xiv. 5). Its shyness and remoteness from the haunts of men are also noticed (Job xxxix. 1), and its timidity, causing it to cast its young at the sound of thunder (Ps. xxix. 9). The conclusion which some have drawn from the passage last quoted that the hind produces her young with great difficulty, is not in reality deducible from the words, and is expressly contradicted by Job xxxix. 3. The LXX. reads אֵילָה in Gen. xlix. 21, rendering it στέλεχος ἀνειμένον, "a luxuriant terebinth:" Lowth has proposed a similar change in Ps. xxix., but in neither case can the emendation be accepted: Naphtali verified the comparison of himself to a "graceful or tall hind" by the events recorded in Judg. iv. 6–9, v. 18. The inscription of Ps. xxii., "the hind of the morning," probably refers to a tune of that name. [AJELETH-SHAHAR.] W. L. B.

HINGE. 1. צִיר, στρόφιγξ, *cardo*, with the notion of turning (Ges. p. 1165). 2. פֹּתָה, θύρωμα, *cardo*, with the notion of insertion (Ges. p. 1096). Both ancient Egyptian and modern Oriental doors were and are hung by means of pivots turning in sockets both on the upper and lower sides. In Syria, and especially the Haurân, there are many ancient doors consisting of stone slabs with pivots carved out of the same piece, inserted in sockets above and below, and fixed during the building of the house. The allusion in Prov. xxvi. 14 is thus clearly explained. The hinges mentioned in 1 K. vii. 50 were probably of the Egyptian kind, attached to the upper and lower sides of the door (Buckingham, *Arab Tribes*, p. 177; Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 22, 192. Maundrell, *Early Travels*, pp. 447, 448 (Bohn); Shaw, *Travels*, p. 210; Lord Lindsay, *Letters*, p. 292; Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* abridgm. i. 15). H. W. P.

HINNOM, VALLEY [more strictly RA-VIN:] **OF**, otherwise called "the valley of the son" or "children [sons] of Hinnom" (גֵּי־הִנֹּם,

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גֵּי־הִנֹּם, or גֵּי־בְנֵי־הִנֹּם, variously rendered by LXX. φάραγξ Ἐννόμ [Vat. Ονομ, Josh. xv. 8], or υἱοῦ Ἐννόμ [2 K. xxiii. 10, Jer. vii. 29, 30, xxxii. 35], or Γαἰεννα, Josh. xviii. 16 [also νάπη Σοννάμ (Alex. ναπη υιου Εννομ), and Γαΐ Ονομ (Alex. for Γαἰεννα)]; ἐν γὲ Βεεννόμ [Alex. ἐν γη Βεεννομ], 2 Chr. xxviii. 3, xxxiii. 6; τὸ πολυάνδριον υἱῶν τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν, Jer. xix. 2, [πολυάνδριον υἱοῦ Ἐννόμ (Vat. Alex. FA. Εννομ), ver.] 6),[a] a deep and narrow ravine, with steep, rocky sides to the S. and W. of Jerusalem, separating Mount Zion to the N. from the "Hill of Evil Counsel," and the sloping rocky plateau of the "plain of Rephaim" to the S., taking its name, according to Professor Stanley, from "some ancient hero, the son of Hinnom" having encamped in it (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 172). The earliest mention of the Valley of Hinnom in the sacred writings is Josh. xv. 8, xviii. 16, where the boundary line between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin is described with minute topographical accuracy, as passing along the bed of the ravine. On the southern brow, overlooking the valley at its eastern extremity, Solomon erected high places for Molech (1 K. xi. 7), whose horrid rites were revived from time to time in the same vicinity by the later idolatrous kings. Ahaz and Manasseh made their children "pass through the fire" in this valley (2 K. xvi. 3; 2 Chr. xxviii. 3, xxxiii. 6), and the fiendish custom of infant sacrifice to the fire-gods seems to have been kept up in Tophet, at its S. E. extremity for a considerable period (Jer. vii. 31; 2 K. xxiii. 10). [TOPHET.] To put an end to these abominations the place was polluted by Josiah, who rendered it ceremonially unclean by spreading over it human bones, and other corruptions (2 K. xxiii. 10, 13, 14; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 4, 5), from which time it appears to have become the common cesspool of the city, into which its sewage was conducted, to be carried off by the waters of the Kidron, as well as a laystall, where all its solid filth was collected. Most commentators follow Buxtorf, Lightfoot, and others, in asserting that perpetual fires were here kept up for the consumption of bodies of criminals, carcases of animals, and whatever else was combustible; but the Rabbinical authorities usually brought forward in support of this idea appear insufficient, and Robinson declares (i. 274) that "there is no evidence of any other fires than those of Molech having been kept up in this valley," referring to Rosenmüller, *Biblisch. Geogr.* II. i. 156, 164. For the more ordinary view, see Hengstenburg, *Christol.* ii. 454, iv. 41; Keil *on Kings* ii. 147, Clark's edit.; and cf. Is. xxx. 33, lxvi. 24.

From its ceremonial defilement, and from the detested and abominable fire of Molech, if not from the supposed everburning funeral piles, the later Jews applied the name of this valley *Ge Hinnom, Gehenna*, to denote the place of eternal torment, and some of the Rabbins here fixed the "door of hell;" a sense in which it is used by our Lord. [GEHENNA.] It is called, Jer. ii. 23, "the valley," κατ' ἐξοχήν, and perhaps "the valley of dead bodies," xxxi. 40, and "the valley of vision," Is. xxii. 1, 5 (Stanley, *Syr. and Pal.* pp. 172, 482).

The name by which it is now known is (in ignorance of the meaning of the initial syllable) *Wâdy Jehennam*, or *Wâdy er Rubêb* (Williams, *Holy City*, i. 56, suppl.), though in Mohammedan traditions the name Gehenna is applied to the Valley of Kedron (Ibn Batutah, 12, 4; Stanley, *ut sup.*).

The valley commences in a broad sloping basin to the W. of the city, S. of the Jaffa road (extending nearly to the brow of the great Wady, on the W.), in the centre of which, 700 yards from the Jaffa gate, is the large reservoir, supposed to be the "upper pool," or "Gihon" [GIHON] (Is. vii. 3, xxxvi. 2; 2 Chr. xxxii. 30), now known as *Birket-el-Mamilla*. After running about three quarters of a mile E. by S. the valley takes a sudden bend to the S. opposite the Jaffa gate, but in less than another three quarters of a mile it encounters a rocky hill-side which forces it again in an eastern direction, sweeping round the precipitous S. W. corner of Mount Zion almost at a right angle. In this part of its course the valley is from 50 to 100 yards broad, the bottom everywhere covered with small stones, and cultivated. At 290 yards from the Jaffa gate it is crossed by an aqueduct on nine very low arches, conveying water from the "pools of Solomon" to the Temple Mount, a short distance below which is the "lower pool" (Is. xxii. 9), Birket-es-Sultán. From this point the ravine narrows and deepens, and descends with great rapidity between broken cliffs, rising in successive terraces, honeycombed with innumerable sepulchral recesses, forming the northern face of the "Hill of Evil Counsel," to the S., and the steep, shelving, but not precipitous southern slopes of Mount Zion, which rise to about the height of 150 feet, to the N. The bed of the valley is planted with olives and other fruit trees, and when practicable is cultivated. About 400 yards from the S. W. angle of Mount Zion the valley contracts still more, becomes quite narrow and stony, and descends with much greater rapidity towards the "valley of Jehoshaphat," or "of the brook Kidron," before joining which it opens out again, forming an oblong plot, the site of Tophet, devoted to gardens irrigated by the waters of Siloam. Towards the eastern extremity of the valley is the traditional site of "Aceldama," authenticated by a bed of white clay still worked by potters (Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 495),[b] opposite to which, where the cliff is thirty or forty feet high, the tree on which Judas hanged himself was placed during the Frankish kingdom (Barclay, *City of Great King*, p. 208). Not far from Aceldama is a conspicuously situated tomb with a Doric pediment, sometimes known as the "whited sepulchre," near which a large sepulchral recess with a Doric portal hewn in the native rock is known as the "Latibulum apostolorum," where the Twelve are said to have concealed themselves during the time between the Crucifixion and the Resurrection. The tombs continue quite down to the corner of the mountain, where it bends off to the S. along the valley of Jehoshaphat. None of the sepulchral recesses in the vicinity of Jerusalem are so well preserved; most of them are very old [see *infra*] — small gloomy caves, with narrow rock-hewn doorways.

Robinson places "the valley gate," [which had

a * Some of the variations of the Vatican MS. are not noticed here, being mere corruptions. A.

b * The clay used in the pottery at Jerusalem near the church of St. Anne is said to be obtained from *El-Jîb* (Gibeon). See *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, § 59 (1865). Compare the note under ACELDAMA, § 19, and the text to which the note relates. The testimony at present indicates different opinions. H

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its name from this ravine], Neh. ii. 13 15; 2 Chr xxvi. 9, at the N. W. corner of Mount Zion in the upper part of this valley (Robinson, i. 220, 239. 274, 320, 353; Williams, *Holy City*, i. suppl. 56, ii. 495; Barclay, *City of Great King*, 205, 208). [But see JERUSALEM.] E. V.

* The group of tombs in th Valley of Hinnom and on the southern hill-side above the ravine are somewhat fully described in the *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, pp. 67, 68 (1865). They are regarded "as having been made or modified at a later period than those on the north side of the city." Many of them have an inscription or scattered letters, but nothing that can be well deciphered. Closer inspection shows some of these to be much more elaborate than has been generally supposed. "Close to the building of Aceldama the rock is perforated by seven 'loculi,' through one of which a chamber containing several more 'loculi' is reached; and one of these again, on the right-hand side, gives access to a second chamber with 'loculi;' from that there is an opening to a third, and thence down a flight of steps to a fourth and last one, all the chambers having 'loculi;' most of them are filled with rubbish, and many have the appearance of leading to other chambers." Sketches were taken of some of the appurtenances of these tombs, which accompany the text of the work referred to. Tobler states the results of a special examination of these rock-sepulchres in Hinnom (*Dritte Wanderung*, p. 348 ff.).

A very noticeable feature of this ravine is the precipitous wall of rocks which overhangs the gorge in its deepest part, on the left, as one goes westward and nearly opposite to Aceldama on the height above. The rocky ledges here are almost perpendicular, and are found to be at different points forty, thirty-six, thirty-three, thirty, and twenty feet high. A few trees still grow along the margin of the overhanging brow, and trees here must anciently have been still more numerous when the land was better cultivated. Aside from this peculiarity of the valley, regarded as one of its aspects, it has some additional interest from its having been connected by some with the death of Judas. It has been thought that he may have hung himself on the limb of a tree near the edge of one of these precipices, and that the rope or limb breaking, he fell to the bottom and was dashed to pieces. This latter result would have been the more certain, in the event of his having so fallen, on account of the sharp edges projecting from the sides of the cliff, as well as the rocky ground below. Dr. Robinson (*Harmony of the Greek Gospels*, § 151) supposes that some such relation as this may have existed between the traitor's "bursting asunder" and the suicide, though he does not assign the occurrence to any particular place. Tholuck (*MS. Notes*) is one of those who think of Hinnom as the scene of the event. See on this point the *Life of our Lord*, by Andrews, p. 510 ff. (1867). We cannot indeed rely very much on such minute specifications, because so little being related, so little is really known respecting the manner of Judas's death. [JUDAS.]

It may not be useless to correct more distinctly a somewhat prevalent idea that the Valley of Hinnom lies wholly on the south of Jerusalem. This name belongs also to the valley on the west of the city, though the latter is often called from the reservoirs there the Valley of Gihon. They are both parts of one and the same valley, which sweeps around the city on two sides. As a topographical description, the reader will find Robinson's concise account of this locality (*Phys. Geogr.*, pp. 97–100) very distinct and accurate. H.

HIPPOPOTAMUS. There is hardly a doubt that the Hebrew *behemoth* (בְּהֵמוֹת) describes the hippopotamus: the word itself bears the strongest resemblance to the Coptic name *pehemout*, "the water-ox," and at the same time expresses in its Hebrew form, as the plural of בְּהֵמָה, the idea of a very large beast. Though now no longer found in the lower Nile, it was formerly common there (Wilkinson, i. 239). The association of it with the crocodile in the passage in which it is described (Job. xl. 15 ff.), and most of the particulars in that passage are more appropriate to the hippopotamus than to any other animal. Behemoth "eateth grass as an ox" (Job xl. 15) — a circumstance which is noticed as peculiar in an animal of aquatic habits; this is strictly true of the hippopotamus, which leaves the water by night, and feeds on vegetables and green crops. Its strength is enormous, vv. 16, 18, and the notice of the power of the muscles of the belly, "his force is in the navel of his belly," appears to be strictly correct. The tail, however, is short, and it must be conceded that the first part of ver. 17, "he moveth his tail like a cedar," seems not altogether applicable.* His mode of attack is with his mouth, which is armed with a formidable array of teeth, projecting incisors, and enormous curved canines; thus "his creator offers him a sword," for so the words in ver. 19 may be rendered. But the use of his sword is mainly for pacific purposes, "the beasts of the field playing" about him as he feeds; the hippopotamus being a remarkably inoffensive animal. His retreat is among the lotuses (*tzeelim*; A. V. "shady trees") which abounded about the Nile, and amid the reeds of the river. Thoroughly at home in the water, "if the river riseth, he doth not take to flight; and he cares not if a Jordan (here an appellative for a "stream") press on his mouth." Ordinary means of capture were ineffectual against the great strength of this animal. "Will any take him before his eyes?" (*i. e.* openly, and without cunning), "will any bore his nose with a gin?" as was usual with large fish. The method of killing it in Egypt was with a spear, the animal being in the first instance secured by a lasso, and repeatedly struck until it became exhausted (Wilkinson, i. 240); the very same method is pursued by the natives of South Africa at the present day (Livingstone, p. 73; instances of its great strength are noticed by the same writer, pp. 231, 232, 497). W. L. B.

HIRAH (חִירָה) [*nobility, noble birth*]:

* That depends on the explanation. Dr. Conant remarks on the passage: "*Like a cedar*; namely, as a cedar is bent, which is not easily done. The allusion is to the strength and stiffness of the tail, the smallest and weakest of all the members of the animal's body" (*Book of Job, with a Revised Version*, p. 156) See also Hirzel's *Hiob erklärt*, p. 240. There are several expressions in this celebrated description of the water-ox of the Nile which the present philology represents somewhat differently from the A. V. See the versions of Ewald, De Wette, Umbreit, Conant, Noyes and others. H

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Elods *Hiram*), an Adullamite, the friend (רֵעֵ) of Judah (Gen. xxxviii. 1, 12; and see 20). For "friend" the LXX. and Vulg. have "shepherd," probably reading רֹעֵהוּ.

HI'RAM or HU'RAM (חִירָם, or חוּרָם [*noble born* = חוֹר Ges.]: [Rom. Χιράμ, exc. 2 Sam. v. 11, 1 Chr. xiv. 1, Χειράμ; Vat. Alex. Χειραμ: *Hiram*] on the different forms of the name see HURAM). 1. The King of Tyre who sent workmen and materials to Jerusalem, first (2 Sam. v. 11, 1 Chr. xiv. 1) to build a palace for David whom he ever loved (1 K. v. 1), and again (1 K. v. 10, vii. 13, 2 Chr. ii. 14, 16) to build the Temple for Solomon, with whom he had a treaty of peace and commerce (1 K. v. 11, 12). The contempt with which he received Solomon's present of CABUL (1 K. ix. 12) does not appear to have caused any breach between the two kings. He admitted Solomon's ships, issuing from Joppa, to a share in the profitable trade of the Mediterranean (1 K. x. 22); and Jewish sailors, under the guidance of Tyrians, were taught to bring the gold of India (1 K. ix. 26) to Solomon's two harbors on the Red Sea (see Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* iii. 345–347).

Eupolemon (*ap.* Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* ix. 30) states that David, after a war with Hiram, reduced him to the condition of a tributary prince. Dius, the Phœnician historian, and Menander of Ephesus (*ap.* Joseph. c. *Ap.* i. 17, 18) assign to Hiram a prosperous reign of 34 years; and relate that his father was Abibal, his son and successor Baleazar; that he rebuilt various idol-temples, and dedicated some splendid offerings; that he was successful in war; that he enlarged and fortified his city; that he and Solomon had a contest with riddles or dark sayings (compare Samson and his friends, Judg. xiv. 12), in which Solomon, after winning a large sum of money from the king of Tyre, was eventually outwitted by Abdemon, one of his subjects. The intercourse of these great and kindred-minded kings was much celebrated by local historians. Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 2, § 8) states that the correspondence between them with respect to the building of the Temple was preserved among the Tyrian archives in his days. With the letters in 1 K. v. and 2 Chr. ii. may be compared not only his copies of the letters, but also the still less authentic letters between Solomon and Hiram, and between Solomon and Vaphres (Apries?), which are preserved by Eupolemon (*ap.* Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* ix. 30), and mentioned by Alexander Polyhistor (*ap.* Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 21, p. 332). Some Phœnician historians (*ap.* Tatian. *cont. Græc.* § 37) relate that Hiram, besides supplying timber for the Temple, gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon. Jewish writers in less ancient times cannot overlook Hiram's uncircumcision in his services towards the building of the Temple. Their legends relate (*ap.* Eisenm. *Ent. Jud.* i. 868) that because he was a God-fearing man and built the Temple he was received alive into Paradise; but that, after he had been there a thousand years, he sinned by pride, and was thrust down into hell.

2. [Χιράμ; Vat. Alex. Χειραμ: *Hiram.*] Hiram was the name of a man of mixed race (1 K. vii. 13, 40, [45]), the principal architect and engineer sent by king Hiram to Solomon; also called Huram in the Chronicles. On the title of אָב = *master*, or *father*, given to him in 2 Chr. ii. 13 iv. 16, see HURAM, No. 3. W. T. B.

* At the distance of 1¼ hours on the hill-side east of Tyre, is a remarkable tomb known as *Kabr Hairán*, i. e. Tomb of Hiram. "It stands all alone, apart alike from human habitation and ancient ruin — a solitary, venerable relic of remote antiquity. In fact it is one of the most singular monuments in the land. It is an immense sarcophagus of limestone hewn out of a single block — 12 feet long, 8 wide, and 6 high; covered by a lid slightly pyramidal, and 5 feet in thickness; — the whole resting on a massive pedestal, about 10 feet high, composed of three layers of large hewn stones, the upper layer projecting a few inches. The monument is perfect, though weather-beaten. The only entrance to it is an aperture broken through the eastern end. A tradition, now received by all classes and sects in the surrounding country, makes this the tomb of Hiram, Solomon's friend and ally; and the tradition may have come down unbroken from the days of Tyre's grandeur. We have at least no just ground for rejecting it." (Porter, *Handbook*, ii. 395.)

The people there also connect Hiram's name with a copious fountain over which a massive stone structure has been raised, which the traveller passes on the south shortly before coming to the site of Tyre (see Tristram's *Land of Israel*, p. 55, 2d ed.). Such traditions, whether they cleave rightfully or not to these particular places, have their interest. They come down to us through Phœnician channels, and indirectly authenticate the history of Hiram as recorded by the Hebrew writers. H.

HIRCA'NUS ("Τρκανός [*Hyrcanian*, from Τρκανία, a province on the Caspian Sea]: *Hircanus*), "a son of Tobias," who had a large treasure placed for security in the treasury of the Temple at the time of the visit of Heliodorus (c. 187 B. C.; 2 Macc. iii. 11). Josephus also mentions "children of Tobias" (*Ant.* xii. 5, § 1, παῖδες Τωβίου), who, however, belonged to the faction of Menelaus, and notices especially a son of one of them (Joseph) who was named Hyrcanus (*Ant.* xii. 4, § 2 ff.). But there is no sufficient reason for identifying the Hyrcanus of 2 Macc. with this *grandson* of Tobias either by supposing that the ellipse (τοῦ Τωβίου) is to be so filled up (Grotius, Calmet), or that the sons of Joseph were popularly named after their grandfather (Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 309), which could scarcely have been the case in consequence of the great eminence of their father.

The name appears to be simply a local appellative, and became illustrious afterwards in the Maccabean dynasty, though the circumstances which led to its adoption are unknown (yet comp. Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 8, § 4). [MACCABEES.] B. F. W.

* HIS is used throughout the A. V. instead of *its*, which does not occur in the original edition of 1611, though it has been introduced in one place in later editions. [IT.] This use sometimes occasions ambiguity, as in Matt. vi. 33, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness," where Eastwood and Wright (*Bible Word-Book*, p. 252) erroneously refer the "his" to "kingdom" instead of to "God," the Greek being τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ, not αὐτῆς. "His righteousness" here means "the righteousness which He requires." A.

HIT'TITES, THE, the nation descended from Cheth (A. V. "Heth"), the second son of

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Canaan. (1.) With five exceptions, noticed below, the word is חִתִּי = *the Chittite* [ὁ Χετταῖος, οἱ Χεττα῀οι. *Hethæus, Hethæi*, in Ezr. ix. 1, ὁ Εθί, Vat. Εθει, Alex. Εθθι], in the singular number, according to the common Hebrew idiom. It is occasionally rendered in the A. V. in the singular number, "the Hittite" (Ex. xxiii. 28, xxxiii. 2, xxxiv. 11; Josh. ix. 1, xi. 3), but elsewhere plural (Gen. xv. 20; Ex. iii. 8, 17, xiii. 5, xxiii. 23; Num. xiii. 29; Deut. vii. 1, xx. 17; Josh. iii. 10, xii. 8, xxiv. 11; Judg. iii. 5; 1 K. ix. 20; 2 Chr. viii. 7; Ezr. ix. 1; Neh. ix. 8; 1 Esdr. viii. 69, Χεττα῀οι). (2.) The plural form of the word is חִתִּים = *the Chittim*, or *Hittites* [Χεττίν (Vat. -τειν, Alex. Χεττιειμ), Χεττιιν (Vat. -ειν), οἱ Χεττα῀οι: *Hetthim, Hethæi*] (Josh. i. 4; Judg. i. 26; 1 K. x. 29; 2 K. vii. 6; 2 Chr. i. 17). (3.) "A Hittite [woman]" is חִתִּית [Χεττα῀α: *Cethæa*] (Ez. xvi. 3, 45). In 1 K. xi. 1, the same word is rendered "Hittites."

1. Our first introduction to the Hittites is in the time of Abraham, when he bought from the Bene-Cheth, "Children of Heth" — such was then their title — the field and the cave of Machpelah, belonging to Ephron the Hittite. They were then settled at the town which was afterwards, under its new name of Hebron, to become one of the most famous cities of Palestine, then bearing the name of Kirjath-arba, and perhaps also of Mamre (Gen. xxiii. 19, xxv. 9). The propensities of the tribe appear at that time to have been rather commercial [a] than military. The "money current with the merchant," and the process of weighing it, were familiar to them; the peaceful assembly "in the gate of the city" was their manner of receiving the stranger who was desirous of having a "possession" "secured" to him among them. The dignity and courtesy of their demeanor also come out strongly in this narrative. As Ewald well says, Abraham chose his allies in warfare from the Amorites, but he goes to the Hittites for his grave. But the tribe was evidently as yet but small, not important enough to be noticed beside "the Canaanite and the Perizzite" who shared the bulk of the land between them (Gen. xii. 6, xiii. 7). In the southern part of the country they remained for a considerable period after this, possibly extending as far as Gerar and Beer-sheba, a good deal below Hebron (xxvi. 17, xxviii. 10). From their families Esau married his two first wives; and her fear lest Jacob should take the same course is the motive given by Rebekah for sending Jacob away to Haran. It was the same feeling that had urged Abram to send to Mesopotamia for a wife for Isaac. The descendant of Shem could not wed with Hamites — "with the daughters of the Canaanites among whom I dwell . . . wherein I am a stranger," but "go to my country and thy kindred" is his father's command, "to the house of thy mother's father, and take thee a wife from thence" (Gen. xxviii. 2, xxiv. 4).

2. Throughout the book of Exodus the name of the Hittites occurs only in the usual formula for the occupants of the Promised Land. Changes occur in the mode of stating this formula [CANAAN, p. 354 *a*], but the Hittites are never omitted (see Ex. xxiii. 28). In the report of the spies, however, we have again a real historical notice of them: "the Hittite, the Jebusite, and the Amorite dwell in the mountain" (Num. xiii. 29). Whatever temporary circumstances may have attracted them so far to the south as Beer-sheba, a people having the quiet commercial tastes of Ephron the Hittite and his companions can have had no call for the roving, skirmishing life of the country bordering on the desert: and thus, during the sojourn of Israel in Egypt, they had withdrawn themselves from those districts, retiring before Amalek (Num. xiii. 29) to the more secure mountain country in the centre of the land. Perhaps the words of Ezekiel (xvi. 3, 45) may imply that they helped to found the city of Jebus.

From this time, however, their quiet habits vanish, and they take their part against the invader, in equal alliance with the other Canaanite tribes (Josh ix. 1, xi. 3, &c.).

3. Henceforward the notices of the Hittites are very few and faint. We meet with two individuals, both attached to the person of David. (1.) "Ahimelech the Hittite," who was with him in the hill of Hachilah, and with Abishai accompanied him by night to the tent of Saul (1 Sam. xxvi. 6). He is nowhere else mentioned, and was possibly killed in one of David's expeditions, before the list in 2 Sam. xxiii. was drawn up. (2.) "Uriah the Hittite," one of "the thirty" of David's body-guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 39; 1 Chr. xi. 41), the deep tragedy of whose wrongs forms the one blot in the life of his master. In both these persons, though warriors by profession, we can perhaps detect traces of those qualities which we have noticed as characteristic of the tribe. In the case of the first, it was Abishai, the practical, unscrupulous "son of Zeruiah," who pressed David to allow him to kill the sleeping king: Ahimelech is clear from that stain. In the case of Uriah, the absence from suspicion and the generous self-denial which he displayed are too well known to need more than a reference (2 Sam. xi. 11, 12).

4. The Egyptian annals tell us of a very powerful confederacy of Hittites in the valley of the Orontes, with whom Sethei I., or Sethos, waged war about B. C. 1340, and whose capital, Ketesh, situate near Emesa, he conquered. [EGYPT, p. 511.]

5. In the Assyrian inscriptions, as lately deciphered, there are frequent references to a nation of *Khatti*, who "formed a great confederacy ruled by a number of petty chiefs," whose territory also lay in the valley of the Orontes, and who were sometimes assisted by the people of the sea-coast, probably the Phœnicians (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 463). "Twelve kings of the Southern Khatti are mentioned in several places." If the identification of these people with the Hittites should prove to be correct, it agrees with the name *Chat*, as noticed under HETH, and affords a clew to the meaning of some passages which are otherwise puzzling. These are (*a*) Josh. i. 4, where the expression "all the land of the Hittites" appears to mean all the land of Canaan, or at least the northern part thereof. (*b*) Judg. i. 26. Here nearly the same expression recurs. [LUZ.] (*c*) 1 K. x. 29; 2 Chr. i. 17: "All the kings of the Hittites and kings of Aram" (probably identical with the "kings on this side Euphrates," 1 K. iv. 24) are mentioned as purchasing chariots and horses from Egypt, for the possession of which they were so notorious. That

[a] "Canaanite" has in many places the force of "merchant" or "trafficker." See among others the margins in vol. i. p. 351 *b*

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(*d*) it would seem to have become at a later date almost proverbial in allusion to an alarm of an attack by chariots (2 K. vii. 6).

6. Nothing is said of the religion or worship of the Hittites. Even in the enumeration of Solomon's idolatrous worship of the gods of his wives — among whom were Hittite women (1 K. xi. 1) — no Hittite deity is alluded to. (See 1 K. xi. 5, 7; 2 K. xxiii. 13.)

7. The names of the individual Hittites mentioned in the Bible are as follow. They are all susceptible of interpretation as Hebrew words, which would lead to the belief either that the Hittites spoke a dialect of the Aramaic or Hebrew language, or that the words were Hebraized in their transference to the Bible records.

ADAH (woman), Gen. xxxvi. 2.
AHIMELECH, 1 Sam. xxvi. 6.
BASHEMATH, accur. BAS'MATH (woman); possibly a second name of Adah, Gen. xxvi. 34.
BEERI (father of Judith, below), Gen. xxvi. 34.
ELON (father of Basmath), Gen. xxvi. 34.
EPHRON, Gen. xxiii. 10, 13, 14, &c.
JUDITH (woman), Gen. xxvi. 34.
URIAH, 2 Sam. xi. 3, &c., xxiii. 39, &c.
ZOHAR (father of Ephron), Gen. xxiii. 8.

In addition to the above, SIBBECHAI, who in the Hebrew text is always denominated a Hushathite, is by Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 12, § 2) styled a Hittite.

G.

HIVITES, THE (הַחִוִּי [perh. *the villager*, Ges.], i. e. *the Chivite:* ὁ Εὐαῖος; [in Josh. ix. 7, Χορραῖος, and so Alex. in Gen. xxxiv. 2:] *Hevæus*). The name is, in the original, uniformly found in the singular number. It never has, like that of the Hittites, a plural, nor does it appear in any other form. Perhaps we may assume from this that it originated in some peculiarity of locality or circumstance, as in the case of the Amorites — "mountaineers;" and not in a progenitor, as did that of the Ammonites, who are also styled Bene-Ammon — children of Ammon — or the Hittites, Bene-Cheth — children of Heth. The name is explained by Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 318) as Binnenländer, that is, "Midlanders;" by Gesenius (*Thes.* 451) as *pagani*, "villagers." In the following passages the name is given in the A. V. in the singular — THE HIVITE: — Gen. x. 17; Ex. xxiii. 28, xxxiii. 2, xxxiv. 11; Josh. ix. 1, xi. 3; 1 Chr. i. 15; also Gen. xxxiv. 2, xxxvi. 2. In all the rest it is plural.

1. In the genealogical tables of Genesis, "the Hivite" is named as one of the descendants — the sixth in order — of Canaan, the son of Ham (Gen. x. 17; 1 Chr. i. 15). In the first enumeration of the nations who, at the time of the call of Abraham, occupied the promised land (Gen. xv. 19–21), the Hivites are omitted from the Hebrew text (though in the Samaritan and LXX. their name is inserted). This has led to the conjecture, amongst others, that they are identical with the KADMONITES, whose name is found there and there only (Reland, *Pal.* 140; Bochart, *Phal.* iv. 36; *Can.* i. 19). But are not the Kadmonites rather, as their name implies, the representatives of the Bene-kedem, or "children of the East"? The name constantly occurs in the formula by which the country is designated in the earlier books (Ex. iii. 8, 17, xiii. 5, xxiii. 23, 28, xxiii. 2, xxxiv. 11; Deut. vii. 1, xx. 17; Josh. iii. 10, ix. 1, xii. 8, xxiv. 11), and also in the later ones (1 K. ix. 20; 2 Chr. viii. 7; but comp. Ezr. ix. 1, and Neh. ix. 8). It is, however, absent in the report of the spies (Num. xiii. 29), a document which fixes the localities occupied by the Canaanite nations at that time. Perhaps this is owing to the then insignificance of the Hivites, or perhaps to the fact that they were indifferent to the special locality of their settlements.

2. We first encounter the actual people of the Hivites at the time of Jacob's return to Canaan. Shechem was then (according to the current Hebrew text) in their possession, Hamor the Hivite being the "prince (נָשִׂיא) of the land" (Gen. xxxiv. 2). They were at this time, to judge of them by their rulers, a warm and impetuous people, credulous, and easily deceived by the crafty and cruel sons of Jacob. The narrative further exhibits them as peaceful and commercial, given to "trade" (10, 21), and to the acquiring of "possessions" of cattle and other "wealth" (10, 23, 28, 29). Like the Hittites they held their assemblies or conferences in the gate of their city (20). We may also see a testimony to their peaceful habits in the absence of any attempt at revenge on Jacob for the massacre of the Shechemites. Perhaps a similar indication is furnished by the name of the god of the Shechemites some generations after this — Baal-berith — Baal of the league, or the alliance (Judg. viii. 33, ix. 4, 46); by the way in which the Shechemites were beaten by Abimelech (40); and by the unmilitary character, both of the weapon which caused Abimelech's death and of the person who discharged it (ix. 53).

The Alex. MS., and several other MSS. of the LXX., in the above narrative (Gen. xxxiv. 2) substitute "Horite" for "Hivite." The change is remarkable from the usually close adherence of the Alex. Codex to the Hebrew text, but it is not corroborated by any other of the ancient versions, nor is it recommended by other considerations. No instances occur of Horites in this part of Palestine, while we know, from a later narrative, that there was an important colony of Hivites on the highland of Benjamin at Gibeon, etc., no very great distance from Shechem. On the other hand, in Gen. xxxvi. 2, where Aholibamah, one of Esau's wives, is said to have been the daughter of [Anah] the daughter of Zibeon the Hivite, all considerations are in favor of reading "Horite" for "Hivite." In this case we fortunately possess a detailed genealogy of the family, by comparison of which little doubt is left of the propriety of the change (comp. verses 20, 24, 25, 30, with 2), although no ancient version has suggested it here.

3. We next meet with the Hivites during the conquest of Canaan (Josh. ix. 7, xi. 19). Their character is now in some respects materially altered. They are still evidently averse to fighting, but they have acquired — possibly by long experience in traffic — an amount of craft which they did not before possess, and which enables them to turn the tables on the Israelites in a highly successful manner (Josh. ix. 3–27). The colony of Hivites,[a] who made Joshua and the heads of the tribes their dupes on this occasion, had four cities — Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kirjath-jearim — situated if our present knowledge is accurate, at considerable distances asunder. It is not certain whether the three last were destroyed by Joshua or not (xi. 19)

[a] Here again the LXX. (both MSS.) have Horites for Hivites; but we cannot accept the change without further consideration.

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Hheon certainly was spared. In ver. 11 the Gibeonites speak of the "elders" of their city, a word which does not necessarily point to any special form of government, as is assumed by Winer (*Heviter*), who uses the ambiguous expression that they "lived under a republican constitution" (*in republicanischer Verfassung*)! See also Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 318, 319).

4. The main body of the Hivites, however, were at this time living on the northern confines of western Palestine — "under Hermon, in the land of Mizpeh" (Josh. xi. 3) — "in Mount Lebanon, from Mount Baal-Hermon to the entering in of Hamath" (Judg. iii. 3). Somewhere in this neighborhood they were settled when Joab and the captains of the host, in their tour of numbering, came to "all the cities of the Hivites" near Tyre (2 Sam. xxiv. 7). In the Jerusalem Targum on Gen. x. 17, they are called Tripolitans (טְרִיפּוֹלָיְאֵי), a name which points to the same general northern locality.

5. In speaking of the AVIM, or Avvites, a suggestion has been made by the writer that they may have been identical with the Hivites. This is apparently corroborated by the fact that, according to the notice in Deut. ii., the Avites seem to have been dispersed before the Hivites appear on the scene of the sacred history. G.

HIZKI'AH (חִזְקִיָּה [*strength of Jehovah*]: Ἐζεκίας: *Ezecias*), an ancestor of Zephaniah the prophet (Zeph. i. 1).

HIZKI'JAH (חִזְקִיָּהוּ [as above]: Ἐζεκία: *Hezecia*), according to the punctuation of the A. V. a man who sealed the covenant of reformation with Ezra and Nehemiah (Neh. x. 17). But there is no doubt that the name should be taken with that preceding it, as "Ater-Hizkijah," a name given in the lists of those who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel. It appears also extremely likely that the two names following these in x. 17, 18 (Azzur, Hodijah) are only corrupt repetitions of them.

This and the preceding name are identical, and are the same with that given in the A. V. as HEZEKIAH.

HO'BAB (חֹבָב [*love, beloved*]: ὁ Ὀβάβ, Alex. Ωβαβ; in Judg. Ἰωβάβ: *Hobab*). This name is found in two places only (Num. x. 29; Judg. iv. 11), and it seems doubtful whether it denotes the father-in-law of Moses, or his son. (1.) In favor of the latter are (*a.*) the express statement that Hobab was "the son of Raguel" (Num. x. 29); Raguel or Reuel — the Hebrew word in both cases is the same — being identified with Jethro, not only in Ex. ii. 18 (comp. iii. 1, &c.), but also by Josephus, who constantly gives him that name. (*b.*) The fact that Jethro had some time previously left the Israelite camp to return to his own country (Ex. xviii. 27). The words "the father-in-law of Moses" in Num. x. 29, though in most of the ancient versions connected with Hobab, will in the original read either way, so that no argument can be founded on them. (2.) In favor of Hobab's identity with Jethro are (*a.*) the words of Judg. iv. 11; but it should be remembered that this is (ostensibly) of later date than the other, and altogether a more casual statement. (*b.*) Josephus in speaking of Raguel remarks once (*Ant.* ii. 12, § 1) that he "had Iothor, i. e. Jethro) for a surname" (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐπίκλημα τῷ Ῥαγουήλ). From the absence of the article here, it is inferred by Whiston and others that Josephus intends that he had more than one surname, but this seems hardly safe.

The Mohammedan traditions are certainly in favor of the identity of Hobab with Jethro. He is known in the Koran and elsewhere, and in the East at the present day, by the name of *Sho'eib* (شعيب), doubtless a corruption of Hobab. According to those traditions he was the prophet of God to the idolaters of *Medyen* (Midian), who not believing his message were destroyed (Lane's *Koran*, 179–181); he was blind (*ib.* 180 *note*); the rod of Moses was his gift, it had once been the rod of Adam, and was of the myrtle of Paradise, etc. (*Ib.* 190: Weil's *Bibl. Legends*, 107–109). The name of *Sho'eib* still remains attached to one of the wadies on the east side of the Jordan, opposite Jericho, through which, according to the tradition of the locality (Seetzen, *Reisen*, 1854, ii. 319, 376), the children of Israel descended to the Jordan. [BETH-NIMRAH.] According to this tradition, therefore, he accompanied the people as far as the Promised Land, though whatever weight that may possess is, when the statement of Ex. xviii. 27 is taken into account, against his identity with Jethro. Other places bearing his name and those of his two daughters are shown at Sinai and on the Gulf of Akaba (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 33).

But whether Hobab was the father-in-law of Moses or not, the notice of him in Num. x. 29–32, though brief, is full of point and interest. While Jethro is preserved to us as the wise and practiced administrator, Hobab appears as the experienced Bedouin sheikh, to whom Moses looked for the material safety of his cumbrous caravan in the new and difficult ground before them. The tracks and passes of that "waste howling wilderness" were all familiar to him, and his practiced sight would be to them "instead of eyes" in discerning the distant clumps of verdure which betokened the wells or springs for the daily encampment, and in giving timely warning of the approach of Amalekites or other spoilers of the desert. [JETHRO.] G.

HO'BAH [or **HO'BA**, A. V. ed. 1611] (חוֹבָה [*concealed*, Ges.; *lurking-hole*, Fürst]: Χοβά: *Hoba*), the place to which Abraham pursued the kings who had pillaged Sodom (Gen. xiv. 15). It was situated "to the north of Damascus" (מִשְּׂמֹאל לְדַמֶּשֶׂק). Josephus mentions a tradition concerning Abraham which he takes from Nicolaus of Damascus: — "Abraham reigned at Damascus, being a foreigner . . . and his name is still famous in the country; and there is shown a village called from him *The Habitation of Abraham*" (*Ant.* i. 7, § 2). It is remarkable that in the village of *Burzeh*, three miles north of Damascus, there is a *wely* held in high veneration by the Mohammedans, and called after the name of the patriarch, *Masjid Ibrahim*, "the prayer-place of Abraham." The tradition attached to it is that here Abraham offered thanks to God after the total discomfiture of the eastern kings. Behind the *wely* is a cleft in the rock, in which another tradition represents the patriarch as *taking refuge* on one occasion from the giant Nimrod. It is remarkable that the word *Hobah* signifies "a hiding-place."

The Jews of Damascus affirm that the village of

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Jôbar, not far from Burzeh, is the Hobah of Scripture. They have a synagogue there dedicated to Elijah, to which they make frequent pilgrimages (see p. 720 *b*, note; also *Handb. for Syr. and Pal.* pp. 491, 492). J. L. P.

HOD (הוֹד [*splendor, ornament*]: Ὡδ; [Vat.] Alex. Ωδ: *Hod*), one of the sons of Zophah, among the descendants of Asher (1 Chr. vii. 37).

HODAIAH [3 syl.] (*Chetîb*, הוֹדַוְיָהוּ, altered in the *Keri* to הוֹדַוְיָהוּ, *i. e.* HODAVI'HU [*splendor of Jehovah*]: Ὀδολία; Alex. Ωδουια: *Oduia*), son of Elioënai, one of the last members of the royal line of Judah; mentioned 1 Chr. iii. 24.

HODAVI'AH (הוֹדַוְיָה [as above]: Ὡδουία: *Oduia*). 1. A man of Manasseh, one of the heads of the half-tribe on the east of Jordan (1 Chr. v. 24).

2. [Vat. Οδυια: *Oduia*.] A man of Benjamin, son of Has-senuah (1 Chr. ix. 7).

3. [Vat. Ζοδουια: *Odavia*.] A Levite, who seems to have given his name to an important family in the tribe — the Bene Hodaviah (Ezr. ii. 40). In Nehemiah the name appears as HODEVAH. Lord A. Hervey has called attention to the fact that this name is closely connected with Judah (*Genealogies*, p. 119). This being the case, we probably find this Hodaviah mentioned again in iii. 9.

HO'DESH (חֹדֶשׁ [*new moon*, or *time of the new moon*]: Ἀδά; [Comp. Χόδες:] *Hodes*), a woman named in the genealogies of Benjamin (1 Chr. viii. 9) as the wife of a certain Shaharaim, and mother of seven children. Shaharaim had two wives besides Hodesh, or possibly Hodesh was a second name of one of those women (ver. 8). The LXX. by reading Baara, Βααδά, and Hodesh, Ἀδά, seem to wish to establish such a connection.

HOD'EVAH (הוֹדַוְיָה, *Keri* הוֹדִיָה [perh. *brightness, ornament of Jehovah*]: Οὐδουία: [Vat. Θουδουια:] Alex. Ουδουιδ: *Oduia*), Bene-Hodevah [sons of H.], a Levite family, returned from Captivity with Zerubbabel (Neh. vii. 43). In the parallel lists it is given as HODAVIAH (No. 3) and SUDIAS.

HODI'AH (הוֹדִיָה [*splendor of Jehovah*]: ἡ Ἰδουία; Alex. Ιουδαια; [Comp. Ὡδία:] *Odaia*), one of the two wives of Ezra, a man of Judah, and mother to the founders of Keilah and Eshtemoa (1 Chr. iv. 19). She is doubtless the same person as Jehudijah (in verse 18, that is "the Jewess"), in fact, except the article, which is disregarded in the A. V., the two names are identical [comp. HODAVIAH, No. 3]. Hodiah is exactly the same name as HODIJAH, under which form it is given more than once in the A. V.

HODI'JAH (הוֹדִיָה [as above]: Ὡδουία: *Odia*, *Odaia*). This is in the original precisely the same name as the preceding, though spelt differently in the A. V. It occurs —

1. A Levite in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (Neh. viii. 7; and probably also ix. 5; x. 10). The name with others is omitted in the two first of these passages in the LXX.

2. [Ὡδούμ; Alex. Ωδουια: *Odaia*.] Another Levite at the same time (Neh. x. 13).

3. [Ὡδουία; Vat. Alex. FA. Οδουια: *Odaia*.] A layman; one of the "heads" of the people at the same time (Neh. x. 18).

HOG'LAH (חָגְלָה [*partridge*]: Ἐγλά Alex. Αγγλα, Αγγλαμ: *Hegla*), the third of the five daughters of Zelophehad, in whose favor the law of inheritance was altered so that a daughter could inherit her father's estate when he left no sons (Num. xxvi. 33, xxvii. 1, xxxvi. 11, Josh. xvii. 3).

The name also occurs in BETH-HOGLAH, which see.

HO'HAM (הוֹהָם [*whom Jehovah incites*, Ges.]: Ἐλάμ; Alex. Αιλαμ;[a] *Oham*), king of Hebron at the time of the conquest of Canaan (Josh. x. 3): one of the five kings who were pursued by Joshua down the pass of Beth-horon, and who were at last captured in the cave at Makkedah and there put to death. As king of Hebron he is frequently referred to in Josh. x., but his name occurs in the above passage only.

HOLM-TREE (πρῖνος: *ilex*) occurs only in the apocryphal story of Susanna (ver. 58). The passage contains a characteristic play on the names of the two trees mentioned by the elders in their evidence. That on the mastich (σχῖνον . . . ἄγγελος σχίσει σε) has been noticed under that head [MASTICH-TREE, *note*]. That on the holm-tree (πρῖνον) is "the angel of God waiteth with the sword to cut thee in two" (ἵνα πρίσαι σε). For the historical significance of these puns see SUSANNA. The πρῖνος of Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* iii. 7, § 3, and 16, § 1, and elsewhere) and Dioscorides (i. 144) denotes, there can be no doubt, the *Quercus coccifera*, the *Q. pseudo-coccifera*, which is perhaps not specifically distinct from the first-mentioned oak. The *ilex* of the Roman writers was applied both to the holm-oak (*Quercus ilex*) and to the *Q. coccifera* or kermes oak. See Pliny (*H. N.* xvi. 6).

For the oaks of Palestine, see a paper by Dr. Hooker in the *Transactions of the Linnæan Society*, vol. xxiii. pt. ii. pp. 381–387. [OAK.] W. H.

HOLOFER'NES, or, more correctly, OLOFERNES (Ὀλοφέρνης: [*Holofernes*]),[b] was, according to the book of Judith, a general of Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Assyrians (Judg. ii. 4), who was slain by the Jewish heroine Judith during the siege of Bethulia. [JUDITH.] The name occurs twice in Cappadocian history, as borne by the brother of Ariarathes I. (c. B. C. 350), and afterwards by a pretender to the Cappadocian throne, who was at first supported and afterwards imprisoned by Demetrius Soter (c. B. C. 158). The termination (Tissaphernes, etc.) points to a Persian origin, but the meaning of the word is uncertain. B. F. W.

HO'LON (חֹלֹן [*abode, halting-place*, Sim.]. Χαλοὺ καὶ Χανηά, Alex. Χιλουων; ἡ Γελλά, Alex. Ωλων: *Olon*, *Holm*). 1. A town in the mountains of Judah; one of the first group, of which Debir was apparently the most considerable. It is named between GOSHEN and GILOH (Josh. xv. 51), and

[a] In each M3. the same equivalent as the above has been given for HORAM.

[b] In the A. V. ed. 1611 the name is generally printed "Olofernes," though "Holofernes" also occurs. A.

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was allotted with its "suburbs" to the priests (xxi. 15). In the list of priest's cities of 1 Chr. vi. the name appears as HILEN. In the Onomasticon ("Helon" and "Olon") it is mentioned, but not so as to imply its then existence. Nor has the name been since recognized by travellers.

2. חֹלוֹן [as above]: Χελών: *Heson*), a city of Moab (Jer. xlviii. 21, only). It was one of the towns of the *Mishor*, the level downs (A. V. "plain country") east of Jordan, and is named with Jahazah, Dibon, and other known places; but no identification of it has yet taken place, nor does it appear in the parallel lists of Num. xxxii. and Josh. xiii. G.

HO'MAM (הוֹמָם [*extermination*, Ges.]: Αἰμάν: *Homan*), the form under which in 1 Chr. i. 39 an Edomite name appears, which in Gen. xxxvi. is given HEMAM. Homam is assumed by Gesenius to be the original form (*Thes.* p. 385 *a*). By Knobel (*Genesis*, p. 254), the name is compared with that of *Homaima* (حُمَيْمَة), a town now ruined, though once important, half-way between Petra and Ailath, on the ancient road at the back of the mountain. See Laborde, *Journey*, p. 207, *Ameimé*; also the Arabic authorities mentioned by Knobel. G.

HOMER. [MEASURES.]

• HONEST. [HONESTY.]

• HONESTY, for σεμνότης (A. V.), 1 Tim. ii. 2, is more restricted in its idea than the Greek word σεμνότης. The latter designates generally dignity of character, including of course probity, but also other qualities allied to self-control and decorum. The same word is rendered "gravity," 1 Tim. iii. 4, and Tit. ii. 7. It may be added that "honest" (which in the N. T. usually represents καλός, once σεμνός) is often to be taken as equivalent to "good" or "reputable." Like the Latin *honestus*, it describes what is honorable, becoming, or morally beautiful in character and conduct. "Honestly" is used in the A. V. in a similar manner as the rendering of εὐσχημόνως and καλῶς (Rom. xiii. 13; 1 Thess. iv. 12; Heb. xiii. 18). H.

HONEY. We have already noticed [FOOD] the extensive use of honey as an article of ordinary food among the Hebrews: we shall therefore in the present article restrict ourselves to a description of the different articles which passed under the Hebrew name of *d'bash* (דְּבַשׁ). In the first place it applies to the product of the bee, to which we exclusively apply the name of honey. All travellers agree in describing Palestine as a land "flowing with honey" (Ex. iii. 8), bees being abundant even in the remote parts of the wilderness, where they deposit their honey in the crevices of the rocks or in hollow trees. In some parts of northern Arabia the hills are so well stocked with bees, that no sooner are hives placed than they are occupied (Wellsted's *Travels*, ii. 123). The Hebrews had special expressions to describe the exuding of the honey from the comb, such as *nôpheth* (נֹפֶת), "dropping" (Cant. iv. 11; Prov. v. 3, xxiv. 13), *nâphâ* (נָפָה), "overflowing" (Ps. xix. 10; Prov. xvi. 24), and *ya'ar* (יַעַר) or *ya'arah* (יַעֲרָה) (1 Sam. xiv. 27; Cant. v. 1)—expressions which answer to the *mel acetum* of Pliny (xi. 15): the second of these terms approaches nearest to the sense of "honey *comb*," inasmuch as it is connected with *nopheth* in Ps. xix. 10, "the droppings of the comb." (2.) In the second place, the term *d'bash* applies to a decoction of the juice of the grape, which is still called *dibs*, and which forms an article of commerce in the East; it was this, and not ordinary bee-honey, which Jacob sent to Joseph (Gen. xliii. 11), and which the Tyrians purchased from Palestine (Ez. xxvii. 17). The mode of preparing it is described by Pliny (xiv. 11): the must was either boiled down to a half (in which case it was called *defrutum*), or to a third (when it was called *siracum*, or *sapa*, the σίραιος οἶνος, and ἕψημα of the Greeks): it was mixed either with wine or milk (Virg. *Georg.* i. 296; Ov. *Fast.* iv. 780): it is still a favorite article of nutriment among the Syrians, and has the appearance of coarse honey (Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 82). (3.) A third kind has been described by some writers as "vegetable" honey, by which is meant the exudations of certain trees and shrubs, such as the *Tamarix mannifera*, found in the peninsula of Sinai, or the stunted oaks of Luristan and Mesopotamia. The honey which Jonathan ate in the wood (1 Sam. xiv. 25), and the "wild honey" which supported St. John (Matt. iii. 4), have been referred to this species. We do not agree to this view: the honey in the wood was in such abundance that Jonathan took it up on the end of a stick; but the vegetable honey is found only in small globules, which must be carefully collected and strained before being used (Wellsted, ii. 50). The use of the term *ya'ar* in that passage is decisive against this kind of honey. The μέλι ἄγριον of Matthew need not mean anything else than the honey of the wild bees, which we have already stated to be common in Palestine, and which Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 8, § 3) specifies among the natural productions of the plain of Jericho: the expression is certainly applied by Diodorus Siculus (xix. 94) to honey exuded from trees; but it may also be applied like the Latin *mel silvestre* (Plin. xi. 16) to a particular kind of bee-honey. (4.) A fourth kind is described by Josephus (*l. c.*), as being manufactured from the juice of the date.

The prohibition against the use of honey in meat offerings (Lev. ii. 11) appears to have been grounded on the fermentation produced by it, honey soon turning sour, and even forming vinegar (Plin. xxi. 48). This fact is embodied in the Talmudical word *hidbish* = "to ferment," derived from *d'bash*. Other explanations have been offered, as that bees were unclean (Philo *de Sacrif.* c. 6, *App.* ii. 255), or that the honey was the artificial *dibs* (Lightf. *Symbol.* ii. 323). W. L. B.

• HONEY-COMB. [HONEY.]

• HOOD. Is. iii. 23. [HEAD-DRESS.]

HOOK, HOOKS. Various kinds of hooks are noticed in the Bible, of which the following are the most important.

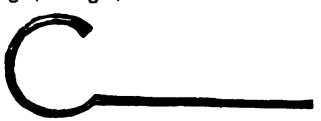
1. Fishing-hooks (צִנָּה, סִיר, Am. iv. 2; חַחָה, Job xli. 2; Is. xix. 8; Hab. i. 15). The two first of these Hebrew terms mean primarily *thorns*, and secondarily *fishing-hooks*, from the similarity in shape, or perhaps from thorns having been originally used for the purpose; in both cases the LXX. and Vulg. are mistaken in their renderings, giving ὅπλοις and *contis* for the first. Αἴθω

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ras and *alla* for the second; the third term refers to the contraction of the mouth by the hook.

2 חוֹחַ (A. V. "thorn"), properly a *ring* (*φάλιον*, *circulus*) placed through the mouth of a large fish and attached by a cord (אַגְמוֹן) to a stake for the purpose of keeping it alive in the water (Job xli. 2); the word meaning the *cord* is rendered "hook" in the A. V. and = *σχοῖνος*.

3. חָח and חוֹחַ, generally rendered "hook" in the A. V. after the LXX. *ἀγκιστρον*, but properly a *ring* (*circulus*), such as in our country is placed through the nose of a bull, and similarly used in the east for leading about lions (Ez. xix. 4, where the A. V. has "with chains"), camels, and other animals. A similar method was adopted for leading prisoners, as in the case of Manasseh who was led with rings (2 Chr. xxxiii. 11; A. V. "in the thorns"). An illustration of this practice is found in a bas-relief discovered at Khorsabad (Layard, ii. 376). The expression is used several times in this sense (2 K. xix. 28; Is. xxxvii. 29; Ez. xxix. 4, xxxviii. 4). The term מוֹסֶכֶת is used in a similar sense in Job xl. 24 (A. V. "bore his nose with a gin," margin).



Hook. (Layard's *Nineveh.*)

4. וָיִם, a term exclusively used in reference to the Tabernacle, rendered "hooks" in the A. V. The LXX. varies in its rendering, sometimes giving *κεφαλίς*, *i. e.* the *capital* of the pillars, sometimes *κρίκος* and *ἀγκύλη*; the expenditure of gold, as given in Ex. xxxviii. 28, has led to this doubt; they were, however, most probably *hooks* (Ex. xxvi. 32, 37, xxvii. 10 ff., xxxviii. 10 ff.); the word seems to have given name to the letter ו in the Hebrew alphabet, possibly from a similarity of the form in which the latter appears in the Greek *Digamma*, to that of a hook.

5. מַזְמֵרָה, a vine-dresser's pruning-hook (Is. ii. 4, xviii. 5; Mic. iv. 3; Joel iii. 10).

6. מַזְלֵג and מִזְלָגָה (*κρεάγρα*), a flesh-hook for getting up the joints of meat out of the boiling pot (Ex. xxvii. 3; 1 Sam. ii. 13–14).

7. שְׁפָתַיִם (Ex. xl. 43), a term of very doubtful meaning, probably meaning "hooks" (as in the A. V.), used for the purpose of hanging up animals to flay them (*praeilli bifurci*, Ges. *Thes.* p. 1470): other meanings given are — ledges (*labia*, Vulg.), or eaves, as though the word were שְׂפָתַיִם; pens for keeping the animals previous to their being slaughtered; hearth-stones, as in the margin of the A. V.; and lastly, gutters to receive and carry off the blood from the slaughtered animals.

W. L. B.

HOPH'NI (חָפְנִי, *a fighter* [*a pugilist*, boxer, Ges.; *one strong, powerful*, Fürst]: Ὀφνί [Vat. -νει; Alex. in 1 Sam. ii. 34, Ἔφνει, iv. 4 11, 17, Ὀφνει: *Ophni*]) and PHINEHAS (פִּינְחָס Φινεές [Vat. Φεινεες]), the two sons of Eli, who fulfilled their hereditary sacerdotal duties at Shiloh. Their brutal rapacity and lust, which seemed to acquire fresh violence with their father's increasing years (1 Sam. ii. 22, 12–17), filled the people with disgust and indignation, and provoked the curse which was denounced against their father's house first by an unknown prophet (vv. 27–36), and then by Samuel (1 Sam. iii. 11–14). They were both cut off in one day in the flower of their age, and the ark which they had accompanied to battle against the Philistines was lost on the same occasion (1 Sam. iv. 10, 11). The predicted ruin and ejectment of Eli's house were fulfilled in the reign of Solomon. [ELI; ZADOK.] The unbridled licentiousness of these young priests gives us a terrible glimpse into the fallen condition of the chosen people (Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 538–638).[a] The Scripture calls them "sons of Belial" (1 Sam. ii. 12); and to this our great poet alludes in the words —

> —— "To him no temple stood
> Or altar smoked; yet who more oft than he
> In temples and at altars, *when the priest*
> *Turns atheist*, as did Eli's sons, who filled
> With lust and violence the house of God?"
> *Par. Lost*, i. 492. F. W. P.

HOR, MOUNT (הֹר הָהָר, = *Hor the mountain*, remarkable as the only case in which the name comes first). 1. (Ὄρ τὸ ὄρος: *Mons Hor*), the mountain in which Aaron died (Num. xx. 25, 27). The word Hor is regarded by the lexicographers as an archaic form of *Har*, the usual Hebrew term for "mountain" (Gesenius, *Thes.* p. 391 *b*; Fürst, *Handwb.* ad voc., etc.), so that the meaning of the name is simply "the mountain of mountains," as the LXX. have it in another case (see below, No. 2) τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὄρος: Vulg. *mons altissimus*; and Jerome (*Ep. ad Fabiolam*) "non in monte simpliciter sed in montis monte."

The few facts given us in the Bible regarding Mount Hor are soon told. It was "on the boundary line" (Num. xx. 23) or "at the edge" (xxxiii. 37) of the land of Edom. It was the next halting-place of the people after Kadesh (xx. 22, xxxiii. 37), and they quitted it for Zalmonah (xxxiii. 41) in the road to the Red Sea (xxi. 4). It was during the encampment at Kadesh that Aaron was gathered to his fathers. At the command of Jehovah, he, his brother, and his son ascended the mountain, in the presence of the people, "in the eyes of all the congregation." The garments, and with the garments the office, of high-priest were taken from Aaron and put upon Eleazar, and Aaron died there in the top of the mountain. In the circumstances of the ascent of the height to die, and in the marked exclusion from the Promised Land, the end of the one brother resembled the end of the other; but in the presence of the two survivors, and of the gazing crowd below, there is a striking difference between this event and the solitary death of Moses.

Mount Hor "is one of the very few spots connected with the wanderings of the Israelites which admit of no reasonable doubt" (Stanley, *Syr. and Pal.* p. 86). It is almost unnecessary to state that

[a] Dean Stanley finds a lesson also for other and later times in that "great and instructive wickedness" which the names of Phinehas and Hophni recall to us. See his remarks, *History of the Jewish Church*, i. 413. F

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is situated on the eastern side of the great valley of the *Arabah*, the highest and most conspicuous of the whole range of the sandstone mountains of Edom, having close beneath it on its eastern side — though strange to say the two are not visible to each other — the mysterious city of Petra. The tradition has existed from the earliest date. Josephus does not mention the name of Hor (*Ant.* iv. 4, § 7), but he describes the death of Aaron as taking place "on a very high mountain which surrounded the metropolis of the Arabs," which latter "was formerly called Arke, but now Petra." In the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius and Jerome it is *Or mons* — "a mountain in which Aaron died, close to the city of Petra." When it was visited by the Crusaders (see the quotations in Rob. 521), the sanctuary was already on its top, and there is little doubt that it was then what it is now — the *Jebel Nebi-Harún*, "the mountain of the Prophet Aaron."

Of the geological formation of Mount Hor we have no very trustworthy accounts. The general structure of the range of Edom, of which it forms the most prominent feature, is new red sandstone, displaying itself to an enormous thickness. Above that is the Jura limestone, and higher still the cretaceous beds, which latter in Mount Seir are reported to be 3,500 feet in thickness (Wilson, *Lands*, i. 194). Through these deposited strata longitudinal dykes of red granite and porphyry have forced their way, running nearly north and south, and so completely silicifying the neighboring sandstone as often to give it the look of a primitive rock. To these combinations are due the extraordinary colors for which Petra is so famous. Mount Hor itself is said to be entirely sandstone, in very horizontal strata (Wilson, i. 290). Its height, according to the latest measurements, is 4,800 feet (Eng.) above the Mediterranean, that is to say about 1,700 feet above the town of Petra, 4,000



View of the summit of Mount Hor. (From Laborde.)

above the level of the Arabah, and more than 6,000 above the Dead Sea (Roth, in Petermann's *Mittheil.* 1858, i. 3). The mountain is marked, far and near, by its double top, which rises like a huge castellated building from a lower base and is surmounted by the circular dome of the tomb of Aaron, a distinct white spot on the dark red surface of the mountain (Stanley, 86; Laborde, 143; Stephens, *Incidents*). This lower base is the "plain of Aaron," beyond which Burckhardt was, after all his toils, prevented from ascending. "Out of this plain, culminating in its two summits, springs the red sandstone mass, from its base upwards rocky and naked, not a bush or a tree to relieve the rugged and broken corners of the sandstone blocks which compose it. On ascending this mass a little plain is found to lie between the two peaks, marked by a white cypress, and not unlike the celebrated plain of the cypress under the summit of *Jebel Mûsa*, traditionally believed to be the scene of Elijah's vision. The southernmost of the two, on approaching, takes a conical form. The northernmost is truncated, and crowned by the chapel of Aaron's tomb." The chapel or mosk is a small square building, measuring inside about 28 feet by 18 (Wilson, 295), with its door in the S. W. angle. It is built of rude stones, in part broken columns, all of sandstone, but fragments of granite and marble lie about. Steps lead to the flat roof of the chapel, from which rises a white dome as usual over a saint's tomb. The interior of the chapel consists of two chambers, one below the other. The upper one has four large pillars and a stone chest, or tombstone, like one of the ordinary slabs in churchyards, but larger and higher, and rather bigger at the top than the bottom. At its head is a high round stone, on which sacrifices are made, and which retained, when Stephens saw it, the marks of the smoke and blood of recent offerings. "On the slab are Arabic inscriptions, and it is covered with shawls chiefly red. One of the pillars is hung with votive offerings of beads, etc., and two ostrich eggs are suspended over the chest. Steps in the N. W. angle lead down to the lower chamber, which is partly in the rock, but plastered. It is perfectly dark. At the end, apparently under the stone chest above, is a recess guarded by a grating. Within this is a rude protuberance, whether of stone or plaster was not ascertainable, resting on wood, and covered by a ragged pall. This lower recess is no doubt the tomb, and possibly ancient. What is above is only the artificial monument and

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certainly modern." [a] In one of the walls of the upper chamber is a "round polished black stone," one of those mysterious stones of which the prototype is the Kaaba at Mecca, and which, like that, would appear to be the object of great devotion (Martineau, 419, 420).

The impression received on the spot is that Aaron's death took place in the small basin between the two peaks, and that the people were stationed either on the plain at the base of the peaks, or at that part of the *Wady Abu-Kusheybeh* from which the top is commanded. Josephus says that the ground was sloping downwards (κατάντες ἦν τὸ χωρίον; *Ant.* iv. 4, § 7). But this may be the mere general expression of a man who had never been on the spot. The greater part of the above information has been kindly communicated to the writer by Professor Stanley.

The chief interest of Mount Hor will always consist in the prospect from its summit — the last view of Aaron — "that view which was to him what Pisgah was to his brother." It is described at length by Irby (134), Wilson (i. 292–9), Martineau (420), and is well summed up by Stanley in the following words: "We saw all the main points on which his eye must have rested. He looked over the valley of the Arabah countersected by its hundred watercourses, and beyond, over the white mountains of the wilderness they had so long traversed; and at the northern edge of it there must have been visible the heights through which the Israelites had vainly attempted to force their way into the Promised Land. This was the western view. Close around him on the east were the rugged mountains of Edom, and far along the horizon the wide downs of Mount Seir, through which the passage had been denied by the wild tribes of Esau who hunted over their long slopes." On the north lay the mysterious Dead Sea gleaming from the depths of its profound basin (Stephens, *Incidents*). "A dreary moment, and a dreary scene — such it must have seemed to the aged priest. . . . The peculiarity of the view is the combination of wide extension with the scarcity of marked features. Petra is shut out by intervening rocks. But the survey of the Desert on one side, and the mountains of Edom on the other, is complete; and of these last the great feature is the mass of red bald-headed sandstone rocks, intersected not by valleys but by deep seams" (*S. & P.* p. 87). Though Petra itself is entirely shut out, one outlying building — if it may be called a building — is visible, that which goes by the name of the *Deir*, or Convent. Professor Stanley has thrown out a suggestion on the connection between the two which is well worth further investigation.

Owing to the natural difficulties of the locality and the caprices of the Arabs, Mount Hor and Petra are more difficult of access than any other places which Europeans usually attempt to visit. The records of these attempts — not all of them successes — will be found in the works of Burckhardt, Irby and Mangles, Stephens, Wilson, Robinson, Martineau, and Stanley. They are sufficient to invest the place with a secondary interest, hardly inferior to that which attaches to it as the halting-place of the children of Israel, and the burial-place of Aaron.

[a] If Burckhardt's informants were correct (*Syria*, p. 431) there is a considerable difference between what the tomb was even when he sacrificed his kid on the plain below, and when Irby and Mangles visited it six years after.

2. (τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὄρος: *mons altissimus.*) A mountain, entirely distinct from the preceding, named in Num. xxxiv. 7, 8, only, as one of the marks of the northern boundary of the land which the children of Israel were about to conquer. The identification of this mountain has always been one of the puzzles of Sacred Geography. The Mediterranean was the western boundary. The northern boundary started from the sea; the first point in it was Mount Hor, and the second the entrance of Hamath. Since Sidon was subsequently allotted to the most northern tribe — Asher — and was, as far as we know, the most northern town so allotted, it would seem probable that the northern boundary would commence at about that point; that is, opposite to where the great range of Lebanon breaks down to the sea. The next landmark, the entrance to Hamath, seems to have been determined by Mr. Porter as the pass at *Kulát el-Husn*, close to *Hums*, the ancient Hamath — at the other end of the range of Lebanon. [HAMATH, Amer. ed.] Surely "Mount Hor" then can be nothing else than the great chain of Lebanon itself. Looking at the massive character and enormous height of the range, it is very difficult to suppose that any individual peak or mountain is intended and not the whole mass, which takes nearly a straight course between the two points just named, and includes below it the great plain of the *Buká'a* and the whole of Palestine properly so called.

The Targum Pseudojon. renders Mount Hor by *Umana*, probably intending Amana. The latter is also the reading of the Talmud (*Gittin* 8, quoted by Fürst, *sub voce*), in which it is connected with the Amana named in Cant. iv. 8. But the situation of this Amana is nowhere indicated by them. It cannot have any connection with the Amana or Abana river which flowed through Damascus, as that is quite away from the position required in the passage. By the Jewish geographers Schwarz (24, 25) and Parchi (Benj. of Tudela, 413, &c.), for various traditional and linguistic reasons, a mountain is fixed upon very far to the north, between Tripoli and Hamath, in fact, though they do not say so, very near the Mons Amanus of the classical geographers. But this is some 200 miles north of Sidon, and 150 above Hamath, and is surely an unwarranted extension of the limits of the Holy Land. The great range of Lebanon is so clearly the natural northern boundary of the country, that there seems no reason to doubt that the whole range is intended by the term Hor. G.

* Dr. Robinson (*Phys. Geogr.* p. 345) would limit this Hor either to "the northern end of Lebanon Proper or a Hor connected with it." Porter also (*Giant Cities of Bashan*, etc., p. 316) fixes on the northern peak of Lebanon as the point of departure in tracing the northern boundary, which peak he represents as sufficiently conspicuous to be thus singled out. The entire Lebanon range, stretching so far from north to south, would certainly be very indefinite if assigned as the starting-point for running the line in that direction. In other respects this description of the Land of Promise (Num. xxxiv. 3–12) may be said to be remarkably specific in the designation of places. E.

HORAM (הֹרָם [*elevated, great*]: Ἐλάμ.

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[Vat.] Ασερ. Αιλαμ; [Ald. Ὡράμ: *Horam*), king of GEZER at the time of the conquest of the south-western part of Palestine (Josh. x. 33). He came to the assistance of Lachish, but was slaughtered by Joshua with all his people. Whether the Gezer which he governed was that commonly mentioned, or another place further south, is not determinable.

HO'REB [חֹרֵב, *dry*: Χωρήβ; Alex. in Deut. i. 19. Χοχωθ: *Horeb*], Ex. iii. 1, xvii. 6, xxxiii. 6; Deut. i. 2, 6, 19, iv. 10, 15, v. 2, ix 8, xviii. 16, xxix. 1; 1 K. viii. 9, xix. 8; 2 Chr. v. 10; Ps. cvi. 19; Mal. iv. 4; Ecclus. xlviii. 7. [SINAI.]

HO'REM (חָרֹם [*consecrated*, Ges.: *fortress*, Fürst]: Μεγαλααφίμ [Vat. -ειμ], Alex. Μαγδαλαγωραμ, both by inclusion of the preceding name: *Horem*), one of the fortified places in the territory of Naphtali; named with Iron and Migdal-el (Josh. xix. 38). Van de Velde (i. 178–9; *Memoir*, 322) suggests *Hurah* as the site of Horem. It is an ancient site in the centre of the country, half-way between the *Ras en-Nâkhûra* and the Lake Merom, on a *Tell* at the southern end of the *Wady el-'Ain*, one of the natural features of the country. It is also in favor of this identification that *Hurah* is near *Yarûn*, probably the representative of the ancient IRON, named with Horem. G.

HOR HAGID'GAD (הֹר הַגִּדְגָּד [*mountain of the cleft*, Fürst]: ὄρος Γαδγάδ: *Mons Gadgad*—both reading הֹר for חֹר), the name of a desert station where the Israelites encamped (Num. xxxiii. 32), probably the same as Gudgodah (Deut. x. 7). In both passages it stands in sequence with three others, Moserah or Moseroth, (Beeroth) Bene-Jaakan, and Jotbath or Jotbathah; but the order is not strictly preserved. Hengstenberg (*Genuineness of the Pentateuch*, ii. 356) has sought to account for this by supposing that they were in Deut. x. 7 going the opposite way to that in Num. xxxiii. 32. For the consideration of this see WILDERNESS OF WANDERING. *Gedged* (Arab. جَدْجَد) means a hard and level tract. We have also *Gudgud* (Arab. جُدْجُد), which has among other meanings that of a well abounding in water. The plural of either of these might closely approximate in sound to Gudâgid. It is observable that on the west side of the Arabah Robinson (vol. i., map) has a *Wady Ghûdâghidh*, which may bear the same meaning; but as that meaning might be perhaps applied to a great number of localities, it would be dangerous to infer identity. The junction of this wady with the Arabah would not, however, be unsuitable for a station between Mount Hor, near which Moserah lay (comp. Num. xx. 28, Deut. x. 6), and Ezion-Geber. Robinson also mentions a shrub growing in the Arabah itself, which he calls غضا, *Ghâdhâh* (ii. 121 comp. 119), which may also possibly suggest a derivation for the name. H. H.

HO'RI. 1. (חֹרִי, but in Chron. חוּרִי *inhabitant of caves, troglodyte*, Ges., Fürst]: Χοββόλ, Alex. Χορρεί, in Chron. Χοδδί [Vat. -εί]: *Hori*), a Horite, as his name betokens; son of Lotan the son of Seir, and brother to Hemam or Homam (Gen. xxxvi. 22; 1 Chr. i. 39). No trace of the name appears to have been met with in modern times.

2. (Χοββί; Alex. Χορρεί: *Horraeorum*.) In Gen. xxxvi. 30, the name has in the original the definite article prefixed — הַחֹרִי = *the Horite*; and is in fact precisely the same word with that which in the preceding verse, and also in 21, is rendered in the A. V. "the Horites."

3. (חוֹרִי: [a] Χουρί in both MSS. [rather, Rom., Alex.; Vat. Χουρεί:] *Huri*.) A man of Simeon; father of Shaphat, who represented that tribe among the spies sent up into Canaan by Moses (Num. xiii. 5).

HO'RITES and HO'RIMS (חֹרִי, Gen. xiv. 6, and חֹרִים, Deut. ii. 12: Χοββαῖοι: *Horraei* [*Horroei, Horrhaei*; also HO'RITE in the sing., Gen. xxxvi. 20, Χοββαῖος: *Horraeus*]), the aboriginal inhabitants of Mount Seir (Gen. xiv. 6), and probably allied to the Emims and Rephaims. The name *Horite* (חֹרִי, *a troglodyte*, from חוֹר, "a hole" or "cave") appears to have been derived from their habits as "cave-dwellers." Their excavated dwellings are still found in hundreds in the sandstone cliffs and mountains of Edom, and especially in Petra. [EDOM and EDOMITES.] It may, perhaps, be to the Horites Job refers in xxx. 6, 7. They are only three times mentioned in Scripture: first, when they were smitten by the kings of the East (Gen. xiv. 6); then when their genealogy is given in Gen. xxxvi. 20–30 and 1 Chr. i. 38–42; and lastly when they were exterminated by the Edomites (Deut. ii. 12, 22). It appears probable that they were not Canaanites, but an earlier race, who inhabited Mount Seir before the posterity of Canaan took possession of Palestine (Ewald, *Geschichte*, vol. i. 304, 305). J. L. P.

HOR'MAH (חָרְמָה [*devotement to destruction, anathema*: Rom. Vat. Alex. commonly Ερμᾶ or Ερμά, but Num. xxi. 3 and Judg. i. 17, Ἀνάθεμα, 1 Sam. xxx. 30, Ιερμούθ (Vat. -ρει-); Rom. Vat. Num. xiv. 45, Ερμάν, Josh. xii. 14, Ερμάθ: Alex. Josh. xv. 30, Ερμαλ: *Horma, Herma, Harma, Arama* (al. *Harami*)]; its earlier name Zephath, צְפָת, is found Judg. i. 17) was the chief town of a "king" of a Canaanitish tribe on the south of Palestine, reduced by Joshua (Josh. xii. 14), and became a city of the territory of Judah (Josh. xv. 30; 1 Sam. xxx. 30), but apparently belonged to Simeon, whose territory is reckoned as parcel of the former (Josh. xix. 4; comp. Judg. i. 17; 1 Chr. iv. 30). The seeming inconsistency between Num. xxi. 3 and Judg. i. 17 may be relieved by supposing that the vow made at the former period was fulfilled at the latter, and the name (the root of which, חָרַם, constantly occurs in the sense of to devote to destruction, or utterly to destroy) given by anticipation. Robinson (ii. 181) identifies the pass *Es-Sûfa*, الصفا, with Zephath, in respect both of the name, which is sufficiently similar, and of the situation, which is a probable one, namely, the gap in the mountain barrier, which, running about S. W. and N. E., completes the plateau of Southern Palestine, and rises above the less elevated step—

[a] Ff.: the Χ, representing ח. comp HELEM, HELLEN, HOSAH.

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the level of the desert *et-Tih* — interposed between it and the Ghor [WILDERNESS OF WANDERING.] H. H.

HORN. I. LITERAL. (Josh. vi. 4, 5; comp. Ex. xix. 13; 1 Sam. xvi. 1, 13; 1 K. i. 39; Job xlii. 14). — Two purposes are mentioned in the Scriptures to which the horn seems to have been applied. Trumpets were probably at first merely horns perforated at the tip, such as are still used upon mountain-farms for calling home the laborers at meal-time. If the A. V. of Josh. vi. 4, 5 ("rams' horns," קַרְנֵי הַיּוֹבֵל) were correct, this would settle the question: but the fact seems to be that יוֹבֵל has nothing to do with *ram*, and that קֶרֶן, *horn*, serves to indicate an instrument which originally was made of horn, though afterwards, no doubt, constructed of different materials (comp. Varr. *L. L.* v. 24, 33, "cornua quod ea quae nunc sunt ex ære tunc fiebant bubulo e cornu"). [CORNET.] The horns which were thus made into trumpets were probably those of oxen rather than of rams: the latter would scarcely produce a note sufficiently imposing to suggest its association with the fall of Jericho.

The word *horn* is also applied to a flask, or vessel made of horn, containing *oil* (1 Sam. xvi. 1, 13; 1 K. i. 39), or used as a kind of toilet-bottle, filled with the preparation of antimony with which women tinged their eye-lashes (Keren-happuch = *paint-horn*, name of one of Job's daughters, Job xlii. 14). So in English, drinking-horn (commonly called a *horn*). In the same way the Greek κέρας sometimes signifies bugle, trumpet (Xen. *An.* ii. 2, § 4), and sometimes drinking-horn (vii. 2, § 23). In like manner the Latin *cornu* means *trumpet*, and also *oil-cruet* (Hor. *Sat.* ii. 2, 61), and *funnel* (Virg. *Georg.* iii. 509).

II. METAPHORICAL. — 1. *From similarity of form.* — To this use belongs the application of the word *horn* to a trumpet of metal, as already mentioned. Horns of ivory, that is, elephants' teeth, are mentioned in Ex. xxvii. 15; either metaphorically from similarity of form; or, as seems more probable, from a vulgar error. The *horns of the altar* (Ex. xxvii. 2) are not supposed to have been made of horn, but to have been metallic projections from the four corners (γωνίαι κερατοειδεῖς, Joseph. *B. J.* v. 5, § 6). [ALTAR, p. 74 *b*.] The *peak* or *summit* of a hill was called a horn (Is. v. 1, where hill = horn in Heb.: comp. κέρας, Xen. *An.* v. 6, § 7, and *cornu*, Stat. *Theb.* v. 532; Arab. *Kurûn Hattîn* [*Horns of Hattin*], Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* ii. 370; Germ. *Schreckhorn*, *Wetterhorn*, *Aarhorn*; Celt. *cairn*). In Hab. iii. 4 ("he had horns coming out of his hand") the context implies *rays of light*.[a]

The denominative קָרַן = *to emit rays*, is used of Moses' face (Ex. xxxiv. 29, 30, 35); so all the versions except Aquila and the Vulgate, which have the translations κερατώδης ἦν, *cornuta erat*. This curious idea has not only been perpetuated by paintings, coins, and statues (Zornius, *Biblioth. Antiq.* i. 121), but has at least passed muster with Grotius (*Annot.* ad loc.), who cites Aben-Ezra's identification of Moses with the horned Mnevis of Egypt, and suggests that the phenomenon was intended to remind the Israelites of the golden calf! Spencer (*Leg. Hebr.* iii. *Diss.* i. 4) tries a reconciliation of renderings upon the ground that *cornua* = *radii lucis*; but Spanheim (*Diss.* vii. 1), not content with stigmatizing the efforts of art in this direction as "praepostera industria," distinctly attributes to Jerome a belief in the veritable horns of Moses. Bishop Taylor, in all good faith, though of course rhetorically, compares the "sun's golden horns" to those of the Hebrew Lawgiver.

2. *From similarity of position and use.* — Two principal applications of this metaphor will be found — *strength* and *honor*. Of *strength* the horn of the unicorn [UNICORN] was the most frequent representative[b] (Deut. xxxiii. 17, &c.), but not always; comp. 1 K. xxii. 11, where probably horns



Hair of South Africans ornamented with buffalo-horns. (Livingstone, *Travels*, pp. 450, 451.)

of iron, worn defiantly and symbolically on the head, are intended. Expressive of the same idea, or perhaps merely a decoration, is the oriental military ornament mentioned by Taylor (*Calmet's Frag.* cxiv.), and the conical cap observed by Dr. Livingstone among the natives of S. Africa, and not improbably suggested by the horn of the rhinoceros, so abundant in that country (see Livingstone's *Travels*, pp. 365, 450, 557; comp. Taylor, *l. c.*). Among the Druses upon Mount Lebanon the married women wear silver horns on their heads. The spiral coils of gold wire projecting on either side from the female head-dress of some of the Dutch provinces are evidently an ornament borrowed from the same original idea.



Heads of modern Asiatics ornamented with horns.

In the sense of *honor*, the word *horn* stands for

[a] "So Dr. Noyes translates, *Rays stream forth from his hand*, and remarks, "May not this denote that lightnings were in his hands? See Job xxxvi. 32, *He covereth his hands with lightning*. Also xxxvii. 3, *He directeth it under the whole heaven, and his lightning unto the ends of the earth*. Also xxxviii. 35, *Canst thou send lightnings, that they may go, and say unto thee, Here we are?*" A.

[b] "In this sense David speaks of God (Ps. xviii. 2 as "the horn of his salvation," *i. e.* his mighty, effectual deliverer (comp. Am. vi. 13). Hence we see the import of this same figure and language (κέρας σωτηρίας ἡμῖν) as applied by Zacharias to the Saviour (Luke i. 69). H.

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the abstract (*my* horn, Job xvi. 15; *all the horns of Israel*, Lam. ii. 3), and so for the supreme authority (comp. the story of Cippus, Ovid, *Met.* xv. 565; and the horn of the Indian Sachem mentioned in Clarkson's *Life of Penn*). It also stands for *concrete*, whence it comes to mean *king, kingdom* (Dan. viii. 3, &c.; Zech. i. 18; comp. Tarquin's dream in Accius, ap. Cic. *Div.* i. 22); hence on coins Alexander and the Seleucidæ wear horns (see drawings on p. 61), and the former is called in Arab. two horned (Kor. xviii. 85 ff.), not without reference to Dan. viii.

Out of either or both of these two last metaphors sprang the idea of representing gods with horns. Spanheim has discovered such figures on the Roman denarius, and on numerous Egyptian coins of the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines (*Diss.* v. p. 353). The Bacchus ταυροκέρως, or *cornutus*, is mentioned by Euripides (*Bacch.* 100), and among other pagan absurdities Arnobius enumerates "Dii cornuti" (*c. Gent.* vi.). In like manner river-gods are represented with horns ("tauriformis Aufidus," Hor. *Od.* iv. 14, 25; ταυρόμορφον δῆμα Κηφισοῦ, Eur. *Ion.* 1261). For various opinions on the *ground-thought* of this metaphor, see *Notes and Queries*, i. 419, 456. Manx legends speak of a tarroo-ushtey, *i. e. water-bull* (see Cregeen's *Manx Dict.*). (See Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 288; and, for an admirable compendium, with references, Zornius, *Bibliotheca Antiquaria*, ii. 106 ff.). T. E. B.

HORNET (צִרְעָה: σφηκία: *crabro*). That the Hebrew word *tzir'dh* describes the hornet, may be taken for granted on the almost unanimous authority of the ancient versions. Not only were bees exceedingly numerous in Palestine, but from the name Zoreah (Josh. xv. 33) we may infer that hornets in particular infested some parts of the country: the frequent notices of the animal in the Talmudical writers (Lewysohn, *Zool.* § 405) lead to the same conclusion. In Scripture the hornet is referred to only as the means which Jehovah employed for the extirpation of the Canaanites (Ex. xxiii. 28; Deut. vii. 20; Josh. xxiv. 12; Wisd. xii. 8). Some commentators regard the word as used in its literal sense, and adduce authenticated instances, where armies have been seriously molested by hornets (Ælian, xi. 28, xvii. 35; Ammian. Marcellin. xxiv. 8). But the following arguments seem to decide in favor of a metaphorical sense: (1) that the word "hornet" in Ex. xxiii. 28 is parallel to "fear" in ver. 27; (2) that similar expressions are undoubtedly used metaphorically, *e. g.* "to chase as the bees do" (Deut. i. 44; Ps. cxviii. 12); (3) that a similar transfer from the literal to the metaphorical sense may be instanced in the classical *æstrus*, originally a "gad-fly," afterwards *terror* and *madness*; and lastly (4), that no historical notice of such intervention as hornets occur in the Bible. We may therefore regard it as expressing under a vivid image the consternation with which Jehovah would inspire the enemies of the Israelites, as declared in Deut. ii. 25, Josh. ii. 11. W. L. B.

HORONAIM (חֹרֹנַיִם = *two caverns*: [in Is.,] Ἀρωνειμ, Alex. Αζωνειμ; [in Jer.,] Ὠρωναιμ, [Ὀρωναιμ, etc.:] *Oronaim*), a town of Moab named with Zoar and Luhith (Is. xv. 5, Jer. xlviii. 3, 5, 34), but to the position of which no clew is afforded either by the notices of the Bible or by mention in other works. It seems to have been on an eminence, and approached (like Beth-horon) by a road which is styled the "way" (דֶּרֶךְ, Is. xv. 5), or the "descent" (מוֹרָד, Jer. xlviii. 5). From the occurrence of a similar expression in reference to LUHITH, we might imagine that these two places were sanctuaries, on the high places to which the eastern worship of those days was so addicted. If we accept the name as Hebrew, we may believe the dual form of it to arise, either from the presence of two caverns in the neighborhood, or from there having been two towns, possibly an upper and a lower, as in the case of the two Beth-horons, connected by the ascending road.

From Horonaim possibly came Sanballat the Horonite. G.

HORONITE, THE (הַחֹרֹנִי [patr. from חוֹרוֹן]: ὁ Ἀρωνί; [Vat. FA. -νει, exc. xiii. 28, where Rom. ὁ Οὐρανίτης, Vat. Alex. FA. omit:] *Horonites*), the designation of Sanballat, who was one of the principal opponents of Nehemiah's works of restoration (Neh. ii. 10, 19; xiii. 28). It is derived by Gesenius (*Thes.* 459) from Horonaim the Moabite town, but by Fürst (*Handwb.*) from Horon, *i. e.* [Upper-] Beth-horon. Which of these is the more accurate is quite uncertain. The former certainly accords well with the Ammonite and Arabian who were Sanballat's comrades; the latter is perhaps more etymologically correct. G.

HORSE. The most striking feature in the Biblical notices of the horse is the exclusive application of it to warlike operations; in no instance is that useful animal employed for the purposes of ordinary locomotion or agriculture, if we except Is. xxviii. 28, where we learn that horses (A. V. "horsemen") were employed in threshing, not however in that case put in the gears, but simply driven about wildly over the strewed grain. This remark will be found to be borne out by the historical passages hereafter quoted; but it is equally striking in the poetical parts of Scripture. The animated description of the horse in Job xxxix. 19–25, applies solely to the war-horse; the mane streaming in the breeze (A. V. "thunder") which "clothes his neck;" his lofty bounds "as a grasshopper;" his hoofs "digging in the valley" with excitement; his terrible snorting — are brought before us, and his ardor for the strife —

> He swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage;
> Neither believeth he that it is the sound of the trumpet.
> He saith among the trumpets Ha, ha!
> And he smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and the shouting.

So again the bride advances with her charms to an immediate conquest "as a company of horses in Pharaoh's chariots" (Cant. i. 9); and when the prophet Zechariah wishes to convey the idea of perfect peace, he represents the horse, no more mixing in the fray as before (ix. 10), but bearing on his bell (which was intended to strike terror into the foe) the peaceable inscription "Holiness unto the Lord" (xiv. 20). Lastly, the characteristic of the horse is not so much his speed or his utility, but his strength (Ps. xxxiii. 17, cxlvii. 10), as shown in the special application of the term

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abbir (אַבִּיר), *i. e.* strong, as an equivalent for a horse (Jer. viii. 16, xlvii. 3, l. 11).

The terms under which the horse is described in the Hebrew language are usually *sûs* and *pârâsh* (סוּס, פָּרָשׁ). The origin of these terms is not satisfactorily made out; Pott (*Etym. Forsch.* i. 60) connects them respectively with Susa and Pares, or Persia, as the countries whence the horse was derived; and it is worthy of remark that *sûs* was also employed in Egypt for a *mare*, showing that it was a foreign term there, if not also in Palestine. There is a marked distinction between the *sûs* and the *parash;* the former were horses for driving in the war chariot, of a heavy build, the latter were for riding, and particularly for cavalry. This distinction is not observed in the A. V. from the circumstance that *pârâsh* also signifies horseman; the correct sense is essential in the following passages — 1 K. iv. 26, "forty thousand *chariot*-horses and twelve thousand *cavalry*-horses;" Ez. xxvii. 14, "driving-horses and riding-horses;" Joel ii. 4, "as riding-horses, so shall they run;" and Is. xxi. 7, "a train of horses in couples." In addition to these terms we have *recesh* (רֶכֶשׁ, of undoubted Hebrew origin) to describe a swift horse, used for the royal post (Esth. viii. 10, 14) and similar purposes (1 K. iv. 28; A. V. "dromedary" as also in Esth.), or for a rapid journey (Mic. i. 13); *rammâc* (רַמָּךְ), used once for a *mare* (Esth. viii. 10); and *sûsâh* (סוּסָה) in Cant. i. 9, where it is regarded in the A. V. as a collective term, "company of horses;" it rather means, according to the received punctuation, "my mare," but still better, by a slight alteration in the punctuation, "mares."

The Hebrews in the patriarchal age, as a pastoral race, did not stand in need of the services of the horse, and for a long period after their settlement in Canaan they dispensed with it, partly in consequence of the hilly nature of the country, which only admitted of the use of chariots in certain localities (Judg. i. 19), and partly in consequence of the prohibition in Deut. xvii. 16, which would be held to apply at all periods. Accordingly they hamstrung the horses of the Canaanites (Josh. xi. 6, 9). David first established a force of cavalry and chariots after the defeat of Hadadezer (2 Sam. viii. 4), when he reserved a hundred chariots, and, as we may infer, all the horses: for the rendering "houghed all the chariot-*horses*," is manifestly incorrect. Shortly after this Absalom was possessed of some (2 Sam. xv. 1). But the great supply of horses was subsequently effected by Solomon through his connection with Egypt; he is reported to have had "40,000 stalls of horses for his chariots, and 12,000 cavalry horses" (1 K. iv. 26), and it is worthy of notice that these forces are mentioned parenthetically to account for the great security of life and property noticed in the preceding verse. There is probably an error in the former of these numbers: for the number of chariots is given in 1 K. x. 26; 2 Chr. i. 14, as 1,400, and consequently if we allow three horses for each chariot, two in use and one as a reserve, as was usual in some countries (Xen. *Cyrop.* vi. 1, § 27), the number required would be 4,200, or, in round numbers, 4,000, which is probably the correct reading. Solomon also established a very active trade in horses, which were brought by dealers out of Egypt and resold at a profit to the Hittites, who lived between Palestine and the Euphrates. The passage in which this commerce is described (1 K. x. 28, 29), is unfortunately obscure; the tenor of ver. 28 seems to be that there was a regularly established traffic, the Egyptians bringing the horses to a mart in the south of Palestine and handing them over to the Hebrew dealers at a fixed tariff. The price of a horse was fixed at 150 shekels of silver, and that of a chariot at 600; in the latter we must include the horses (for an Egyptian war-chariot was of no great value) and conceive, as before, that three horses accompanied each chariot, leaving the value of the chariot itself at 150 shekels. In addition to this source of supply, Solomon received horses by way of tribute (1 K. x. 25). The force was maintained by the succeeding kings, and frequent notices occur both of riding horses and chariots (2 K. ix. 21, 33, xi. 16), and particularly of war-chariots (1 K. xxii. 4; 2 K. iii. 7; Is. ii. 7). The force seems to have failed in the time of Hezekiah (2 K. xviii. 23) in Judah, as it had previously in Israel under Jehoahaz (2 K. xiii. 7). The number of horses belonging to the Jews on their return from Babylon is stated at 736 (Neh. vii. 68).

In the countries adjacent to Palestine, the use of the horse was much more frequent. It was introduced into Egypt probably by the Hyksos, as it is not represented on the monuments before the 18th dynasty (Wilkinson, i. 386, *abridgm.*). At the period of the Exodus horses were abundant there (Gen. xlvii. 17, l. 9; Ex. ix. 3, xiv. 9, 23; Deut. xvii. 16), and subsequently, as we have already seen, they were able to supply the nations of Western Asia. The Jewish kings sought the assistance of the Egyptians against the Assyrians in this respect (Is. xxxi. 1, xxxvi. 8; Ez. xvii. 15). The Canaanites were possessed of them (Deut. xx. 1; Josh. xi. 4; Judg. iv. 3, v. 22, 28), and likewise the Syrians (2 Sam. viii. 4; 1 K. xx. 1; 2 K. vi. 14, vii. 7, 10) — notices which are confirmed by the pictorial representations on Egyptian monuments (Wilkinson, i. 393, 397, 401), and by the Assyrian inscriptions relating to Syrian expeditions. But the cavalry of the Assyrians themselves and other eastern nations was regarded as most formidable; the horses themselves were highly bred, as the Assyrian sculptures still testify, and fully merited the praise bestowed on them by Habakkuk (i. 8), "swifter than leopards, and more fierce than the evening wolves;" their riders "clothed in blue, captains and rulers, all of them desirable young men" (Ez. xxiii. 6), armed with "the bright sword and glittering spear" (Nah. iii. 3), made a deep impression on the Jews, who, plainly clad, went on foot; as also did their regular array as they proceeded in couples, contrasting with the disorderly troops of asses and camels which followed with the baggage (Is. xxi. 7, *receb* in this passage signifying rather a *train* than a single chariot). The number employed by the eastern potentates was very great, Holofernes possessing not less than 12,000 (Jud. ii. 15). At a later period we have frequent notices of the cavalry of the Græco-Syrian monarchs (1 Macc. i. 17, iii. 39, &c.).

With regard to the trappings and management of the horse, we have little information; the bridle (*resen*) was placed over the horse's nose (Is. xxx. 28), and a bit or curb (*metheg*) is also noticed (2 K. xix. 28; Ps. xxxii. 9; Prov. xxvi. 3; Is. xxxvii 29; in the A. V. it is incorrectly given "bridle, with the exception of Ps. xxxii.). The harness of

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the Assyrian horses was profusely decorated, the bits being gilt (1 Esdr. iii. 6), and the bridles adorned with tassels: on the neck was a collar terminating in a bell, as described by Zechariah (xiv. 20). Saddles were not used until a late period; only one is represented on the Assyrian sculptures (Layard, ii. 357). The horses were not shod, and therefore hoofs as hard "as flint" (Is. v. 28) were regarded as a great merit. The chariot-horses were covered with embroidered trappings — the "precious clothes" manufactured at Dedan (Ez. xxvii. 20): these were fastened by straps and buckles, and to this perhaps reference is made in Prov. xxx. 31, in the term *zarzir*, "one girded about the loins" (A. V. "greyhound"). Thus adorned, Mordecai rode in state through the streets of Shushan (Esth. vi. 9). White horses were more particularly appropriate to such occasions, as being significant of victory (Rev. vi. 2, xix. 11, 14). Horses and chariots were used also in idolatrous processions, as noticed in regard to the sun (2 K. xxiii. 11).

W. L. B.



Trappings of Assyrian horse. (Layard.)

• **HORSE-GATE.** [JERUSALEM.]

HORSELEECH (עֲלוּקָה, *'alûkâh*: βδέλλα: *sanguisuga*) occurs once only, namely, Prov. xxx. 15, "The horseleech hath two daughters, crying, Give, give." There is little if any doubt that *'alûkâh* denotes some species of leech, or rather is the generic term for any bloodsucking annelid, such as *Hirudo* (the medicinal leech), *Hæmopis* (the horseleech), *Limnatis*, *Trochetia*, and *Aulastoma*, if all these genera are found in the marshes and pools of the Bible-lands. Schultens (*Comment. in Prov.* l. c.) and Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. 785) have endeavored to show that *'alûkâh* is to be understood to signify "fate," or "impending misfortune of any kind" (*fatum unicuique impendens*); they refer the Hebrew term to the Arabic *'alûk*, *res appensa*, *affixa homini*. The "two daughters" are explained by Bochart to signify Hades (שְׁאוֹל) and the grave, which are never satisfied. This explanation is certainly very ingenious, but where is the necessity to appeal to it, when the important old versions are opposed to any such interpretation? The bloodsucking leeches, such as *Hirudo* and *Hæmopis*, were without a doubt known to the ancient Hebrews, and as the leech has been for ages the emblem of rapacity and cruelty there is no reason to doubt that this annelid is denoted by *'alûkâh*. The Arabs to this day denominate the *Limnatis Nilotica*, *'alak*. As to the expression "two daughters," which has been by some writers absurdly explained to allude to "the double tongue" of a leech — this animal having no tongue at all — there can be no doubt that it is figurative, and is intended, in the language of oriental hyperbole, to denote its bloodthirsty propensity, evidenced by the tenacity with which a leech keeps its hold on the skin (if *Hirudo*), or mucous membrane (if *Hæmopis*). Comp. Horace, *Ep. ad Pis.* 476; Cicero, *Ep. ad Atticum*, i. 16; Plautus, *Epid.* act iv. sc. 4. The etymology of the Hebrew word, from an unused root which signifies "to adhere," is eminently suited to a "leech." Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 1038) reminds us that the Arabic *'alûk* is explained in Camus by *ghûl*, "a female monster like a vampire, which sucked human blood." The passage in question, however, has simply reference to a "leech." The valuable use of the leech (*Hirudo*) in medicine, though undoubtedly known to Pliny and the later Roman writers, was in all probability unknown to the ancient Orientals; still they were doubtless acquainted with the fact that leeches of the above named genus would attach themselves to the skin of persons going barefoot in ponds; and they also probably were cognizant of the propensity horse-leeches (*Hæmopis*) have of entering the mouth and nostrils of cattle, as they drink from the waters frequented by these pests, which are common enough in Palestine and Syria.

W. H.

HO'SAH (חוֹסָה [*place of refuge, protection*]: [Rom. Ἰασίφ, Vat. -σειφ;] Alex. Σουσα; [Ald. Σωσα; Comp. Ὡσά:] *Hosa*), a city of Asher (Josh. xix. 29), the next landmark on the boundary to Tyre.

G.

HO'SAH (חוֹסָה [as above]: Ὀσά; [Vat Οσσα, Ιοσσα;] Alex. Ωσηε and Ωσα: *Hosa*), a man who was chosen by David to be one of the first doorkeepers (A. V. "porters") to the ark after its arrival in Jerusalem (1 Chr. xvi. 38). He was a Merarite Levite (xxvi. 10), with "sons and brethren" thirteen, of whom four were certainly sons (10, 11); and his charge was especially the "gate Shallecheth," and the causeway, or raised road which ascended (16, מְסִלַּת הָעֲלֹה).

HOSAN'NA (ὡσαννά; Heb. הוֹשִׁיעָה נָּא, "Save, we pray;" σῶσον δή, as Theophylact correctly interprets it), the cry of the multitudes as they thronged in our Lord's triumphal procession into Jerusalem (Matt. xxi. 9, 15: Mar. xi. 9, 10; John xii. 13). The Psalm from which it was taken, the 118th, was one with which they were familiar from being accustomed to recite the 25th and 26th verses at the Feast of Tabernacles. On that occasion the Great *Hallel*, consisting of Psalms cxiii.-cxviii., was chanted by one of the priests, and at certain intervals the multitudes joined in the responses, waving their branches of willow and palm, and shouting as they waved them, Hallelujah, or Hosanna, or "O Lord, I beseech thee, send now prosperity" (Ps. cxviii. 25). This was done at the recitation of the first and last verses of Ps. cxviii.; but according to the school of Hillel, at the words "Save now, we beseech thee" (ver. 25). The school of Shammai, on the contrary, say it was at the words "Send now prosperity" of the same verse. Rabban Gamaliel and R. Joshua were observed by R. Akiba to wave their branches only at

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the words "Save now, we beseech thee" (Mishna, *Succah*, iii. 9). On each of the seven days during which the feast lasted the people thronged in the court of the Temple, and went in procession about the altar, setting their boughs bending towards it; the trumpets sounding as they shouted Hosanna. But on the seventh day they marched seven times round the altar, shouting meanwhile the great Hosanna to the sound of the trumpets of the Levites (Lightfoot, *Temple Service*, xvi. 2). The very children who could wave the palm branches were expected to take part in the solemnity (Mishna, *Succah*, iii. 15; Matt. xxi. 15). From the custom of waving the boughs of myrtle and willow during the service the name Hosanna was ultimately transferred to the boughs themselves, so that according to Elias Levita (*Thisbi*, s. v.), "the bundles of the willows of the brook which they carry at the Feast of Tabernacles are called Hosannas." The term is frequently applied by Jewish writers to denote the Feast of Tabernacles, the seventh day of the feast being distinguished as the great Hosanna (Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* s. v. יְשַׁע). It was not uncommon for the Jews in later times to employ the observances of this feast, which was preëminently a feast of gladness, to express their feelings on other occasions of rejoicing (1 Macc. xiii. 51; 2 Macc. x. 6, 7), and it is not, therefore, matter of surprise that they should have done so under the circumstances recorded in the Gospels. W. A. W.

HOSE'A (הוֹשֵׁעַ [*help, deliverance*, Ges.; or, *God is help*, Fürst]: Ὡσηέ, LXX.; Ὡσηέ, N. T. [in Tisch. ed. 7, but Ὡσηέ, Elz., Lachm.]: *Osee*), son of Beeri, and first of the Minor Prophets as they appear in the A. V. The name is precisely the same as HOSHEA, which is more nearly equivalent to the Hebrew.

Time. — This question must be settled, as far as it can be settled, partly by reference to the *title*, partly by an inquiry into the contents of the book. (*a.*) As regards the title, an attempt has been made to put it out of court by representing it as a later addition (Calmet, Rosenmüller, Jahn). But it can easily be shown that this is unnecessary; and Eichhorn, suspicious as he ordinarily is of titles, lets that of Hosea pass without question. It has been most unreasonably inferred from this title that it intends to describe the prophetic life of Hosea as extending over the entire reigns of the monarchs whom it mentions as his contemporaries. Starting with this hypothesis, it is easy to show that these reigns, including as they do upwards of a century, are an impossible period for the duration of a prophet's ministry. But the title does not necessarily imply any such absurdity; and interpreted in the light of the prophecy itself it admits of an obvious and satisfactory limitation. For the *beginning* of Hosea's ministry the title gives us the reign of Uzziah, king of Judah, but limits this vague definition by reference to Jeroboam II., king of Israel. The *title* therefore gives us Uzziah, and more definitely gives us Uzziah as contemporary with Jeroboam; it therefore yields a date not later than B. C. 783. The question then arises how much further back it is possible to place the first public appearance of Hosea. To this question the title gives no answer; for it seems evident that the only reason for mentioning Jeroboam at all may have been to indicate a certain portion of the reign of Uzziah. (*b.*) Accordingly it is necessary to refer to the contents of the prophecy; and in doing this Eichhorn has clearly shown that we cannot allow Hosea much ground in the reign of Jeroboam (823–783). The book contains descriptions which are utterly inapplicable to the condition of the kingdom of Israel during this reign (2 K. xiv. 25 ff.) The pictures of social and political life which Hosea draws so forcibly are rather applicable to the interregnum which followed the death of Jeroboam (782–772), and to the reign of the succeeding kings. The calling in of Egypt and Assyria to the aid of rival factions (x. 3, xiii. 10) has nothing to do with the strong and able government of Jeroboam. Nor is it conceivable that a prophet who had lived long under Jeroboam should have omitted the mention of that monarch's conquests in his enumeration of Jehovah's kindnesses to Israel (ii. 8). It seems then almost certain that very few at least of his prophecies were written until after the death of Jeroboam (783).

So much for the beginning; as regards the end of his career the title leaves us in still greater doubt. It merely assures us that he did not prophesy beyond the reign of Hezekiah. But here again the contents of the book help us to reduce the vagueness of this indication. In the sixth year of Hezekiah the prophecy of Hosea was fulfilled, and it is very improbable that he should have permitted this triumphant proof of his Divine mission to pass unnoticed. He could not therefore have lived long into the reign of Hezekiah; and as it does not seem necessary to allow more than a year of each reign to justify his being represented as a contemporary on the one hand of Jeroboam, on the other of Hezekiah, we may suppose that the life, or rather the prophetic career of Hosea, extended from 784 to 725, a period of fifty-nine years.

The Hebrew reckoning of ninety years (Corn. à Lap.) was probably limited by the fulfillment of the prophecy in the sixth of Hezekiah, and by the date of the accession of Uzziah, as apparently indicated by the title: 809–720, or 719 = 90 years.

Place. — There seems to be a general impression among commentators that the prophecies contained in this collection were delivered in the kingdom of Israel, for whose warning they were principally intended. Eichhorn does not attempt to decide this question (iv. 284). He thinks it possible that they may have been primarily communicated to Judah, as an indirect appeal to the conscience of that kingdom; but he evidently leans toward the opposite supposition that having been first published in Israel they were collected, and a copy sent into Judah. The title is at least an evidence that at a very early period these prophecies were supposed to concern both Israel and Judah, and, unless we allow them to have been transmitted from the one to the other, it is difficult to account for their presence in our canon. As a proof of their northern origin Eichhorn professes to discover a Samaritanism in the use of אֵךְ as masc. suff. of the second person.

Tribe and Parentage. — Tribe quite unknown. The Pseudo-Epiphanius, it is uncertain upon what ground, assigns Hosea to the tribe of Issachar. His father, Beeri, has by some writers been confounded with Beerah, of the tribe of Reuben (1 Chr. v. 6): this is an anachronism. The Jewish fancy that all prophets whose birth-place is not specified are to be referred to Jerusalem (R. David, Vatab.) is probably nothing more than a fancy

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(Corn. à Lap.). Of his father Beeri we know absolutely nothing. Allegorical interpretations of the name, marvelous for their frivolous ingenuity, have been adduced to prove that he was a prophet (Jerome *ad Zeph.* init.; Basil *ad Is.* i.); but they are as little trustworthy as the Jewish dogma, which decides that, when the father of a prophet is mentioned by name, the individual so specified was himself a prophet.

Order in the Prophetic series. — Most ancient and mediæval interpretators make Hosea the first of the prophets: their great argument being an old rendering of i. 2, according to which "the beginning of the word by Hosea" implies that the streams of prophetic inspiration began with him, as distinct from the other prophets. Modern commentators have rejected this interpretation, and substituted the obvious meaning that the particular prophecy which follows was the first communicated by God to Hosea. The consensus for some time seems to have been for the third place. Wall (*Crit. Not. O. T.*) gives Jonah, Joel, Hosea; Horne's Table gives Jonah, Amos, Hosea; Gesenius writes Joel, Amos, Hosea. The order adopted in the Hebrew and the Versions is of little consequence.

In short, there is great difficulty in arranging these prophets: as far as titles go, Amos is Hosea's only rival: but 2 K. xiv. 25 goes far to show that they must both yield to Jonah. It is perhaps more important to know that Hosea must have been more or less contemporary with Isaiah, Amos, Jonah, Joel, and Nahum.

Division of the Book. — It is easy to recognize two great divisions, which accordingly have been generally adopted: (1.) chap. i. to iii.; (2.) iv. to end.

The subdivision of these several parts is a work of greater difficulty: that of Eichhorn will be found to be based upon a highly subtle, though by no means precarious criticism.

(1.) According to him the first division should be subdivided into three separate poems, each originating in a distinct aim, and each after its own fashion attempting to express the idolatry of Israel by imagery borrowed from the matrimonial relation. The first, and therefore the least elaborate of these is contained in chap. iii., the second in i. 2–11, the third in i. 2–9, and ii. 1–23. These three are progressively elaborate developments of the same reiterated idea. Chap. i. 2–9 is common to the second and third poems, but not repeated with each severally (iv. 278 ff.). (2.) Attempts have been made by Wells, Eichhorn, etc., to subdivide the second part of the book. These divisions are made either according to reigns of contemporary kings, or according to the subject-matter of the poem. The former course has been adopted by Wells, who gets *five*, the latter by Eichhorn, who gets *sixteen* poems out of this part of the book.

These prophecies — so scattered, so unconnected that Bishop Lowth has compared them with the leaves of the Sibyl — were probably collected by Hosea himself towards the end of his career.

Hosea's marriage with Gomer. — This passage (i. 2 foll.) is the *vexata quæstio* of the book. Of course it has its literal and its allegorical interpretors. For the literal view we have the majority of the fathers, and of the ancient and mediæval commentators. There is some little doubt about Jerome, who speaks of *a figurative and typical* interpretation; but he evidently means the word *typical* in its proper sense as applied to a factual reality figuratively representative of something else (Corn. à Lap.) At the period of the Reformation the allegorical interpreters could only boast the Chaldee Paraphrase, some few Rabbins, and the Hermeneutic school of Origen. Soon afterwards the theory obtained a vigorous supporter in Junius, and more recently has been adopted by the bulk of modern commentators. Both views are embarrassed by serious inconveniences, though it would seem that those which beset the literal theory are the more formidable. One question which sprang out of the literal view was whether the connection between Hosea and Gomer was marriage, or fornication. Another question which followed immediately upon the preceding was "an Deus possit dispensare ut fornicatio sit licita." This latter question was much discussed by the schoolmen, and by the Thomists it was avowed in the affirmative. But, notwithstanding the difficulties besetting the literal interpretation, Bishops Horsley and Lowth have declared in its favor. Eichhorn sees all the weight on the side of the literal interpretation, and shows that marrying a harlot is not necessarily implied by אֵשֶׁת זְנוּנִים, which may very well imply a wife who after marriage becomes an adulteress, though chaste before. In favor of the literal theory, he also observes the unfitness of a wife unchaste before marriage to be a type of Israel.

References in N. T. — Matt. ix. 13, xii. 7, Hos. vi. 6; Luke xxiii. 30, Rev. vi. 16, Hos. x. 8; Matt. ii. 15, Hos. xi. 1; Rom. ix. 25, 26, 1 Pet. ii. 10, Hos. i. 10, ii. 23; 1 Cor. xv. 4, Hos. vi. 2 [?]; Heb. xiii. 15, Hos. xiv. 2.

Style. — "Commaticus," *Jerome.* "Osea quanto profundius loquitur, tanto operosius penetratur," *August.* Obscure brevity seems to be the characteristic quality of Hosea; and all commentators agree that "of all the prophets he is, in point of language, the most obscure and hard to be understood" (Henderson, *Minor Prophets*, p. 2). Eichhorn is of opinion that he has never been adequately translated, and in fact could not be translated into any European language. He compares him to a bee flying from flower to flower, to a painter reveling in strong and glaring colors, to a tree that wants pruning. Horsley detects another important specialty in pointing out the excessively *local* and *individual* tone of these prophecies, which above all others he declares to be intensely Jewish.

Hosea's obscurity has been variously accounted for. Lowth attributes it to the fact that the extant poems are but a sparse collection of compositions scattered over a great number of years (*Prel.* xxi.) Horsley (*Pref.*) makes this obscurity individual and peculiar; and certainly the heart of the prophet seems to have been so full and fiery that it might well burst through all restraints of diction (Eichhorn).

T. E. B.

• That Hosea exercised the prophetic office in Israel, and in all probability was born there and not in Judah, is the general view of scholars at present. The almost exclusive reference of his messages to that kingdom is a sufficient ground for this opinion: for the prophets very seldom after the separation of the ten tribes left their own part of the country for another, as appears the more strongly from the exceptional character which the mission, for example, of Elijah and Amos to both kingdoms is represented as having in their respective histories. But though we are to rely on this as the main argument, we may concede someth ing

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be other considerations. Hosea shows, undeniably, a special familiarity with localities in the territory of Ephraim, as Gilead, Mizpah, Tabor, Gibeah, Gilgal, Beth-Aven, Samaria, and others (see iv. 15, v. 18, vi. 8, x. 5, 7, xii. 11, &c.). His diction also partakes of the roughness, and here and there of the Aramæan coloring, of the north-Palestine writers. For a list of words or forms of words more or less peculiar to Hosea see Keil's *Einleitung in das A. T.* p. 276. Hävernick has shown that the grounds for ascribing to him a south-Palestine extraction are wholly untenable (*Handb. der Einl. in das A. Test.* ii. 277 ff.). It may excite surprise, it is true, that Hosea mentions in the title of his book (the genuineness of which there is no reason for doubting) four kings of Judah, and only one of Israel. It is a possible explanation of this that the prophet after the termination of his more public ministry may have withdrawn from Ephraim to Judah, and there collected and published his writings (see Bleek, *Einl. in das A. Test.* p. 523). Dr. Pusey finds a deeper reason for this preëminence given to the Judæan dynasty. "The kingdom of Judah was the kingdom of the theocracy, the line of David to which the promises of God were made. As Elisha turned away from Jehoram (2 K. iii. 13, 14) saying 'Get thee to the prophets of thy father and to the prophets of thy mother,' and owned Jehoshaphat king of Judah only, so in the title of his prophecy Hosea at once expresses that the kingdom of Judah was legitimate" (*Hosea*, p. 7). The book at all events was soon known among the people of Judah; for the kingdom of Israel did not continue long after the time of Hosea, and Jeremiah certainly had a knowledge of Hosea, as is evident from various expressions and illustrations common to him and that prophet. (On this latter point see especially Kueper, *Jeremias Libr. Sacr. Interpres atque Vindex*, pp. 67–71).

No portion of this difficult writer has occasioned so much discussion as that relating to Hosea's marriage with Gomer, "a wife of whoredoms" and the names of the children Jezreel and Lo-ruhamah, the fruit of that marriage (i. 2 ff.). From the earliest period some have maintained the literal and others the figurative interpretation of this narrative. For a history of the different opinions, the student may consult Marck's *Diatribe de Uxore Fornicationum qua exponitur fere integrum cap.* i. *Hoseæ* (Leyden, 1696), and reprinted in his *Comm. in XII. Prophetas Minores* (Tübing. 1734). It is difficult to see how the transaction can be defended on grounds of morality, if it be understood as an outward one. It has been said that when "Scripture relates that a thing was done, and *that* with the names of persons," we must conclude that it is "to be taken as literally true." The principle thus stated is not a correct one: for in the parable acts are related and names often applied to the actors, and yet the *literal* sense is not the *true* one. The question in reality is not whether we are to accept the prophet's meaning in this instance, but what the meaning is which the prophet intended to convey, and which he would have us accept as the intended meaning. Further, aside from this question of the morality or immorality of the proceeding, it is impossible to see in it any adaptation to the prophet's object above that of the parabolic representation of a case assumed for the purpose of illustration. The circumstances, if they occurred in a literal sense, must extend over a series of years; they could have been known to the people only by the prophet's own rehearsal of them, and hence could have had the force only of his own personal testimony and explanation of their import. Hengstenberg (*Christology*, i. 177, Edinburgh, 1854) has stated very forcibly the manifold difficulties exegetical and moral, which lie against our supposing that Hosea was instructed to form a marriage so disreputable and repulsive, and at variance with explicit promulgations of the Mosaic code (*e. g.* Lev. xxi. 7). At the same time this writer, while he denies that the marriage, the wife's adultery and the birth of the "children of whoredoms" (ii. 4) took place outwardly and literally, maintains that they took place inwardly and actually as a sort of vision; thus serving to impress the facts more strongly on the mind and enabling him to describe them with greater effect. He is very earnest to make something of the difference between this view and that of a symbolic or parabolic use of marriage as a type both in the sacredness of its relations and the criminality of its violations of the covenant between Jehovah and his people; but the line of distinction is not a very palpable one. To regard the acts as mentally performed in a sense different from that of their being objects of thought simply, would be going altogether too far. The idea of the ingenious writer may be that the vision, which is *subjective* as distinguished from an outward occurrence, is at the same time *objective* to the prophet as that which he inwardly beholds. Prof. Cowles offers two or three suggestions to relieve this difficult question of some of its embarrassment (according to the literal theory) in his *Minor Prophets*, pp. 3, 4, 413–415.

Dr. Pusey assigns 70 years to the period of Hosea's ministry. He draws a fearful picture of the corruption of the times in which the prophet lived, derived partly from Hosea's own declarations, and partly from those of his contemporary, Amos. "The course of iniquity had been run. The stream had become darker and darker in its downward flow. . . . Every commandment of God was broken, and that, habitually. All was falsehood, adultery, bloodshedding; deceit to God produced faithlessness to man; excess and luxury were supplied by secret or open robbery, oppression, false dealing, perversion of justice, grinding of the poor. Blood was shed like water, until one stream met another, and overspread the land with one defiling deluge. Adultery was consecrated as an act of religion. Those who were first in rank were first in excess. People and king vied in debauchery, and the sottish king joined and encouraged the free-thinkers and blasphemers of his court. The idolatrous priest loved and shared in the sins of the people; nay, they seem to have set themselves to intercept those on either side of Jordan, who would go to worship at Jerusalem, laying wait to murder them. Corruption had spread throughout the whole land; even the places once sacred through God's revelations or other mercies to their forefathers, Bethel, Gilgal, Gilead, Mizpah, Shechem, were especial scenes of corruption or of sin. Every holy memory was effaced by present corruption. Could things be worse? There was one aggravation more. Remonstrance was useless; the knowledge of God was willfully rejected; the people hated rebuke; the more they were called, the more they refused; they forbade their prophets to prophesy; and their false prophets hated God greatly. All attempts to heal all this disease only showed its incurableness" (*Hosea*, p. 8).

The same writer traces the obscurity which many

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were found in Hosea, to the "solemn pathos" for which he is distinguished. The expression of St. Jerome has often been repeated; "Hosea is concise, and speaketh, as it were, in detached sayings." The words of upbraiding, of judgment, of woe, burst out, as it were, one by one, slowly, heavily, condensed, abrupt, from the prophet's heavy and shrinking soul, as God commanded and constrained him, and put His words, like fire, in the prophet's mouth. An image of Him who said, 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathers her chickens under her wings, and ye would not,' he delivers his message, as though each sentence burst with a groan from his soul, and he had anew to take breath, before he uttered each renewed woe. Each verse forms a whole for itself, like one heavy toll in a funeral knell. The prophet has not been careful about order and symmetry, so that each sentence went home to the soul. And yet the unity of the prophecy is so evident in the main, that we cannot doubt that it is not broken, even when the connection is not apparent on the surface. The great difficulty consequently in Hosea is to ascertain that connection in places where it evidently exists, yet where the Prophet has not explained it. The easiest and simplest sentences are sometimes, in this respect, the most difficult."

Literature. — Some of the helps have been incidentally noticed in the addition which precedes. See under AMOS and HABAKKUK for the more important general works which include Hosea. Of the separate works on this prophet the following may be mentioned: Pocock, the celebrated orientalist and traveller, *Comment. on Hosea*, 1685; Manger, *Comment. in Hoseam*, 1782, perhaps unequaled for the tact and discrimination with which he unfolds the spirit and religious teachings of the prophet; Kuinoel, *Hoseæ Oracula Hebr. et Lat. Annotatione illustravit*, 1792; Bishop Horsley, *Hosea, translated from the Hebrew, with Notes explanatory and critical*, 2d ed., Lond. 1804; J. C. Stuck, *Hoseæ Propheta: Introductionem præmisit, vertit, commentatus est*, 1828, who regards the symbolic acts in chaps. i. and iii. as real events or facts; Simson, *Der Prophet Hosea erklärt u. übersetzt*, with a copious history of the interpretation, 1851; Drake, *Notes on Hosea*, Cambr. (Eng.), 1853; and August Wünsche, *Der Prophet Hosea übersetzt u. erklärt*, 1868 (erste Hälfte, as far as chap. vii. 6, pp. i.–xxxii. and 1–283), in which he has made special use of the Targums, and of the Jewish interpreters Rashi, Aben Ezra, and David Kimchi. Dr. Pusey's *Commentary* on this prophet (in pt. i. of his *Minor Prophets*) deserves to be characterized as learned, devout, and practical. It contains passages of great beauty and suggestiveness. In his pages Hosea still lives, and his teachings are for our times as well as for his own. All that is Jewish is not found in Judaism, nor all that is heathenish found in heathendom.

Lübkert (*Symbolische Handlung Hosea's* in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1835, pp. 647–656) maintains the parabolic view of the Gomer-marriage question. Umbreit's article *Hosea* (Herzog's *Real-Encykl.* vi. 267–275) is to some extent exegetical as well as biographical. Stanley's interesting sketch portrays Hosea as "the Jeremiah of Israel" and "the only individual character that stands out amidst the darkness of . . nearly the whole of the last century of the northern kingdom" (*Jewish Church*, ii. 409 f.).

The Christology of Hosea is not without difficulties. One passage only, namely, that foretelling the conversion of the heathen (ii. 23 and comp. i 10) is cited in the N. T. as explicitly Messianic (Rom. ix. 25; 1 Pet. ii. 10). But it is a false principle of interpretation that only those portions of the O. T. refer to Christ which are expressly recognized as having that character in the New Testament. The N. T. writers represent the Redeemer as the great subject of the ancient economy; and if only those types and predictions relate to him which are cited and applied in that manner, it is difficult to see how the Hebrew Scriptures can justly have ascribed to them such a character of predominant reference to the Christian economy. In regard to such Gospel prophecies in Hosea, the reader may consult (in addition to the Commentaries) Hengstenberg's *Christology of the O. T.* i. 158–285 (Edinb. ed.): Hofmann's *Weissagung u. Erfüllung*, i. 206 f.; Tholuck's *Die Propheten u. ihre Weissagungen*, pp. 193, 197, 206; and Stähelin's *Die Messianischen Weissagungen des A. T.* p. 35 ff.

All these writers do not recognize the same passages as significant, nor the same as significant in the same degree. H.

• **HOSEN** (plural of *hose*) Dan. iii. 21 (A. V.), is the translation of a Chaldee word which signifies *tunics* [DRESS, p. 624 *a*]. Hosen formerly denoted any covering for the legs, short trowsers or trunk-hose as well as stockings. See examples of this usage in Eastwood and Wright's *Bible Word-Book*, p. 257. H.

HOSHA'IAH [3 syl.] (הוֹשַׁעְיָה [*whom Jehovah saved*]: Ὡσαΐα). 1. (Ὡσαΐα.) A man who assisted in the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem after it had been rebuilt by Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 32). He led the princes (שָׂרֵי) of Judah in the procession, but whether himself one of them we are not told.

2. (Μασσαΐας; [Alex. Μασσαιας; FA.[1] Ασσανιας, Μασσεας.] The father of a certain Jezaniah, or Azariah, who was a man of note after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. xlii. 1, xliii. 2).

HOSH'AMA (הוֹשָׁמָע [*whom Jehovah hears*]: Ὡσαμά; [Vat. -μαθ:] Alex. Ιωσαμά; [Comp. Ὡσαμά:] *Sama*), one of the sons of Jeconiah, or Jehoiachin, the last king of Judah but one (1 Chr. iii. 18). It is worthy of notice that, in the narrative of the capture of Jeconiah by Nebuchadnezzar, though the mother and the wives of the king are mentioned, nothing is said about his sons (2 K. xxiv. 12, 15). In agreement with this is the denunciation of him as a childless man in Jer. xxii. 30. There is good reason for suspecting some confusion in the present state of the genealogy of the royal family in 1 Chr. iii.; and these facts would seem to confirm it.

HOSHE'A (הוֹשֵׁעַ [*help*, or *God is help*: see Fürst]: Ὡσηέ: *Osee*), the nineteenth, last, and best king of Israel. He succeeded Pekah, whom he slew in a successful conspiracy, thereby fulfilling a prophecy of Isaiah (Is. vii. 16). Although Josephus calls Hoshea a *friend* of Pekah (φίλος τινὸς ἐπιβουλεύσαντος αὐτῷ, *Ant.* ix. 13, § 1), we have no ground for calling this "a treacherous

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murder" (Prideaux, i. 16). It took place B. C. 737, "in the 20th year of Jotham" (2 K. xv. 30), i. e. "in the 20th year *after* Jotham became sole king," for he only reigned 16 years (2 K. xv. 33). But there must have been an interregnum of at least eight years before Hoshea came to the throne, which was not till B. C. 729, in the 12th year of Ahaz (2 K. xvii. 1: we cannot, with Clericus [Le Clerc], read 4th for 12th in this verse, because of 2 K. xviii. 9). This is the simplest way of reconciling the apparent discrepancy between the passages, and has been adopted by Ussher, Des Vignoles, Tiele, etc. (Winer, s. v. *Hoseas*). The other methods suggested by Hitzig, Lightfoot, etc., are mostly untenable (Keil on 2 K. xv. 30).

It is expressly stated (2 K. xvii. 2) that Hoshea was not so sinful as his predecessors. According to the Rabbis this superiority consisted in his removing from the frontier cities the guards placed there by his predecessors to prevent their subjects from worshipping at Jerusalem (*Seder Olam Rabba*, cap. 22, quoted by Prideaux, i. 16), and in his not hindering the Israelites from accepting the invitation of Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxx. 10), nor checking their zeal against idolatry (*ib.* xxxi. 1). This encomium, however, is founded on the untenable supposition that Hezekiah's passover preceded the fall of Samaria [HEZEKIAH], and we must be content with the general fact that Hoshea showed a more theocratic spirit than the former kings of Israel. The compulsory cessation of the calf-worship may have removed his greatest temptation, for Tiglath-Pileser had carried off the golden calf from Dan some years before (*Sed. Ol. Rab.* 23), and that at Bethel was taken away by Shalmaneser in his first invasion (2 K. xvii. 3; Hos. x. 14; Prideaux, *l. c.*). But, whatever may have been his excellences, he still "did evil in the sight of the Lord," and it was too late to avert retribution by any improvements.

In the third year of his reign (B. C. 726) Shalmaneser, impelled probably by mere thirst of conquest, came against him, cruelly stormed the strong caves of Beth-arbel (Hos. x. 14), and made Israel tributary (2 K. xvii. 3) for three years. At the end of this period, encouraged perhaps by the revolt of Hezekiah, Hoshea entered into a secret alliance with So, king of Egypt (who was either the Σεύεχος of Manetho, and son of Σαβακῶς, Herod. ii. 137; Keil, Vitringa, Gesenius, etc.; Jahn, *Hebr. Com.* § xl.; or else Sabaco himself, Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 139; Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 610), to throw off the Assyrian yoke. The alliance did him no good; it was revealed to the court of Nineveh by the Assyrian party in Ephraim, and Hoshea was immediately seized as a rebellious vassal, shut up in prison, and apparently treated with the utmost indignity (Mic. v. 1). If this happened *before* the siege (2 K. xvii. 4), we must account for it either by supposing that Hoshea, hoping to dissemble and gain time, had gone to Shalmaneser to account for his conduct, or that he had been defeated and taken prisoner in some unrecorded battle. That he disappeared very suddenly, like "foam upon the water," we may infer from Hos. xiii. 11, x. 7. The siege of Samaria lasted three years; for that "glorious and beautiful" city was strongly situated like "a crown of pride" among her hills (Is. xxviii. 1–5). During the course of the siege Shalmaneser must have died, for it is certain that Samaria was taken by his successor Sargon, who thus laconically describes the event in his annals: "Samaria I looked at, I captured; 27,280 men (families?) who dwelt in it I carried away. I constructed fifty chariots in their country . . . I appointed a governor over them, and continued upon them the tribute of th former people" (Botta, 145, 11, quoted by Dr Hincks, *Journ. of Sacr. Lit.* Oct. 1858; Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* i. 148). This was probably B. C. 721 or 720. For the future history of the unhappy Ephraimites, the places to which they were transplanted by the policy of their conqueror and his officer, "the great and noble Asnapper" (Ezr. iv. 10), and the nations by which they were superseded, see SAMARIA. Of the subsequent fortunes of Hoshea we know nothing. He came to the throne too late, and governed a kingdom torn to pieces by foreign invasion and intestine broils. Sovereign after sovereign had fallen by the dagger of the assassin; and we see from the dark and terrible delineations of the contemporary prophets [HOSEA, MICAH, ISAIAH], that murder and idolatry, drunkenness and lust, had eaten like "an incurable wound" (Mic. i. 9) into the inmost heart of the national morality. Ephraim was dogged to its ruin by the apostate policy of the renegade who had asserted its independence (2 K. xvii.; Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 14; Prideaux, i. 15 ff.; Keil, *On Kings*, ii. 50 ff., Engl. ed.; Jahn, *Hebr. Com.* § xl.; Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 607–613; Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Geogr.* chap. ix., Engl. transl.; Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. 149).

F. W. F.

HOSHE'A (הוֹשֵׁעַ = *help* [see above]). The name is precisely the same as that of the prophet known to us as HOSEA. 1. The son of Nun, i. e. Joshua (Deut. xxxii. 44; and also in Num. xiii. 8, though there the A. V. has OSHEA). It was probably his original name, to which the Divine name of Jah was afterwards added — Jehoshua, Joshua — "Jehovah's help." The LXX. in this passage miss the distinction, and have Ἰησοῦς: Vulg. *Josue*.

2. (Ὡσῆ: *Osee.*) Son of Azaziah (1 Chr. xxvii. 20); like his great namesake, a man of Ephraim, ruler (*nagid*) of his tribe in the time of king David.

3. (Ὡσηέ; [Vat. FA. Ὡσηθα:] *Osee.*) One of the heads of the "people" — *i. e.* the laymen — who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 23).

HOSPITALITY. The rites of hospitality are to be distinguished from the customs prevailing in the entertainment of guests [FOOD; MEALS], and from the laws and practices relating to charity, almsgiving, etc.; and they are thus separately treated, as far as possible, in this article.

Hospitality was regarded by most nations of the ancient world as one of the chief virtues, and especially by peoples of the Semitic stock; but that it was not characteristic of the latter alone is amply shown by the usages of the Greeks, and even the Romans. Race undoubtedly influences its exercise, and it must also be ascribed in no small degree to the social state of a nation. Thus the desert tribes have always placed the virtue higher in their esteem than the townsfolk of the same descent as themselves; and in our own day, though an Arab townsman is hospitable, he entertains different notions on the subject from the Arab of the desert (the Bedawee). The former has fewer opportunities of showing his hospitality; and when he does so, he does it not as much with the feeling of discharging an obligatory act as a social and civilized duty

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With the advance of civilization the calls of hospitality become less and less urgent. The dweller in the wilderness, however, finds the entertainment of wayfarers to be a part of his daily life, and that to refuse it is to deny a common humanity. Viewed in this light, the notions of the Greeks and the Romans must be appreciated as the recognition of the virtue where its necessity was not of the urgent character that it possesses in the more primitive lands of the East. The ancient Egyptians resembled the Greeks; but, with a greater exclusiveness, they limited their entertainments to their own countrymen, being constrained by the national and priestly abhorrence and dread of foreigners. This exclusion throws some obscurity on their practices in the discharge of hospitality; but otherwise their customs in the entertainment of guests resembled those well known to classical scholars — customs probably derived in a great measure from Egypt.

While hospitality is acknowledged to have been a wide-spread virtue in ancient times, we must concede that it flourished chiefly among the race of Shem. The O. T. abounds with illustrations of the divine command to use hospitality, and of the strong national belief in its importance; so too the writings of the N. T.; and though the Eastern Jews of modern times dare not entertain a stranger lest he be an enemy, and the long oppression they have endured has begotten that greed of gain that has made their name a proverb, the ancient hospitality still lives in their hearts. The desert, however, is yet free; it is as of old a howling wilderness; and hospitality is as necessary and as freely given as in patriarchal times. Among the Arabs we find the best illustrations of the old Bible narratives, and among them see traits that might beseem their ancestor Abraham.

The laws respecting strangers (Lev. xix. 33, 34) and the poor (Lev. xxv. 14 ff.; Deut. xv. 7), and concerning redemption (Lev. xxv. 23 ff.), etc., are framed in accordance with the spirit of hospitality; and the strength of the national feeling regarding it is shown in the incidental mentions of its practice. In the Law, compassion to strangers is constantly enforced by the words, "for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt" (as Lev. xix. 34). And before the Law, Abraham's entertainment of the angels (Gen. xviii. 1 ff.), and Lot's (xix. 1), are in exact agreement with its precepts and with modern usage. So Moses was received by Jethro, the priest of Midian, who reproached his daughters, though he believed him to be an Egyptian, saying, "And where is he? why is it [that] ye have left the man? call him, that he may eat bread" (Ex. ii. 20). The story of Joseph's hospitality to his brethren, although he knew them to be such, appears to be narrated as an ordinary occurrence: and in like manner Pharaoh received Jacob with a liberality not merely dictated by his relationship to the savior of Egypt. Like Abraham, "Manoah said unto the angel of the Lord, I pray thee let us detain thee until we shall have made ready a kid for thee" (Judg. xiii. 15); and like Lot, the old man of Gibeah sheltered the Levite when he saw him, "a wayfaring man in the street of the city: and the old man said, Whither goest thou? and whence comest thou? . . . Peace be with thee, howsoever [let] all thy wants [lie] upon me; only lodge not in the street. So he brought him into his house, and gave provender unto the asses; and they washed their feet, and did eat and drink" (Judg. xix. 17, 20, 21).

In the N. T. hospitality is yet more markedly enjoined; and in the more civilized state of society which then prevailed, its exercise became more a social virtue than a necessity of patriarchal life.[a] The good Samaritan stands for all ages as an example of Christian hospitality, embodying the command to love one's neighbor as himself; and our Lord's charge to the disciples strengthened that command: "He that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me. . . . And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water [only], in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in nowise lose his reward" (Matt. x. 42). The neglect of Christ is symbolized by inhospitality to our neighbors, in the words, "I was a stranger and ye took me not in" (Matt. xxv. 43). The Apostles urged the church to "follow after hospitality," using the forcible words *τὴν φιλοξενίαν διώκοντες* (Rom. xii. 13; cf. 1 Tim. v. 10); to remember Abraham's example, "Be not forgetful to entertain strangers, for thereby some have entertained angels unawares" (Heb. xiii. 2); to "use hospitality one to another without grudging" (1 Pet. iv. 9); while a bishop must be a "lover of hospitality" (Tit. i. 8, cf. 1 Tim. iii. 2). The practice of the early Christians was in accord with these precepts. They had all things in common, and their hospitality was a characteristic of their belief.

If such has been the usage of Biblical times, it is in the next place important to remark how hospitality was shown. In the patriarchal ages we may take Abraham's example as the most fitting, as we have of it the fullest account; and by the light of Arab custom we may see, without obscurity, his hasting to the tent door to meet his guests, with the words, "My lord, if now I have found favor in thy sight, pass not away, I pray thee, from thy servant: let a little water, I pray you, be fetched, and wash your feet, and rest yourselves under the tree, and I will fetch a morsel of bread, and comfort ye your hearts." "And," to continue the narrative in the vigorous language of the A. V., "Abraham hastened into the tent unto Sarah, and said, Make ready quickly three measures of fine meal, knead [it], and make cakes upon the hearth. And Abraham ran unto the herd, and fetched a calf tender and good, and gave [it] unto a young man, and he hasted to dress it. And he took butter and milk, and the calf which he had dressed, and set [it] before them; and he stood by them under the tree, and they did eat." A traveller in the eastern desert may see, through the vista of ages, this far-off example in its living traces. Mr. Lane's remarks on this narrative and the general subject of this article are too apposite to be omitted: he says, "Hospitality is a virtue for which the natives of the East in general are highly and deservedly admired; and the people of Egypt are

[a] We see here why the inhospitality of the Samaritans excited such fierce indignation in the two disciples, James and John (Luke ix. 52 ff.). Jesus sent them at the close of the day into one of the Samaritan villages to procure a night's lodging for him: but the people refused to receive him, because he was journeying to Jerusalem. This act was not an incivility merely, or an inhumanity: it was an outrage against one of the most sacred of the recognized laws of oriental society. H

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well entitled to commendation on this account. A word which signifies literally 'a person on a journey' (musáfir) is the term most commonly employed in this country in the sense of a visitor or guest. There are very few persons here who would think of sitting down to a meal, if there was a stranger in the house, without inviting him to partake of it, unless the latter were a menial, in which case he would be invited to eat with the servants. It would be considered a shameful violation of good manners if a Muslim abstained from ordering the table to be prepared at the usual time because a visitor happened to be present. Persons of the middle classes in this country [Egypt], if living in a retired situation, sometimes take their supper before the door of their house, and invite every passenger of respectable appearance to eat with them.[a] This is very commonly done among the lower orders. In cities and large towns claims on hospitality are unfrequent, as there are many *wekálehs* or kháns, where strangers may obtain lodging; and food is very easily procured: but in the villages travellers are often lodged and entertained by the Sheykh or some other inhabitant; and if the guest be a person of the middle or higher classes, or even not very poor, he gives a present to the host's servants, or to the host himself. In the desert, however, a present is seldom received from a guest. By a Sunneh law a traveller may claim entertainment, of any person able to afford it to him, for three days. The account of Abraham's entertaining the three angels, related in the Bible, presents a perfect picture of the manner in which a modern Bedawee sheykh receives travellers arriving at his encampment. He immediately orders his wife or women to make bread, slaughters a sheep or some other animal, and dresses it in haste, and bringing milk and any other provisions that he may have ready at hand, with the bread and the meat which he has dressed, sets them before his guests. If these be persons of high rank, he stands by them while they eat, as Abraham did in the case above alluded to. Most Bedawees will suffer almost any injury to themselves or their families rather than allow their guests to be ill-treated while under their protection. There are Arabs who even regard the chastity of their wives as not too precious to be sacrificed for the gratification of their guests (see Burckhardt's *Notes on the Bedouins*, etc., 8vo ed. i. 179, 180); and at an encampment of the Bishâreen, I ascertained that there are many persons in this great tribe (which inhabits a large portion of the desert between the Nile and the Red Sea) who offer their unmarried daughters (cf. Gen. xix. 8; Judg. xix. 24) to their guests, merely from motives of hospitality, and not for hire" (*Mod. Egypt.* ch. xiii.). Mr. Lane adds that there used to be a very numerous class of persons, called Tufeylees, who lived by spunging, presuming on the well-known hospitality of their countrymen, and going from house to house where entertainments were being given. The Arabs along the Syrian frontier usually pitch the sheykh's tent towards the west, that is, towards the inhabited country, to invite passengers and lodge them on their way (Burckhardt's *Notes on the Bedouins*, etc., 8vo ed. i. 33), it is held to be disgraceful to encamp in a place out of the way of travellers; and it is a custom of the Bedawees to light fires in their encampments to attract travellers, and to keep dogs who, besides watching against robbers, may in the night-time guide wayfarers to their tents. Hence a hospitable man is proverbially called "one whose dogs bark loudly."[b] Approaching an encampment, the traveller often sees several horsemen coming towards him, and striving who shall be first to claim him as a guest. The favorite national game of the Arabs before El-Islám illustrates their hospitality. It was called "Meysir," and was played with arrows, some notched and others without marks. A young camel was bought and killed, and divided into 24 portions; those who drew marked arrows had shares in proportion to the number of notches; those who drew blanks paid the cost of the camel among them. Neither party, however, ate of the flesh of the camel, which was always given to the poor, and "this they did out of pride and ostentation," says Sale, "it being reckoned a shame for a man to stand out, and not venture his money on such an occasion." Sale, however, is hardly philosophical in this remark, which concerns only the abuse of a practice originally arising from a national virtue: but Mohammed forbade the game, with all other games of chance, on the plea that it gave rise to quarrels, etc. (Sale's *Preliminary Discourse*, p. 96, ed. 1836, and *Kur-án*, ch. ii. and v.).

The oriental respect for the covenant of bread and salt, or salt alone, certainly sprang from the high regard in which hospitality was held. Even accidentally to taste another's salt imposes this obligation; and to so great an extent is the feeling carried that a thief has been known to give up his booty in obedience to it. Thus El-Leys Es-Saffár, when a robber, left his booty in the passage of the royal treasury of Sijistán; accidentally he stumbled over, and, in the dark, tasted a lump of rock-salt: his respect for his covenant gained his pardon, and he became the founder of a royal dynasty (Lane's *Thousand and One Nights*, ch. xv. note 21). This Arab peculiarity was carried into Spain by the so-called Moors.

For the customs of the Greeks and Romans in the entertainment of guests, and the exercise of hospitality generally, the reader is referred to the *Dictionary of Antiquities*, art. *Hospitium*. They are incidentally illustrated by passages in the N. T., but it is difficult to distinguish between those so derived, and the native oriental customs which, as we have said, are very similar. To one of the customs of classical antiquity a reference is supposed to exist in Rev. ii. 17: "To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a

[a] "It is said to have been a custom of some of the Barmekees (the family so renowned for their generosity) to keep open house during the hours of meals, and to allow no one who applied at such times for admission to be repulsed" (Lane's *Thousand and One Nights*, ch. v. note 97).

[b] The time of entertainment, according to the precept of Mohammed, is three days, and he permitted a guest to take this right by force; although one day and one night is the period of the host's being "kind" to him (*Mishkát el-Masábeeh*, ii. 329, cited in Lane's *Thousand and One Nights*, Intr. note 13). Burckhardt (*Notes on the Bedouins*, etc., i. 178, 179, cited in the same note) says that a stranger without friends in a camp alights at the first tent, where the women in the absence of the owner, provide for his refreshment. After the lapse of three days and four hours he must, if he would avoid censure, either assist in household duties, or claim hospitality at another tent.

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new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth [it]." E. S. P.

* **HOST** (Luke x. 35). [HOSPITALITY; INN.]

* **HOSTAGE.** The practice of giving and receiving persons, to be retained as security for the observance of public treaties or engagements, is indicated in 2 Kings xiv. 14, and 2 Chr. xxv. 24. It is said there that Joash after his victory over Amaziah took with him *hostages* (בְּנֵי הַתַּעֲרֻבוֹת) upon his return to his own kingdom. D. S. T.

HOTHAM (חוֹתָם) [*signet-ring*]: Χωθάν; Alex. [Ald.] Χωθάμ: *Hotham*), a man of Asher; son of Heber, of the family of Beriah (1 Chr. vii. 32).

HOTHAN (חוֹתָם, *i. e.* HOTHAM: Χωθάμ; [Vat.] Alex. Χωθάν; [FA. Καθάν:] *Hotham*), a man of Aroer, father of Shama and Jehiel, two of the heroes of David's guard (1 Chr. xi. 44). The substitution of Hothan for Hotham is an error which has been retained from the edition of 1611 [following the Bishops' Bible] till now. (Comp. the rendering of the LXX. both of this and the preceding name.)

HOTHIR (חוֹתִיר [*fullness*]: Ὠθηρί; Vat. Ωθηρει, Hθει:] Alex. Ιωθίρι, [Ιεθιρι:] *Othir*), the 13th son of HEMAN "the king's seer" (1 Chr. xxv. 4), and therefore a Kohathite Levite. He had the charge of the twenty-first course of the musicians in the service of the tabernacle (xxv. 28).

* Some think that this name and the names of four of Heman's other sons (Giddalti, Romamti-ezer, Mallothi, Hothir, Mahazioth) formed a verse of some ancient prophetic saying. They follow each other in the list, 1 Chr. xxv. 4 (except the omission of Joshbekashah), so as to make this couplet: —

גִּדַּלְתִּי וְרוֹמַמְתִּי עֶזֶר
מַלּוֹתִי חוֹתִיר מַחֲזִיאוֹת

I have magnified and exalted help;
I have declared in abundance visions.

Fürst says (*Hebr. u. Chald. Wörterb.* i. 244), that the rhythm of the words favors this view. Ewald refers to this case as a remarkable illustration of the use of significant or symbolic personal names among the Hebrews (*Lehrbuch der Hebr. Sprache*, p. 502, 5te Ausg.). [NAMES, Amer. ed.] It should be said that according to this theory *ezer* belongs to both the preceding verbs, and makes of them two compound names, instead of one, as in the A. V. H.

* **HOUGH** (Josh. xi. 6, 9; 2 Sam. viii. 4) is an obsolete word from the Anglo-Saxon *hoh*, and means to hamstring, *i. e.* to cut the back sinews, and thus disable animals. H.

HOUR (שָׁעָה, Chald.). This word is first found in Dan. iii. 6, iv. 19, 33, v. 5; and it occurs several times in the Apocrypha (Jud. xiv. 3, 2 Esdr. ix. 44). It seems to be a vague expression for a short period, and the frequent phrase "in the same hour" means "immediately": hence we find כְּשָׁעָה, substituted in the Targum for כְּרֶגַע, "in a moment" (Num. xvi. 21, &c. Ὥρα is frequently used in the same way by the N. T. writers (Matt. viii. 13; Luke xii. 39, &c.). It occurs in the LXX. as a rendering for various words meaning time, just as it does in Greek writers long before it acquired the specific meaning of our word "hour." *Saah* is still used in Arabic both for an hour and a moment.

The ancient Hebrews were probably unacquainted with the division of the natural day into 24 parts. The general distinctions of "morning, evening, and noonday" (Ps. lv. 17), were sufficient for them at first, as they were for the early Greeks (Hom. *Il* xxi. 111); afterwards the Greeks adopted five marked periods of the day (Jul. Pollux, *Onom.* i. 68; Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* ii. *de Glor.*), and the Hebrews parcelled out the period between sunrise and sunset into a series of minute divisions distinguished by the sun's course [DAY], as is still done by the Arabs, who have stated forms of prayers for each period (Lane's *Mod. Eg.* i. ch. 3).

The early Jews appear to have divided the day into *four* parts (Neh. ix. 3), and the night into three watches (Judg. vii. 19) [DAY; WATCHES], and even in the N. T. we find a trace of this division in Matt. xx. 1–5. There is however no proof of the assertion, sometimes made, that ὥρα in the Gospels may occasionally mean a space of three hours.

The Greeks adopted the division of the day into 12 hours from the Babylonians (Herod. ii. 109; comp. Rawlinson, *Herod.* ii. p. 334). At what period the Jews became first acquainted with this way of reckoning time is unknown, but it is generally supposed that they too learnt it from the Babylonians during the Captivity (Waehner, *Ant. Hebr.* § v. i. 8, 9). They *may* have had some such division at a much earlier period, as has been inferred from the fact that Ahaz erected a sun-dial in Jerusalem, the use of which had probably been learnt from Babylon. There is however the greatest uncertainty as to the meaning of the word מַעֲלוֹת (A. V. "degrees," Is. xxxviii. 8). [DIAL.] It is strange that the Jews were not acquainted with this method of reckoning even earlier, for, although a purely conventional one, it is naturally suggested by the months in a year. Sir G. Wilkinson thinks that it arose from a less obvious cause (Rawlinson, *Herod.* ii. 334). In whatever way originated, it was known to the Egyptians at a very early period. They had 12 hours of the day and of the night (called Nau = hour), each of which had its own genius, drawn with a star on its head. The word is said by Lepsius to be found as far back as the 5th dynasty (Rawlinson, *Herod.* ii. 135).

There are two kinds of hours, namely, (1.) the astronomical or equinoctial hour, *i. e.* the 24th part of a civil day, which although "known to astronomers, was not used in the affairs of common life till towards the end of the 4th century of the Christian era" (*Dict. of Ant.* s. v. *Hora*): and (2.) the natural hour (which the Rabbis called זְמָנִיּוֹת *zmaniot* or *temporales*), *i. e.* the 12th part of the natural day, or of the time between sunrise and sunset. These are the hours meant in the N. T., Josephus, and the Rabbis (John xi. 9, &c.; Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4, § 3), and it must be remembered that they perpetually vary in length, so as to be very different at different times of the year. Besides this, an hour of the day would always mean a different length of time from an hour of the night, except at the equinox. From the consequent un-

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certainty of the term where arose the proverbial expression "not all hours are equal" (R. Joshua ap. Carpzov, *App. Crit.* p. 345). At the equinoxes the third hour would correspond to 9 o'clock; the sixth would *always* be at noon. To find the exact time meant at other seasons of the year we must know when the sun rises in Palestine, and reduce the hours to our reckoning accordingly. [DAY.] (Winer, s. v. *Tag, Uhren;* Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* § 101.) What horological contrivances the Jews possessed in the time of our Lord is uncertain; but we may safely suppose that they had gnomons, dials, and clepsydræ, all of which had long been known to the Persians and other nations with whom they had come in contact. Of course the two first were inaccurate and uncertain indications, but the water-clock by ingenious modifications, according to the season of the year, became a very tolerable assistance in marking time. Mention is also made of a curious invention called עָרוֹר שָׁעָה, by which a figure was constructed so as to drop a stone into a brazen basin every hour, the sound of which was heard for a great distance and announced the time (Otho, *Lex. Rab.* s. v. *Hora*).

For the purposes of prayer the old division of the day into 4 portions was continued in the Temple service, as we see from Acts ii. 15, iii. 1, x. 9. The Jews supposed that the 3d hour had been consecrated by Abraham, the 6th by Isaac, and the 9th by Jacob (Kimchi; Schoettgen, *Hor. Hebr.* on Acts iii. 1). It is probable that the canonical hours observed by the Romanists (of which there are 8 in the 24) are derived from these Temple hours (Godwyn, *Moses and Aar.* iii. 9).

The Rabbis pretend that the hours were divided into 1080 חֲלָקִים (minutes), and 56,848 רְגָעִים (seconds), which numbers were chosen because they are so easily divisible (Gem. Hier. *Beracoth*, 2, 4, in Reland *Ant. Hebr.* iv. 1, § 19). F. W. F.

* Besides the various points mentioned above as forming the beginning of the day, from which the hours were reckoned, Pliny testifies (*H. N.* ii. 79) that among the Romans the official, religious, and civil day was reckoned from midnight to midnight. His words are: "Ipsum diem alii aliter observavere . . . vulgus omne a luce ad tenebras: sacerdotes Romani, et qui diem diffiniere civilem, item Ægyptii, et Hipparchus, a media nocte in mediam." To the same purpose also Aulus Gellius (*Noct. Att.* iii. 2): "Populum autem Romanum ita, uti Varro dixit, dies singulos adnumerare a media nocte ad mediam proximam multis argumentis ostenditur." He then gives Varro's proofs.

If the passages in St. John's Gospel relating to the hour of the day be all examined, it will appear probable that he adopted this official Roman reckoning, — of course, numbering the hours from midday as well as from midnight, so as not to exceed the number twelve. In i. 40 the visit of the disciples to Jesus will thus have occurred about 10 A. M. instead of at 4 P. M. as often supposed, and this seems more agreeable to the statement "they abode with him that day." In iv. 6 the same mode of reckoning brings Jesus, "wearied with his journey," to the well of Samaria at six in the evening, a time when the woman would naturally come to draw water, instead of at noon. So in iv. 52 this computation makes "the seventh hour" when the fever left the nobleman's son, seven instead of one P. M., which agrees better with the circumstances and the probable distance between Cana and Capernaum.

The only remaining passage is xix. 14, the relation of which to Mark xv. 25 has been so much questioned. Here, too, this method of reckoning removes the seeming discrepancy, while the whole course of the narrative in all the Evangelists shows that the time indicated by St. John as that when Pilate sat upon his judgment-seat, could not have been later than between six and seven in the morning — "*about* the sixth hour." After this, the events which followed — the further ineffectual opposition and final yielding of Pilate to the will of the Jews, the leading of Jesus out to Golgotha after taking off his mock royal array, etc., the preparation for the crucifixion, and the crucifixion itself, must have consumed the two hours or more until our nine o'clock, called by St. Mark, according to Jewish usage, "the third hour." For a list of the older writers who adopt this view, see Wolfius, *Curæ Phil.* on John xix. 14. Olshausen (who seems to prefer for himself a conjectural emendation of the text) yet well observes, "With this hypothesis admirably accords the fact that John wrote for the people of Asia Minor" — a remark which applies to all the passages above cited from his Gospel. F. G.

HOUSE (בַּיִת: *οἶκος: domus;* Chald. בֵּיתָא, *to pass the night*, Ges. *Thes.* 191 *b*), a dwelling in general, whether literally, as house, tent, palace, citadel, tomb; derivatively, as tabernacle, temple, heaven; or metaphorically, as family. Although in oriental language, every tent (see Ges. p. 32) may be regarded as a house (Harmer, *Obs.* i. 194), yet the distinction between the permanent dwelling-house and the tent must have taken rise from the moment of the division of mankind into dwellers in tents and builders of cities, *i. e.* of permanent habitations (Gen. iv. 17, 20; Is. xxxviii. 12). The Hebrews did not become dwellers in cities till the sojourn in Egypt and after the conquest of Canaan (Gen. xlvii. 3; Ex. xii. 7; Heb. vi. 9), while the Canaanites as well as the Assyrians were from an earlier period builders and inhabitants of cities, and it was into the houses and cities built by the former that the Hebrews entered to take possession after the conquest (Gen. x. 11, 19, xix. 1, xxiii. 10, xxxiv. 20; Num. xi. 27; Deut. vi. 10, 11). The private dwellings of the Assyrians and Babylonians have altogether perished, but the solid material of the houses of Syria, east of the Jordan, may perhaps have preserved entire specimens of the ancient dwellings, even of the original inhabitants of that region (Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 195, 196; C. C. Graham in Camb. Essays, 1859, p. 160, &c.; comp. Buckingham, *Arab. Tribes*, p. 171, 172).

In inferring the plan and arrangement of ancient Jewish or Oriental houses, as alluded to in Scripture, from existing dwellings in Syria, Egypt, and the East in general, allowance must be made for the difference in climate between Egypt, Persia, and Palestine, a cause from which would proceed differences in certain cases of material and construction, as well as of domestic arrangement.

1. The houses of the rural poor in Egypt, as well as in most parts of Syria, Arabia, and Persia, are for the most part mere huts of mud, or sun-burnt bricks. In some parts of Palestine and Arabia stone is used, and in certain districts caves in the rock are used as dwellings (Amos v. 11 Bartlett, *Walks*, p. 117; CAVES). The houses

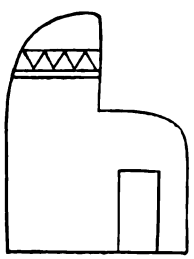
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are usually of one story only, namely, the ground floor, and sometimes contain only one apartment. Sometimes a small court for the cattle is attached; and in some cases the cattle are housed in the same building, or the people live on a raised platform, and the cattle round them on the ground (1 Sam. xxviii. 24; Irby and Mangles, p. 70; Jolliffe, *Letters*, i. 43; Buckingham, *Arab Tribes*, p. 170; Burckhardt, *Travels*, ii. 119). In Lower Egypt the oxen occupy the width of the chamber farthest from the entrance; it is built of brick or mud, about four feet high, and the top is often used as a sleeping place in winter. The windows are small apertures high up in the walls, sometimes grated with wood (Burckhardt, *Travels*, i. 241, ii. 101, 119, 301, 329; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 44). The roofs are commonly but not always flat, and are usually formed of a plaster of mud and straw laid upon boughs or rafters; and upon the flat roofs, tents or "booths" of boughs or rushes are often raised to be used as sleeping-places in summer (Irby and



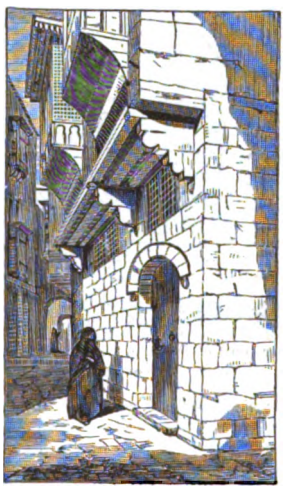
A Nestorian house, with stages upon the roof for sleeping. (Layard, *Nineveh*, i. 177.)

Mangles, 71; Niebuhr, *Descr.* pp. 49, 53; Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 112; *Nineveh*, i. 176; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 280; *Travels*, i. 190; Van Egmont, ii. 32; Malan, *Magdala and Bethany*, p. 15). To this description the houses of ancient Egypt and also of Assyria, as represented in the monuments, in great measure correspond (Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, pt. ii. pl. 49, 50; bas-relief in Brit. Mus. Assyrian room, No. 49; first Egypt. room, case 17; Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 13; Martineau, *East. Life*, i. 19, 97). In the towns the houses of the inferior kind do not differ much from the above description, but they are sometimes of more than one story, and the roof-terraces are more carefully constructed. In Palestine they are often of stone (Jolliffe, i. 26).



Assyrian house, Kouyunjik.

2. The difference between the poorest houses and those of the class next above them is greater than between these and the houses of the first rank. The prevailing plan of eastern houses of this class presents, as was the case in ancient Egypt, a front of wall, whose blank and mean appearance is usually relieved only by the door and a few latticed and projecting windows (*Views in Syria*, ii. 25). Within this is a court or courts with apartments opening into them. Some of the finest houses in the East are to be found at Damascus, where in some of them are seven such courts. When there are only two, the innermost is the *hareem*, in which the women and children live, and which is jealously secluded from the entrance of any man but the master of the house (Burckhardt, *Travels* i. 188; Van Egmont ii. 246, 253; Shaw, p. 207; Porter, *Damascus*, i 34, 37, 60; Chardin, *Voyages*, vi. 6; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 179, 207). Over the door is a projecting window with a lattice more or less elaborately wrought, which, except in times of public celebra

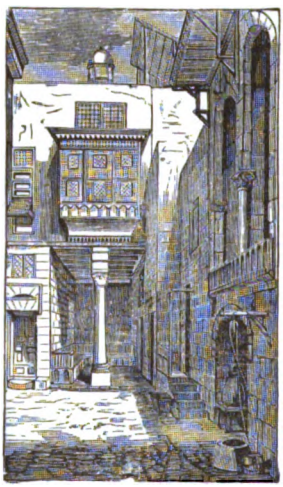


Entrance to house in Cairo. (Lane, *Modern Egyptians.*)

tions, is usually closed (2 K. ix. 30; Shaw, *Travels*, p. 207; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 27). The doorway or door bears an inscription from the Kurán, as the ancient Egyptian houses had inscriptions over their doors, and as the Israelites were directed to write sentences from the Law over their gates. [GATE.] The entrance is usually guarded within from sight by a wall or some arrangement of the passages. In the passage is a stone seat for the porter and other servants (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 32; Shaw, *Travels*, p. 207; Chardin, *Voyages*, iv. 111, Beyond this passage is an open court like the Roman *impluvium*, often paved with marble. Into this the principal apartments look, and are either open to it in front, or are entered from it by doors. An awning is sometimes drawn over the court, and the floor strewed with carpets on festive occasions (Shaw, p. 208). On the ground floor there is generally an apartment for male visitors, called *mandarah*, having a portion of the floor sunk below the rest, called *durka'ah*. This is often paved with marble or colored tiles, and has in the centre a fountain. The rest of the floor is a raised platform called *leewán*, with a mattress and cushions at the back on each of the three sides. This seat or sofa is called *deewán*. Every person on entrance

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takes off his shoes on the *durka'ah* before stepping on the *leewán* (Ex. iii. 5; Josh. v. 15; Luke vii. 38). The ceilings over the *leewán* and *durka'ah* are often richly paneled and ornamented (Jer. xxii. 14). [CEILING.] The stairs to the upper apartments are in Syria usually in a corner of the court (Robinson, iii. 302). When there is no upper story the lower rooms are usually loftier. In Persia they are open from top to bottom, and only divided from the court by a low partition (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 10; Chardin, iv. 119; Burckhardt, *Travels*, i. 18, 19; *Views in Syria*, i. 56).



Inner court of house in Cairo, with Mak'ad. (Lane, *Modern Egyptians.*)

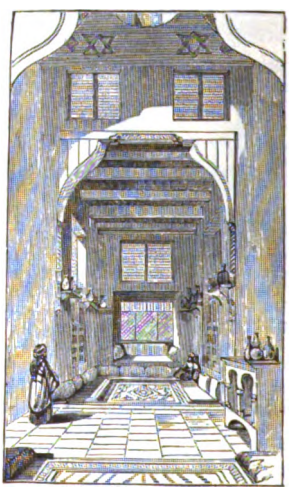
Around part, if not the whole, of the court is a verandah, often nine or ten feet deep, over which, when there is more than one floor, runs a second gallery of like depth with a balustrade (Shaw, p. 208). Bearing in mind that the reception room is



Court of house at Antioch.

raised above the level of the court (Chardin, iv. 118; *Views in Syria*, i. 56), we may, in explaining the circumstances of the miracle of the paralytic (Mark ii. 3; Luke v. 18), suppose, (1.) that our Lord was standing under the verandah, and the people in front in the court. The bearers of the sick man ascended the stairs to the roof of the house, and taking off a portion of the boarded covering of the verandah, or removing the awning over the *impluvium*, τὸ μέσον, in the former case let down the bed *through* the verandah roof, or in the latter, *down by way of* the roof, διὰ τῶν κεράμων, and deposited it before the Saviour (Shaw, p. 212).[a] (2.) Another explanation presents itself in considering the room where the company were assembled as the ὑπερῷον, and the roof opened for the bed to be the true roof of the house (Trench, *Miracles*, p. 199; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 39). (3.) And one still more simple is found in regarding the house as one of the rude dwellings now to be seen near the Sea of Galilee, a mere room "10 or 12 feet high and as many or more square," with no opening except the door. The roof, used as a sleeping-place, is reached by a ladder from the outside, and the bearers of the paralytic, unable to approach the door, would thus have ascended the roof, and having uncovered it (ἐξορύξαντες), let him down into the room where our Lord was (Malan, *l. c.*).[b]

The stairs to the upper apartments or to the



Kà'ah of house in Cairo. (Lane.)

roof are often shaded by vines or creeping plants and the courts, especially the inner ones, planted with trees. The court has often a well or tank in it (Ps. cxxviii. 3; 2 Sam. xvii. 18; Russell, *Aleppo*,

a * See a full statement of this latter view in Norton's *Genuineness of the Gospels*, 2d ed., i. p. cxii. ff. (Addit. Notes), or in his *Trans. of the Gospels*, with Notes, ii. 218 f., 249 f. A.

b * Another view may be stated. Those who brought the paralytic, finding it impossible to reach the Saviour in the room where he was teaching (see especially Mark ii. 2), may have hastened at once to the court of an adjacent house. Taking advantage there of the stairs leading up thence to the roof of that next house, they could have crossed to the roof (separated from the other, if at all, by only a low parapet) which was over the room into which they let down the bed before Jesus, through the tiles, broken up for that purpose. Stairs on the outside of houses are almost unknown in Palestine at present, and would only expose the inmates to violence and pillage. The healing of the paralytic took place at Capernaum (Mark ii. 1) where the houses might be expected to be thus contiguous to each other. Thomson informs us (*Land and Book*, ii. 6 ff.) how the ordinary Arab houses are constructed in the East. M.

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i. 24, 32; Wilkinson, i. 6, 8; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 32; *Views in Syria*, i. 56).

Besides the *mandarah*, there is sometimes a second room, either on the ground or the upper floor, called *ká'ah*, fitted with *deewáns*, and at the corners of these rooms portions taken off and inclosed form retiring rooms (Lane, i. 39; Russell, i. 31, 33).

When there is no second floor, but more than one court, the women's apartments, *hareem*, *harem*, or *haram* (حَرِيم and حَرَم, *secluded*, or *prohibited*, with which may be compared the Hebrew *ármon* אַרְמוֹן (Stanley, *S. & P.* App. § 82), are usually in the second court; otherwise they form a separate building within the general inclosure, or are above on the first floor (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 179, 207; *Views in Syria*, i. 56). The entrance to the harem is crossed by no one but the master of the house and the domestics belonging to the female establishment. Though this remark would not apply in the same degree to Jewish habits, the privacy of the women's apartments may possibly be indicated by the "inner chamber" (חֶדֶר: ταμιεῖον: *cubiculum*) resorted to as a hiding-place (1 K. xx. 30, xxii. 25; see Judg. xv. 1). Solomon, in his marriage with a foreigner, introduced also



Interior of house (harem) in Damascus.

foreign usage in this respect, which was carried further in subsequent times (1 K. vii. 8; 2 K. xxiv. 15). [WOMEN.] The harem of the Persian monarch (בֵּית נָשִׁים: ὁ γυναικών: *domus feminarum*) is noticed in the book of Esther (ii. 3).

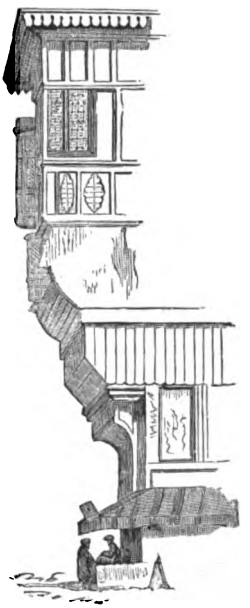
When there is an upper story, the *ká'ah* forms the most important apartment, and thus probably answers to the ὑπερῷον, which was often the "guest-chamber" (Luke xxii. 12 [ἀνάγαιον]; Acts i. 13, ix. 37, xx. 8; Burckhardt, *Trav.* i. 154).[a] The windows of the upper rooms often project one or two feet, and form a kiosk or latticed chamber, the ceilings of which are elaborately ornamented (Lane, i. 27; Russell, i. 102; Burckhardt, *Trav.* i. 190). [WINDOW.] Such may have been the "chamber on the wall" (עֲלִיַּת הַקִּיר: ὑπερῷον: *cenaculum*; Ges. p. 1030) made, or rather set apart for Elisha, by the Shunammite woman (2 K. iv. 10, 11). So also the "summer parlor" of Eglon (Judg. iii. 20, 23, but see Wilkinson, i. 11), the "loft" of the widow of Zarephath (1 K. xvii. 19). The "lattice" (מְכֻבָּדָה: δικτυωτόν: *cancelli*) through which Ahaziah fell, perhaps belonged to an upper chamber of this kind (2 K. i. 2), as also the "third loft" (τρίστεγον) from which Eutychus fell (Acts xx. 9; comp. Jer. xxii. 13). There are usually no special bedrooms in eastern houses, and thus the room in which Ish-bosheth was murdered was probably an ordinary room with a *deewán*, on which he was sleeping during the heat of the day (2 Sam. iv. 5, 6; Lane, i. 41).

Sometimes the *deewán* is raised sufficiently to allow of cellars underneath for stores of all kinds (ταμεῖα, Matt. xxiv. 26; Russell, i. 32).

The outer doors are closed with a wooden lock, but in some cases the apartments are divided from each other by curtains only (Lane, i. 42; Chardin, iv. 123; Russell, i. 21).

There are no chimneys, but fire is made when required with charcoal in a chafing-dish; or a fire of wood might be kindled in the open court of the house (Luke xxii. 55; Russell, i. 21; Lane, i. 41; Chardin, iv. 120). [COAL, Amer. ed.]

Besides the *mandarah*, some houses in Cairo have an apartment called *mak'ad*, open in front to the court, with two or more arches, and a railing: and a pillar to support the wall above (Lane, i. 38). It was in a chamber of this kind, probably one of the largest size to be found in a palace, that our Lord was being arraigned before the high-priest, at the time when the denial of Him by St. Peter took place. He "turned and looked" on Peter as he stood by the fire in the court (Luke xxii. 56, 61; John xviii. 25), whilst He himself was in the "hall of Judgment," the *mak'ad*. Such was the "porch of judgment" built by Solomon (1 K. vii. 7), which finds a parallel in the golden alcove of Mohammed Uzbek (Ibn Batuta, *Trav.* 76, ed. Lee).



House in a street at Cairo. (From Roberts.)

[a] "At *Ramleh*," says Dr. Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* ii. 229, 2d ed.), we were "conducted to an 'upper room,' a large airy hall, forming a sort of third story, upon the flat roof of the house." The prophet's chamber Shunem, 2 K. iv. 10 ("on the wall," A. V., probably = wall-chamber, *i. e.* one surrounded with a wall, duly finished), was no doubt the modern *'alliyeh* (the Hebrew word is the same). "It is the most desirable part of the establishment, is best fitted up, and is still given to guests who are to be treated with honor" (Thomson, *Land and Book*, i. 235). This is the name also of Elijah's room ("loft," A. V.) at Sarepta (1 K. xvii. 19). H

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Before quitting the interior of the house we may observe that, on the *deewán*, the corner is the place of honor, which is never quitted by the master of the house in receiving strangers (Russell, i. 27; Malan, *Tyre and Sidon*, p. 38).[a] The roofs of eastern houses are, as has been said, mostly flat, though there are sometimes domes over some of the rooms. The flat portions are plastered with a composition of mortar, tar, ashes, and sand, which in time becomes very hard, but when not laid on at the proper season is apt to crack in winter, and the rain is thus admitted. In order to prevent this, every roof is provided with a roller, which is set at work after rain. In many cases the terrace roof is little better than earth rolled hard. On ill-compacted roofs grass is often found springing into a short-lived existence (Prov. xix. 13, xxvii. 15; Ps. cxxix. 6, 7; Is. xxxvii. 27; Shaw, p. 210; Lane, i. 27; Robinson, iii. 39, 44, 60).

In no point do oriental domestic habits differ more from European than in the use of the roof. Its flat surface is made useful for various household purposes, as drying corn, hanging up linen, and preparing figs and raisins (Shaw, p. 211; Burckhardt, *Trav.* i. 191). The roofs are used as places of recreation in the evening, and often as sleeping-places at night (2 Sam. xi. 2, xvi. 22; Dan. iv. 29; 1 Sam. ix. 25, 26;[b] Job xxvii. 18; Prov. xxi. 9; Shaw, p. 211; Russell, i. 35; Chardin, iv. 116; Layard, *Nineveh*, i. 177). They were also used as places for devotion, and even idolatrous worship (Jer. xxxii. 29, xix. 13; 2 K. xxiii. 12; Zeph. i. 5; Acts x. 9). At the time of the Feast of Tabernacles booths were erected by the Jews on the tops of their houses, as in the present day huts of boughs are sometimes erected on the housetops as sleeping-places, or places of retirement from the heat in summer time (Neh. viii. 16; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 280). As among the Jews the seclusion of women was not carried to the extent of Mohammedan usage, it is probable that the housetop was made, as it is among Christian inhabitants, more a place of public meeting both for men and women, than is the case among Mohammedans, who carefully seclude their roofs from inspection by partitions (Burckhardt, *Trav.* i. 191; comp. Wilkinson, i. 23). The Christians at Aleppo, in Russell's time, lived contiguous, and made their housetops a means of mutual communication to avoid passing through the streets in time of plague (Russell, i. 35). In the same manner the housetop might be made a means of escape by the stairs [*i. e.* from the roof into the court] by which it was reached without entering any of the apartments of the house (Matt. xxiv. 17, x. 27; Luke xii. 3).

Both Jews and heathens were in the habit of wailing publicly on the housetops (Is. xv. 3, xxii. 1; Jer. xlviii. 38). Protection of the roof by parapets was enjoined by the Law (Deut. xxii. 8). The parapets thus constructed, of which the types may be seen in ancient Egyptian houses, were sometimes of open work, and it is to a fall through, or over one of these that the injury by which Ahaziah suffered is sometimes ascribed (Shaw, p. 211). To pass over roofs for plundering purposes, as well as for safety, would be no difficult matter (Joel ii. 9). In ancient Egyptian and also in Assyrian houses a sort of raised story was sometimes built above the roof, and in the former an open chamber, roofed or covered with awning, was sometimes erected on the housetop (Wilkinson, i. 9; Layard, *Mon. of Nin.* ii. pl. 49, 50).

There are usually no fire-places except in the kitchen, the furniture of which consists of a sort of raised platform of brick with receptacles in it for fire, answering to the "boiling places" (מְבַשְּׁלוֹת: μαγειρεῖα: *culinæ*) of Ezekiel (xlvi. 23; Lane, i. 41; Ges. p. 249).

Special apartments were devoted in larger houses to winter and summer uses (Jer. xxxvi. 22; Am. iii. 15; Chardin, iv. 119).

The ivory house of Ahab was probably a palace largely ornamented with inlaid ivory. [PALACE.]

The circumstance of Samson's pulling down the house by means of the pillars, may be explained by the fact of the company being assembled on tiers of balconies above each other, supported by central pillars on the basement; when these were pulled down the whole of the upper floors would fall also (Judg. xvi. 26; Shaw, p. 211).

Houses for jewels and armor were built and furnished under the kings (2 K. xx. 13). The draught-house (מַחֲרָאוֹת: κοπρών: *latrinæ*) was doubtless a public latrine, such as exists in modern eastern cities (2 K. x. 27; Russell, i. 34).

Leprosy in the house was probably a nitrous efflorescence on the walls, which was injurious to the salubrity of the house, and whose removal was therefore strictly enjoined by the Law (Lev. xiv. 34, 55; Kitto, *Phys. Geogr. of Pal.* p. 112; Winer, s. v. *Häuser*).

The word בַּיִת is prefixed to words constituting a local name, as Bethany, Beth-horon, etc. In modern names it is represented by *Beit*, as *Beit-lahm*. H. W. P.

* **HOUSEHOLD, CÆSAR'S.** [CÆSAR'S HOUSEHOLD.]

* **HOUSEHOLDER.** [GOODMAN.]

* **HOUSE OF GOD.** This expression occurs in Judg. xx. 18 (A. V.), where no doubt בֵּית אֵל, instead of being translated, should be retained as a proper name, *i. e.* Bethel; so also, ver. 26 and xxi. 2. Bethel on the confines of Judah and Benjamin is the place there meant. The Ark of the Covenant having been brought to Bethel from Shiloh just at that time, for the purpose (it may be) of more convenient access, the other tribes went up thither to "ask counsel" of Jehovah in regard to the war on which they were about to enter against the Benjamites. The Ark of the Covenant is found again not long after this in its proper sanctuary at Shiloh (1 Sam. i. 3). That in Judg. xx. 18 Bethel denotes the place where the Ark then was, and not the Ark itself as called "the house of God," is evident from Judg. xx. 27, where the narrative distinguishes the two from each other, and recognizes

a * Hence in Am. iii. 12 "the corner of a bed" (the "divan" being meant there) is represented as the place occupied by the proud nobles of Samaria, from which only a miserable remnant of them would be able to escape in the day of calamity. H.

b * The A. V. (1 Sam ix. 25) states merely that Samuel and Saul had a conversation or private interview "on the roof." But it appears from the Hebrew (ver. 26) that Saul, at least, slept there during the following night; for early the next morning Samuel called to him on the roof to arise and resume his journey H.

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the presence of the Ark at Betael as the result of a special emergency. H.

HUK'KOK (חֻקֹּק) [*incision, rock-excavation*, Dietr.; *ditch*, Fürst]: Ἰακὰ ἁ; Alex. Ικωκ: *Hucca*), a place on the boundary of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 34), named next to Aznoth-Tabor. It is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.* "Icoo"), but in such a manner as to show that they knew nothing of it but from the Text. By hap-Parchi in 1320, and in our own times by Wolcott and by Robinson, Hukkok has been recovered in *Yâkûk*, a village in the mountains of Naphtali, west of the upper end of the Sea of Galilee, about 7 miles S. S. W. of Safed, and at the head of *Wady-el-Amûd*. An ancient Jewish tradition locates here the tomb of Habakkuk (Zunz, in B. Tudela, ii. 421; Schwarz, p. 182; Robinson, iii. 81, 82). G.

HU'KOK (חוּקֹק) [perh. *established*, or *engraved*]: ἡ Ἀκάκ; [Vat. Ικακ;] Alex. Ιακακ; [Comp. Ald. Ἰκάκ:] *Hucac*), a name which in 1 Chr. vi. 75 is substituted for HELKATH in the parallel list of the Gershonite cities in Asher, in Josh. xxi.

HUL (חוּל) [*circle, region*, Fürst]: Οὐλ; [in 1 Chr., Rom. Vat. omit, Alex. Ουδ: *Hul*]), the second son of Aram, and grandson of Shem (Gen. x. 23). The geographical position of the people whom he represents is not well decided. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, § 4) and Jerome fix it in Armenia; Schulthess (*Parad.* p. 262) on etymological grounds (as though the name = חוֹל, *sand*) proposes the southern part of Mesopotamia; von Bohlen (*Introd. to Gen.* ii. 249) places it in the neighborhood of Chaldæa. The strongest evidence is in favor of the district about the roots of Lebanon, where the names *Ard-el-Hûleh*, a district to the north of Lake Merom; Οὐλαθα, a town noticed by Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 10, § 3), between Galilee and Trachonitis; Golan, and its modern form *Djaulân*, bear some affinity to the original name of *Hul*, or, as it should rather be written, *Chul*. W. L. B.

HUL'DAH (חֻלְדָּה) [*weasel*, Fürst]: Ὀλδαν: [*Holda,*] *Olda*), a prophetess, whose husband Shallum was keeper of the wardrobe in the time of king Josiah, and who dwelt in the suburb (Rosenmüller, *ad Zeph.* i. 10) of Jerusalem. While Jeremiah was still at Anathoth, a young man unknown to fame, Huldah was the most distinguished person for prophetic gifts in Jerusalem; and it was to her that Josiah had recourse when Hilkiah found a book of the Law, to procure an authoritative opinion on it (2 K. xxii. 14; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 22). W. T. B.

HUM'TAH (חֻמְטָה) [*place of lizards*, Ges.; *fortress*, Fürst]: Ἐὺμά; Alex. Χαμματα: *Athmatha*), a city of Judah, one of those in the mountain-district, the next to Hebron (Josh. xv. 54). It was not known to Eusebius and Jerome (see *Onomasticon*, "Ammatha"), nor has it since been identified. There is some resemblance between the name and that of Kimath (Κιμάθ), one of the places added in the Vat. LXX. to the list in the Hebrew text of 1 Sam. xxx. 27–31. G.

HUNTING. The objects for which hunting is practiced, indicate the various conditions of society and the progress of civilization. Hunting, as a matter of necessity, whether for the extermination of dangerous beasts, or for procuring sustenance, betokens a rude and semi-civilized state; as an amusement, it betokens an advanced state. In the former, personal prowess and physical strength are the qualities which elevate a man above his fellows and fit him for dominion, and hence one of the greatest heroes of antiquity is described as a "mighty hunter before the Lord" (Gen. x. 9), while Ishmael, the progenitor of a wild race, was famed as an archer (Gen. xxi. 20), and Esau, holding a similar position, was "a cunning hunter, a man of the field" (Gen. xxv. 27). The latter state may be exemplified, not indeed from Scripture itself, but from contemporary records. Among the accomplishments of Herod, his skill in the chase is particularly noticed; he kept a regular stud and a huntsman (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 10, § 3), followed up the sport in a wild country (*Ant.* xv. 7, § 7) which abounded with stags, wild asses, and bears, and is said to have killed as many as forty head in a day (*B. J.* i. 21, § 13). The wealthy in Egypt and Assyria followed the sports of the field with great zest; they had their preserves for the express purpose of preserving and hunting game (Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.* i. 215; Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 4, §§ 5, 14), and drew from hunting scenes subjects for decorating the walls of their buildings, and even the robes they wore on state occasions.

The Hebrews, as a pastoral and agricultural people, were not given to the sports of the field; the density of the population, the earnestness of their character, and the tendency of their ritual regulations, particularly those affecting food, all combined to discourage the practice of hunting; and perhaps the examples of Ishmael and Esau were recorded with the same object. There was no lack of game in Palestine; on their entrance into the land, the wild beasts were so numerous as to be dangerous (Ex. xxiii. 29); the utter destruction of them was guarded against by the provisions of the Mosaic law (Ex. xxiii. 11; Lev. xxv. 7). Some of the fiercer animals survived to a late period, as lions (Judg. xiv. 5; 1 Sam. xvii. 34; 2 Sam. xxiii. 20; 1 K. xiii. 24, xx. 36), and bears (1 Sam. xvii. 34; 2 K. ii. 24); jackals (Judg. xv. 4) and foxes (Cant. ii. 15) were also numerous; hart, roebuck, and fallow deer (Deut. xii. 15; 1 K. iv. 23) formed a regular source of sustenance, and were possibly preserved in inclosures. The manner of catching these animals was either by digging a pitfall (שַׁחַת), which was the usual manner with the larger animals, as the lion (2 Sam. xxiii. 20; Ez. xix. 4, 8); or secondly by a trap (פַּח), which was set under ground (Job xviii. 10), in the run of the animal (Prov. xxii. 5), and caught it by the leg (Job xviii. 9); or lastly by the use of the net, of which there were various kinds, as for the gazelle (?) (Is. li. 20, A. V. "wild bull"), and other animals of that class. [NET.] The method in which the net was applied is familiar to us from the descriptions in Virgil (*Æn.* iv. 121, 151 ff., x. 707 ff.); it was placed across a ravine or narrow valley, frequented by the animals for the sake of water, and the game was driven in by the hunters and then dispatched either with bow and arrow, or spears (comp. Wilkinson, i. 214). The game selected was generally such as was adapted for food (Prov. xii. 27), and care was taken to pour out the blood of these as well as of tame animals (Lev. xvii. 13).

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Birds formed an article of food among the Hebrews (Lev. xvii. 13), and much skill was exercised in catching them. The following were the most approved methods. (1.) The trap (פַּח), which consisted of two parts, a net, strained over a frame, and a stick to support it, but so placed that it should give way at the slightest touch; the stick or springe was termed מוֹקֵשׁ (Am. iii. 5, "gin;" Ps. lxix. 22, "trap"); this was the most usual method (Job xviii. 9; Eccl. ix. 12; Prov. vii. 23). (2.) The snare (צָמִים, from צָמַם, *to braid*; Job xviii. 9, A. V. "robber"), consisting of a cord (חֶבֶל, Job xviii. 10; comp. Ps. xviii. 5, cxvi. 3, cxl. 5), so set as to catch the bird by the leg. (3.) The net, which probably resembled those used in Egypt, consisting of two sides or frames, over which network was strained, and so arranged that they could be closed by means of a cord: the Hebrew names are various. [NET.] (4.) The decoy, to which reference is made in Jer. v. 26, 27 — a cage of a peculiar construction (כְּלוּב) — was filled with birds, which acted as decoys; the door of the cage was kept open by a piece of stick acting as a springe (מַשְׁוֵרֶת), and closed suddenly with a *clap* (whence perhaps the term *c'lúb*) on the entrance of a bird. The partridge appears to have been used as a decoy (Ecclus. xl. 30).

W. L. B.

HU'PHAM (חוּפָם [*protector*, Fürst; *coast-inhabitant*, Ges.]: LXX. omit in both MSS.; [Comp. Ὀφάμ:] *Hupham*), a son of Benjamin, founder of the family (*Mishpachah*) of the HUPHAMITES (Num. xxvi. 39). In the lists of Gen. xlvi. and 1 Chr. vii. the name is given as HUPPIM, which see.

HU'PHAMITES, THE (הַחֻפָמִי: om. in LXX.; [Comp. ὁ Ὀφαμί:] *Huphamitæ*). Descendants of HUPHAM of the tribe of Benjamin (Num. xxvi. 39). W. A. W.

HUPPAH (חֻפָּה [*covering, veiling*]: ὁ Ὠφά; [Vat. Οχχοφφα; Comp.] Alex. Ὀφφά: *Hoppha*), a priest in the time of David, to whom was committed the charge of the 13th of the 24 courses in the service of the house of God (1 Chr. xxiv. 13).

HUPPIM (חֻפִּים [*protection, screen*, Fürst, Ges.]: Gen. xlvi. 21; 1 Chr. vii. 12; in Gen., omitted in LXX. [Rom. Vat.], but Cod. Alex. has Ὀφιμιν; in 1 Chr. vii. 12, Ἀφφίν, [Vat. Αφφειν,] and in Cod. Alex. Αφειμ; [ver. 15, Vat. Αμφειν, Alex. Αφφειν;] the former is the correct form, if, as we read in Num. xxvi. 39, the name was Huppham: *Ophim*, [*Hapham*, *Happhim*]), head of a Benjamite family. According to the text of the LXX. in Gen., a son of Bela [BELA; BECHER]; but 1 Chr. vii. 12 tells us that he was son of Ir, or Iri (ver. 7), who was one of the five sons of Bela. According to Num. xxvi., the Huphamites were one of the original families of the tribe of Benjamin. The sister of Huppim married into the tribe of Manasseh (1 Chr. vii. 15). A. C. H.

HUR (חוּר [*hole*, hence a *prison*]: *Hur*). 1. (Ὤρ; Joseph. Ὤρος.) A man who is mentioned with Moses and Aaron on the occasion of the battle with Amalek at Rephidim (Ex. xvii. 10), when with Aaron he stayed up the hands of Moses (12). He is mentioned again in xxiv. 14, as being, with Aaron, left in charge of the people by Moses during his ascent of Sinai. It would appear from this that he must have been a person connected with the family of Moses and of some weight in the camp. The latter would follow from the former. The Jewish tradition, as preserved by Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 2, § 4) is that he was the husband of Miriam, and (iii. 6, § 1) that he was identical with —

2. (Ὤρ.) The grandfather of Bezaleel, the chief artificer of the tabernacle — "son of Uri, son of Hur — of the tribe of Judah" (Ex. xxxi. 2, xxxv. 30, xxxviii. 22), the full genealogy being given on each occasion (see also 2 Chr. i. 5). In the lists of the descendants of Judah in 1 Chr. the pedigree is more fully preserved. Hur there appears as one of the great family of Pharez. He was the son of Caleb ben-Hezron, by a second wife, Ephrath (ii. 19, 20; comp. 5, also iv. 1), the first fruit of the marriage (ii. 50, iv. 4), and the father, besides Uri (ver. 20), of three sons, who founded the towns of Kirjath-jearim, Beth-lehem, and Beth-gader (51). Hur's connection with Beth-lehem would seem to have been of a closer nature than with the others of these places, for he himself is emphatically called "Abi-Bethlehem" — the "father of Bethlehem" (iv. 4). Certainly Beth-lehem enjoyed, down to a very late period, a traditional reputation for the arts which distinguished his illustrious grandson. Jesse, the father of David, is said to have been a weaver of the vails of the sanctuary (Targ. Jonathan, 2 Sam. xxi. 19), and the dyers were still lingering there when Benjamin of Tudela visited Bethlehem in the 13th century.

In the Targum on 1 Chr. ii. 19 and iv. 4, Ephrath is taken as identical with Miriam: but this would be to contradict the more trustworthy tradition given above from Josephus.

In his comments on 1 Chr. iv. 1 (*Quæst. Hebr. in Paralip.*), Jerome overlooks the fact that the five persons there named as "sons" of Judah are really members of successive generations; and he attempts, as his manner is, to show that each of them is identical with one of the immediate sons of the patriarch. Hur he makes to be another name for Chan.

3. (Οὐρ; Joseph. Οὔρης.) The fourth of the five "kings" (מַלְכֵי: LXX. and Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 7, § 1, βασιλεῖς) of Midian, who were slain with Balaam after the "matter of Peor" (Num. xxxi. 8). In a later mention of them (Josh. xiii. 21) they are called "princes" (נְסִיאֵי) of Midian and "dukes" (נְסִיכֵי. not the word commonly rendered "duke," but probably with the force of dependence, see Keil *ad loc.*: LXX. ὑπαρχοι) of Sihon king of the Amorites, who was killed at the same time with them. No further light can be obtained as to Hur.

4. (Σούρ; [Vat. Alex. FA. omit.]) Father of Rephaiah, who was ruler of half of the environs (פֶּלֶךְ, A. V. "part") of Jerusalem, and assisted Nehemiah in the repair of the wall (Neh. iii. 9).

5. The "son of Hur" — Ben-Chur — was commissariat officer for Solomon in Mount Ephraim (1 K. iv. 8). The LXX. (both MSS. [rather, Rom and Alex.]) give the word Ben both in its origina and its translated form (Βεέν — Alex. Βέρ — with Ὤρ [Vat. Βαιωρ for B. *vi.* Ὤρ; Comp. Ald

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Βανάρ]), a not infrequent custom with them. Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 2, § 3) has Οὔρης as the name of the officer himself. The Vulg. (*Benhur*) follows the Hebrew, and is in turn followed in the margin of the A. V. It is remarkable that the same form is observed in giving the names of no less than five out of the twelve officers in this list. G.

HU'RAI [2 syl.] (חוּרָי [*free, noble*, Fürst: or = חוּרִי, *linen-weaver*, Ges.]: Οὐρί; [Vat. FA. Ουρει:] *Hurai*), one of David's guard — Hural of the torrents of Gaash — according to the list of 1 Chr. xi. 32. In the parallel catalogue of 2 Sam. xxiii. the R is changed to D, as is frequently the case, and the name stands as HIDDAI. Kennicott has examined the discrepancy, and, influenced by the readings of some of the MSS. of the LXX., decides in favor of Hurai as the genuine name (*Dissert.* p. 194).

HU'RAM (חוּרָם [*noble-born*]: Οὐράμ; [Vat. Αμ:] Alex. Ιωιμ: *Huram*). 1. A Benjamite; son of Bela, the first-born of the patriarch (1 Chr. viii. 5).

2. The form in which the name of the king of Tyre in alliance with David and Solomon — and elsewhere given as HIRAM — appears in Chronicles. (*a.*) At the time of David's establishment at Jerusalem (1 Chr. xiv. 1). In the A. V. the name is Hiram, in accordance with the *Cetîb* or original Hebrew text (חירם); but in the marginal correction of the Masorets (*Keri*) it is altered to Huram (חורם), the form which is maintained in all its other occurrences in these books. The LXX. Χειράμ [FA. Χιραμ], Vulg. *Hiram*, and Targum, all agree with the *Cetîb.* (*b.*) At the accession of Solomon (2 Chr. ii. 3, 11, 12, viii. 2, 18, ix. 10, 21: in each of these cases also the LXX. have Χιράμ, [Vat. and] Alex. Χειραμ, Vulg. *Hiram*).

3. The same change occurs in Chronicles in the name of Hiram the artificer, which is given as Huram in the following places: 2 Chr. ii. 13, iv. 11, 16. In the first and last of these a singular title is given him — the word Ab, "father" — "Huram my father,"[a] and "Huram his father." No doubt this denotes the respect and esteem in which he was held, according to the similar custom of the people of the East at the present day.[b] There also the LXX. [Rom. Χιράμ, Vat. and Alex. Χειραμ] and Vulgate follow the form Hiram.

HU'RI (חוּרִי [*linen-weaver*]: [Οὐρί, Vat. Ουρει:] *Huri*), a Gadite; father of Abihail, a chief man in that tribe (1 Chr. v. 14).

HUSBAND. [MARRIAGE.]

HU'SHAH (חוּשָׁה [*haste*]: Ὥσάν; [Comp. Οὐσά; Ald. Ὥσά:] *Husi*), a name which occurs in the genealogies of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr. iv.) — "Ezer, father of Hushah." It may well be ne name of a place, like Etam, Gedor, Beth-lehem, and others, in the preceding and succeeding verses; but we have no means of ascertaining the fact, since it occurs nowhere else. For a patronymic possibly derived from this name see HUSHATHITE.

HU'SHAI [2 syl.] (חוּשַׁי [*quick, rapid*]: Χουσί [Vat. -σει, and so often Alex.], LXX. and Joseph.: *Chusai*), an Archite, *i. e.* possibly an inhabitant of a place called Erec (2 Sam. xv. 32 ff., xvi. 16 ff.). He is called the "friend" of David (2 Sam. xv. 37; in 1 Chr. xxvii. 33, the word is rendered "companion;" comp. Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 9, § 2: the LXX. has a strange confusion of Archite and ἀρχιεταῖρος = chief friend). To him David confided the delicate and dangerous part of a pretended adherence to the cause of Absalom. His advice was preferred to that of Ahithophel, and speedily brought to pass the ruin which it meditated.

We are doubtless correct in assuming that the Hushai, whose son Baana was one of Solomon's commissariat officers (1 K. iv. 16), was the famous counsellor of his father. Hushai himself was probably no longer living; at any rate his office was filled by another (comp. ver. 5). [ARCHITE.] T. E. B.

HU'SHAM (חֻשָׁם, in Chron. חוּשִׁם [*hasting, swift*]: Ἀσάμ, [in 1 Chr.,] Ἀσόμ, [and so Alex. in Gen.:] *Husam*), one of the kings of Edom, before the institution of monarchy in Israel (Gen. xxxvi. 34, 35; 1 Chr. i. 45, 46). He is described as "Husham of the land of the Temanite;" and he succeeded Jobab, who is taken by the LXX. in their addition to the Book of Job as identical with that patriarch.

HU'SHATHITE, THE (הַחֻשָׁתִי, and twice in Chron. הַחֻשָׁתִי [*patr.* from חוּשָׁה, see above]: ὁ Ἀσταθθί, Οὐσαθί, Χουσαθί, [etc.:] *de Husati, Husathites*), the designation of two of the heroes of David's guard. 1. SIBBECHAI (2 Sam. xxi. 18; 1 Chr. xi. 29, xx. 4, xxvii. 11). In the last of these passages he is said to have belonged to the Zarhites, that is (probably) the descendants of Zerah of the tribe of Judah. So far this is in accordance with a connection between this and HUSHAH, a name, apparently of a place, in the genealogies of Judah. Josephus, however (*Ant.* vii. 12, § 2), mentions Sibbechai as a Hittite.

2. [Ἀναθίτης; Vat. -θει-; Alex. Ασαθειτης: *de Husati.*] MEBUNNAI (2 Sam. xxiii. 27). There seems no doubt that this name is a mere corruption of SIBBECHAI.

HU'SHIM (חֻשִׁים [*the hasting*, Fürst; *hastes* (pl.) Ges.]: Ἀσόμ: *Husim*). 1. In Gen. xlvi. 23, "the children [sons] (בְּנֵי) of Dan" are said to have been Hushim. The name is plural, as if of a tribe rather than an individual, which perhaps is sufficient to account for the use of the plural[c] in "children." In the list of Num. xxvi. the name is changed to SHUHAM.

Hushim figures prominently in the Jewish tradi-

[a] The A. V. of 2 Chr. ii. 13 renders the words "of Huram my father's," meaning the late king; but this is unnecessary, and the Hebrew will well bear the rendering given above.

[b] Analogous to this, though not exactly similar, is Joseph's expression (Gen. xlv. 8), "God hath made me a father unto Pharaoh." Compare also 1 Macc x. 18; where note the use of the two terms "cousin (συγγενής, ver. 31) and "father" (32). Somewhat analogous, too, is the use of terms of relationship — "brother," "cousin" — in legal and official documents of our own and other countries.

[c] Gen. xxxvi. 25, adduced by Knobel *ad loc.* as a parallel case to this, is hardly so, since a daughter of Anah is given as well as his son, and the word *Bne* covers both.

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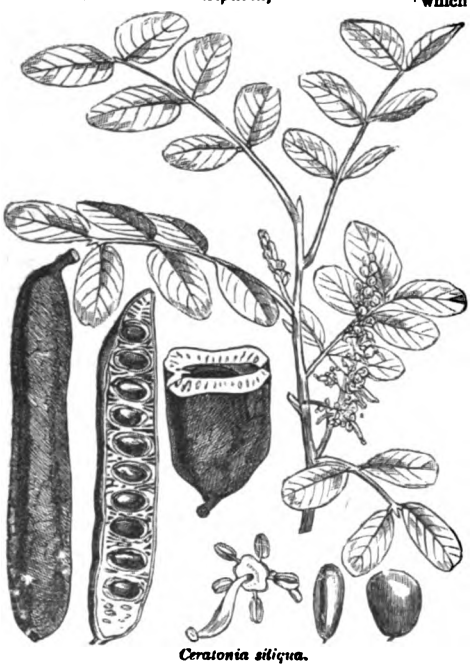
tions of the recognition of Joseph, and of Jacob's burial at Hebron. See the quotations from the Midrash in Weil's *Bib. Legends*, p. 88 *note*, and the Targum Pseudojon. on Gen. l. 13. In the latter he is the executioner of Esau.

2. חֻשָׁם (*i. e.* Chusshim: Ἀσώμ; Alex. Ασοβ: *Husim*), a member of the genealogy of Benjamin (1 Chr. vii. 12); and here again apparently (as the text now stands) the plural nature of the name is recognized, and Hushim is stated to be "the sons (*Bene*) of Aher." (See Bertheau in *Exeg. Handb.* ad loc.)

3. (חֻשִׁים, and חֻשִׂים: Ὡσίν; [Vat. Ζωσιν, Ωσιμεν;] Alex. Ωσιμ: *Husim*, but in ver. 11 *Mehusim*, by inclusion of the Hebrew particle.) The name occurs again in the genealogy of Benjamin, but there as that of one of the two wives of Shaharaim (1 Chr. viii. 8), and the mother of two of his sons (11). In this case the plural significance of the name is not alluded to.

HUSKS. The word κεράτια, which our translators have rendered by the general term "husks" (Luke xv. 16), describes really the fruit of a particular kind of tree, namely, the carob or *Ceratonia siliqua* of botanists. This tree is very commonly met with in Syria and Egypt; it produces pods, shaped like a horn (whence the Greek name), varying in length from 6 to 10 inches, and about a finger's breadth, or rather more. These pods, containing a thick pithy substance, very sweet to the taste, were eaten: and afforded food not only for cattle (Mishn. *Shabb.* 24, § 2), and particularly pigs (Colum. *R. R.* vii. 9), but also for the poorer classes of the population (Hor. *Ep.* ii. 1, 123; Juv. xi. 58). The same uses of it prevail in the present day; as the tree readily sheds its fruit, it forms a convenient mode of feeding pigs. The tree is also named St. John's Bread, from a tradition that the Baptist lived upon its fruit in the wilderness.

W. L. B.



Ceratonia siliqua.

* The carob-tree is very common also in the Greek islands, and its fruit is still in great request there as a nutritious article for fattening swine. It may be seen exposed for sale in the markets at Smyrna and Athens. The writer has seen it as far north as Trieste, on the Gulf of Venice. The pod, though considerably larger, resembles very much that of our common locust-tree. It contains a sweetish pulp when tender, but soon becomes dry and hard, with small seeds, which rattle in the pod when shaken. It emits a slight odor when first gathered, not a little offensive to those unaccustomed to it.

The occasional use of this product for food (see above) is not at variance with the parable. It is not said there that the prodigal resorted to food eaten only by swine; but that in his wretchedness, having no friend to give him anything better, he was glad to share (ἐπεθύμει γεμίσαι) "the husks" which the swine were eating, which he was sent into the fields to watch. Yet the expression here (καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδίδου αὐτῷ) some understand differently, namely, that no one gave the prodigal even so much as any of the husks, and if he obtained them, it was without permission and by stealth. This is Meyer's view (*Luk.*, p. 450, 4te Aufl.), and it appears to be that of Luther. The Greek does not require this interpretation; for the clause cited above (added in the Hebraistic way by καὶ = ὅτι) may assign a reason why (there being no other alternative) the prodigal must eat the husks to save himself from starvation. The ellipsis of τι after δίδωμι is very common (Matt. xix. 21, xxv. 8; Mark vi. 37; Luke vi. 30, &c.). In the other case we supply κεράτια as the object. H.

HUZ (עוּץ [perh., *fruitful in trees*, Dietr.], *i. e.* Uz, in which form the name is uniformly given elsewhere in the A. V.: Οβζ, Alex. Ωξ: *Hus*), the eldest son of Nahor and Milcah (Gen. xxii. 21). [Buz; Uz.]

HUZ'ZAB (חֻצָּב [Assyrian, Fürst: see *infra*]: ἡ ἀνδρεία: *miles captivus*), according to the general opinion of the Jews (Buxtorf's *Lexicon* ad voc. יצב), was the queen of Nineveh at the time when Nahum delivered his prophecy. This view appears to be followed in our version (Nah. ii. 7), and it has been recently defended by Ewald. Most modern expositors, however, incline to the belief that *Huzzab* here is not a proper name at all, but the Hophal of the verb יָצַב (see Buxtorf, as above; Gesenius, *Lex.* p. 903), and this is allowed as possible by the alternative rendering in the margin of our English Bible — "that which was established." Still there are difficulties in the way of such an understanding of the passage, and it is not improbable that after all Huzzab may really be a proper name. That a Ninevite queen otherwise unknown should suddenly be mentioned, is indeed exceedingly unlikely; for we cannot grant to Ewald that "the Ninevite queens were well nigh as powerful as the kings." But there is no reason why the word should not be a *geographic* term — an equivalent or representative of Assyria, which the prophet

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intends to threaten with captivity. *Hazzab* may mean "the *Zab* country," or the fertile tract east of the Tigris, watered by the upper and lower *Zab* rivers (*Zab Ala* and *Zab Asfal*), the A-*diab*-ênê of the geographers. This province — the most valuable part of Assyria — might well stand for Assyria itself, with which it is identified by Pliny (*H. N.* v. 12) and Ammianus (xxiii. 6). The name *Zab*, as applied to the rivers, is certainly very ancient, being found in the great inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I., which belongs to the middle of the twelfth century B. C. G. E.

HYÆNA. Authorities are at variance as to whether the term *tsâbû'a* (צָבוּעַ) in Jer. xii. 9 means a "hyæna," as the LXX. has it, or a "speckled bird," as in the A. V. The etymological force of the word is equally adapted to either, the hyæna being *streaked*. The only other instance in which it occurs is as a proper name, Zeboim (1 Sam. xiii. 18, "the valley of hyænas," Aquila; Neh. xi. 34). The Talmudical writers describe the hyæna by no less than four names, of which *tsâbû'a* is one (Lewysohn, *Zoöl.* § 119). The opinions of Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 163) and Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 1149) are in favor of the same view; nor could any room for doubt remain, were it not for the word *ait* (עַיִט; A. V. "bird") connected with it, which in all other passages refers to a bird. The hyæna was common in ancient as in modern Egypt, and is constantly depicted on monuments (Wilkinson, i. 213, 225): it must therefore have been well known to the Jews, if indeed not equally common in Palestine.[a] The sense of the passage in Jeremiah implies a fierce strong beast, not far below the lion in the parallel passage (v. 8); the hyæna fully answers to this description. Though cowardly in his nature, he is very savage when once he attacks, and the strength of his jaws is such that he can crunch the thigh-bone of an ox (Livingstone's *Travels*, p. 600). [ZEBOIM.] W. L. B.

* The etymological affinity of the Arabic ضبع ought to decide that the animal intended is the hyæna. This animal is common in Palestine and Syria. G. E. P.

HYDASPES (Ὑδάσπης: [*Jadason*]), a river noticed in Jud. i. 6, in connection with the Euphrates and Tigris. It is uncertain what river is referred to: the well-known Hydaspes of India (the *Jelum* of the *Panjâb*) is too remote to accord with the other localities noticed in the context. We may perhaps identify it with the Choaspes of Susiana. W. L. B.

HYMENÆUS [A. V. Hymenæus] (Ὑμέναιος), the name of a person occurring twice in the correspondence between St. Paul and Timothy; the first time classed with Alexander, and with him "delivered to Satan, that they might learn not to blaspheme" (1 Tim. i. 20); and the second time classed with Philetus, and with him charged with having "erred concerning the truth, saying that the resurrection is past already" and thereby "overthrown the faith of some" (2 Tim. ii. 17, 18). These latter expressions, coupled with "the shipwreck of faith" attributed to Hymenæus in the context of the former passage (ver. 19), surely warrant our understanding both passages of the same person, notwithstanding the interval between the dates of the two letters. When the first was written he had already made one proselyte; before the second was penned he had seduced another; and if so, the only points further to be considered are, the error attributed to him, and the sentence imposed upon him.

I. The error attributed to him was one that had been in part appropriated from others, and has frequently been revived since with additions. What initiation was to the Pythagoreans, wisdom to the Stoics, science to the followers of Plato, contemplation to the Peripatetics, that "knowledge" (γνῶσις) was to the Gnostics. As there were likewise in the Greek schools those who looked forward to a complete restoration of all things (ἀποκατάστασις, v. Heyne *ad Virg. Ecl.* iv. 5, comp. *Æn.* vi. 745); so there was "a regeneration" (Tit. iii. 5; Matt. xix. 28), "a new creation" (2 Cor. v. 17, see Alford *ad loc.*; Rev. xxi. 1), "a kingdom of heaven and of Messiah or Christ" (Matt. xiii.; Rev. vii.) — and herein popular belief among the Jews coincided — unequivocally propounded in the N. T.; but *here* with this remarkable difference, namely, that in a great measure, it was present as well as future — the same thing in germ that was to be had in perfection eventually. "The kingdom of God is within you," said our Lord (Luke xvii. 21). "He that is spiritual judgeth all things," said St. Paul (1 Cor. ii. 15). "He that is born of God cannot sin," said St. John (1 Ep. iii. 9). There are likewise two deaths and two resurrections spoken of in the N. T.; the first of each sort, that of the soul to and from sin (John iii. 3–8), "the hour which now is" (*ibid.* v. 24, 25, on which see Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, xx. 6); the second, that of the body to and from corruption (1 Cor. xv. 36–44; also John v. 28, 29), which last is prospective. Now as the doctrine of the resurrection of the body was found to involve immense difficulties even in those early days (Acts xvii. 32; 1 Cor. xv. 35; how keenly they were pressed may be seen in St. Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, xxii. 12 ff.); while, on the other hand, there was so great a predisposition in the then current philosophy (not even extinct now) to magnify the excellence of the soul above that of its earthly tabernacle, it was at once the easier and more attractive course to insist upon and argue from the force of those passages of Holy Scripture which enlarge upon the glories of the spiritual life that now is, under Christ, and to pass over or explain away allegorically all that refers to a future state in connection with the resurrection of the body. In this manner we may derive the first errors of the Gnostics, of whom Hymenæus was one of the earliest. They were on the spread when St. John wrote; and his grand-disciple, St. Irenæus, compiled a voluminous work against them (*Adv. Hær.*). A good account of their full development is given by Gieseler, *E. H.*, per. i. div. i. § 44 ff.

II. As regards the sentence passed upon him — it has been asserted by some writers of eminence (see Corn. à Lapide *ad* 1 *Cor.* v. 5), that the "delivering to Satan" is a mere synonym for ecclesiastical excommunication. Such can hardly be the case. The Apostles possessed many extraordinary prerogatives, which none have since arrogated. Even the title which they bore has been set apart to them ever since. The shaking off the dust of their feet against a city that would not

[a] Prof. Stanley records (*S. & P.* p. 162, *note*) that the only wild animal he saw in Palestine was a hyæna.

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receive them (St. Matt. x. 14), even though the same injunction was afterwards given to the Seventy (St. Luke x. 11), and which St. Paul found it necessary to act upon twice in the course of his ministry (Acts xiii. 51, and xviii. 6), has never been a practice since with Christian ministers. "Anathema," says Bingham, "is a word that occurs frequently in the ancient canons" (*Antiq.* xvi. 2, 16), but the form "Anathema Maranatha" is one that none have ever ventured upon since St. Paul (1 Cor. xvi. 22). As the Apostles healed all manner of bodily infirmities, so they seem to have possessed and exercised the same power in inflicting them — a power far too perilous to be continued when the manifold exigencies of the Apostolical age had passed away. Ananias and Sapphira both fell down dead at the rebuke of St. Peter (Acts v. 5 and 10); two words from the same lips, "Tabitha, arise," sufficed to raise Dorcas from the dead (*ibid.* ix. 40). St. Paul's first act in entering upon his ministry was to strike Elymas the sorcerer with blindness, his own sight having been restored to him through the medium of a disciple (*ibid.* ix. 17, and xiii. 11); while soon afterwards we read of his healing the cripple of Lystra (*ibid.* xiv. 8). Even apart from actual intervention by the Apostles, bodily visitations are spoken of in the case of those who approached the Lord's Supper unworthily, when as yet no discipline had been established: "For this cause many are weak and sickly among you, and a good number (*ικανοί*, in the former case it is *πολλοί*) sleep" (1 Cor. xi. 30).

On the other hand Satan was held to be the instrument or executioner of all these visitations. Such is the character assigned to him in the book of Job (i. 6–12, ii. 1–7). Similar agencies are described 1 K. xxii. 19–22, and 1 Chr. xxi. 1. In Ps. lxxviii. 49, such are the causes to which the plagues of Egypt are assigned. Even our Lord submitted to be assailed by him more than once (Matt. iv. 1–10: Luke iv. 13 says, "departed from Him *for a season*"); and "a messenger of Satan was sent to buffet" the very Apostle whose act of delivering another to the same power is now under discussion. At the same time large powers over the world of spirits were authoritatively conveyed by our Lord to his immediate followers (to the Twelve, Luke ix. 1; to the Seventy, as the results showed, *ibid.* x. 17–20).

It only remains to notice five particulars connected with its exercise, which the Apostle supplies himself. (1.) That it was no mere prayer, but a solemn authoritative sentence, pronounced in the name and power of Jesus Christ (1 Cor. v. 3–5). (2.) That it was never exercised upon any without the Church: "them that are without God judgeth" (*ibid.* v. 13), he says in express terms. (3.) That it was "for the destruction of the flesh," *i. e.* some bodily visitation. (4.) That it was for the improvement of the offender; that "his spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus" (*ibid.* v. 5); and that "he might learn not to blaspheme" while upon earth (1 Tim. i. 20). (5.) That the Apostle could in a given case empower others to pass such sentence in his absence (1 Cor. v. 3, 4).

Thus, while the "delivering to Satan" may resemble ecclesiastical excommunication in some respects, it has its own characteristics likewise, which show plainly that one is not to be confounded or placed on the same level with the other. Nor again does St. Paul himself deliver to Satan all those in whose company he bids his converts "not even to eat" (1 Cor. v. 11). See an able review of the whole subject by Bingham, *Antiq.* vi. 2, 15

E. S. Ff.

HYMN. This word is not used in the English version of the O. T., and only twice in the N. T. (Eph. v. 19; Col. iii. 16); though in the original of the latter the derivative verb [a] occurs in three places (Matt. xxvi. 30; comp. Mark xiv. 26; Acts xvi. 25; Heb. ii. 12). The LXX., however, employ it freely in translating the Heb. names for almost every kind of poetical composition (Schleusn. *Lex.* *ὕμνος*). In fact the word does not seem to have had for the LXX. any very special meaning; and they called the Heb. book of *Tehillim* the book of psalms, not of hymns. Accordingly the word *psalm* had for the later Jews a definite meaning, while the word *hymn* was more or less vague in its application, and capable of being used as occasion should arise. If a new poetical form or idea should be produced, the name of *hymn*, not being embarrassed by a previous determination, was ready to associate itself with the fresh thought of another literature. And this seems to have been actually the case.

Among Christians the Hymn has always been something different from the Psalm; a different conception in thought, a different type in composition. There is some dispute about the hymn sung by our Lord and his Apostles on the occasion of the Last Supper; but even supposing it to have been the *Hallel*, or Paschal Hymn, consisting of Pss. cxiii.–cxviii., it is obvious that the word *hymn* is in this case applied not to an individual psalm, but to a number of psalms chanted successively, and altogether forming a kind of devotional exercise which is not unaptly called a hymn. The prayer in Acts iv. 24–30 is not a hymn, unless we allow non-metrical as well as metrical hymns. It may have been a hymn as it was originally altered; but we can only judge by the Greek translation, and this is without metre, and therefore not properly a hymn. In the jail at Philippi, Paul and Silas "sang hymns" (A. V. "praises") unto God, and so loud was their song that their fellow-prisoners heard them. This must have been what we mean by singing, and not merely recitation. It was in fact a veritable singing of hymns. And it is remarkable that the noun *hymn* is only used in reference to the services of the Greeks, and in the same passages is clearly distinguished from the psalm (Eph. v. 19, Col. iii. 16), "psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs."

It is probable that no Greek version of the Psalms, even supposing it to be accommodated to the Greek metres, would take root in the affections of the Gentile converts. It was not only a question of metre, it was a question of *tune*; and Greek tunes required Greek hymns. So it was in Syria. Richer in tunes than Greece, for Greece had but eight, while Syria had 275 (Benedict. *Præf.* vol. v. *Op. Eph. Syr.*), the Syrian hymnographers revelled in the varied luxury of their native music; and the result was that splendid development of the Hymn, as moulded by the genius of Bardesanes, Harmonius, and Ephrem Syrus. In Greece the eight tunes which seem to have satisfied the exigencies of church-music were probably accommodated to fixed metres, each metre being wedded to a particular

[a] Hymn occurs also in Matt. xxvi. 30, and Mark xiv. 26, where "when they had *sung* an hymn" (A. V.) stands for *ὑμνήσαντες*.

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cause; an arrangement to which we can observe a tendency in the *Directions about tunes and measures* at the end of our English metrical version of the Psalms. This is also the case in the German hymnology, where certain ancient tunes are recognized as models for the metres of later compositions, and their names are always prefixed to the hymns in common use.

It is worth while inquiring what profane models the Greek hymnographers chose to work after. In the old religion of Greece the word *hymn* had already acquired a sacred and liturgical meaning, which could not fail to suggest its application to the productions of the Christian muse. So much for the *name*. The special *forms* of the Greek hymn were various. The Homeric and Orphic hymns were written in the epic style, and in hexameter verse. Their metre was not adapted for singing; and therefore, though they may have been recited, it is not likely that they were sung at the celebration of the mysteries. We turn to the Pindaric hymns, and here we find a sufficient variety of metre, and a definite relation to music. These hymns were sung to the accompaniment of the lyre; and it is very likely that they engaged the attention of the early hymn-writers. The dithyramb, with its development into the dramatic chorus, was sufficiently connected with musical traditions to make its form a fitting vehicle for Christian poetry; and there certainly is a dithyrambic savor about the earliest known Christian hymn, as it appears in Clem. Alex. pp. 312, 313, ed. Potter.

The first impulse of Christian devotion was to run into the moulds ordinarily used by the worshippers of the old religion. This was more than an impulse, it was a necessity, and a twofold necessity. The new spirit was strong; but it had two imitations: the difficulty of conceiving a new music-poetical literature; and the quality so peculiar to devotional music, of lingering in the heart after the head has been convinced and the belief changed. The old tunes would be a real necessity to the new life; and the exile from his ancient faith would delight to hear on the foreign soil of a new religion the familiar melodies of home. Dean Trench has indeed labored to show that the reverse was the case, and that the early Christian shrank with horror from the sweet, but polluted, enchantments of his unbelieving state. We can only assent to this in so far as we allow it to be the second phase in the history of hymns. When old traditions died away, and the Christian acquired not only a new belief, but a new social humanity, it was possible, and it was desirable too, to break forever the attenuated thread that bound him to the ancient world. And so it was broken; and the trochaic and iambic metres, unassociated as they were with heathen worship, though largely associated with the heathen drama, obtained an ascendant in the Christian church. In 1 Cor. xiv. 26 allusion is made to *improvised* hymns, which being the outburst of a passionate emotion would probably assume the dithyrambic form. But attempts have been made to detect fragments of ancient hymns conformed to more obvious metres in Eph. v. 14; Jam. i. 17; Rev. i. 8 ff., xv. 3. These pretended fragments, however, may with much greater likelihood be referred to the swing of a prose composition unconsciously culminating into metre. It was in the Latin church that the trochaic and iambic metres became most deeply rooted, and acquired the greatest depth of tone and grace of finish. As an exponent of Christian feeling they soon superseded the accentual hexameters; they were used mnemonically against the heathen and the heretics by Commodianus and Augustine. The introduction of hymns into the Latin church is commonly referred to Ambrose. But it is impossible to conceive that the West should have been so far behind the East; similar necessities must have produced similar results; and it is more likely that the tradition is due to the very marked prominence of Ambrose as the greatest of all the Latin hymnographers.

The trochaic and iambic metres, thus impressed into the service of the church, have continued to hold their ground, and are in fact the 7's, S. M., C. M., and L. M. of our modern hymns; many of which are translations, or at any rate imitations, of Latin originals. These metres were peculiarly adapted to the grave and sombre spirit of Latin Christianity. Less ecstatic than the varied chorus of the Greek church, they did not soar upon the pinion of a lofty praise, so much as they drooped and sank into the depths of a great sorrow. They were subjective rather than objective; they appealed to the heart more than to the understanding; and if they contained less theology, they were fuller of a rich and Christian humanity. (Daniel's *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, Halis et Lipsiæ, 1841–1855; *Lateinische Hymnen*, etc., by F. G. Mone; *Gesänge Christlicher Vorzeit*, by C. Fortlage, Berlin, 1844; *Sacred Latin Poetry*, by R. C. Trench; *Ephrem Syrus*, by Dr. Burgess; Hahn's *Bardesanes*; [Lamson's *Church of the First Three Centuries*, p. 343 ff., 2d ed.]) T. E. B.

HYSSOP (אֵזוֹב, *ézôb*: ὕσσωπος). Perhaps no plant mentioned in the Scriptures has given rise to greater differences of opinion than this. The question of the identification of the *ézôb* of the Hebrews with any plant known to modern botanists was thought by Casaubon "adeo difficilis ad explicandum, ut videatur Esias expectandus, qui certi aliquid nos doceat." Had the botanical works of Solomon survived they might have thrown some light upon it. The chief difficulty arises from the fact that in the LXX. the Greek ὕσσωπος is the uniform rendering of the Hebrew *ézôb*, and that this rendering is endorsed by the Apostle in the Epistle to the Hebrews (ix. 19, 21), when speaking of the ceremonial observances of the Levitical law. Whether, therefore, the LXX. made use of the Greek ὕσσωπος as the word most nearly resembling the Hebrew in sound, as Stanley suggests (*S. & P.* 21, *note*), or as the true representative of the plant indicated by the latter, is a point which, in all probability, will never be decided. Botanists differ widely even with regard to the identification of the ὕσσωπος of Dioscorides. The name has been given to the *Satureia Græca* and the *S. Juliana*, to neither of which it is appropriate, and the hyssop of Italy and South France is not met with in Greece, Syria, or Egypt. Daubeny (*Lect. on Rom. Husbandry*, p. 313), following Sibthorpe, identifies the mountain-hyssop with the *Thymbra spicata*, but this conjecture is disapproved of by Kühn (*Comm. in Diosc.* iii. 27), who in the same passage gives it as his opinion that the Hebrews used the *Origanum Ægyptiacum* in Egypt, the *O. Syriacum* in Palestine, and that the hyssop of Dioscorides was the *O. Smyrnæum*. The Greek botanist describes two kinds of hyssop, ὑσσωπος ἡ ἀγρία and ὑσσωπος ἡ κηπευτική, and gives زعتر as the Egyptian equivalent

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The Talmudists make the same distinction between the wild hyssop and the garden-plant used for food.

The *ézób* was used to sprinkle the doorposts of the Israelites in Egypt with the blood of the paschal lamb (Ex. xii. 22); it was employed in the purification of lepers and leprous houses (Lev. xiv. 4, 51), and in the sacrifice of the red heifer (Num. xix. 6). In consequence of its detergent qualities, or from its being associated with the purificatory services, the Psalmist makes use of the expression, "purge me with *ézób*" (Ps. li. 7). It is described in 1 K. iv. 33 as growing on or near walls. In John xix. 29 the phrase ὑσσώπῳ περιθέντες corresponds to περιθεὶς καλάμῳ in Matt. xxvii. 48 and Mark xv. 36. If therefore καλάμῳ be the equivalent of ὑσσώπῳ, the latter must be a plant capable of producing a stick three or four feet in length.

Five kinds of hyssop are mentioned in the Talmud. One is called אֵזוֹב simply, without any epithet: the others are distinguished as Greek, Roman, wild hyssop, and hyssop of Cochali (Mishna, *Negaim*, xiv. 6). Of these the four last-mentioned were profane, that is, not to be employed in purifications (Mishna, *Parah*, xi. 7). Maimonides (*de Vacca Rufa*, iii. 2) says that the hyssop mentioned in the law is that which was used as a condiment. According to Porphyry (*De Abstin.* iv. 7), the Egyptian priests on certain occasions ate their bread mixed with hyssop; and the *zaatar*, or wild marjoram, with which it has been identified, is often an ingredient in a mixture called *dukkah*, which is to this day used as food by the poorer classes in Egypt (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 200). It is not improbable, therefore, that this may have been the hyssop of Maimonides, who wrote in Egypt; more especially as R. D. Kimchi (*Lex.* s. v.), who reckons seven different kinds, gives as the equivalent the Arabic زعتر, *za'atar*, origanum, or marjoram, and the German *Dosten* or *Wohlgemuth* (Rosenm. *Handb.*). With this agrees the Tanchum Hieros. MS. quoted by Gesenius. So in the Judæo-Spanish version, Ex. xii. 22 is translated "y tomarédes manojo de *origano*." But Dioscorides makes a distinction between origanum and hyssop when he describes the leaf of a species of the former as resembling the latter (cf. Plin. xx. 67), though it is evident that he, as well as the Talmudists, regarded them as belonging to the same family. In the Syriac of 1 K. iv. 33 hyssop is rendered by ܐܣܦܣܘܦܐ, *lîfô*, "houseleek," although in other passages it is represented by ܐܘܙܒܐ, *zûfô*, which the Arabic translation follows in Ps. li. 7 and Heb. ix. 19, while in the Pentateuch it has *zaatar* for the same. Patrick (on 1 K. iv. 33) was of opinion that *ézób* is the same with the Ethiopic *azub*, which represents the hyssop of Ps. li. 7, as well as ἡδυόσμον, or mint, in Matt. xxiii. 23.

Bochart decides in favor of marjoram or some plant like it (*Hieroz.* i. b. 2, c. 50), and to this conclusion, it must be admitted, all ancient tradition points. The monks on Jebel Musa give the name of hyssop to a fragrant plant called *ja'deh*, which grows in great quantities on that mountain (Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* i. 157). Celsius (*Hierobot.* i. 423), after enumerating eighteen different plants, thyme, southernwood, rosemary, French lavender, wall rue, and the maidenhair fern among others, which have been severally identified with the hyssop of Scripture, concludes that we have no alternative but to accept the *Hyssopus officinalis*, "nisi velimus apostolum corrigere qui τὸ ὑσσωπον reddit Heb. ix. 19." He avoids the difficulty in John xix. 29 by supposing that a sponge filled with vinegar was wrapped round a bunch of hyssop and that the two were then fastened to the end of a stick. Dr. Kitto conceived that he had found the peculiarities of the Hebrew *ézób* in the *Phytolacca decandra*, a native of America. Tremellius and Ben Zeb render it by "moss." It has been reserved for the ingenuity of a German to trace a connection between Æsop, the Greek fabulist, and the *ézób* of 1 K. iv. 33 (Hitzig, *Die Sprüche Salomo's, Einl.* § 2).

An elaborate and interesting paper by the late Dr. J. Forbes Royle, *On the Hyssop of Scripture*, in the *Journ. of the Roy. As. Soc.* viii. 193–212, goes far to throw light upon this difficult question. Dr. R., after a careful investigation of the subject, arrived at the conclusion that the hyssop is no other than the caper-plant, or *capparis spinosa* of Linnæus. The Arabic name of this plant, *asaf*, by which it is sometimes, though not commonly, described, bears considerable resemblance to the Hebrew. It is found in Lower Egypt (Forskål, *Flor. Eg.-Arab.*; Plin. xiii. 44). Burckhardt (*Trav. in Syr.*, p. 536) mentions the *asaef* as a tree of frequent occurrence in the valleys of the peninsula of Sinai, "the bright green creeper which climbs out of the fissures of the rocks" (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 21, &c.), and produces a fruit of the size of a walnut, called by the Arabs *Felfel Jibbel*, or mountain-pepper (Shaw, *Spec. Phytogr. Afr.* p. 39). Dr. R. thought this to be undoubtedly a species of *capparis*, and probably the caper-plant. The *capparis spinosa* was found by M. Bové (*Rel. d'un Voy. Botan. en Eg.*, etc.) in the desert of Sinai, at Gaza, and at Jerusalem. Lynch saw it in a ravine near the convent of Mar Saba (*Exped.*, p. 388). It is thus met with in all the localities where the *ézób* is mentioned in the Bible. With regard to its habitat, it grows in dry and rocky places, and on walls: "quippe quum capparis quoque seratur *siccis* maxime" (Plin. xix. 48). De Candolle describes it as found "in muris et rupestribus." The caper-plant was believed to be possessed of detergent qualities. According to Pliny (xx. 59) the root was applied to the cure of a disease similar to the leprosy. Lamarck (*Enc. Botan.* art. *Caprier*) says, "les capriers . . . sont regardés comme . . . antiscorbutiques." Finally, the caper-plant is capable of producing a stick three or four feet in length. Pliny (xiii. 44) describes it in Egypt as "firmioris ligni frutex," and to this property Dr. Royle attaches great importance, identifying as he does the ὑσσώπῳ of John xix. 29 with the καλάμῳ of Matthew and Mark. He thus concludes: "A combination of circumstances, and some of them apparently too improbable to be united in one plant, I cannot believe to be accidental, and have therefore considered myself entitled to infer, what I hope I have succeeded in proving to the satisfaction of others, that the caper-plant is the hyssop of Scripture." Whether his conclusion is sound or not, his investigations are well worthy of attention; but it must be acknowledged that, setting aside the passage in John xix., which may possibly admit of another solution, there seems no reason for supposing that the properties of the *ézób* of the Hebrews may not be found in some one of

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the plants with which the tradition of centuries has identified it. That it may have been possessed of some detergent qualities which led to its significant employment in the purificatory service is possible; but it does not appear from the narrative in Leviticus that its use was such as to call into action any medicinal properties by which it might have been characterized. In the present state of the evidence, therefore, there does not seem sufficient reason for departing from the old interpretation, which identified the Greek ὕσσωπος with the Hebrew אֵזוֹב. W. A. W.

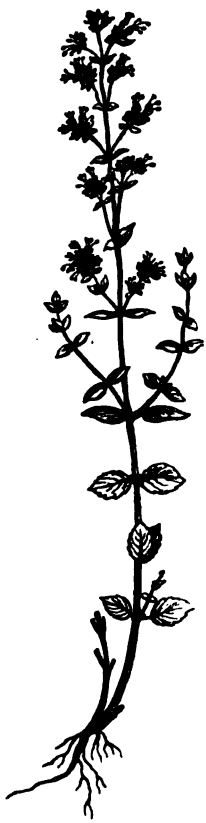
* I. I design to give reasons, conclusive in my mind, against the supposition that the *Capparis spinosa* is the hyssop. (1.) It is a thorny plant highly unsuitable to the use intended; *i. e.* the being formed into a sort of wisp or brush, or bunch, suitable for sprinkling. Its branches are straggling and quite incapable of assuming the required form, and its harsh thorns would make it impossible to hold it in the hand. Can it be supposed that it was stripped of these to prepare it for use? (2.) It has no affinity with the زوفا, which is one of the *Labiatæ*, and which from its etymological identity with אֵזוֹב is entitled to be considered the plant referred to in the Scriptures.

II. I desire to present the evidence which satisfies my mind that the *Origanum maru* is the plant intended.

(1.) The definition of زوفا in Arabic is "a plant growing on a slender square stem" (a characteristic of the *Labiatæ*) "with a leaf like the slender صعتر." This definition makes it certain that the Arabic *Zâpha* is very near the *Origanum maru*, for the latter is one of the numerous species included by the Arabs under the indefinite term صعتر: in fact, it is the most common of them all.

(2.) It grows on the walls of all the terraces throughout Palestine and Syria.

(3.) It is free from thorns, and its slender stem, free from spreading branches, and ending in a cluster of heads, having a highly aromatic odor, exactly fits it to be made into a bunch for purposes of sprinkling. No plant growing in the East is so well fitted for the purpose. These considerations have long persuaded me that this is the plant intended.*



Origanum maru. (G. E. Post *fecit*.)

Its leaves are commonly eaten in Syria with bread, and as a seasoning, as we use summer savory, which it resembles in taste. Its effects on sheep and goats are very salutary. G. E. P.

* The fact that many stalks grow up from one root eminently fit this species for the purpose intended. The hand could easily gather in a single grasp the requisite bundle or bunch all ready for use G. E. P.

I.

IB'HAR (יִבְחָר [*whom God chooses*]: Ἐβεδρ, Ἐβαδρ, Βαδρ; [Vat. Βααρ in 1 Chr.;] Alex. Ιεβαρ, Ιεβααρ: Syr. *Jucobor: Jebahar, Jebaar*), one of the sons of David, mentioned in the lists next after Solomon and before Elishua (2 Sam. v 15; 1 Chr. iii. 6, xiv. 5). Ibhar was born in Jerusalem, and from the second of these passages it appears that he was the son of a wife and not of a concubine. He never comes forward in the history in person, nor are there any traditions concerning him. For the genealogy of David's family see DAVID.

IB'LEAM (יִבְלְעָם [*conqueror* or *devourer of the people*]: [in Josh., Rom. Vat. Alex. omit, Comp. Ἰαβλααμ; in Judg.,] Ἰεβλααμ, Alex. Βαλααμ; [in 2 K., Vat. Εκβλααμ, Rom. Alex. Ἰεβλααμ:] *Jeblaam*), a city of Manasseh, with villages or towns (Hebrew "daughters") dependent on it (Judg. i. 27). Though belonging to Manasseh, it appears not to have lain within the limits allotted to that tribe, but to have been situated in the territory of either Issachar or Asher (Josh. xvii. 11). It is not said which of the two, though there is no doubt from other indications that it was the former. The ascent of GUR, the spot at which Ahaziah received his death wound from the soldiers of Jehu, was "at (בְּ) Ibleam" (2 K. ix. 27), somewhere near the present *Jenin*, probably to the north of it, about where the village *Jelama* now stands.

In the list of cities given out of Manasseh to the Kohathite Levites (1 Chr. vi. 70), BILEAM is mentioned, answering to Gathrimmon in the list of Josh. xxi. Bileam is probably a mere alteration of Ibleam (comp. the form given in the Alex. LXX. above), though this is not certain. G.

IBNE'IAH [3 syl.] (יִבְנֵיָה [*Jehovah builds*]: Ἰεμραδ; [Vat. Βαναμ; Comp. Ald.] Alex. Ἰεβραδ: *Jobania*), son of Jeroham, a Benjamite, who was a chief man in the tribe apparently at the time of the first settlement in Jerusalem (1 Chr. ix. 8).

IBNI'JAH (יִבְנִיָּה [as above]: Ἰεμραΐ, [Vat. Βαναια:] Alex. Ἰεβαναι: *Jebania*), a Benjamite (1 Chr. ix. 8).

IB'RI (עִבְרִי [*Hebrew*]: Ἀβδί; Alex. Ωβδ., [Comp. Ἀβαρί:] *Hebri*), a Merarite Levite of the family of Jaaziah (1 Chr. xxiv. 27), in the time of king David, concerned in the service of the house of Jehovah.

The word is precisely the same as that elsewhere rendered in the A. V. "Hebrew," which see.

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IB'ZAN (אִבְצָן [*swift, fleet*, Dietr.; *splendid, beautiful*, Fürst]: Ἀβαισάν: [Vat. Ἀβοσαν;] Alex. Εσεβων; Joseph. Ἀψάνης: *Abesan*), a native of Bethlehem, who judged Israel for seven years after Jephthah (Judg. xii. 8, 10). He had 30 sons and 30 daughters, and took home 30 wives for his sons, and sent out his daughters to as many husbands abroad. He was buried at Bethlehem. From the non-addition of "Ephratah," or "Judah," after Bethlehem, and from Ibzan having been succeeded by a Zebulonite, it seems pretty certain that the Bethlehem here meant is that in the tribe of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 15: see Joseph. *Ant.* v. 7, § 73). There is not a shadow of probability in the notion which has been broached as to the identity of Ibzan with Boaz (בֹּעַז). The history of his large family is singularly at variance with the impression of Boaz given us in the book of Ruth.

A. C. H.

ICH'ABOD (אִי־כָבוֹד, from אַי, "where?" equivalent to the negative, and כָּבוֹד, "glory," Gen. *Thes.* p. 79, *inglorious:* [in 1 Sam. iv. 8 Ὀναιβαρχαβόθ, [Alex. Ὀναιχαβωδ, Comp Εχαβόδ· in 1 Sam. xiv. 3, Ἰωχαβήδ], which seems to derive from אוֹי, "woe," *oval*, 1 Sam. iv. 8 Ges. p. 39: *Ichabod*,, the son of Phinehas, and grandson of Eli. In giving birth to him his mother died of grief at the news of the sudden deaths of her husband and father-in-law. His brother's name was Ahiah or Ahimelech (1 Sam. iv. 21. xiv. 3).

H. W. P.

ICO'NIUM (Ἰκόνιον), the modern *Konieh*, is situated in the western part of an extensive plain on the central table-land of Asia Minor, and not far to the north of the chain of Taurus. This level district was anciently called LYCAONIA. Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 2, 19) reckons Iconium as the most easterly town of PHRYGIA; but all other writers speak of it as being in Lycaonia, of which it was practically the capital. It was on the great line of communication between Ephesus and the western coast of the peninsula on one side, and Tarsus, Antioch, and the Euphrates on the other. We see this indicated by the narrative of Xenophon



Iconium (*Konieh*). (Laborde, *Voyage en Orient.*)

(*l. c.*) and the letters of Cicero (*ad Fam.* iii. 8, v. 20, xv. 4). When the Roman provincial system was matured, some of the most important roads intersected one another at this point, as may be seen from the map in Leake's *Asia Minor*. These circumstances should be borne in mind, when we trace St. Paul's journeys through the district. Iconium was a well-chosen place for missionary operations. The Apostle's first visit was on his first circuit, in company with Barnabas; and on this occasion he approached it from Antioch in Pisidia, which lay to the west. From that city he had been driven by the persecution of the Jews (Acts xiii. 50, 51). There were Jews in Iconium also; and St. Paul's first efforts here, according to his custom, were made in the synagogue (xiv. 1). The results were considerable both among the Hebrew and Gentile population of the place (*ibid.*). We should notice that the working of miracles in Iconium is emphatically mentioned (xiv. 3). The intrigues of the Jews again drove him away; he was in danger of being stoned, and he withdrew to LYSTRA and DERBE in the eastern and wilder part of Lycaonia (xiv. 6). Thither also the enmity of the Jews of Antioch and Iconium pursued him; and at Lystra he was actually stoned and left for dead (xiv. 19). After an interval, however, he returned over the old ground, revisiting Iconium and encouraging the church which he had founded there (xiv. 21, 22). These sufferings and difficulties are alluded to in 2 Tim. iii. 11; and this brings us to the consideration of his next visit to this neighborhood, which was the occasion of his first practically associating himself with TIMOTHY. Paul left the Syrian Antioch, in company with Silas (Acts xv. 40), on his second missionary circuit; and travelling through CILICIA (xv. 41), and up through the passes of Taurus into Lycaonia, approached Iconium from the east, by Derbe and Lystra (xvi. 1, 2). Though apparently a native of Lystra, Timothy was evidently well known to the Christians of Iconium (xvi. 2); and it is not improbable that his circumcision (xvi. 3) and ordination (1 Tim. . 18, iv. 14 vi. 12: 2 Tim. i. 6) took place there. On leaving Iconium St. Paul and his party travelled to the N. W.; and the place is not mentioned again in the sacred narrative; though there is little doubt that it was visited by the Apostle again in the early

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part of his third circuit (Acts xviii. 23). From its position it could not fail to be an important centre of Christian influence in the early ages of the church. The curious apocryphal legend of St Thecla, of which Iconium is the scene, must not be entirely passed by. The "Acta Pauli et Theclæ" are given in full by Grabe (*Spicil.* vol. i.), and by Jones (*On the Canon*, vol. ii. pp. 353–411). It is natural here to notice one geographical mistake in that document, namely, that Lystra is placed on the west instead of the east. In the declining period of the Roman empire, Iconium was made a *colonia*. In the middle ages it became a place of great consequence, as the capital of the Seljukian sultans. Hence the remains of Saracenic architecture, which are conspicuous here, and which are described by many travellers. *Konieh* is still a town of considerable size. J. S. H.

* The origin of the name is obscure. Some find it allied to εἰκών or εἰκόνιον (="place of images") while others derive it from a Semitic root (see Pauly's *Real-Encykl.* iv. 51). It was situated on one of the largest plains in Asia Minor, and, like Damascus, formed an oasis in the desert. "The rills that flowed from mountain ranges on the west of the city irrigated, for a little distance, the low grounds which stretched away towards the east, and gardens and orchards were seen in luxuriance, but soon the water, the source of vegetation, was exhausted, and then commenced the dry barren plain of Lycaonia." (See Lewin's *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, i. 158.) The eyes of Paul and Barnabas must have rested for hours on the city both before reaching it from Antioch and after leaving it for Lystra. "We travelled," says Ainsworth, "three hours along the plain of Koniyeh, always in sight of the city, before we reached it" (*Travels in Asia Minor*, ii. 65). Leake says, "We saw the city with its mosques and ancient walls still at the distance of 12 or 14 miles from us" (*Travels in Asia Minor*, p. 45).

Luke's statement that Paul found there "a great multitude both of Jews and Greeks" (Acts xiv. 1), accords with the extent and variety of the ruins still found on the spot. It accords also with the geographical position of the place so well situated for trade and intercourse with other regions. The Greeks and Jews were the commercial factors of that period, as they are so largely at the present time; and hence the narrative mentions them as very numerous precisely here. The bulk of the population belonged to a different stock. The possession of a common language gave the missionaries access at once to the Greek-speaking foreigners.

The Apostle's narrow escape from being stoned at Iconium (Acts xiv. 5) recalls to us a passage in one of the epistles. Paul was actually stoned at Lystra (Acts xiv. 19), soon after his departure from Iconium, and referring to that instance when he wrote to the Corinthians, he says (2 Cor. xi. 25): "*Once* was I stoned." Hence, says Paley (*Horæ Paulinæ*), "had this meditated assault at Iconium been completed, had the history related that a stone was thrown, as it relates that preparations were made both by Jews and Gentiles to stone Paul and his companions, or even had the account of this transaction stopped, without going on to inform us that Paul and his companions were 'aware of the danger and fled,' a contradiction between the history and the epistles would have ensued. Truth is necessarily consistent: but it is scarcely possible that independent accounts, not having truth to guide them, should thus advance to the very brink of contradiction without falling into it." H.

IDʼALAH (יְדִאֲלָה [*memorial stone of El* (God), Fürst]: Ἰεριχώ [Vat. -ρει-]; Alex. Ἰαδηλα: *Jedala* and *Jerala*), one of the cities of the tribe of Zebulun, named between Shimron and Bethlehem (Josh. xix. 15). Schwarz (p. 172), without quoting his authority, but probably from one of the Talmudical books, gives the name as "Yidalah or Chirii," and would identify it with the village "Kellah al-Chiré, 6 miles S. W. of Semunli." *Semuniyeh* is known and marked on many of the maps, rather less than 3 miles S. of *Beit-Lahm*; but the other place mentioned by Schwarz has evaded observation. It is not named in the *Onomasticon*. G.

IDʼBASH (יִדְבָּשׁ [*stout, corpulent*]: Ἰεβδάς; [Vat. Ιαβας; Comp. Ἰεδεβδάς;] Alex. Ιγαβης: *Jedebos*), one of the three sons of Abi-Etam — "the father of Etam" — among the families of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 3). The Tzelelponite is named as his sister. This list is probably a topographical one, a majority of the names being those of places.

IDʼDO 1. (עִדֹּא: Ἀαδδώ; [Vat. corrupt;] Alex. Ἀαδων: *Addo.*) The father of Abinadab, one of Solomon's monthly purveyors (1 K. iv. 14).

2. (עִדּוֹ: Ἀδδί; [Vat. Αδει; Comp. Ald. Ἀδδώ:] *Addo.*) A descendant of Gershom, son of Levi (1 Chr. vi. 21). In the reversed genealogy (ver. 41) the name is altered to UDAIAH, and we there discover that he was one of the forefathers of Asaph the seer.

3. (יְדוֹ [*favorite*]: Ἰαδαί; [Vat. Ιαδδαι;] Alex. Ιαδδαϊ: *Jaddo.*) Son of Zechariah, ruler (*nâgîd*) of the tribe of Manasseh east of Jordan in the time of David (1 Chr. xxvii. 21).

4. (יְעֵדַי, *i. e.* Ye'doi [*born on a festival*, Fürst]; but in the correction of the Keri יַעְדַּי, Ye'do: Ἰεηλ, Ἀδδώ [Vat. Αδω]: *Addo.*) A seer (חוֹזֶה) whose "visions" (חֲזוֹת) against Jeroboam incidentally contained some of the acts of Solomon (2 Chr. ix. 29). He also appears to have written a chronicle or story (*Midrash*, Ges. p. 357) relating to the life and reign of Abijah (2 Chr. xiii. 22), and also a book "concerning genealogies," in which the acts of Rehoboam were recorded (xii. 15). These books are lost, but they may have formed part of the foundation of the existing books of Chronicles (Bertheau, *On Chron.* Introd. § 3). The mention of his having prophesied against Jeroboam probably led to his identification in the ancient Jewish traditions (Jerome, *Quæst. Heb. in* 2 Chr. xii. 15, Jaddo; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 3, § 5. Ἰαδδών) with the "Man of God" out of Judah, who denounced the altar of that king (1 K. xiii. 1). He is also identified with Oded (see Jerome on 2 Chr. xv. 1).

5. (עִדּוֹא; in Zech. [i. 7,] עִדּוֹ: Ἀδδώ; [In Ezr., Vat. Αδω; in Neh., Vat. Alex. FA. omit, and so Rom. in xii. 4:] *Addo.*) The grandfather of the prophet Zechariah (Zech. i. 1, 7), although in other places Zechariah is called "the son of Iddo" (Ezr. v. 1. vi. 14). Iddo returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Neh. xii. 4), and in the next generation — the "days of Joiakim" son of Jeshua (vv. 10, 12) — his house was represented

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by Zechariah (ver. 14). In 1 Esdr. vi. 1 the name is ADDO.

6. (עִדּוֹ: [LXX. omit, exc. Comp. once 'Αδδαέλ:] *Eddo.*) The chief of those who assembled at Casiphia, at the time of the second caravan from Babylon, in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus B. C. 458. He was one of the Nethinim, of whom 220 responded to the appeal of Ezra to assist in the return to Judæa (Exr. viii. 17; comp. 20). In the Apocr. Esdras the name is SADDEUS and DADDEUS. G.

IDOL, IMAGE. As no less than twenty-one different Hebrew words have been rendered in the A. V. either by idol or image, and that by no means uniformly, it will be of some advantage to attempt to discriminate between them, and assign, as nearly as the two languages will allow, the English equivalents for each. But, before proceeding to the discussion of those words which in themselves indicate the objects of false worship, it will be necessary to notice a class of abstract terms, which, with a deep moral significance, express the degradation associated with it, and stand out as a protest of the language against the enormities of idolatry. Such are —

1. אָוֶן, *áven*, rendered elsewhere "nought," "vanity," "iniquity," "wickedness," "sorrow," etc., and once only "idol" (Is. lxvi. 3). The primary idea of the root seems to be emptiness, nothingness, as of breath or vapor; and, by a natural transition, in a moral sense, wickedness in its active form of mischief, and then, as the result, sorrow and trouble. Hence *áven* denotes a vain, false, wicked thing, and expresses at once the essential nature of idols, and the consequences of their worship. The character of the word may be learnt from its associates. It stands in parallelism with אֶפֶס, *ephes* (Is xli. 29), which, after undergoing various modifications, comes at length to signify "nothing;" with הֶבֶל, *hebel*, "breath" or "vapor," itself applied as a term of contempt to the objects of idolatrous reverence (Deut. xxxii. 21; 1 K. xvi. 13; Ps. xxxi. 6; Jer. viii. 19, x. 8); with שָׁוְא, *shâv*, "nothingness," "vanity;" and with שֶׁקֶר, *sheker*, "falsehood" (Zech. x. 2): all indicating the utter worthlessness of the idols to whom homage was paid, and the false and delusive nature of their worship. It is employed in an abstract sense to denote idolatry in general in 1 Sam. xv. 23. There is much significance in the change of name from Beth-el to Beth-aven, the great centre of idolatry in Israel (Hos. iv. 15).

2. אֱלִיל, *élil*, is thought by some to have a sense akin to that of שֶׁקֶר, *sheker*, "falsehood," with which it stands in parallelism in Job xiii. 4, and would therefore much resemble *áven*, as applied to an idol. Delitzsch (on Hab. ii. 18) derives it from the negative particle אַל, *al*, "die Nichtigen." But according to Fürst (*Handw.* s. v.) it is a diminutive of אֵל, "god," the additional syllable indicating the greatest contempt. In this case the signification above mentioned is a subsidiary one. The same authority asserts that the word denotes a small image of the god, which was consulted as an oracle among the Egyptians and Phœnicians (Is. xix. 3; Jer. xiv. 14). It is certainly used of the idols of Noph or Memphis (Is xxx. 13). In strong contrast with Jehovah it appears in Ps. xcvi. 5, xcvii. 7: the contrast probably being heightened by the resemblance between *élîlim* and *élôhîm*. A somewhat similar play upon words is observable in Hab. ii. 18, אֲלִילִים אִלֵּמִים, *élîlim illémim* ("dumb idols," A. V.).

3. אֵימָה, *émdh*, "horror" or "terror," and hence an object of horror or terror (Jer. l. 38), in reference either to the hideousness of the idols or to the gross character of their worship. In this respect it is closely connected with —

4. מִפְלֶצֶת, *mipléletseth*, a "fright," "horror" applied to the idol of Maachah, probably of wood, which Asa cut down and burned (1 K. xv. 13; 2 Chr. xv. 16), and which was unquestionably the Phallus, the symbol of the productive power of nature (Movers, *Phœn.* i. 571; Selden, *de Dis Syr.* ii. 5), and the nature-goddess Ashera. Allusion is supposed to be made to this in Jer. x. 5, and Epist. of Jer. 70 [in the Apocrypha]. In 2 Chr. xv. 16 the Vulg. render "simulacrum Priapi" (cf. Hor., "furum aviumque maxima *formido*"). The LXX. had a different reading, which it is not easy to determine. They translate in 1 K. xv. 13 the same word both by σίνοδος (with which corresponds the Syr. ܥܘܕܐ, *'ûdâ*, "a festival," reading perhaps עֲשֵׁרֶת, *'âsereth*, as in 2 K. x. 20; Jer. ix. 2) and κατασθέσεις, while in Chronicles it is εἴδωλον. Possibly in 1 K. xv. 13 they may have read מְצֻלָּתָהּ, *m'tsullâthdh*, for מִפְלֶצֶתָהּ, *miphlatstdh*, as the Vulg. *specum*, of which "simulacrum turpissimum" is a correction. With this must be noticed, though not actually rendered, "image" or "idol."

5. בֹּשֶׁת, *bôsheth*, "shame," or "shameful thing" (A. V. Jer. xi. 13; Hos. ix. 10), applied to Baal or Baal-Peor, as characterizing the obscenity of his worship. With *élil* is found in close connection —

6. גִּלּוּלִים, *gillûlîm*, also a term of contempt, but of uncertain origin (Ez. xxx. 13). The Rabbinical authorities, referring to such passages as Ex. iv. 12, Zeph. i. 17, have favored the interpretation given in the margin of the A. V. to Deut. xxix. 17, "dungy gods" (Vulg. "sordes," "sordes idolorum," 1 K. xv. 12). Jahn connects it with גָּלַל, *gâlal*, "to roll," and applies it to the stocks of trees of which idols were made, and in mockery called *gillûlîm*, "rolling things" (*a volvendo*, he says, though it is difficult to see the point of his remark). Gesenius, repudiating the derivation from the Arab. جَلَّ, *jalla*, "to be great, illustrious," gives his preference to the rendering "stones, stone gods," thus deriving it from גַּל, *gal*, "a heap of stones;" and in this he is followed by Fürst, who translates *gillûl* by the Germ. "Steinhaufe." The expression is applied, principally in Ezekiel, to false gods and their symbols (Deut. xxix. 17; Ez. viii. 10, &c.). It stands side by side with other contemptuous terms in Ez. xvi. 36, xx. 8; as for example שִׁקּוּץ, *shékets*, "filth," "abomination" (Ez. viii. 10), and —

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7. The cognate שִׁקּוּץ, *shiccûts*, "filth," "impurity," especially applied, like *shekets*, to that which produced ceremonial uncleanness (Ez. xxxvii. 23; Nah. iii. 6), such as food offered in sacrifice to idols (Zech. ix. 7; comp. Acts xv. 20, 29). As referring to the idols themselves, it primarily denotes the obscene rites with which their worship was associated, and hence, by metonymy, is applied both to the objects of worship and also to their worshippers, who partook of the impurity, and thus "became loathsome like their love," the foul Baal-Peor (Hos. ix. 10).

We now come to the consideration of those words which more directly apply to the images or idols, as the outward symbols of the deity who was worshipped through them. These may be classified according as they indicate that the images were made in imitation of external objects, and to represent some idea, or attribute; or as they denote the workmanship by which they were fashioned. To the first class belong —

8. סֶמֶל, *semel*, or סָמֶל, *sémel*, with which Gesenius compares as cognate מְשָׁל, *mâshâl*, and צֶלֶם, *tselem*, the Lat. *similis* and Greek ὁμαλός, signifies a "likeness," "semblance." The Targ. in Deut. iv. 16 gives צוּרָא, *tsûrâ*, "figure," as the equivalent; while in Ez. viii. 3, 5, it is rendered by צֶלֶם, *ts'lem*, "image." In the latter passages the Syriac has ܨܠܡܐ, *tsalmâ*, "a statue" (the στήλη of the LXX.), which more properly corresponds to *matstsébâh* (see No. 15 below); and in Deut. ‏جنس‏, *genés*, "kind" (= γένος).

The passage in 2 Chr. xxxiii. 7 is rendered "images of four faces," the latter words representing the one under consideration.[a] In 2 Chr. xxxiii. 15 it appears as "carved images," following the LXX. τὸ γλυπτόν. On the whole the Greek εἰκών of Deut. iv. 16, 2 Chr. xxxiii. 7, and the "simulacrum" of the Vulgate (2 Chr. xxxiii. 15) most nearly resemble the Hebrew *semel*.

9. צֶלֶם, *tselem* (Ch. *id.* and צֶלֶם, *tselem*) is by all lexicographers, ancient and modern, connected with צֵל, *tsél*, "a shadow." It is the "image" of God in which man was created (Gen. i. 27; cf. Wisd. ii. 23), distinguished from דְּמוּת, *demûth*, or "likeness," as the "image" from the "idea" which it represents (Schmidt, *de Imag. Dei in Hom.* p. 84), though it would be rash to insist upon this distinction. In the N. T. εἰκών appears to represent the latter (Col. iii. 10; cf. LXX. of Gen. v. 1), as ὁμοίωμα the former of the two words (Rom. i. 23, viii. 29; Phil. ii. 7), but in Heb. x. 1 εἰκών is opposed to σκία as the substance to the unsubstantial form, of which it is the perfect representative. The LXX. render *demûth* by ὁμοίωσις, ὁμοίωμα, εἰκών, ὅμοιος, and *tselem* most frequently by εἰκών, though ὁμοίωμα, εἴδωλον, and τύπος also occur. But whatever abstract term may best define the meaning of *tselem*, it is unquestionably used to denote the visible forms of external objects, and is applied to figures of gold and silver (1 Sam. vi. 5; Num. xxxiii. 52; Dan iii 1), such as the golden image of Nebuchadnezzar, as well as to those painted upon walls (Ez. xxiii. 14). "Image" perhaps most nearly represents it in all passages. Applied to the human countenance (Dan. iii. 19) it signifies the "expression," and corresponds to the ἰδέα of Matt. xxviii. 3, though *demûth* agrees rather with the Platonic usage of the latter word.

10. תְּמוּנָה, *temûnâh*, rendered "image" in Job iv. 16; elsewhere "similitude" (Deut. iv. 12), "likeness" (Deut. v. 8): "form," or "shape" would be better. In Deut. iv. 16 it is in parallelism with תַּבְנִית, *tabnîth*, literally "build;" hence "plan," or "model" (2 K. xvi. 10; cf. Ex. xxv. 4; Num. xii. 8).

11. עֶצֶב, *'étsèb*, 12. עֲצֵבָה, *'étsebâh* (Jer. xxii. 28), or 13. עֹצֶב, *'ótseb* (Is. xlviii. 5), "a figure," all derived from a root עָצַב, *'âtsab*, "to work," or "fashion" (akin to חָצַב, *châtsab*, and the like), are terms applied to idols as expressing that their origin was due to the labor of man. The verb in its derived senses indicates the sorrow and trouble consequent upon severe labor, but the latter seems to be the radical idea. If the notion of sorrow were most prominent the words as applied to idols might be compared with *áven* above. Is. lviii. 3 is rendered in the Peshito Syriac "idols" (A. V. "labors"), but the reading was evidently different. In Ps. cxxxix. 24, דֶּרֶךְ עֹצֶב, *derec'-ótseb*, is "idolatry."

14. עִיר, *tsîr*, once only applied to an idol (Is. xlv. 16; LXX. νῆσοι, as if אִיִּים, *iyyîm*). The word usually denotes "a pang," but in this instance is probably connected with the roots צוּר, *tsûr*, and יָצַר, *yâtsar*, and signifies "a shape," or "mould," and hence an "idol."

15. מַצֵּבָה, *matstsébâh*, anything set up, a "statue" (= נְצִיב, *n'tsîb*, Jer. xliii. 13), applied to a memorial stone like those erected by Jacob on four several occasions (Gen. xxviii. 18, xxxi. 45, xxxv. 14, 15) to commemorate a crisis in his life, or to mark the grave of Rachel. Such were the stones set up by Joshua (Josh. iv. 9) after the passage of the Jordan, and at Shechem (xxiv. 26), and by Samuel when victorious over the Philistines (1 Sam. vii. 12). When solemnly dedicated they were anointed with oil, and libations were poured upon them. The word is applied to denote the obelisks which stood at the entrance to the temple of the Sun at Heliopolis (Jer. xliii. 13), two of which were a hundred cubits high and eight broad, each of a single stone (Her. ii. 111). It is also used of the statues of Baal (2 K. iii. 2), whether of stone (2 K. x. 27) or wood (*id.* 26), which stood in the innermost recess of the temple at Samaria. Movers (*Phœn.* i. 674) conjectures that the latter were statues or columns distinct from that of Baal, which was of stone and conical (673), like the "meta" of Paphos (Tac. *H.* ii. 3), and probably therefore

[a] There are many passages in the Syr. of Chronicles which it is impossible to reconcile with the received Hebrew text; and the translation of these books is on the whole inferior in accuracy to that of the rest of the O. T

belonging to other deities who were his πάρεδροι or σύμβωμοι. The Phœnicians consecrated and anointed stones like that at Bethel, which were called, as some think, from this circumstance *Bætylia*. Many such are said to have been seen on the Lebanon, near Heliopolis, dedicated to various gods, and many prodigies are related of them (Damascius in Photius, quoted by Bochart, *Canaan*, ii 2). The same authority describes them as aërolites, of a whitish and sometimes purple color, spherical in shape, and about a span in diameter. The Palladium of Troy, the black stone in the Kaaba at Mecca, said to have been brought from heaven by the angel Gabriel, and the stone at Ephesus "which fell down from Jupiter" (Acts xix. 35), are examples of the belief, anciently so common, that the gods sent down their images upon earth. In the older worship of Greece stones, according to Pausanias (vii. 22, § 4), occupied the place of images. Those at Pharæ, about thirty in number, and quadrangular in shape, near the statue of Hermes, received divine honors from the Pharians, and each had the name of some god conferred upon it. The stone in the temple of Jupiter Ammon (*umbilico maxime similis*), enriched with emeralds and gems (Curt. iv. 7, § 31); that at Delphi, which Saturn was said to have swallowed (Paus. *Phoc.* 24, § 6); the black stone of pyramidal shape in the temple of Juggernaut, and the holy stone at Pessinus in Galatia, sacred to Cybele, show how widely spread and almost universal were these ancient objects of worship. Closely connected with these "statues" of Baal, whether in the form of obelisks or otherwise, were —

16. חַמָּנִים, *chammânîm*, rendered in the margin of most passages "sun-images." The word has given rise to much discussion. In the Vulgate it is translated thrice *simulacra*, thrice *delubra*, and once *fana*. The LXX. give τεμένη twice, εἴδωλα twice, ξύλινα χειροποίητα, βδελύγματα, and τὰ δύηλα. With one exception (2 Chr. xxxiv. 4, which is evidently corrupt) the Syriac has vaguely either "fears," i. e. objects of fear, or "idols." The Targum in all passages translates it by חֲזִיזְקָיָא, *chăzîzeqâyâ*, "houses for star-worship" (Fürst compares the Arab. حنس, *Chunnas*, the planet Mercury or Venus), a rendering which Rosenmüller supports. Gesenius preferred to consider these *chăzîzeqâyâ* as "veils" or "shrines surrounded or shrouded with hangings" (Ex. xvi. 16; Targ. on Is. iii. 19), and scouted the interpretation of Buxtorf — "statuæ solares" — as a mere guess, though he somewhat paradoxically assented to Rosenmüller's opinion that they were "shrines dedicated to the worship of the stars." Kimchi, under the root חמן, mentions a conjecture that they were trees like the *Asherim*, but (*s. v.* יכ׳ חן) elsewhere expresses his own belief that the Nun is epenthetic, and that they were so called "because the sun-worshippers made them." Aben Ezra (on Lev. xxvi. 30) says they were "houses made for worshipping the sun," which Bochart approves (*Canaan*, ii. 17), and Jarchi, that they were a kind of idol placed on the roofs of houses. Vossius (*de Idol.* ii. 353), as Scaliger before him, connects the word with Amanus, or Omanus, the sacred fire, the symbol of the Persian sun-god, and renders it *pyræa* (cf. Selden. ii. 8). Adelung (*Mithrid.* i. 159, quoted by Gesen. on Is. xvii. 8) suggested the same, and compared it with the Sanskrit *homa*. But to such interpretations the passage in 2 Chr. xxxiv. 4, is inimical (Vitringa on Is. xvii. 8). Gesenius' own opinion appears to have fluctuated considerably. In his notes on Isaiah (*l. c.*) he prefers the general rendering "columns" to the more definite one of "sun-columns," and is inclined to look to a Persian origin for the derivation of the word. But in his Thesaurus he mentions the occurrence of *Chammon* as a synonym of Baal in the Phœnician and Palmyrene inscriptions in the sense of "Dominus Solaris," and its after application to the statues or columns erected for his worship. Spencer (*de Legg. Hebr.* ii. 25), and after him Michaelis (*Suppl. ad Lex. Hebr.* s. v.), maintained that it signified statues or lofty columns, like the pyramids or obelisks of Egypt. Movers (*Phœn.* i. 441) concludes with good reason that the sun-god Baal and the idol "Chammân" are not essentially different. In his discussion of *Chammânîm*, he says, "These images of the fire-god were placed on foreign or non-Israelitish altars, in conjunction with the symbols of the nature-goddess Asherah, as σύμβωμοι (2 Chr. xiv. 3, 5, xxxiv. 4, 7; Is. xvii. 9, xxvii. 9), as was otherwise usual with Baal and Asherah." They are mentioned with the Asherim, and the latter are coupled with the statues of Baal (1 K. xiv. 23; 2 K. xxiii. 14). The *chammânîm* and statues are used promiscuously (cf. 2 K. xxiii. 14, and 2 Chr. xxxiv. 4; 2 Chr. xiv. 3 and 5), but are never spoken of together. Such are the steps by which he arrives at his conclusion. He is supported by the Palmyrene inscription at Oxford, alluded to above, which has been thus rendered: "This column (חמנא, *Chammânîm*), and this altar, the sons of Malchu, etc. have erected and dedicated to the Sun." The Veneto-Greek Version leaves the word untranslated in the strange form ἀκάβαρρες. From the expressions in Ex. vi. 4, 6, and Lev. xxvi. 30, it may be inferred that these columns, which perhaps represented a rising flame of fire and stood upon the altar of Baal (2 Chr. xxxiv. 4), were of wood or stone.

17. מַשְׂכִּית, *mascîth*, occurs in Lev. xxvi. 1; Num. xxxiii. 52; Ez. viii. 12: "device" most nearly suits all passages (cf. Ps. lxxiii. 7; Prov. xviii. 11, xxv. 11). This word has been the fruitful cause of as much dispute as the preceding. The general opinion appears to be that אֶבֶן מַ, *eben mascîth*, signifies a stone with figures graven upon it. Ben Zeb explains it as "a stone with figures or hieroglyphics carved upon it," and so Michaelis; and it is maintained by Movers (*Phœn.* i. 105) that the *bætylia*, or columns with painted figures, the "lapides effigiati" of Minucius Felix (c. 3), are these "stones of device," and that the characters engraven on them are the ἱερὰ στοιχεῖα, or characters sacred to the several deities. The invention of these characters, which is ascribed to Taaut, he conjectures originated with the Seres. Gesenius explains it as a stone with the image of an idol, Baal or Astarte, and refers to his *Mon. Phœn.* 21–24 for others of similar character. Rashi (on Lev. xxxi. 1) derives it from the root שׂכך, to cover, "because they cover the floor with a pavement of stones." The Targum and Syr. Lev. xxvi. 1, give "stone of devotion," and the

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former in Num. xxxiii. 52, has "house of their devotion," where the Syr. only renders "their objects of devotion." For the former the LXX. have λίθος σκοπός, and for the latter τὰς σκοπιὰς αὐτῶν, connecting the word with the root שָׁקַף, "to look," a circumstance which has induced Saalschütz (*Mos. Recht*, pp. 382–385) to conjecture that *eben muscith* was originally a smooth elevated stone employed for the purpose of obtaining from it a freer prospect, and of offering prayer in prostration upon it to the deities of heaven. Hence, generally, he concludes it signifies a stone of prayer or devotion, and the "chambers of imagery" of Ez. viii. 7, are "chambers of devotion." The renderings of the last-mentioned passage in the LXX. and Targum, are curious as pointing to a various reading מְשַׁקְּפוֹ, or more probably מְשַׁקְּבוֹ.

18. תְּרָפִים. *terâphim.* [TERAPHIM.]

The terms which follow have regard to the material and workmanship of the idol rather than to its character as an object of worship.

19. פֶּסֶל, *pesel*, and 20. פְּסִילִים, *pesîlim*, usually translated in the A. V. "graven or carved images." In two passages the latter is ambiguously rendered "quarries" (Judg. iii. 19, 26) following the Targum, but there seems no reason for departing from the ordinary signification. In the majority of instances the LXX. have γλυπτόν, once γλύμμα. The verb is employed to denote the finishing which the stone received at the hands of the masons, after it had been rough-hewn from the quarries (Ex. xxxiv. 4; 1 K. v. 18). It is probably a later usage which has applied *pesel*[a] to a figure cast in metal, as in Is. xl. 19, xliv. 10. These "sculptured" images were apparently of wood, iron, or stone, covered with gold or silver (Deut. vii. 25; Is. xxx. 22; Hab. ii. 19), the more costly being of solid metal (Is. xl. 19). They could be burnt (Deut. vii. 5; Is. xlv. 20; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 4), cut down (Deut. xii. 3) and pounded (2 Chr. xxxiv. 7), or broken in pieces (Is. xxi. 9). In making them, the skill of the wise iron-smith (Deut. xxvii. 15; Is. xl. 20) or carpenter, and of the goldsmith, was employed (Judg. xvii. 3, 4; Is. xli. 7), the former supplying the rough mass of iron beaten into shape on his anvil (Is. xliv. 12), while the latter overlaid it with plates of gold and silver, probably from Tarshish (Jer. x. 9), and decorated it with silver chains. The image thus formed received the further adornment of embroidered robes (Ez. xvi. 18), to which possibly allusion may be made in Is. iii. 19. Brass and clay were among the materials employed for the same purpose (Dan. ii. 33, v. 23).[b] A description of the three great images of Babylon on the top of the temple of Belus will be found in *Diod. Sic.* ii. 9 (comp. Layard, *Nin.* ii. 433). The several stages of the process by which the metal or wood became the "graven image" are so vividly described in Is. xliv. 10–20, that it is only necessary to refer to that passage, and we are at once introduced to the mysteries of idol manufacture, which, as at Ephesus, "brought no small gain unto the craftsmen."

21. נָסֶךְ, *nesec*, or מַסֵּכָה, *massec*, and 22. מַסֵּכָה, *massêcâh*, are evidently synonymous (Is. xli. 29, xlviii. 5; Jer. x. 14) in later Hebrew, and denote a "molten" image. *Massêcâh* is frequently used in distinction from *pesel* or *pesîlim* (Deut. xxvii. 15; Judg. xvii. 3, &c.). The golden calf which Aaron made was fashioned with "the graver" (חֶרֶט, *cheret*), but it is not quite clear for what purpose the graver was used (Ex. xxxii. 4). The *cheret* (cf. Gr. χαράττω) appears to have been a sharp-pointed instrument, used like the *stylus* for a writing implement (Is. viii. 1). Whether then Aaron, by the help of the *cheret*, gave to the molten mass the shape of a calf, or whether he made use of the graver for the purpose of carving hieroglyphics upon it, has been thought doubtful The Syr. has ܛܦܣܐ, *tûpsô* (τύπος), "the mould," for *cheret*. But the expression וַיִּצֹר, *vayyitsôr*, decides that it was by the *cheret*, in whatever manner employed, that the shape of a calf was given to the metal.

In N. T. εἰκών is the "image" or head of the emperor on the coinage (Matt. xxii. 20).

Among the earliest objects of worship, regarded as symbols of deity, were, as has been said above, the meteoric stones which the ancients believed to have been the images of the gods sent down from heaven. From these they transferred their regard to rough unhewn blocks, to stone columns or pillars of wood, in which the divinity worshipped was supposed to dwell, and which were consecrated, like the sacred stone at Delphi, by being anointed with oil, and crowned with wool on solemn days (Paus. *Phoc.* 24, § 6). Tavernier (quoted by Rosenmüller, *Alt. & N. Morgenland*, i. § 89) mentions a black stone in the pagoda of Benares which was daily anointed with perfumed oil, and such are the "Lingams" in daily use in the Siva worship of Bengal (cf. Arnobius, i. 39; Min. Fel. c. 3). Such customs are remarkable illustrations of the solemn consecration by Jacob of the stone at Bethel, as showing the religious reverence with which these memorials were regarded. And not only were single stones thus honored, but heaps of stone were, in later times at least, considered as sacred to Hermes (Hom. *Od.* xvi. 471; cf. Vulg. Prov. xxvi. 8, "sicut qui mittit lapidem in acervum Mercurii"), and to these each passing traveller contributed his offering (Creuzer, *Symb.* i. 24). The heap of stones which Laban erected to commemorate the solemn compact between himself and Jacob, and on which he invoked the gods of his fathers, is an instance of the intermediate stage in which such heaps were associated with religious observances before they became objects of worship. Jacob, for his part, dedicated a single stone as his memorial, and called Jehovah to witness, thus holding himself aloof from the rites employed by Laban, which may have partaken of his ancestral idolatry. [JEGAR-SAHADUTHA.]

Of the forms assumed by the idolatrous images we have not many traces in the Bible. Dagon, the fish-god of the Philistines, was a human figure terminating in a fish [DAGON]; and that the Syrian deities were represented in later times in a symbolical human shape we know for certainty

[a] More probably still *pesel* denotes by anticipation the molten image in a later stage after it had been trimmed into shape by the caster.

[b] Images of glazed pottery have been found in Egypt (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* iii. 99; comp. Wisd xv 8).

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The Hebrews imitated their neighbors in this respect as in others (Is. xliv. 13; Wisd. xiii. 13), and from various allusions we may infer that idols in human forms were not uncommon among them, though they were more anciently symbolized by animals (Wisd. xiii. 14), as by the calves of Aaron and Jeroboam, and the brazen serpent which was afterwards applied to idolatrous uses (2 K. xviii. 4; Rom. i. 23). When the image came from the hands of the maker it was decorated richly with silver and gold, and sometimes crowned (Epist. Jer. 9 [or Bar. vi. 9]); clad in robes of blue and purple (Jer. x. 9), like the draped images of Pallas and Hera (Müller, *Handb. d. Arch. d. Kunst*, § 69), and fastened in the niche appropriated to it by means of chains and nails (Wisd. xiii. 15), in order that the influence of the deity which it represented might be secured to the spot. So the Ephesians, when besieged by Crœsus, connected the wall of their city by means of a rope to the temple of Aphrodite, with the view of ensuring the aid of the goddess (Her. i. 26); and for a similar object the Tyrians chained the stone image of Apollo to the altar of Hercules (Curt. iv. 3, § 15). Some images were painted red (Wisd. xiii. 14), like those of Dionysus and the Bacchantes of Hermes, and the god Pan (Paus. ii. 2, § 5; Müller, *Handb. d. Arch. d. Kunst*, § 69). This color was formerly considered sacred. Pliny relates, on the authority of Verrius, that it was customary on festival days to color with red-lead the face of the image of Jupiter, and the bodies of those who celebrated a triumph (xxxiii. 36). The figures of Priapus, the god of gardens, were decorated in the same manner ("*ruber* custos" Tibull. i. 1, 18). Among the objects of worship enumerated by Arnobius (i. 39) are bones of elephants, pictures, and garlands suspended on trees, the "rami coronati" of Apuleius (*de Mag.* c. 56).

When the process of adorning the image was completed, it was placed in a temple or shrine appointed for it (*οἰκία*, Epist. Jer. 12, 19 [or Bar. vi. 12, 19]; *οἴκημα*, Wisd. xiii. 15; *εἰδωλεῖον*, 1 Cor. viii. 10; see Stanley's note on the latter passage). In Wisd. xiii. 15, *οἴκημα* is thought to be used contemptuously, as in Tibull. i. 10, 19, 20 — "cum paupere cultu Stabat in *exigua* ligneus *æde* deus" (Fritzsche and Grimm, *Handb.*), but the passage quoted is by no means a good illustration. From these temples the idols were sometimes carried in procession (Epist. Jer. 4, 26 [or Bar. vi. 4, 26]) on festival days. Their priests were maintained from the idol treasury, and feasted upon the meats which were appointed for the idols' use (Bel and the Dragon, 3, 13). These sacrificial feasts formed an important part of the idolatrous ritual [IDOLATRY], and were a great stumbling-block to the early Christian converts. They were to the heathen, as Prof. Stanley has well observed, what the observance of circumcision and the Mosaic ritual were to the Jewish converts, and it was for this reason that St. Paul especially directed his attention to the subject, and laid down the rules of conduct contained in his first letter to the Corinthians (viii.–x.). W. A. W.

IDOLATRY (תְּרָפִים, *t'râphîm*, "teraphim," once only, 1 Sam. xv. 23: *εἰδωλολατρεία*), strictly speaking, denotes the worship of deity in a visible form, whether the images to which homage is paid are symbolical representations of the true God, or of the false divinities which have been made the objects of worship in his stead. With its origin and progress the present article is not concerned. The former is lost amidst the dark mists of antiquity, and the latter is rather the subject of speculation than of history. But under what aspect it is presented to us in the Scriptures, how it affected the Mosaic legislation, and what influence it had on the history of the Israelites, are questions which may be more properly discussed, with some hope of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion. Whether, therefore, the deification of the powers of nature, and the representation of them under tangible forms, preceded the worship of departed heroes, who were regarded as the embodiment of some virtue which distinguished their lives, is not in this respect of much importance. Some Jewish writers, indeed, grounding their theory on a forced interpretation of Gen. iv. 26, assign to Enos, the son of Seth, the unenviable notoriety of having been the first to pay divine honors to the host of heaven, and to lead others into the like error (Maimon. *de Idol.* i. 1). R. Solomon Jarchi, on the other hand, while admitting the same verse to contain the first account of the origin of idolatry, understands it as implying the deification of men and plants. Arabic tradition, according to Sir W. Jones, connects the people of Yemen with the same apostasy. The third in descent from Joktan, and therefore a contemporary of Nahor, took the surname of *Abdu Shams*, or "servant of the sun," whom he and his family worshipped, while other tribes honored the planets and fixed stars (Hales, *Chronol.* ii. 59, 4to ed.). Nimrod, again, to whom is ascribed the introduction of Zabianism, was after his death transferred to the constellation Orion, and on the slender foundation of the expression "Ur of the Chaldees" (Gen. xi. 31) is built the fabulous history of Abraham and Nimrod, narrated in the legends of the Jews and Mussulmans (Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, i. 23; Weil, *Bibl. Leg.* pp. 47–74; Hyde, *Rel. Pers.* c. 2).

I. But, descending from the regions of fiction to sober historic narrative, the first undoubted allusion to idolatry or idolatrous customs in the Bible is in the account of Rachel's stealing her father's teraphim (Gen. xxxi. 19), a relic of the worship of other gods, whom the ancestors of the Israelites served "on the other side of the river, in old time" (Josh. xxiv. 2). By these household deities Laban was guided, and these he consulted as oracles (obs. נִחַשְׁתִּי Gen. xxx. 27, A. V. "learned by experience"), though without entirely losing sight of the God of Abraham and the God of Nahor, to whom he appealed when occasion offered (Gen. xxxi. 53), while he was ready, in the presence of Jacob, to acknowledge the benefits conferred upon him by Jehovah (Gen. xxx. 27). Such, indeed, was the character of most of the idolatrous worship of the Israelites. Like the Cuthean colonists in Samaria, who "feared Jehovah and served their own gods" (2 K. xvii. 33), they blended in a strange manner a theoretical belief in the true God with the external reverence which, in different stages of their history they were led to pay to the idols of the nations by whom they were surrounded. For this species of false worship they seem, at all times, to have had an incredible propension. On their journey from Shechem to Bethel, the family of Jacob put away from among them "the gods of the *foreigner*:" not the teraphim of Laban, but the gods of the

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Canaanites through whose land they passed, and the amulets and charms which were worn as the appendages of their worship (Gen. xxxv. 2, 4). And this marked feature of the Hebrew character is traceable throughout the entire history of the people. During their long residence in Egypt, the country of symbolism, they defiled themselves with the idols of the land, and it was long before the taint was removed (Josh. xxiv. 14; Ez. xx. 7). To these gods Moses, as the herald of Jehovah, flung down the gauntlet of defiance (Kurtz, *Gesch. d. Alt. B.* ii. 86), and the plagues of Egypt smote their symbols (Num. xxxiii. 4). Yet, with the memory of their deliverance fresh in their minds, their leader absent, the Israelities clamored for some visible shape in which they might worship the God who had brought them up out of Egypt (Ex. xxxii.). Aaron lent himself to the popular cry, and chose as the symbol of deity one with which they had long been familiar — the calf — embodiment of Apis, and emblem of the productive power of nature. But, with a weakness of character to which his greater brother was a stranger, he compromised with his better impulses by proclaiming a solemn feast to Jehovah (Ex. xxxii. 5). How much of the true God was recognized by the people in this brutish symbol it is impossible to conceive; the festival was characterized by all the shameless licentiousness with which idolatrous worship was associated (ver. 25), and which seems to have constituted its chief attraction. But on this occasion, as on all others, the transgression was visited by swift vengeance, and three thousand of the offenders were slain. For a while the erection of the tabernacle, and the establishment of the worship which accompanied it, satisfied that craving for an outward sign which the Israelites constantly exhibited; and for the remainder of their march through the desert, with the dwelling-place of Jehovah in their midst, they did not again degenerate into open apostasy. But it was only so long as their contact with the nations was of a hostile character that this seeming orthodoxy was maintained. The charms of the daughters of Moab, as Balaam's bad genius foresaw, were potent for evil: the Israelites were "yoked to Baal-Peor" in the trammels of his fair worshippers, and the character of their devotions is not obscurely hinted at (Num. xxv.). The great and terrible retribution which followed left so deep an impress upon the hearts of the people that, after the conquest of the promised land, they looked with an eye of terror upon any indications of defection from the worship of Jehovah, and denounced as idolatrous a memorial so slight as the altar of the Reubenites at the passage of Jordan (Josh. xxii. 16).

During the lives of Joshua and the elders who outlived him, they kept true to their allegiance; but the generation following, who knew not Jehovah, nor the works he had done for Israel, swerved from the plain path of their fathers, and were caught in the toils of the foreigner (Judg. ii.). From this time forth their history becomes little more than a chronicle of the inevitable sequence of offense and punishment. "They provoked Jehovah to anger . . . and the anger of Jehovah was hot against Israel, and he delivered them into the hands of spoilers that spoiled them" (Judg. ii. 12, 14). The narratives of the book of Judges, contemporaneous or successive, tell of the fierce struggle maintained against their hated foes, and how women forgot their tenderness and forsook their retirement to sing the song of victory over the oppressor. By turns each conquering nation strove to establish the worship of its national god. During the rule of Midian, Joash the father of Gideon had an altar to Baal, and an Asherah (Judg. vi. 25), though he proved but a lukewarm worshipper (ver. 31). Even Gideon himself gave occasion to idolatrous worship yet the ephod which he made from the spoils of the Midianites was perhaps but a votive offering to the true God (Judg. viii. 27). It is not improbable that the gold ornaments of which it was composed were in some way connected with idolatry (cf. Is. iii. 18–24), and that from their having been worn as amulets, some superstitious virtue was conceived to cling to them even in their new form. But though in Gideon's lifetime no overt act of idolatry was practised, he was no sooner dead than the Israelites again returned to the service of the Baalim, and, as if in solemn mockery of the covenant made with Jehovah, chose from among their Baal Berith, "Baal of the Covenant" (cf. Ζεὺς ὅρκιος), as the object of their special adoration (Judg. viii. 33). Of this god we know only that his temple, probably of wood (Judg. ix. 49), was a stronghold in time of need, and that his treasury was filled with the silver of the worshippers (ix. 4). Nor were the calamities of foreign oppression confined to the land of Canaan. The tribes on the east of Jordan went astray after the idols of the land, and were delivered into the hands of the children of Ammon (Judg. x. 8). But they put away from among them "the gods of the foreigner," and with the baseborn Jephthah for their leader gained a signal victory over their oppressors. The exploits of Samson against the Philistines, though achieved within a narrower space and with less important results than those of his predecessors, fill a brilliant page in his country's history. But the tale of his marvelous deeds is prefaced by that ever-recurring phrase, so mournfully familiar, "the children of Israel did evil again in the eyes of Jehovah, and Jehovah gave them into the hand of the Philistines." Thus far idolatry is a national sin. The episode of Micah, in Judg. xvii. xviii., sheds a lurid light on the secret practices of individuals, who without formally renouncing Jehovah, though ceasing to recognize him as the theocratic King (xvii. 6), linked with his worship the symbols of ancient idolatry. The house of God, or sanctuary, which Micah made in imitation of that at Shiloh, was decorated with an ephod and teraphim dedicated to God, and with a graven and molten image consecrated to some inferior deities (Selden, *de Dis Syris*, Synt. i. 2). It is a significant fact, showing how deeply rooted in the people was the tendency to idolatry, that a Levite, who, of all others, should have been most sedulous to maintain Jehovah's worship in its purity, was found to assume the office of priest to the images of Micah; and that this Levite, priest afterwards to the idols of Dan, was no other than Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses. Tradition says that these idols were destroyed when the Philistines defeated the army of Israel and took from them the ark of the covenant of Jehovah (1 Sam. iv.). The Danites are supposed to have carried them into the field, as the other tribes bore the ark, and the Philistines the images of their gods, when they went forth to battle (2 Sam. v. 21; Lewis, *Orig. Hebr.* v. 9). But the Seder Olam Rabba (c. 24) interprets "the captivity of the land" (Judg. xviii. 30), of the captivity of Manasseh; and Benjamin of Tudela mistook the remains of later Gentile worship for

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traces of the altar or statue which Micah had dedicated, and which was worshipped by the tribe of Dan (Selden, *de Dis. Syr.* Synt. i. c. 2; Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 398). In later times the practice of secret idolatry was carried to greater lengths. Images were set up on the corn-floors, in the wine-vats, and behind the doors of private houses (Is. lvii. 8; Hos. ix. 1, 2); and to check this tendency the statute in Deut. xxvii. 15 was originally promulgated.

Under Samuel's administration a fast was held, and purificatory rites performed, to mark the public renunciation of idolatry (1 Sam. vii. 3–6). But in the reign of Solomon all this was forgotten. Each of his many foreign wives brought with her the gods of her own nation; and the gods of Ammon, Moab, and Zidon, were openly worshipped. Three of the summits of Olivet were crowned with the high-places of Ashtoreth, Chemosh, and Molech (1 K. xi. 7; 2 K. xxiii. 13), and the fourth, in memory of his great apostasy, was branded with the opprobrious title of the "Mount of Corruption." Rehoboam, the son of an Ammonite mother, perpetuated the worst features of Solomon's idolatry (1 K. xiv. 22–24); and in his reign was made the great schism in the national religion: when Jeroboam, fresh from his recollections of the Apis worship of Egypt, erected golden calves at Bethel and at Dan, and by this crafty state-policy severed for ever the kingdoms of Judah and Israel (1 K. xii. 26–33). To their use were temples consecrated, and the service in their honor was studiously copied from the Mosaic ritual. High-priest himself, Jeroboam ordained priests from the lowest ranks (2 Chr. xi. 15); incense and sacrifices were offered, and a solemn festival appointed, closely resembling the feast of tabernacles (1 K. xii. 32, 33; cf. Am. iv. 4, 5). [JEROBOAM.] The worship of the calves, "the sin of Israel" (Hos. x. 8), which was apparently associated with the goat-worship of Mendes (2 Chr. xi. 15; Herod. ii. 46) or of the ancient Zabii (Lewis, *Orig. Hebr.* v. 3), and the Asherim (1 K. xiv. 15; A. V. "groves"), ultimately spread to the kingdom of Judah, and centred in Beer-sheba (Am. v. 5, vii. 9). At what precise period it was introduced into the latter kingdom is not certain. The Chronicles tell us how Abijah taunted Jeroboam with his apostasy, while the less partial narrative in 1 Kings represents his own conduct as far from exemplary (1 K. xv. 3). Asa's sweeping reform spared not even the idol of his grandmother Maachah, and, with the exception of the high-places, he removed all relics of idolatrous worship (1 K. xv. 12–14), with its accompanying impurities. His reformation was completed by Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xvii. 6).

The successors of Jeroboam followed in his steps, till Ahab, who married a Zidonian princess, at her instigation (1 K. xxi. 25) built a temple and altar to Baal, and revived all the abominations of the Amorites (1 K. xxi. 26). For this he attained the bad preëminence of having done "more to provoke Jehovah, the God of Israel, to anger than all the kings of Israel that were before him" (1 K. xvi. 33). Compared with the worship of Baal, the worship of the calves was a venial offence, probably because it was morally less detestable and also less anti-national (1 K. xii. 28; 2 K. x. 28–31). [ELIJAH, vol. i. p. 703 *b*.] Henceforth Baal-worship became so completely identified with the northern kingdom that it is described as walking in the way or statutes of the kings of Israel (2 K. xvi. 3, xvii. 8), as distinguished from the sin of Jeroboam, which ceased not till the Captivity (2 K. xvii. 23), and the corruption of the ancient inhabitants of the land. The idolatrous priests became a numerous and important caste (1 K. xviii. 19), living under the patronage of royalty, and fed at the royal table. The extirpation of Baal's priests by Elijah, and of his followers by Jehu (2 K. x.), in which the royal family of Judah shared (2 Chr. xxii. 7), was a death-blow to this form of idolatry in Israel, though other systems still remained (2 K. xiii. 6). But while Israel thus sinned and was punished, Judah was more morally guilty (Ez. xvi. 51). The alliance of Jehoshaphat with the family of Ahab transferred to the southern kingdom, during the reigns of his son and grandson, all the appurtenances of Baal-worship (2 K. viii. 18, 27). In less than ten years after the death of that king, in whose praise it is recorded that he "sought not the Baalim," nor walked "after the deed of Israel" (2 Chr. xvii. 3, 4), a temple had been built for the idol, statues and altars erected, and priests appointed to minister in his service (2 K. xi. 18). Jehoiada's vigorous measures checked the evil for a time, but his reform was incomplete, and the high-places still remained, as in the days of Asa, a nucleus for any fresh system of idolatry (2 K. xii. 3). Much of this might be due to the influence of the king's mother, Zibiah of Beer-sheba, a place intimately connected with the idolatrous defection of Judah (Am. viii. 14). After the death of Jehoiada, the princes prevailed upon Joash to restore at least some portion of his father's idolatry (2 Chr. xxiv. 18). The conquest of the Edomites by Amaziah introduced the worship of their gods, which had disappeared since the days of Solomon (2 Chr. xxv. 14, 20). After this period even the kings who did not lend themselves to the encouragement of false worship had to contend with the corruption which still lingered in the hearts of the people (2 K. xv. 35; 2 Chr. xxvii. 2). Hitherto the temple had been kept pure. The statues of Baal and the other gods were worshipped in their own shrines, but Ahaz, who "sacrificed unto the gods of Damascus, which smote him" (2 Chr. xxviii. 23), and built altars to them at every corner of Jerusalem, and high-places in every city of Judah, replaced the brazen altar of burnt-offering by one made after the model of "*the* altar" of Damascus, and desecrated it to his own uses (2 K. xvi. 10–15).[a]

The conquest of the ten tribes by Shalmaneser was for them the last scene of the drama of abominations which had been enacted uninterruptedly for upwards of 250 years. In the northern kingdom no reformer arose to vary the long line of royal apostates; whatever was effected in the way of reformation, was done by the hands of the people (2 Chr. xxxi. 1). But even in their captivity they

[a] The Syr. supports the rendering of לְבַקֵּר in v. 15, which the A. V. has adopted — "to enquire by": but Keil translates the clause, "it will be for me to consider," *i. e.* what shall be done with the altar, in order to support his theory that this altar erected by Ahaz was not directly intended to profane the temple by idolatrous worship. But it is clear that something of an idolatrous nature had been introduced into the temple, and was afterwards removed by Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxix. 5; cf. Ezr. vi. 21, ix. 11). It is possible that this might have reference to the brazen serpent

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helped to perpetuate the corruption. The colonists, whom the Assyrian conquerors placed in their stead in the cities of Samaria, brought with them their own gods, and were taught at Bethel by a priest of the captive nation "the manner of the God of the land," the lessons thus learnt resulting in a strange admixture of the calf-worship of Jeroboam with the homage paid to their national deities (2 K. xvii. 24–41). Their descendants were in consequence regarded with suspicion by the elders who returned from the Captivity with Ezra, and their offers of assistance rejected (Ezr. iv. 3).

The first act of Hezekiah on ascending the throne was the restoration and purification of the Temple, which had been dismantled and closed during the latter part of his father's life (2 Chr. xxviii. 24; xxix. 3). The multitudes who flocked to Jerusalem to celebrate the passover, so long in abeyance, removed the idolatrous altars of burnt-offering and incense erected by Ahaz (2 Chr. xxx. 14). The iconoclastic spirit was not confined to Judah and Benjamin, but spread throughout Ephraim and Manasseh (2 Chr. xxxi. 1), and to all external appearance idolatry was extirpated. But the reform extended little below the surface (Is. xxix. 13). Among the leaders of the people there were many in high position who conformed to the necessities of the time (Is. xxviii. 14), and under Manasseh's patronage the false worship, which had been merely driven into obscurity, broke out with tenfold virulence. Idolatry of every form, and with all the accessories of enchantments, divination, and witchcraft, was again rife; no place was too sacred, no associations too hallowed, to be spared the contamination. If the conduct of Ahaz in erecting an altar in the temple court is open to a charitable construction, Manasseh's was of no doubtful character. The two courts of the temple were profaned by altars dedicated to the host of heaven, and the image of the Asherah polluted the holy place (2 K. xxi. 7; 2 Chr. xxxiii. 7, 15; cf. Jer. xxxii. 34). Even in his late repentance he did not entirely destroy all traces of his former wrong. The people, easily swayed, still burned incense on the high places; but Jehovah was the ostensible object of their worship. The king's son sacrificed to his father's idols, but was not associated with him in his repentance, and in his short reign of two years, restored all the altars of the Baalim, and the images of the Asherah. With the death of Josiah ended the last effort to revive among the people a purer ritual, if not a purer faith. The lamp of David, which had long shed but a struggling ray, flickered for a while and then went out in the darkness of Babylonian captivity.

But foreign exile was powerless to eradicate the deep inbred tendency to idolatry. One of the first difficulties with which Ezra had to contend, and which brought him well nigh to despair, was the haste with which his countrymen took them foreign wives of the people of the land, and followed them in all their abominations (Ezr. ix.). The priests and rulers, to whom he looked for assistance in his great enterprise, were among the first to fall away (Ezr. ix. 2, x. 18; Neh. vi. 17, 18, xiii. 23). Even during the Captivity the devotees of false worship plied their craft as prophets and diviners (Jer. xxix. 8; Ez. xiii.), and the Jews who fled to Egypt carried with them recollections of the material prosperity which attended their idolatrous sacrifices in Judah, and to the neglect of which they attributed their exiled condition (Jer. xliv. 17, 18). The conquests of Alexander in Asia caused Greek influence to be extensively felt, and Greek idolatry to be first tolerated, and then practiced, by the Jews (1 Macc. i. 43–50, 54). The attempt of Antiochus to establish this form of worship was vigorously resisted by Mattathias (1 Macc. ii. 23–26), who was joined in his rebellion by the Assidæans (ver. 42), and destroyed the altars at which the king commanded them to sacrifice (1 Macc. ii. 25, 45). The erection of synagogues has been assigned as a reason for the comparative purity of the Jewish worship after the Captivity (Prideaux, *Connect.* i. 374), while another cause has been discovered in the hatred for images acquired by the Jews in their intercourse with the Persians.

It has been a question much debated whether the Israelites were ever so far given up to idolatry as to lose all knowledge of the true God. It would be hard to assert this of any nation, and still more difficult to prove. That there always remained among them a faithful few, who in the face of every danger adhered to the worship of Jehovah, may readily be believed, for even at a time when Baal worship was most prevalent there were found seven thousand in Israel who had not bowed before his image (1 K. xxix. 18). But there is still room for grave suspicion that among the masses of the people, though the idea of a supreme Being — of whom the images they worshipped were but the distorted representatives — was not entirely lost, it was so obscured as to be but dimly apprehended. And not only were the ignorant multitude thus led astray, but the priests, scribes, and prophets became leaders of the apostasy (Jer. ii. 8). Warburton, indeed, maintained that they never formally renounced Jehovah, and that their defection consisted "in joining foreign worship and idolatrous ceremonies to the ritual of the true God" (*Div. Leg.* bk. v. § 3). But one passage in their history, though confessedly obscure, seems to point to a time when, under the rule of the judges, "Israel for many days had no true God, and no teaching priest, and no law" (2 Chr. xv. 3). The correlative argument of Cudworth, who contends from the teaching of the Hebrew doctors and rabbis "that the pagan nations, anciently, at least the intelligent amongst them, acknowledged one supreme God of the whole world; and that all other gods were but creatures and inferior ministers," is controverted by Mosheim (*Intell. Syst.* i. 4, § 30, and notes). There can be no doubt that much of the idolatry of the Hebrews consisted in worshipping the true God under an image, such as the calves at Bethel and Dan (Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 8, § 5: δαμάλεις ἐκτυπώμους τῷ θεῷ), and in associating his worship with idolatrous rites (Jer. xli. 5), and places consecrated to idols (2 K. xviii. 22). From the peculiarity of their position they were never distinguished as the inventors of a new pantheon, nor did they adopt any one system of idolatry so exclusively as ever to become identified with it.[a] But they no sooner came in contact with other nations than they readily adapted themselves to their practices, the old spirit of antagonism died rapidly away, and intermarriage was one step to idolatry.

II. The old religion of the Semitic races consisted, in the opinion of Movers (*Phön.* i. c. 5), in the deification of the powers and laws of nature; these powers being considered either as distinct and

[a] As the Moabites with the worship of Chemosh (Num. xxi. 29).

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independent, or as manifestations of one supreme and all-ruling being. In most instances the two ideas were co-existent. The deity, following human analogy, was conceived as male and female: the one representing the active, the other the passive principle of nature; the former the source of spiritual, the latter of physical life. The transference of the attributes of the one to the other resulted either in their mystical conjunction in the hermaphrodite, as the Persian Mithra and Phœnician Baal, or the two combined to form a third, which symbolized the essential unity of both.[a] With these two supreme beings all other deities are identical; so that in different nations the same nature-worship appears under different forms, representing the various aspects under which the idea of the power of nature is presented. The sun and moon were early selected as outward symbols of this all-pervading power, and the worship of the heavenly bodies was not only the most ancient but the most prevalent system of idolatry. Taking its rise, according to a probable hypothesis, in the plains of Chaldæa, it spread through Egypt, Greece, Scythia, and even Mexico and Ceylon. It was regarded as an offense amenable to the civil authorities in the days of Job (xxxi. 26–28), and one of the statutes of the Mosaic law was directed against its observance (Deut. iv. 19; xvii. 3); the former referring to the star-worship of Arabia, the latter to the concrete form in which it appeared among the Syrians and Phœnicians. It is probable that the Israelites learnt their first lessons in sun-worship from the Egyptians, in whose religious system that luminary, as Osiris, held a prominent place. The city of On (Beth-shemesh or Heliopolis) took its name from his temple (Jer. xliii. 13), and the wife of Joseph was the daughter of his priest (Gen. xli. 45). The Phœnicians worshipped him under the title of "Lord of heaven," בַּעַל שָׁמַיִם, *Baal-shâmayim* (Βεελσάμην, acc. to Sanchoniatho in Philo Byblius), and Adon, the Greek Adonis, and the Thammuz of Ezekiel (viii. 14). [THAMMUZ.] As Molech or Milcom, the sun was worshipped by the Ammonites, and as Chemosh by the Moabites. The Hadad of the Syrians is the same deity, whose name is traceable in Benhadad, Hadadezer, and Hadad or Adad, the Edomite. The Assyrian Bel or Belus, is another form of Baal. According to Philo (*de Vit. Cont.* § 3) the Essenes were wont to pray to the sun at morning and evening (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 8, § 5). By the later kings of Judah, sacred horses and chariots were dedicated to the sun-god, as by the Persians (2 K. xxiii. 11; Bochart, *Hieroz.* pt. 1, bk. ii. c. xi.; Selden, *de Dis Syr.* ii. 8); to march in procession and greet his rising (R. Sol. Jarchi on 2 K. xxiii. 11). The Massagetæ offered horses in sacrifice to him (Strabo, xi. p. 513), on the principle enunciated by Macrobius (*Sat.* vii. 7), "like rejoiceth in like" ("similibus similia gaudent;" cf. Her. i. 216), and the custom was common to many nations.

The moon, worshipped by the Phœnicians under the name of Astarte (Lucian, *de Dea Syra*, c. 4), or Baaltis, the passive power of nature, as Baal was the active (Movers, i. 149), and known to the Hebrews as Ashtaroth or Ashtoreth, the tutelary goddess of the Zidonians, appears early among the objects of Israelitish idolatry. But this Syro-Phœnician worship of the sun and moon was of a grosser character than the pure star-worship of the Magi which Movers distinguishes as Upper Asiatic or Assyro-Persian, and was equally removed from the Chaldæan astrology and Zabianism of later times. The former of these systems tolerated no images or altars, and the contemplation of the heavenly bodies from elevated spots constituted the greater part of its ritual.

But, though we have no positive historical account of star-worship before the Assyrian period, we may infer that it was early practiced in a concrete form among the Israelites from the allusions in Amos v. 26, and Acts vii. 42, 43. Even in the desert they are said to have been given up to worship the host of heaven, while Chiun and Remphan, or Rephan, have on various grounds been identified with the planet Saturn. It was to counteract idolatry of this nature that the stringent law of Deut. xvii. 3 was enacted, and with the view of withdrawing the Israelites from undue contemplation of the material universe, Jehovah, the God of Israel, is constantly placed before them as Jehovah Zebaoth, Jehovah of Hosts, the king of heaven (Dan. iv. 35, 37), to whom the heaven and heaven of heavens belong (Deut. x. 14). However this may be, Movers (*Phön.* i. 65, 66) contends that the later star-worship, introduced by Ahaz and followed by Manasseh, was purer and more spiritual in its nature than the Israelito-Phœnician worship of the heavenly bodies under symbolical forms as Baal and Asherah; and that it was not idolatry in the same sense that the latter was, but of a simply contemplative character. He is supported, to some extent, by the fact that we find no mention of any images of the sun or moon or the host of heaven, but merely of vessels devoted to their service (2 K. xxiii. 4). But there is no reason to believe that the divine honors paid to the "Queen of Heaven" (or as others render, "the frame" or "structure of the heavens")[b] were equally dissociated from image worship. Mr. Layard (*Nin.* ii. 451) discovered a bas-relief at Nimroud, which represented four idols carried in procession by Assyrian warriors. One of these figures he identifies with Hera the Assyrian Astarte, represented with a star on her head (Am. v. 26), and with the "queen of heaven," who appears on the rock-tablets of Pterium "standing erect on a lion, and crowned with a tower, or mural coronet," as in the Syrian temple of Hierapolis (*Id.* p. 456; Lucian, *de Dea Syra*, 31, 32). But, in his remarks upon a figure which resembles the Rhea of Diodorus, Mr. Layard adds, "the representation in a human form of the celestial bodies, themselves originally but a type, was a corruption which appears to have crept at a later period into the mythology of Assyria; for, in the more ancient bas-reliefs, figures with caps surmounted by stars do not occur, and the sun, moon, and planets stand alone" (*Id.* pp. 457, 458).

[a] This will explain the occurrence of the name of Baal with the masculine and feminine articles in the LXX.; cf. Hos. xi. 2; Jer. xix. 5; Rom. xi. 4. Phlegon, quoted by Macrobius (*Sat.* iii. 8), says that men and women sacrified to Venus or the Moon, with the garments of the sexes interchanged, because she was regarded both as masculine and feminine (see Selden, *de Dîs Syr.* ii. 2). Hence *Lunus* and *Luna*.

[b] Jer. vii. 18; xliv. 19. In the former passage some MSS. have מלאכת for מלכת, a reading supported by the LXX., τῇ στρατιᾷ, as well as by the Syr. ܡܠܟܬܐ, *pûlchôn*, its equivalent. But in the latter they both agree in the rendering "queen."

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The allusions in Job xxxviii. 31, 32, are too obscure to allow any inference to be drawn as to the mysterious influences which were held by the old astrologers to be exercised by the stars over human destiny, nor is there sufficient evidence to connect them with anything more recondite than the astronomical knowledge of the period. The same may be said of the poetical figure in Deborah's chant of triumph, "the stars from their highways warred with Sisera" (Judg. v. 20). In the later times of the monarchy, Mazzaloth, the planets, or the zodiacal signs, received, next to the sun and moon, their share of popular adoration (2 K. xxiii. 5); and the history of idolatry among the Hebrews shows at all times an intimate connection between the deification of the heavenly bodies, and the superstition which watched the clouds for signs, and used divination and enchantments. It was but a step from such culture of the sidereal powers to the worship of Gad and Meni, Babylonian divinities, symbols of Venus or the moon, as the goddess of luck or fortune. Under the latter aspect, the moon was reverenced by the Egyptians (Macrob. *Sat.* i. 19); and the name Baal Gad is possibly an example of the manner in which the worship of the planet Jupiter as the bringer of luck was grafted on the old faith of the Phœnicians. The false gods of the colonists of Samaria were probably connected with eastern astrology: Adrammelech, Movers regards as the sun-fire — the Solar Mars, and Anammelech the Solar Saturn (*Phön.* i. 410, 411). The Vulgate rendering of Prov. xxvi. 8, "sicut qui mittit lapidem in *acervum Mercurii*," follows the Midrash on the passage quoted by Jarchi, and requires merely a passing notice (see Selden, *de Dis Syris*, ii. 15; Maim. *de Idol.* iii. 2; Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* s. v. מרקוליס).

Beast-worship, as exemplified in the calves of Jeroboam and the dark hints which seem to point to the goat of Mendes, has already been alluded to. There is no actual proof that the Israelites ever joined in the service of Dagon,[a] the fish-god of the Philistines, though Ahaziah sent stealthily to Baal-zebub, the fly-god of Ekron (2 K. i.), and in later times the brazen serpent became the object of idolatrous homage (2 K. xviii. 4). But whether the latter was regarded with superstitious reverence as a memorial of their early history, or whether incense was offered to it as a symbol of some power of nature, cannot now be exactly determined. The threatening in Lev. xxvi. 30, "I will put your carcasses upon the carcasses of your idols," may fairly be considered as directed against the tendency to regard animals, as in Egypt, as the symbols of deity. Tradition says that Nergal, the god of the men of Cuth, the idol of fire, according to Lensden (*Phil. Hebr. Mixt.* Diss. 43), was worshipped under the form of a cock; Ashima as a he-goat, the emblem of generative power; Nibhaz as a dog; Adrammelech as a mule or peacock; and Anammelech as a horse or pheasant.

Of pure hero-worship among the Semitic races we find no trace. Moses indeed seems to have entertained some dim apprehension that his countrymen might, after his death, pay him more honour than were due to man; and the anticipation of this led him to review his own conduct in terms of strong reprobation (Deut. iv. 21, 22). The expression in Ps. cvi. 28, "the sacrifices of the *dead*," is in all probability metaphorical, and Wisd. xiv. 15 refers to a later practice due to Greek influence. The rabbinical commentators discover in Gen. xlviii. 16, an allusion to the worshipping of angels (Col. ii. 18), while they defend their ancestors from the charge of regarding them in any other light than mediators, or intercessors with God (Lewis, *Orig. Hebr.* v. 3). It is needless to add that their inference and apology are equally groundless. With like probability has been advanced the theory of the demon-worship of the Hebrews, the only foundation for it being two highly poetical passages (Deut. xxxii. 17; Ps. cvi. 37). It is possible that the Persian dualism is hinted at in Is. xlv. 7.

But if the forms of the false gods were manifold, the places devoted to their worship were almost equally numerous. The singular reverence with which trees have in all ages been honored is not without example in the history of the Hebrews. The terebinth at Mamre, beneath which Abraham built an altar (Gen. xii. 7, xiii. 18), and the memorial grove planted by him at Beer-sheba (Gen. xxi. 33), were intimately connected with patriarchal worship, though in after-ages his descendants were forbidden to do that which he did with impunity, in order to avoid the contamination of idolatry.[b] As a symptom of their rapidly degenerating spirit, the oak of Shechem, which stood in the sanctuary of Jehovah (Josh. xxiv. 26), and beneath which Joshua set up the stone of witness, perhaps appears in Judges (ix. 37), as "the oak (not 'plain,' as in A. V.) of soothsayers" or "augurs."[c] Mountains and high places were chosen spots for offering sacrifice and incense to idols (1 K. xi. 7, xiv. 23); and the retirement of gardens and the thick shade of woods offered great attractions to their worshippers (2 K. xvi. 4; Is. i. 29; Hos. iv. 13). It was the ridge of Carmel which Elijah selected as the scene of his contest with the priests of Baal, fighting with them the battle of Jehovah, as it were, on their own ground. [CARMEL.] Carmel was regarded by the Roman historians as a sacred mountain of the Jews (Tac. *H.* ii. 78; Suet. *Vesp.* 7) The host of heaven was worshipped on the house-top (2 K. xxiii. 12; Jer. xix. 13, xxxii. 29; Zeph. i. 5). In describing the sun-worship of the Nabatæi, Strabo (xvi. p. 784) mentions two characteristics which strikingly illustrate the worship of Baal. They built their altars on the roofs of houses, and offered on them incense and libations daily. On the wall of his city, in the sight of the besieging armies of Israel and Edom, the king of Moab offered his eldest son as a burnt-offering.

[a] Some have explained the allusion in Zeph. i. 9, as referring to a practice connected with the worship of Dagon; comp. 1 Sam. v. 5. The Syrians, on the authority of Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 4. § 9), paid divine honors to fish.

[b] Jerome (*Onomast.* s. v. *Drys*) mentions an oak near Hebron which existed in his infancy, and was the traditional tree beneath which Abraham dwelt. It was regarded with great reverence, and was made an object of worship by the heathen. Modern Palestine abounds with sacred trees. They are found "all over the land covered with bits of rags from the garments of passing villagers, hung up as acknowledgments or as deprecatory signals and charms: and we find beautiful clumps of oak-trees sacred to a kind of beings called Jacob's daughters" (Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 151). [See GROVE.]

[c] Unless, indeed, this be a relic of the ancient Canaanitish worship; an older name associated with idolatry, which the conquering Hebrews were commanded and endeavored to obliterate (Deut. xii. 3).

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the Persians, who worshipped the sun under the name of Mithra (Strabo, xv. p. 732), sacrificed on an elevated spot, but built no altars or images.

The priests of the false worship are sometimes designated Chemarim, a word of Syriac origin, to which different meanings have been assigned. It is applied to the non-Levitical priests who burnt incense on the high-places (2 K. xxiii. 5) as well as to the priests of the calves (Hos. x. 5); and the corresponding word is used in the Peshito (Judg. xviii. 30) of Jonathan and his descendants, priests to the tribe of Dan, and in Targ. Onkelos (Gen. xlvii. 22) of the priests of Egypt. The Rabbis, followed by Gesenius, have derived it from a root signifying "to be black," and without any authority assert that the name was given to idolatrous priests from the black vestments which they wore. But white was the distinctive color in the priestly garments of all nations from India to Gaul, and black was only worn when they sacrificed to the subterranean gods (Bähr, *Symb.* ii. 87, &c.). That a special dress was adopted by the Baal-worshippers, as well as by the false prophets (Zech. xiii. 4), is evident from 2 K. x. 22 (where the rendering should be "*the* apparel"): the vestments were kept in an apartment of the idol temple, under the charge probably of one of the inferior priests. Micah's Levite was provided with appropriate robes (Judg. xvii. 10). The "foreign apparel," mentioned in Zeph. i. 8, refers doubtless to a similar dress, adopted by the Israelites in defiance of the sumptuary law in Num. xv. 37–40.

In addition to the priests there were other persons intimately connected with idolatrous rites, and the impurities from which they were inseparable. Both men and women consecrated themselves to the service of idols: the former as קְדֵשִׁים, *kedêshim*, for which there is reason to believe the A. V. (Deut. xxiii. 17, &c.) has not given too harsh an equivalent; the latter as קְדֵשׁוֹת, *kedêshôth*, who wove shrines for Astarte (2 K. xxiii. 7), and resembled the ἑταῖραι of Corinth, of whom Strabo (viii. p. 378) says there were more than a thousand attached to the temple of Aphrodite. Egyptian prostitutes consecrated themselves to Isis (Juv. vi. 489, ix. 22–24). The same class of women existed among the Phœnicians, Armenians, Lydians, and Babylonians (Her. i. 93. 199; Strabo, xi. p. 532; Epist. of Jerem. ver. 43). They are distinguished from the public prostitutes (Hos. iv. 14) and associated with the performances of sacred rites, just as in Strabo (xii. p. 559) we find the two classes coexisting at Comana, the Corinth of Pontus, much frequented by pilgrims to the shrine of Aphrodite.[a] The wealth thus obtained flowed into the treasury of the idol temple, and against such a practice the injunction in Deut xxiii. 18 is directed. Dr. Maitland, anxious to defend the moral character of Jewish women, has with much ingenuity attempted to show that a meaning foreign to their true sense has been attached to the words above mentioned; and that, though closely associated with idolatrous services, they do not indicate such foul corruption (*Essay on False Worship*). But , as Movers, with great appearance of probability, has conjectured (*Phön.* i. 679), the class of persons alluded to was composed of foreigners, the Jewish women in this respect need no such advocacy That such customs existed among foreign nations there is abundant evidence to prove (Lucian, *de Syra Dea*, c. 5); and from the juxtaposition of prostitution and the idolatrous rites against which the laws in Lev. xix. are aimed, it is probable that next to its immorality, one main reason why it was visited with such stringency was its connection with idolatry (comp. 1 Cor. vi. 9).

But besides these accessories there were the ordinary rites of worship which idolatrous systems had in common with the religion of the Hebrews. Offering burnt sacrifices to the idol gods (2 K. v. 17), burning incense in their honor (1 K. xi. 8), and bowing down in worship before their images (1 K. xix. 18) were the chief parts of their ritual; and from their very analogy with the ceremonies of true worship were more seductive than the grosser forms. Nothing can be stronger or more positive than the language in which these ceremonies were denounced by Hebrew law. Every detail of idol-worship was made the subject of a separate enactment, and many of the laws, which in themselves seem trivial and almost absurd, receive from this point of view their true significance. We are told by Maimonides (*Mor. Neb.* c. 12) that the prohibitions against sowing a field with mingled seed, and wearing garments of mixed material, were directed against the practices of idolaters, who attributed a kind of magical influence to the mixture (Lev. xix. 19; Spencer, *de Leg. Hebr.* ii. 18). Such too were the precepts which forbade that the garments of the sexes should be interchanged (Deut. xxii. 5; Maimon. *de Idol.* xii. 9). According to Macrobius (*Sat.* iii. 8) other Asiatics when they sacrificed to their Venus changed the dress of the sexes. The priests of Cybele appeared in women's clothes, and used to mutilate themselves (Creuzer, *Symb.* ii. 34, 42): the same custom was observed "by the Ithyphalli in the rites of Bacchus, and by the Athenians in their Ascophoria" (Young, *Idol. Cor. in Rel.* i. 105; cf. Lucian, *de Dea Syra*, c. 15). To preserve the Israelites from contamination, they were prohibited for three years after their conquest of Canaan from eating of the fruit-trees of the land, whose cultivation had been attended with magical rites (Lev. xix. 23). They were forbidden to "round the corner of the head," and to "mar the corner of the beard" (Lev. xix. 27), as the Arabians did in honor of their gods (Her. iii. 8, iv. 175). Hence, the phrase קְצוּצֵי פֵאָה, *ketsûtsê phêâh*, (literally) "shorn of the corner," is especially applied to idolaters (Jer. ix. 26, xxv. 23). Spencer (*de Leg. Hebr.* ii. 9, § 2) explains the law forbidding the offering of honey (Lev. ii. 11) as intended to oppose an idolatrous practice. Strabo describes the Magi as offering in all their sacrifices libations of oil mingled with honey and milk (xv. p. 733). Offerings in which honey was an ingredient were made to the inferior deities and the dead (Hom. *Od.* x. 519; Porph. *de Antr. Nymph.* c. 17). So also the practice of eating the flesh of sacrifices "over the blood" (Lev. xix. 26; Ex. xxxiii. 25, 26) was, according to Maimonides, common among the Zabii. Spencer gives a double reason for the pro

[a] An illustration, though not an example, of this is found in the modern history of Europe. At a period of great profligacy and corruption of morals, licentiousness was carried to such an excess in Strasburg that the public prostitutes received the appellation of the *swallows* of the cathedral (Miller, *Phil. of Hist.* ii 441).

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bibition: that it was a rite of divination, and divination of the worst kind, a species of necromancy by which they attempted to raise the spirits of the dead (comp. Hor. *Sat.* i. 8). There are supposed to be allusions to the practice of necromancy in Is. lxv. 4, or at any rate to superstitious rites in connection with the dead. The grafting of one tree upon another was forbidden, because among idolaters the process was accompanied by gross obscenity (Maim. *Mor. Neb.* c. 12). Cutting the flesh for the dead (Lev. xix. 28; 1 K. xviii. 28), and making a baldness between the eyes (Deut. xiv. 1) were associated with idolatrous rites: the latter being a custom among the Syrians (Sir G. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herod.* ii. p. 158, *note*). The thrice repeated and much-vexed passage, "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk" (Ex. xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 26; Deut. xiv. 21), interpreted by some as a precept of humanity, is explained by Cudworth in a very different manner. He quotes from a Karaite commentary which he had seen in MS.: "It was a custom of the ancient heathens, when they had gathered in all their fruit, to take a kid and boil it in the dam's milk, and then in a magical way go about and besprinkle with it all the trees and fields and gardens and orchards; thinking by this means they should make them fructify, and bring forth again more abundantly the following year" (*On the Lord's Supper*, c. 2).[a] The law which regulated clean and unclean meats (Lev. xx. 23–26) may be considered both as a sanitary regulation, and also as having a tendency to separate the Israelites from the surrounding idolatrous nations. It was with the same object, in the opinion of Michaelis, that while in the wilderness they were prohibited from killing any animal for food without first offering it to Jehovah (*Laws of Moses*, trans. Smith, art. 203). The mouse, one of the unclean animals of Leviticus (xi. 29), was sacrificed by the ancient Magi (Is. lxvi. 17; Movers, *Phön.* i. 219). It may have been some such reason as that assigned by Lewis (*Orig. Hebr.* v. 1), that the dog was the symbol of an Egyptian deity, which gave rise to the prohibition in Deut. xxiii. 18. Movers says the dog was offered in sacrifice to Moloch (i. 404), as swine to the moon and Dionysus by the Egyptians, who afterwards ate of the flesh (Her. iii. 47; Is. lxv. 4). Eating of the things offered was a necessary appendage to the sacrifice (comp. Ex. xviii. 12, xxxii. 6, xxxiv. 15; Num. xxv. 2, &c.). Among the Persians the victim was eaten by the worshippers, and the soul alone left for the god (Strabo, xv. 732). "Hence it is that the idolatry of the Jews in worshipping other gods is so often described synecdochically under the notion of feasting. Is. lvii. 7, 'Upon a high and lofty mountain thou hast *set thy bed*, and thither wentest thou up to offer sacrifice;' for in those ancient times they were not wont to sit at feasts, but lie down on beds or couches. Ez. xxiii. 41: Amos ii. 8, 'They laid themselves down upon clothes laid to pledge by every altar,' i. e. laid themselves down to eat of the sacrifice that was offered on the altar: comp. Ex. xviii. 11" (Cudworth, *ut supra*, c. 1; cf. 1 Cor. viii. 10). The Israelites were forbidden "to print any mark upon them" (Lev. xix. 28), because it was a custom of idolaters to brand upon their flesh some symbol of the deity they worshipped, as the ivy-leaf of Bacchus (3 Macc. ii. 29). According to Lucian (*de Dea Syra*, 59), all the Assyrians wore marks of this kind on their necks and wrists (comp. Is. xliv. 5; Gal. vi. 17; Rev. xiv. 1, 11). Many other practices of false worship are alluded to, and made the subjects of rigorous prohibition but none are more frequently or more severely denounced than those which peculiarly distinguished the worship of Molech. It has been attempted to deny that the worship of this idol was polluted by the foul stain of human sacrifice, but the allusions are too plain and too pointed to admit of reasonable doubt (Deut. xii. 31; 2 K. iii. 27; Jer. vii. 31; Ps. cvi. 37; Ez. xxiii. 39). Nor was this practice confined to the rites of Molech; it extended to those of Baal (Jer. xix. 5), and the king of Moab (2 K. iii. 27) offered his son as a burnt-offering to his god Chemosh. The Phœnicians, we are told by Porphyry (*de Abstin.* ii. c. 56), on occasions of great national calamity sacrificed to Kronos one of their dearest friends. Some allusion to this custom may be seen in Micah vi. 7. Kissing the images of the gods (1 K. xix. 18; Hos. xiii. 2), hanging votive offerings in their temples (1 Sam. xxxi. 10), and carrying them to battle (2 Sam. v. 21), as the Jews of Maccabeus' army did with the things consecrated to the idols of the Jamnites (2 Macc. xii. 40), are usages connected with idolatry which are casually mentioned, though not made the objects of express legislation. But soothsaying, interpretation of dreams, necromancy, witchcraft, magic, and other forms of divination, are alike forbidden (Deut. xviii. 9; 2 K. i. 2; Is. lxv. 4; Ez. xxi. 21). The history of other nations — and indeed the too common practice of the lower class of the population of Syria at the present day — shows us that such a statute as that against bestiality (Lev. xviii. 23) was not unnecessary (cf. Her. ii. 46; Rom. i. 26). Purificatory rites in connection with idol-worship, and eating of forbidden food, were visited with severe retribution (Is. lxvi. 17). It is evident, from the context of Ez. viii. 17, that the votaries of the sun, who worshipped with their faces to the east (v. 16), and "put the branch to their nose," did so in observance of some idolatrous rite. Movers (*Phön.* i. 66), unhesitatingly affirms that the allusion is to the branch Barsom, the holy branch of the Magi (Strabo, xv. p. 733), while Hävernick (*Comm. zu Ezech.* p. 117), with equal confidence, denies that the passage supports such an inference, and renders, having in view the lament of the women for Thammuz, "sie entsenden den Trauergesang zu ihren Zorn." The waving of a myrtle branch, says Maimonides (*de Idol.* vi. 2), accompanied the repetition of a magical formula in incantations. An illustration of the usage of boughs in worship will be found in the Greek ἱκετηρία (Æsch. *Eum.* 43; *Suppl.* 192; *Schol.* on Aristoph. *Plut.* 383; Porphyr. *de Ant. Nymph.* c. 33). For detailed accounts of idolatrous ceremonies, reference must be made to the articles upon the several idols.

III. It remains now briefly to consider the light in which idolatry was regarded in the Mosaic code, and the penalties with which it was visited. If one main object of the Hebrew polity was to teach the unity of God, the extermination of idolatry was but a subordinate end. Jehovah, the God of the Israelites, was the civil head of the State. He was the theocratic king of the people, who had delivered them from bondage, and to whom they had taken a willing oath of allegiance. They had entered into a solemn league and covenant with him as their chosen

[a] Dr. Thomson mentions a favorite dish among the Arabs called *leben immû*, to which he conceives allusion is made (*Land and Book*, i. 135).

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king (comp. 1 Sam. viii. 7), by whom obedience was requited with temporal blessings, and rebellion with temporal punishment. This original contract of the Hebrew government, as it has been termed, is contained in Ex. xix. 3–8, xx. 2–5; Deut. xxix. 10–xxx.; the blessings promised to obedience are enumerated in Deut. xxviii. 1–14, and the withering curses on disobedience in verses 15–68. That this covenant was faithfully observed it needs but slight acquaintance with Hebrew history to perceive. Often broken and often renewed on the part of the people (Judg. x. 10; 2 Chr. xv. 12, 13; Neh. ix. 38), it was kept with unwavering constancy on the part of Jehovah. To their kings he stood in the relation, so to speak, of a feudal superior: they were his representatives upon earth, and with them, as with the people before, his covenant was made (1 K. iii. 14, xi. 11). Idolatry, therefore, to an Israelite, was a state offence (1 Sam. xv. 23),[a] a political crime of the gravest character, high treason against the majesty of his king. It was a transgression of the covenant (Deut. xvii. 2), "*the* evil" preëminently in the eyes of Jehovah (1 K. xxi. 25, opp. to הַיָּשָׁר, "*the* right," 2 Chr. xxvii. 2). But it was much more than all this. While the idolatry of foreign nations is stigmatised merely as an abomination in the sight of God, which called for his vengeance, the sin of the Israelites is regarded as of more glaring enormity, and greater moral guilt. In the figurative language of the prophets, the relation between Jehovah and his people is represented as a marriage bond (Is. liv. 5; Jer. iii. 14), and the worship of false gods with all its accompaniments (Lev. xx. 56) becomes then the greatest of social wrongs (Hos. ii.; Jer. iii. etc.). This is beautifully brought out in Hos. ii. 16, where the heathen name Baali, my master, which the apostate Israel has been accustomed to apply to her foreign possessor, is contrasted with Ishi, my man, my husband, the native word which she is to use when restored to her rightful husband, Jehovah. Much of the significance of this figure was unquestionably due to the impurities of idolaters, with whom such corruption was of no merely spiritual character (Ex. xxxiv. 16; Num. xxv. 1, 2, &c.), but manifested itself in the grossest and most revolting forms (Rom. i. 26–32).

Regarded in a moral aspect, false gods are called "stumbling blocks" (Ez. xiv. 3), "lies" (Am. ii. 4; Rom. i. 25), "horrors" or "frights" (1 K. xv. 13; Jer. l. 38), "abominations" (Deut. xxix. 17, xxxii. 16; 1 K. xi. 5; 2 K. xxiii. 13), "guilt" (abstract for concrete, Am. viii. 14, אַשְׁמָה, *ashmâh*, comp. 2 Chr. xxix. 18, perhaps with a play on *Ashima*, 2 K. xvii. 30), and with a profound sense of the degradation consequent upon their worship, they are characterized by the prophets, whose mission it was to warn the people against them (Jer. xliv. 4), as "shame" (Jer. xi. 13; Hos. ix. 10). As considered with reference to Jehovah, they are "other gods" (Josh. xxiv. 2, 16), "strange gods" (Deut. xxxii. 16), "new gods" (Judg. v. 8), 'devils, — not God" (Deut. xxxii. 17; 1 Cor. x. 20, 21); and, as denoting their foreign origin, "gods of the foreigner" (Josh. xxiv. 14, 15). Their powerlessness is indicated by describing them as "gods that cannot save" (Is. xlv. 20), "that made not the heavens" (Jer. x. 11), "nothing" (Is. xli. 24; 1 Cor. viii. 4), "wind and emptiness" (Is. xli. 29), "vanities of the heathen" (Jer. xiv 22; Acts xiv. 15); and yet, while their deity is denied, their personal existence seems to have been acknowledged (Kurtz, *Gesch. d. A. B.* ii. 86, &c.), though not in the same manner in which the pretentions of local deities were reciprocally recognised by the heathen (1 K. xx. 23, 28; 2 K. xvii. 26). Other terms of contempt are employed with reference to idols, אֱלִילִים, *élîlîm* (Lev. xix. 4), and גִּלּוּלִים, *gillûlîm* (Deut. xxix. 17), to which different meanings have been assigned, and many which indicate ceremonial uncleanness. [IDOL, p. 1118 *b*.]

Idolatry, therefore, being from one point of view a political offense, could be punished without infringement of civil rights. No penalties were attached to mere opinions. For aught we know, theological speculation may have been as rife among the Hebrews as in modern times, though such was not the tendency of the Semitic mind. It was not, however, such speculations, heterodox though they might be, but overt acts of idolatry, which were made the subjects of legislation (Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, arts. 245, 246). The first and second commandments are directed against idolatry of every form. Individuals and communities were equally amenable to the rigorous code. The individual offender was devoted to destruction (Ex. xxii. 20); his nearest relatives were not only bound to denounce him and deliver him up to punishment (Deut. xiii. 2–10), but their hands were to strike the first blow when, on the evidence of two witnesses at least, he was stoned (Deut. xvii. 2–5). To attempt to seduce others to false worship was a crime of equal enormity (Deut. xiii. 6–10). An idolatrous nation shared a similar fate. No facts are more strongly insisted on in the O. T. than that the extermination of the Canaanites was the punishment of their idolatry (Ex. xxxiv. 15, 16; Deut. vii., xii. 29–31, xx. 17), and that the calamities of the Israelites were due to the same cause (Jer. ii. 17). A city guilty of idolatry was looked upon as a cancer of the state; it was considered to be in rebellion, and treated according to the laws of war. Its inhabitants and all their cattle were put to death. No spoil was taken, but everything it contained was burnt with itself; nor was it allowed to be rebuilt (Deut. xiii. 13–18; Josh. vi. 26). Saul lost his kingdom, Achan his life, and Hiel his family, for transgressing this law (1 Sam. xv.; Josh. vii.; 1 K. xvi. 34). The silver and gold with which the idols were covered were accursed (Deut. vii. 25, 26). And not only were the Israelites forbidden to serve the gods of Canaan (Ex. xxiii. 24), but even to mention their names, that is, to call upon them in prayer or any form of worship (Ex. xxiii.

[a] The point of this verse is lost in the A. V.: it should be "for the sin of witchcraft (is) rebellion; and idolatry (lit vanity) and teraphim (are) stubbornness." The Israelites, contrary to command, had spared of the spoil of the idolatrous Amalekites to offer to Jehovah, and thus associated his worship with that of Bals.

[b] In the A. V. the terms זָר, *zâr*, "strange," and נֵכָר or נָכְרִי, *nêcâr* or *nâcrî*, "foreign," are not uniformly distinguished, and the point of a passage is frequently lost by the interchange of one with the other, or by rendering both by the same word. So Ps lxxxi. 9 should be, "There shall not be in thee *strange* god, nor shalt thou worship a *foreign* god."

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12; Josh xxiii. 7). On taking possession of the land they were to obliterate all traces of the existing idolatry; statues, altars, pillars, idol-temples, every person and everything connected with it, were to be swept away (Ex. xxiii. 24, 32, xxxiv. 13; Deut. vii. 5, 25, xii. 1–3, xx. 17), and the name and worship of the idols blotted out. Such were the precautions taken by the framer of the Mosaic code to preserve the worship of Jehovah, the true God, in its purity. Of the manner in which his descendants have "put a fence" about "the law" with reference to idolatry, many instances will be found in Maimonides (*de Idol.*). They were prohibited from using vessels, scarlet garments, bracelets, or rings, marked with the sign of the sun, moon, or dragon (vii. 10); trees planted or stones erected for idol-worship were forbidden (viii. 5, 10); and, to guard against the possibility of contamination, if the image of an idol were found among other images intended for ornament, they were all to be cast into the Dead Sea (vii. 11).

IV. Much indirect evidence on this subject might be supplied by an investigation of proper names. Mr. Layard has remarked, "According to a custom existing from time immemorial in the East, the name of the Supreme Deity was introduced into the names of men. This custom prevailed from the banks of the Tigris to the Phœnician colonies beyond the Pillars of Hercules; and we recognize in the Sardanapalus of the Assyrians, and the Hannibal of the Carthaginians, the identity of the religious system of the two nations, as widely distinct in the time of their existence as in their geographical position" (*Nin.* ii. 450). The hint which he has given can be but briefly followed out here. Traces of the sun-worship of the ancient Canaanites remain in the nomenclature of their country. Beth-shemesh, "house of the sun," En-shemesh, "spring of the sun," and Ir-shemesh, "city of the sun," whether they be the original Canaanitish names, or their Hebrew renderings, attest the reverence paid to the source of light and heat, the symbol of the fertilizing power of nature. Samson, the Hebrew national hero, took his name from the same luminary, and was born in a mountain-village above the modern '*Ain Shems* (En-shemesh: Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 361). The name of Baal, the sun-god, is one of the most common occurrence in compound words, and is often associated with places consecrated to his worship, and of which perhaps he was the tutelary deity. Bamoth-baal, "the high-places of Baal;" Baal-hermon, Beth-Baal-meon, Baal-gad, Baal-hamon, in which compound the names of the sun-god of Phœnicia and Egypt are associated, Baal-Tamar, and many others, are instances of this.[a] Nor was the practice confined to the names of places: proper names are found with the same element. Esh baal, Ish-baal, etc., are examples. The Amorites, whom Joshua did not drive out, dwelt on Mount Heres, in Aijalon, "the mountain of the sun" [TIMNATH-HERES]. Here and there we find traces of the attempt made by the Hebrews, on their conquest of the country, to extirpate idolatry. Thus Baalah or Kirjath-baal, "the town of Baal," became Kirjath-jearim, "the town of forests" (Josh. xv. 60). The Moon, Astarte or Ashtaroth, gave her name to a city of Bashan (Josh. xiii. 12, 31), and it is not improbable that the name Jericho may have been derived from being associated with the worship of this goddess. [JERICHO.] Nebo, whether it be the name under which the Chaldæans worshipped the Moon or the planet Mercury, enters into many compounds: Nebu-zaradan, Samgar-nebo, and the like. Bel is found in Belshazzar, Belteshazzar, and others. Were Baladan of Semitic origin, it would probably be derived from Baal-Adon, or Adonis, the Phœnician deity to whose worship Jer. xxii. 18 seems to refer: but it has more properly been traced to an Indo-Germanic root. Hadad, Hadadezer, Benhadad, are derived from the tutelar deity of the Syrians, and in Nergalsharezer we recognize the god of the Cushites. Chemosh, the fire-god of Moab, appears in Carchemish, and Peor in Beth-peor. Malcom, a name which occurs but once, and then of a Moabite by birth, may have been connected with Molech and Milcom, the abomination of the Ammonites. A glimpse of star-worship may be seen in the name of the city Chesil, the Semitic Orion, and the month Chisleu, without recognizing in Rahab "the glittering fragments of the sea-snake trailing across the northern sky." It would perhaps be going too far to trace in En-gedi, "spring of the kid," any connection with the goat-worship of Mendes, or any relics of the wars of the giants in Rapha and Rephaim. Fürst, indeed, recognizes in Gedi, Venus or Astarte, the goddess of fortune, and identical with Gad (*Handw.* s. v.). But there are fragments of ancient idolatry in other names in which it is not so palpable. Ish-bosheth is identical with Esh-baal, and Jerubbesheth with Jerubbaal, and Mephibosheth and Meribbaal are but two names for one person (cf. Jer. xi. 13). The worship of the Syrian Rimmon appears in the names Hadad-rimmon, and Tabrimmon; and if, as some suppose, it be derived from רִמּוֹן, *Rimmón*, "a pomegranate-tree," we may connect it with the towns of the same name in Judah and Benjamin, with En-Rimmon and the prevailing tree-worship. It is impossible to pursue this investigation to any length: the hints which have been thrown out may prove suggestive. W. A. W.

IDU'EL ('Ιδουήλος: *Eccelon*), 1 Esdr. viii. 43. [ARIEL, 1.]

IDUME'A [or IDUMÆ'A] (אֱדוֹם less frequently אֵדוֹם, *red*]: ἡ Ἰδουμαία: *Idumæa, Edom*), Is. xxxiv. 5, 6; Ez. xxxv. 15, xxxvi. 5; 1 Macc. iv. 15, 29, 61, v. 3, vi. 31; 2 Macc. xii. 32? Mark iii. 8. [EDOM.]

IDUME'ANS [or IDUMÆ'ANS] (οἱ Ἰδουμαῖοι: *Idumæi*), 2 Macc. x. 15, 16. [EDOMITES.]

I'GAL (יִגְאָל [*whom God redeems* or *avenges*]). 1. (Ἰαάλ; Alex. Ιγαλ: *Igal.*) Son of Joseph, of the tribe of Issachar, chosen by Moses to represent that tribe among the spies who went up from Kadesh to search the Promised Land (Num. xiii. 7).

[a] That temples in Syria, dedicated to the several divinities, did transfer their names to the places where they stood, is evident from the testimony of Lucian an Assyrian himself. His derivation of Hera from the temple of the Assyrian Hera shows that he was familiar with the circumstance (*de Dea Syr.* c. 1). Balsampsa (= Beth-shemesh), a town of Arabia, derived its name from the sun-worship (Vossius, *de Theol. Gent.* ii. c. 8), like Kir Heres (Jer. xlviii. 31 of Moab.

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2. [Γάαλ: *Igaal.*] One of the heroes of David's guard, son of Nathan of Zobah (2 Sam. xxiii. 36, Γάαλ). In the parallel list of 1 Chr. the name is given as "Joel the brother of Nathan" (xi. 38, Ἰωήλ). Kennicott, after a minute examination of the passage both in the original and in the ancient versions, decides in favor of the latter as most like the genuine text (*Dissertation*, pp. 212–214).

This name is really identical with IGEAL.

IGDALI'AH (יִגְדַּלְיָהוּ, *i. e.* Igdalia'hu [*Jehovah is great*, Fürst; *whom Jehovah makes great*, Ges.]: Γοδολίας; [FA. omits:] *Jegedelias*), a prophet or holy man — "the man of God" — named once only (Jer. xxxv. 4), as the father of Hanan, in the chamber of whose sons, the Bene-Hanan, in the house of Jehovah, Jeremiah had that remarkable interview with the Rechabites which is recorded in that chapter.

IG'EAL (יִגְאָל [see IGAL]: Ἰωήλ: *Jegaal*), a son of Shemaiah; a descendant of the royal house of Judah (1 Chr. iii. 22). According to the present state of the text of this difficult genealogy, he is fourth in descent from Zerubbabel; but, according to Lord A. Hervey's plausible alteration, he is the son of Shimei, brother to Zerubbabel, and therefore but one generation distant from the latter (*Genealogy of our Lord*, pp. 107–109). The name is identical with IGAL [2 Sam. xxiii. 36]; and, as in that case, the LXX. give it as Joel.

I'IM (עִיִּים [*ruins, stone-heaps*]). 1. (Γαΐ: *Jieabarim*). The partial or contracted form of the name IJE-ABARIM, one of the later stations of the Israelites on their journey to Palestine (Num. xxxiii. 45). In the Samaritan version Iim is rendered by Cephrani, "villages;" and in the Targum Pseudojon. by Gizzeh, גִּזְזָה, possibly pointing to sheep-shearing in the locality. But in no way do we gain any clew to the situation of the place.

2. (Βακών; Alex. Ανειμ: *Iim*), a town in the extreme south of Judah, named in the same group with Beer-sheba, Hormah, etc. (Josh. xv. 29). The Peshito Syriac version has Elin, ܐܝܠܝܢ. No trace of the name has yet been discovered in this direction. G.

IJE-AB'ARIM (עִיֵּי הָעֲבָרִים, with the definite article, Iye ha-Abarim — *the heaps*, or *ruins, of the further regions:* Jerome ad Fabiolam, *acervos lapidum transeuntium:* Ἀχαλγαί [Vat. Χαλγλει, Alex. Αχελγαϊ], and Γαΐ: *Jeabarim*, and *Jieabarim*), one of the later halting places of the children of Israel as they were approaching Palestine (Num. xxi. 11; xxxiii. 44). It was next beyond Oboth, and the station beyond it again was the Wady Zared — the torrent of the willows — probably one of the streams which run into the S. E. angle of the Dead Sea. Between Ije-abarim and Dibon-gad, which succeeds it in Num. xxxiii., the Zared and the Arnon have to be inserted from the parallel accounts of xxi. and Deut. ii., Dibon-gad and Almon-Diblathaim, which lay above the Arnon, having in their turn escaped from the two last-named narratives. Ije-abarim was on the boundary — the S. E. boundary — of the territory of Moab; not on the pasture-downs of the Mishor, the modern *Belka*, but in the *midbar*, the waste uncultivated "wilderness" on its skirts (xxi. 11). Most they were expressly forbidden to molest (Deut. ii. 9–12), but we may perhaps be allowed to conclude from the terms of ver. 13, "now rise up" (קוּמוּ), that they had remained on his frontier in Ije-Abarim for some length of time. No identification of its situation has been attempted, nor has the name been found lingering in the locality, which, however, has yet to be explored. If there is any connection between the Ije-Abarim and the Har-Abarim, the mountain-range opposite Jericho, then Abarim is doubtless a general appellation for the whole of the highland east of the Dead Sea. [ABARIM.]

The rendering given by the LXX. is remarkable. Γαΐ is no doubt a version of Iye — the Ain being converted into G: but whence does the Ἀχαλά come? Can it be the vestige of a *nachal* — "torrent" or "wady" — once attached to the name? The Targum Pseudojon. has Meshre Megiztha — the plain of shearing — which is equally puzzling.

In Num. xxxiii. 45 it is given in the shorter form of IIM. G.

I'JON (עִיּוֹן, *ruin:* Αἰάν and Αἰών; [In 1 K., Alex. Ναίν; in 2 Chr., Vat. Ιω:] *Ahion*, [*Aion*]), a town in the north of Palestine, belonging to the tribe of Naphtali. It was taken and plundered by the captains of Benhadad, along with Dan and other store-cities of Naphtali (1 K. xv. 20; 2 Chr. xvi. 4). It was plundered a second time by Tiglath-pileser (2 K. xv. 29). We find no further mention of it in history. At the base of the mountains of Naphtali, a few miles N. W. of the site of Dan, is a fertile and beautiful little plain called *Merj 'Ayûn* (مرج عيون; the Arabic word عيون, though different in meaning, is radically identical with the Heb. עִיּוֹן); and near its northern end is a large mound called *Tell Dibbin*. The writer visited it some years ago, and found there the traces of a strong and ancient city. This, in all probability, is the site of the long-lost Ijon (Robinson's *Bibl. Res.*, iii. 375). J. L. P.

IK'KESH (עִקֵּשׁ [*perverse, perverted*]: Ἴσκα, Ἐκκίς, Ἐκκῆς; Alex. Εκκας, [Εκκης; Vat. FA. in 1 Chr., Εκτης:] *Acces*), the father of IRA the Tekoite, one of the heroes of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 26; 1 Chr. xi. 28, xxvii. 9).

I'LAI [2 syl.] (עֵילַי [*most high, exalted*]: Ἠλί; [Vat. FA. Ηλει:] *Ilai*), an Ahohite, one of the heroes of David's guard (1 Chr. xi. 29). In the list of 2 Sam. xxiii. the name is given ZALMON. Kennicott (*Dissertation*, pp. 187–9) examines the variations at length, and decides in favor of Ilai as the original name.

ILLYRICUM (Ἰλλυρικόν), an extensive district lying along the eastern coast of the Adriatic from the boundary of Italy on the north to Epirus on the south, and contiguous to Mœsia and Macedonia on the east: it was divided by the river Drilo into two portions, Illyris Barbara, the northern, and Illyris Græca, the southern. Within these limits was included Dalmatia, which appears to have been used indifferently with Illyricum for a portion, and ultimately for the whole of the district. St. Paul records that he preached the Gospel "round about unto Illyricum" (Rom. xv. 19): he probably uses the term in its most extensive sense, and the part visited (if indeed he ever

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the boundary at all) would have been about Dyrrachium. W. L. B.

* In Rom. xv. 19 Paul speaks of his having preached the gospel "from Jerusalem and round about unto Illyricum." We have no account in the Acts of the Apostles of any journey to that province. It is a question of interest whether we can insert this journey in the history so as to bring the Acts and the Epistles into accordance with each other on this point. Illyricum lay on the Adriatic, west of Macedonia. Paul now was in Macedonia only three times during his ministry. He could not have gone to Illyricum when he was there first; for the course of his journey at that time is minutely traced in the Acts from his landing at Neapolis to his leaving Corinth on his return by sea to Palestine. In going south on that occasion he moved along the eastern side of the peninsula, and was kept at a distance from Illyricum (Acts xvi. 12 ff.). Nor, again, could it have been when he passed through Macedonia on his return thither from Greece at the time of his last journey to Jerusalem (Acts xx. 1 ff.); for the excursion to Illyricum must have preceded this return. He had then written the Epistle to the Romans, in which he speaks of having already been to Illyricum; and that epistle he wrote at Corinth just before his departure thence for Macedonia (see Rom. xvi. i. 23, and comp. 1 Cor. i. 14). His only other visit to Macedonia was the intermediate one when he came to that region from Troas on the way to southern Greece (Acts xx. 1, 2). No mention is made of Illyricum at that time, but in describing the circuit of the Apostle's labors here, Luke employs the comprehensive expression, "those parts" (τὰ μέρη ἐκεῖνα). We may assume, therefore, that one of the "parts," or regions, was Illyricum, which was adjacent to Macedonia; and so much the more, because the chronology of this portion of Paul's life allows us to assign the ample time of three or four months to just these labors in Northern Greece before he proceeded to Achaia or Corinth. Thus the epistle and the history, so incomplete and obscure apart from each other, form a perfect whole when brought together, and that by a combination of circumstances, of which the two writers could have had no thought when they penned their different accounts. Lardner pronounces this geographical and historical coincidence sufficiently important to authenticate the entire narrative of Paul's travels as related in the Acts of the Apostles. H.

IMAGE. [IDOL.]

* IMAGERY, CHAMBERS OF, or chambers of images (Ezek. viii. 12). The Hebrew is אִישׁ בְּחַדְרֵי מַשְׂכִּיתוֹ, and of this a literal translation would be: "Each one in the chamber or apartment of his imagery." Many of the commentators transfer the suffix pronoun to the first noun, and render: "Each one in *his* apartment of images" (see Rosenmüller, Maurer, and others). But the pronoun may perhaps be added to the last noun to show that different persons had different objects of worship. The whole passage (vv. 7–12 inclusive) represents a scene of idolatrous worship which was disclosed to the prophet as through a secret door of entrance (vv. 7, 8). On the walls of the apartment were portrayed "every form of creeping thing and abominable beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel" (ver. 10); and seventy men of the elders of the house of Israel (according to the number of the Sanhedrim), with their president (Jaazaniah) stood before these pictures, each with his censer in his hand, and offered incense (ver. 11). That this idol worship was introduced from Egypt is plain from the kind of objects portrayed, as indicated in ver. 10; whilst in subsequent verses idolatrous practices which had crept in from Phœnicia (ver. 14) and Persia (ver. 16), are brought to view. A similar chamber of imagery is referred to in Ez. xxiii. 14: "Where she saw men portrayed upon the wall, the images of the Chaldæans portrayed with vermilion," etc. Representations found among the ruins of Nineveh, as well as in Egypt, furnish good illustrations of the practices here referred to. R. D. C. R.

IM'LA (יִמְלָא [*filled, full*; or *fulfiller*]: Ἰεμβλά; [Vat. Ιεμβλααs, Ιεμβλαα;] Alex. Ιεμλα: *Jemla*), father or progenitor of Micaiah, the prophet of Jehovah, who was consulted by Ahab and Jehoshaphat before their fatal expedition to Ramoth-gilead (2 Chr. xviii. 7, 8). The form —

IM'LAH (יִמְלָה. Ἰεμβλαά; [Vat. Ιεμμας, Ιεμμα;] Alex. Ιεμαα: *Jemla*) is employed in the parallel narrative (1 K. xxii. 8, 9).

IMMAN'UEL (עִמָּנוּאֵל [*with us God*], or in two words in many MSS. and editions עִמָּנוּ אֵל: Ἐμμανουήλ: *Emmanuel*), the symbolical name given by the prophet Isaiah to the child who was announced to Ahaz and the people of Judah, as the sign which God would give of their deliverance from their enemies (Is. vii. 14). It is applied by the Apostle Matthew to the Messiah, born of the Virgin (Matt. i. 23). By the LXX. in one passage (Is. vii. 14), and in both passages by the Vulg., Syr., and Targ., it is rendered as a proper name; but in Is. viii. 8 the LXX. translate it literally μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός. The verses in question have been the battle-field of critics for centuries, and in their discussions there has been no lack of the *odium theologicum*. As early as the times of Justin Martyr the Christian interpretation was attacked by the Jews, and the position which they occupied has of late years been assumed by many continental theologians. Before proceeding to a discussion, or rather to a classification of the numerous theories of which this subject has been the fruitful source, the circumstances under which the prophecy was delivered claim especial consideration.

In the early part of the reign of Ahaz the kingdom of Judah was threatened with annihilation by the combined armies of Syria and Israel. A hundred and twenty thousand of the choice warriors of Judah, all "sons of might," had fallen in one day's battle. The Edomites and Philistines had thrown off the yoke (2 Chr. xxviii.). Jerusalem was menaced with a siege; the hearts of the king and of the people "shook, as the trees of a forest shake before the wind" (Is. vii. 2). The king had gone to "the conduit of the upper pool," probably to take measures for preventing the supply of water from being cut off or falling into the enemy's hand, when the prophet met him with the message of consolation. Not only were the designs of the hostile armies to fail, but within sixty-five years the kingdom of Israel would be overthrown. In confirmation of his words, the prophet bids Ahaz ask a sign of Jehovah, which the king, with pretended

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humility, refused to do. After administering a severe rebuke to Ahaz for his obstinacy, Isaiah announces the sign which Jehovah himself would give unasked: "behold! the virgin (הָעַלְמָה, *hâ'almâh*) [a] is with child and beareth a son, and she shall call his name *Immanuel*."

The interpreters of this passage are naturally divided into three classes, each of which admits of subdivisions, as the differences in detail are numerous The first class consists of those who refer the fulfillment of the prophecy to an historical event, which followed immediately upon its delivery. The majority of Christian writers, till within the last fifty years, form a second class, and apply the prophecy exclusively to the Messiah, while a third class, almost equally numerous, agree in considering both these explanations true, and hold that the prophecy had an immediate and literal fulfillment, but was completely accomplished in the miraculous conception and birth of Christ. Among the first are numbered the Jewish writers of all ages, without exception. Jerome refutes, on chronological grounds, a theory which was current in his day amongst the Jews, that the prophecy had reference to Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, who from a comparison of 2 K. xvi. 2 with xviii. 2, must have been nine years old at the time it was delivered. The force of his argument is somewhat weakened by the evident obscurity of the numbers in the passages in question, from which we must infer that Ahaz was eleven years old at the time of Hezekiah's birth. By the Jews in the middle ages this explanation was abandoned as untenable, and in consequence some, as Jarchi and Aben Ezra, refer the prophecy to a son of Isaiah himself, and others to a son of Ahaz by another wife, as Kimchi and Abarbanel. In this case, the *'almâh* is explained as the wife or betrothed wife of the prophet, or as a later wife of Ahaz. Kelle (Gesen. *Comm. über den Jesaia*) degrades her to the third rank of ladies in the harem (comp. Cant. vi. 8). Hitzig (*der Proph. Jesaia*) rejects Gesenius' application of *'almâh* to a second wife of the prophet, and interprets it of the prophetess mentioned in viii. 3. Hendewerk (*des Proph. Jesaia Weissag.*) follows Gesenius. In either case, the prophet is made to fulfill his own prophecy. Isenbiehl, a pupil of Michaelis, defended the historical sense with considerable learning, and suffered unworthy persecution for expressing his opinions. The *'almâh* in his view was some Hebrew girl who was present at the colloquy between Isaiah and Ahaz, and to whom the prophet pointed as he spoke. This opinion was held by Bauer, Cube, and Rosenmüller (1st ed.). Michaelis, Eichhorn, Paulus, and Ammon, give her a merely ideal existence; while Umbreit allows her to be among the bystanders, but explains the pregnancy and birth as imaginary only. Interpreters of the second class, who refer the prophecy solely to the Messiah, of course understand by the *'almâh* the Virgin Mary. Among these, Vitringa (*Obs. Sacr.* v. c. 1) vigorously opposes those, who, like Grotius, Pellicanus, and Tirinus, conceded to the Jews that the reference to Christ Jesus was not direct and immediate, but by way of typical allusion. For, he maintains, a young married woman of the time of Ahaz and Isaiah could not be a type of the Virgin, nor could her issue by her husband be a figure of the child to be born of the Virgin by the operation of the Holy Ghost. Against this hypothesis of a solely Messianic reference, it is objected that the birth of the Messiah could not be a sign of deliverance to the people of Judah in the time of Ahaz. In reply to this, Theodoret advances the opinion that the birth of the Messiah involved the conservation of the family of Jesse, and therefore by implication of the Jewish state. Cocceius argues on the same side, that the sign of the Messiah's birth would intimate that in the interval the kingdom and state of the Jews could not be alienated from God, and besides it confirms ver. 8, indicating that before the birth of Christ Judæa should not be subject to Syria, as it was when Archelaus was removed and it was reduced to the form of a Roman province. Of all these explanations Vitringa disapproves, and states his own conclusion, which is also that of Calvin and Piscator, to be the following: In vv. 14–16, the prophet gives a sign to the pious in Israel of their deliverance from the impending danger, and in ver. 17, &c., announces the evils which the Assyrians, not the Syrians, should inflict upon Ahaz and such of his people as resembled him. As surely as Messiah would be born of the Virgin, so surely would God deliver the Jews from the threatened evil. The principle of interpretation here made use of is founded by Calvin on the custom of the prophets, who confirmed special promises by the assurance that God would send a redeemer. But this explanation involves another difficulty, besides that which arises from the distance of the event predicted. Before the child shall arrive at years of discretion the prophet announces the desolation of the land whose kings threatened Ahaz. By this Vitringa understands that no more time would elapse before the former event was accomplished than would intervene between the birth and youth of Immanuel, an argument too far-fetched to have much weight. Hengstenberg (*Christology*, ii. 44–66, Eng. trans.) supports to the full the Messianic interpretation, and closely connects vii. 14 with ix. 6. He admits frankly that the older explanation of vv. 15, 16, has exposed itself to the charge of being arbitrary, and confidently propounds his own method of removing the stumbling-block. "In ver. 14 the prophet had seen the birth of the Messiah as present. Holding fast this idea and expanding it, the prophet makes him who has been born accompany the people through all the stages of its existence. We have here an *ideal anticipation of the real incarnation*. What the prophet means, and intends to say here is, *that, in the space of about a twelvemonth, the overthrow of the hostile kingdoms would already have taken place*. As the representative of the contemporaries, he brings forward the wonderful child who, as it were, formed the soul of the popular life. In the subsequent prophecy, the same wonderful child, grown up into a warlike hero, brings the deliverance from Asshur, and the world's power represented by it." The

[a] *'Almâh* denotes a girl of *marriageable* age. but not *married*, and therefore a *virgin* by implication. It is never even used, as בְּתוּלָה, *bethûlâh*, which more directly expresses virginity, of a bride or betrothed wife (Joel i 8). *'Almâh* and *bethûlâh* are both applied to Rebekah (Gen. xxiv. 16, 43), as apparently convertible terms; and in addition to the evidence from the cognate languages, Arabic and Syriac, we have the testimony of Jerome (on Is. vii. 14) that in Punic *alma* denoted a virgin.

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learned professor thus admits the double sense in the case of Asshur, but denies its application to Immanuel. It would be hard to say whether text or commentary be the more obscure.

In view of the difficulties which attend these explanations of the prophecy, the third class of interpreters above alluded to have recourse to a theory which combines the two preceding, namely, the hypothesis of the double sense. They suppose that the immediate reference of the prophet was to some contemporary occurrence, but that his words received their true and full accomplishment in the birth of the Messiah. Jerome (*Comm. in Esaiam*, vii. 14) mentions an interpretation of some Judaizers that Immanuel was the son of Isaiah, born of the prophetess, as a type of the Saviour, and that his name indicates the calling of the nations after the Word became flesh and dwelt among us. Something of the same kind is proposed by Dathe; in his opinion "the miracle, while it immediately respected the times of the prophet, was a type of the birth of Christ of the Virgin Mary." Dr. Pye Smith conjectured that it had an immediate reference to Hezekiah, "the virgin" being the queen of Ahaz; but, like some other prophetic testimonies, had another and a designed reference to some remoter circumstance, which when it occurred would be the *real* fulfillment, answering every feature and filling up the entire extent of the original delineation (*Script. Test. to the Messiah*, i. 357, 3d ed.). A serious objection to the application of the prophecy to Hezekiah has already been mentioned. Kennicott separates ver. 16 from the three preceding, applying the latter to Christ, the former to the son of Isaiah (*Sermon on* Is. vii. 13–16).

Such in brief are some of the principal opinions which have been held on this important question. From the manner in which the quotation occurs in Matt. i. 23, there can be no doubt that the Evangelist did not use it by way of accommodation, but as having in view its actual accomplishment. Whatever may have been his opinion as to any contemporary or immediate reference it might contain, this was completely obscured by the full conviction that burst upon him when he realized its completion in the Messiah. What may have been the light in which the promise was regarded by the prophet's contemporaries we are not in a position to judge; the hypothesis of the double sense satisfies most of the requirements of the problem, and as it does less violence to the text than the others which have been proposed, and is at the same time supported by the analogy of the Apostle's quotations from the O. T. (Matt. ii. 15, 18, 23; iv. 15), we accept it as approximating most nearly to the true solution. W. A. W.

IM'MER (אִמֵּר [perh. *talkative*, Dietr. Ges.; *prominent, high*, Fürst]: Ἐμμήρ; [in 1 Chr. ix. 12, Vat. Εμηρ; Neh. xi. 13, Vat. Alex. FA. omit:] *Emmer*), apparently the founder of an important family of priests, although the name does not occur in any genealogy which allows us to discover his descent from Aaron (1 Chr. ix. 12; Neh. xi. 13). This family had charge of, and gave its name to, the sixteenth course of the service (1 Chr. xxiv. 14). From them came Pashur, chief governor of the Temple in Jeremiah's time, and his persecutor (Jer. xx. 1). They returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Ezr. ii. 37; Neh. vii. 40). Zadok ben-Immer repaired his own house (Neh. iii. 29), and two other priests of the family put away their foreign wives (Ezr. x. 20). But it is remarkable that the name is omitted from the list of those who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah, and also of those who came up with Zerubbabel and Jeshua, and who are stated to have had descendants surviving in the next generation — the days of Joiakim (see Neh. xii. 1, 10, 12–21). [EMMER.] Different from the foregoing must be —

2. (Ἐμμήρ, Ἰεμήρ; [in Ezr., Vat. Εμηρ; in Neh., Alex. Ιεμμηρ:] *Emer*, [*Emmer*]), apparently the name of a place in Babylonia from which certain persons returned to Jerusalem with the first caravan, who could not satisfactorily prove their genealogy (Ezr. ii. 59; Neh. vii. 61). In 1 Esdras the name is given as Ἀαλάρ.

IM'NA (יִמְנָע [*holding back*]: Ἰμανά: *Jemna*), a descendant of Asher, son of Helem, and one of the "chief princes" of the tribe (1 Chr. vii 35; comp. 40).

IM'NAH (יִמְנָה [*luck, success*]: Ἰεμνά; [Vat. Ιννα:] *Jemna*). 1. The first-born of Asher (1 Chr. vii. 30). In the Pentateuch the name (identical with the present) is given in the A. V as JIMNAH.

2. [Vat. Αμαν.] Kore ben-Imnah, the Levite, assisted in the reforms of Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxxi. 14).

* **IMPLEAD** (A. V. Acts xix. 38) is a technical term (like Luke's ἐγκαλεῖσθαι), signifying "to accuse," or "prosecute" by a due course of law. The proper word occurs in the proper place. It is the city-councilor who speaks in that passage (see *in loc.*), pointing out to the Ephesians the lawful remedy for their grievances as opposed to one unlawful. H.

* **IMPORTABLE** occurs in the Prayer of Manasses: = *importabilis* in the Vulg. *i. e.* insupportable, unendurable, said of the divine threatening. The word is now obsolete in that sense. H.

* **IMPOTENT** (from *impotens*) signifies "strengthless," "sick," "infirm." It is the rendering of ἀσθενῶν in John v. 3, and in Acts iv. 9; but of ἀδύνατος in Acts xiv. 8. H.

* **IMPRISONMENT.** [PUNISHMENTS.]

IM'RAH (יִמְרָה [*obstinacy*, Ges.]: Ἰμρά; [Vat. corrupt.;] Alex. Ιεμρα: *Jamra*), a descendant of Asher, of the family of ZOPHAH (1 Chr. vii. 36), and named as one of the chiefs of the tribe.

IM'RI (אִמְרִי [*eloquent*]). 1. (Ἀμβραίμ, [Vat.] Alex. omit: *Omrai*, but it seems to have changed places with the preceding name.) A man of Judah of the great family of Pharez (1 Chr. ix. 4).

2. (Ἀμαρί; [Vat. FA. Αμαρει; Alex. Μιαρι:] *Amri*), father or progenitor of ZACCUR, who assisted Nehemiah in the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 2).

* **INCANTATIONS.** [MAGIC.]

INCENSE, קְטֹרֶת (*ketōrâh*), Deut. xxxiii. 10; קְטֻרֶת (*kᵉtōreth*), Ex. xxv. 6, xxx. 1, &c.; לְבוֹנָה (*lebônâh*), Is. xliii. 23, lx. 6, &c. The incense employed in the service of the tabernacle was distinguished as קְטֹרֶת הַסַּמִּים (*ketōreth hassammîm*), Ex. xxv. 6, from being compounded

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of the perfumes stacte, onycha, galbanum, and pure frankincense. All incense which was not made of these ingredients was called קְטֹרֶת זָרָה (*ketôrâh zârâh*), Ex. xxx. 9, and was forbidden to be offered. According to Rashi on Ex. xxx. 34, the above-mentioned perfumes were mixed in equal proportions, seventy manehs being taken of each. They were compounded by the skill of the apothecary, to whose use, according to rabbinical tradition, was devoted a portion of the temple, called, from the name of the family whose especial duty it was to prepare the incense, "the house of Abtines." So in the large temples of India "is retained a man whose chief business it is to distil sweet waters from flowers, and to extract oil from wood, flowers, and other substances" (Roberts, *Orient. Illus.* p. 82) The priest or Levite to whose care the incense was intrusted, was one of the fifteen ממונים (*memûnnîm*), or prefects of the temple. Constant watch was kept in the house of Abtines that the incense might always be in readiness (Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* s. v. אבטינס).

In addition to the four ingredients already mentioned Jarchi enumerates seven others, thus making eleven, which the Jewish doctors affirm were communicated to Moses on Mount Sinai. Josephus (*B. J. v.* 5, § 5) mentions thirteen. The proportions of the additional spices are given by Maimonides (*Celê hammikdâsh*, ii. 2, § 3) as follows. Of myrrh, cassia, spikenard, and saffron, sixteen manehs each. Of costus twelve manehs, cinnamon nine manehs, sweet bark three manehs. The weight of the whole confection was 368 manehs. To these was added the fourth part of a cab of salt of Sodom, with amber of Jordan, and an herb called "the smoke-raiser" (מעלה עשן, *maâleh âshân*), known only to the cunning in such matters, to whom the secret descended by tradition. In the ordinary daily service one maneh was used, half in the morning and half in the evening. Allowing then one maneh of incense for each day of the solar year, the three manehs which remained were again pounded, and used by the high-priest on the day of atonement (Lev. xvi. 12). A store of it was constantly kept in the temple (Jos. *B. J.* vi. 8, § 3).

The incense possessed the threefold characteristic of being salted (not *tempered* as in A. V.), pure and holy. Salt was the symbol of incorruptness, and nothing, says Maimonides, was offered without it, except the wine of the drink-offerings, the blood, and the wood (cf. Lev. ii. 13). The expression בַּד בְּבַד (*bad bebad*), Ex. xxx. 34, is interpreted by the Chaldee "weight by weight," that is, an equal weight of each (cf. Jarchi, *in loc.*); and this rendering is adopted by our version. Others however, and among them Aben Ezra and Maimonides, consider it as signifying that each of the spices was separately prepared, and that all were afterwards mixed. The incense thus compounded was specially set apart for the service of the sanctuary: its desecration was punished with death (Ex. xxx. 37, 38); as in some part of India, according to Michaelis (*Mosaisch. Recht*, art. 249), it was considered high treason for any person to make use of the best sort of *Calambak*, which was for the service of the king alone.

Aaron, as high-priest, was originally appointed to offer incense, but in the daily service of the second temple the office devolved upon the inferior priests, from among whom one was chosen by lot (Mishna, *Yoma*, ii. 4; Luke i. 9), each morning and evening (Abarbanel *on Lev.* x. 1). A peculiar blessing was supposed to be attached to this service, and in order that all might share in it, the lot was cast among those who were "new to the incense," if any remained (Mishna, *Yoma*, l. c.; Bartenora on *Tamid*, v. 2). Uzziah was punished for his presumption in attempting to infringe the prerogatives of the descendants of Aaron, who were consecrated to burn incense (2 Chr. xxvi. 16–21: Jos. *Ant.* ix. 10, 4). The officiating priest appointed another, whose office it was to take the fire from the brazen altar. According to Maimonides (*Tmid. Umus.* ii. 8, iii. 5) this fire was taken from the second pile, which was over against the S. E. corner of the altar of burnt-offering, and was of fig-tree wood. A silver shovel (מַחְתָּה, *machtâh*) was first filled with the live coals, and afterwards emptied into a golden one, smaller than the former, so that some of the coals were spilled (Mishna, *Tamid*, v. 5, *Yoma*, iv. 4; cf. Rev. viii. 5). Another priest cleared the golden altar from the cinders which had been left at the previous offering of incense (Mishna, *Tamid*, iii. 6, 9, vi. 1).

The times of offering incense were specified in the instructions first given to Moses (Ex. xxx. 7, 8). The morning incense was offered when the lamps were trimmed in the holy place, and before the sacrifice, when the watchman set for the purpose announced the break of day (Mishna, *Yoma*, iii. 1, 5). When the lamps were lighted "between the evenings," after the evening sacrifice and before the drink-offerings were offered, incense was again burnt on the golden altar, which "belonged to the oracle" (1 K. vi. 22), and stood before the veil which separated the holy place from the Holy of Holies, the throne of God (Rev. viii. 4; Philo, *de Anim. idon.* § 3).

When the priest entered the holy place with the incense, all the people were removed from the temple, and from between the porch and the altar (Maimon. *Tmid. Umus.* iii. 3; cf. Luke i. 10). The incense was then brought from the house of Abtines in a large vessel of gold called כַּף (*caph*), in which was a phial (בזיך, *bazic*, properly "*a salver*") containing the incense (Mishna, *Tamid*, v. 4). The assistant priests who attended to the lamps, the clearing of the golden altar from the cinders, and the fetching fire from the altar of burnt-offering, performed their offices singly, bowed towards the ark of the covenant, and left the holy place before the priest, whose lot it was to offer incense, entered. Profound silence was observed among the congregation who were praying without (cf. Rev. viii. 1), and at a signal from the prefect the priest cast the incense on the fire (Mishna, *Tamid*, vi. 3), and bowing reverently towards the Holy of Holies retired slowly backwards, not prolonging his prayer that he might not alarm the congregation, or cause them to fear that he had been struck dead for offering unworthily (Lev. xvi. 13; Luke i. 21: Mishna, *Yoma*, v. 1). When he came out he pronounced the blessing in Num. vi. 24–26, the "magrephah" sounded, and the Levites burst forth into song, accompanied by the full swell of the temple music, the sound of which, say the Rabbins, could be heard as far as Jericho (Mishna, *Tamid*, iii. 8). It is possible that this may be

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alluded to in Rev. viii. 5. The priest then emptied the censer in a clean place, and hung it on one of the horns of the altar of burnt-offering.

On the day of atonement the service was different. The high-priest, after sacrificing the bullock as a sin-offering for himself and his family, took incense in his left hand and a golden shovel filled with live coals from the west side of the brazen altar (Jarchi *on Lev.* xvi. 12) in his right, and went into the Holy of Holies. He then placed the shovel upon the ark between the two bars. In the second temple, where there was no ark, a stone was substituted. Then sprinkling the incense upon the coals, he stayed till the house was filled with smoke, and walking slowly backwards came without the veil, where he prayed for a short time (Maimonides, *Yom hakkippur*, quoted by Ainsworth *on Lev.* xvi; Outram *de Sacrificiis*, i. 8, § 11).

The offering of incense has formed a part of the religious ceremonies of most ancient nations. The Egyptians burnt resin in honor of the sun at its rising, myrrh when in its meridian, and a mixture called Kuphi at its setting (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* v. 315). Plutarch (*de Is. et Os.* c. 52, 80) describes Kuphi as a mixture of sixteen ingredients. "In the temple of Siva incense is offered to the Lingam six times in twenty-four hours" (Roberts, *Orient. Illus.* p. 468). It was an element in the idolatrous worship of the Israelites (Jer. xi. 12, 17, xlviii. 35; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 25).

With regard to the symbolical meaning of incense, opinions have been many and widely differing. While Maimonides regarded it merely as a perfume designed to counteract the effluvia arising from the beasts which were slaughtered for the daily sacrifice, other interpreters have allowed their imaginations to run riot, and vied with the wildest speculations of the Midrashim. Philo (*Quis rer. div. har. sit*, § 41, p. 501) conceives the stacte and onycha to be symbolical of water and earth; galbanum and frankincense of air and fire. Josephus, following the traditions of his time, believed that the ingredients of the incense were chosen from the products of the sea, the inhabited and the uninhabited parts of the earth, to indicate that all things are of God and for God (*B. J.* v. 5, § 5). As the temple or tabernacle was the palace of Jehovah, the theocratic king of Israel, and the ark of the covenant his throne, so the incense, in the opinion of some, corresponded to the perfumes in which the luxurious monarchs of the East delighted. It may mean all this, but it must mean much more. Grotius, on Ex. xxx. 1, says the mystical signification is "sursum habenda corda." Cornelius a Lapide, on Ex. xxx. 34, considers it as an apt emblem of propitiation, and finds a symbolical meaning in the several ingredients. Fairbairn (*Typology of Scripture*, ii. 320), with many others, looks upon prayer as the reality of which incense is the symbol, founding his conclusion upon Ps. cxli. 2; Rev. v. 8, viii. 3, 4. Bähr (*Symb. d. Mos. Cult.* vol. i., vi. § 4) opposes this view of the subject, on the ground that the chief thing in offering incense, is not the producing of the smoke, which presses like prayer towards heaven, but the spreading of the fragrance. His own exposition may be summed up as follows. Prayer, among all oriental nations, signifies calling upon the name of God. The oldest prayers consisted in the mere enumeration of the several titles of God. The Scripture places incense in close relationship to prayer, so that offering incense is synonymous with worship. Hence incense itself is a symbol of the name of God. The ingredients of the incense correspond severally to the perfections of God, though it is impossible to decide to which of the four names of God each belongs. Perhaps stacte corresponds to יְהוָה (*Jehovah*), onycha to אֱלֹהִים (*Elôhîm*), galbanum to חַי (*chai*), and frankincense to קָדוֹשׁ (*kâdôsh*). Such is Bähr's exposition of the symbolism of incense, rather ingenious than logical. Looking upon incense in connection with the other ceremonial observances of the Mosaic ritual, it would rather seem to be symbolical, not of prayer itself, but of that which makes prayer acceptable, the intercession of Christ. In Rev. viii. 3, 4, the incense is spoken of as something distinct from, though offered with, the prayers of all the saints (cf. Luke i. 10); and in Rev. v. 8 it is the golden vials, and not the odors or incense, which are said to be the prayers of saints. Ps. cxli. 2, at first sight, appears to militate against this conclusion; but if it be argued from this passage that incense is an emblem of prayer, it must also be allowed that the evening sacrifice has the same symbolical meaning.

W. A. W.

INDIA (הֹדּוּ, i. e. *Hôdû*: ἡ Ἰνδική: *India*) The name of India does not occur in the Bible before the book of Esther, where it is noticed as the limit of the territories of Ahasuerus in the east, as Ethiopia was in the west (i. 1; viii. 9); the names are similarly connected by Herodotus (vii. 9). The Hebrew form "*Hôdû*" is an abbreviation of *Honadu*, which is identical with the indigenous names of the river Indus, "Hindu," or "Sindhu," and again with the ancient name of the country as it appears in the Vendidad, "Hapta Hendu." The native form "Sindus" is noticed by Pliny (vi. 23) The India of the book of Esther is not the peninsula of Hindostan, but the country surrounding the Indus — the *Punjâb*, and perhaps *Scinde* — the India which Herodotus describes (iii. 98) as forming part of the Persian empire under Darius, and the India which at a later period was conquered by Alexander the Great. The name occurs in the inscriptions of Persepolis and Nakhsh-i-Rustam, but not in those of Behistûn (Rawlinson, *Herod.* ii. 485). In 1 Macc. viii. 8, India is reckoned among the countries which Eumenes, king of Pergamus, received out of the former possessions of Antiochus the Great. It is clear that India proper cannot be understood, inasmuch as this never belonged either to Antiochus or Eumenes. At the same time none of the explanations offered by commentators are satisfactory: the Eneti of Paphlagonia have been suggested, but these people had disappeared long before (Strab. xii. 534): the India of Xenophon (*Cyrop.* i. 5, § 3, iii. 2, § 25), which may have been above the Carian stream named Indus (Plin. v. 29, probably the Calbis), is more likely; but the emendation "Mysia and Ionia" for *Media and India*, offers the best solution of the difficulty. [IONIA.] A more authentic notice of the country occurs in 1 Macc. vi. 37, where Indians are noticed as the drivers of the war-elephants introduced into the army of the Syrian king. (See also 1 Esdr. iii. 2; Esth. xiii. 1; xvi. 1.)

But though the *name* of India occurs so seldom, the people and productions of that country must have been tolerably well known to the Jews. There is undoubted evidence that an active trade was carried on between India and Western Asia: the

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Tyrians established their depôts on the shores of the Persian Gulf, and procured "horns of ivory and ebony," "broidered work and rich apparel" (Ez. xxvii. 15, 24), by a route which crossed the Arabian desert by land, and then followed the coasts of the Indian ocean by sea. The trade opened by Solomon with Ophir through the Red Sea chiefly consisted of Indian articles, and some of the names even of the articles, *algummim*, "sandal wood," *kophim*, "apes," *thukkiim*, "peacocks," are of Indian origin (Humboldt, *Kosmos*, ii. 133); to which we may add the Hebrew name of the "topaz," *pitdah*, derived from the Sanscrit *pita*. There is a strong probability that productions of yet greater utility were furnished by India through Syria to the shores of Europe, and that the Greeks derived both the term κασσίτερος (comp. the Sanscrit *kastira*), and the article it represents, "tin," from the coasts of India. The connection thus established with India led to the opinion that the Indians were included under the ethnological title of Cush (Gen. x. 6), and hence the Syrian, Chaldæan, and Arabic versions frequently render that term by India or Indians, as in 2 Chr. xxi. 16; Is. xi. 11, xviii. 1; Jer. xiii. 23; Zeph. iii. 10. For the connection which some have sought to establish between India and Paradise, see EDEN. [See on this word Roediger's *Addit. ad Ges. Thes.* p. 83. — H.]

W. L. B.

* **INFIDEL**, known to our Bible phraseology only in 2 Cor. vi. 15, and 1 Tim. v. 8. Instead of this positive term the privative "unbeliever" (ἄπιστος) is more correct, a distinction elsewhere observed in the rendering. The A. V. misses also the alliteration in the former of the above passages.

H.

INHERITANCE. [HEIR.]

INK, INKHORN. [WRITING.]

INN (מָלוֹן, *mâlôn*: κατάλυμα, πανδοκεῖον). The Hebrew word thus rendered literally signifies 'a lodging-place for the night."[a] Inns, in our sense of the term, were, as they still are, unknown in the East, where hospitality is religiously practiced. The khans, or caravanserais, are the representatives of European inns, and these were established but gradually. It is doubtful whether there is any allusion to them in the Old Testament. The halting-place of a caravan was selected originally on account of its proximity to water or pasture, by which the travellers pitched their tents and passed the night. Such was undoubtedly the "inn" at which occurred the incident in the life of Moses, narrated in Ex. iv. 24. It was probably one of the halting-places of the Ishmaelitish merchants who traded to Egypt with their camel-loads of spices. Moses was on his journey from the land of Midian, and the merchants in Gen. xxxvii. are called indiscriminately Ishmaelites and Midianites. At one of these stations, too, the first which they reached after leaving the city, and no doubt within a short distance from it, Joseph's brethren discovered that their money had been replaced in their wallets (Gen. xlii. 27).

Increased commercial intercourse, and in later times religious enthusiasm for pilgrimages[i] gave rise to the establishment of more permanent accommodation for travellers. On the more frequented routes, remote from towns (Jer. ix. 2), caravanserais were in course of time erected, often at the expense of the wealthy. The following description of one of those on the road from Baghdad to Babylon will suffice for all: "It is a large and substantial square building, in the distance resembling a fortress, being surrounded with a lofty wall, and flanked by round towers to defend the inmates in case of attack. Passing through a strong gateway, the guest enters a large court, the sides of which are divided into numerous arched compartments, open in front, for the accommodation of separate parties and for the reception of goods. In the centre is a spacious raised platform, used for sleeping upon at night, or for the devotions of the faithful during the day. Between the outer wall and the compartments are wide vaulted arcades, extending round the entire building, where the beasts of burden are placed. Upon the roof of the arcades is an excellent terrace, and over the gateway an elevated tower containing two rooms—one of which is open at the sides, permitting the occupants to enjoy every breath of air that passes across the heated plain. The terrace is tolerably clean; but the court and stabling below are ankle-deep in chopped straw and filth" (Loftus, *Chaldæa*, p. 13). The great khans established by the Persian kings and great men, at intervals of about six miles on the roads from Baghdad to the sacred places, are provided with stables for the horses of the pilgrims. "Within these stables, on both sides, are other cells for travellers" (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 478, *note*). The "stall" or "manger," mentioned in Luke ii. 7, was probably in a stable of this kind. Such khans are sometimes situated near running streams, or have a supply of water of some kind, but the traveller must carry all his provisions with him (Ouseley, *Trav. in Persia*, i. 261, *note*). At Damascus the khans are, many of them, substantial buildings; the small rooms which surround the court, as well as those above them which are entered from a gallery, are used by the merchants of the city for depositing their goods (Porter's *Damascus*, i. 33). The *wekâleh* of modern Egypt are of a similar description (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* ii. 10).

"The house of paths" (Prov. viii. 2, ἐν οἴκῳ δίδδων, *Vers. Ven.*), where Wisdom took her stand, is understood by some to refer appropriately to a khan built where many ways met and frequented by many travellers. A similar meaning has been attached to גֵּרוּת כִּמְהָם, *gêrûth Chimhâm*, "the hostel of Chimham" (Jer. xli. 17), beside Bethlehem, built by the liberality of the son of Barzillai for the benefit of those who were going down to Egypt (Stanley, *S. & P.*, p. 163; App. § 90). The Targum says, "which David gave to Chimham, son of Barzillai the Gileadite" (comp. 2 Sam. xix. 37, 38). With regard to this passage, the ancient versions are strangely at variance. The LXX. had evidently another reading with ב and ג transposed, which they left untranslated γαβηραχαμδα, Alex.

[a] In the language of the A. V. "to lodge" has the force of remaining for the night. The word לִין is rendered in 1 K. xix. 9 "lodge;" in Gen. xix. 2 "tarry all night;" comp. also Jer. xiv. 8, &c.

[i] The erection of hospitals in the middle ages was due to the same cause. Paula, the friend of Jerome, built several on the road to Bethlehem; and the Scotch and Irish residents in France erected hospitals for the use of pilgrims of their own nation, on their way to Rome (Beckmann, *Hist. of Inv.* ii. 457). Hence *hospital*, *hostel*, and finally *hotel*.

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γηβηρωθχαμδαμ. The Vulgate, if intended to be literal, must have read גָּרִים בָּכֶם, *peregrinantes in Chanaaæ*. The Arabic, following the Alexandrian MS., read it ἐν γῇ Βηρωθχαμδαμ, "in the land of Berothchamaam." The Syriac has בְּדֵי, *bédré*, "in the threshing-floors," as if בְּגָרְנוֹת, *begornóth*. Josephus had a reading different from all, בְּגֵדֵרוֹת, *begúdróth*, "in the folds of" Chimham; for he says the fugitives went "to a certain place called Mandra" (Μάνδρα λεγόμενον, *Ant.* x. 9. § 5), and in this he was followed by Aquila and the Hexaplar Syriac.

The πανδοκεῖον (Luke x. 34) probably differed from the κατάλυμα (Luke ii. 7) in having a "host" or "innkeeper" (πανδοκεύς, Luke x. 35), who supplied some few of the necessary provisions, and attended to the wants of travellers left to his charge. The word has been adopted in the later Hebrew, and appears in the Mishna (*Yebamoth*, xvi. 7) under the form פוּנדָק, *púndak* and the host is פוּנדָקי, *púndákí*. The Jews were forbidden to put up their beasts at establishments of this kind kept by idolaters (*Aboda Zara*, ii. 1). It appears that houses of entertainment were sometimes, as in Egypt (Her. ii. 35), kept by women, whose character was such that their evidence was regarded with suspicion. In the Mishna (*Yebamoth*, xvi. 7) a tale is told of a company of Levites who were travelling to Zoar, the City of Palms, when one of



Eastern inn or caravanserai.

them fell ill on the road and was left by his comrades at an inn, under the charge of the hostess (פוּנדקִית, *púndekith* = πανδοκευτρία). On their return to inquire for their friend, the hostess told them he was dead and buried, but they refused to believe her till she produced his staff, wallet, and roll of the law. In Josh. ii. 1, זוֹנָה, *zónâh*, the term applied to Rahab, is rendered in the Targum of Jonathan פוּנדקִיתָא, *púndekithá*, "a woman who keeps an inn." So in Judg. xi. 1, of the mother of Jephthah; of Delilah (Judg. xvi. 1) and the two women who appealed to Solomon (1 K. iii. 16). The words, in the opinion of Kimchi on Josh. ii. 1, appear to have been synonymous.

In some parts of modern Syria a nearer approach has been made to the European system. The people of *es-Salt*, according to Burckhardt, support four taverns (*Menzel* or *Medhafe*) at the public expense. At these the traveller is furnished with everything he may require, so long as he chooses to remain, provided his stay is not unreasonably protracted. The expenses are paid by a tax on the heads of families, and a kind of landlord superintends the establishment (*Trav. in Syria*, p. 36).

W. A. W.

* The statement ascribed above to Burckhardt is not strictly correct. In modern Syria, in all villages not provided with a khan, there is a house, usually the dwelling of the *sheikh*, which is called the *menzoul*, which is the place of entertainment of all strangers who are not visiting at the houses of friends. One of the villagers is officially designated as the *khowâjt* or caterer, and his business is to direct strangers to the *menzoul*, to supply them with provisions and fodder if required, to keep off the intrusive visits of children and idlers, and to provide a place of safety for the animals at night. It is not customary for the village to furnish these supplies gratis, but the traveller pays for them at usual rates, the caterer being the referee in case of a dispute between the buyer and seller. The caterer receives a compensation for his services proportioned to the generosity of the traveller. G. E. P.

INSTANT, INSTANTLY. A word employed by our translators in the N. T. with the force of urgency or earnestness, to render five distinct Greek words. We still say "at the instance of," but as that sense is no longer attached to "instant" — though it is still to the verb "insist," and to other compounds of the same root, such as "persist," "constant" — it has been thought advisable to notice its occurrences. They afford an interesting example, if an additional one be needed, of the close connection which there is between the Authorized Version and the Vulgate; the Vulgate having, as will be seen, suggested the word in three out of its five occurrences.

1. σπουδαίως — "they besought Him instantly" (Luke vii. 4). This word is elsewhere commonly rendered "earnestly," which is very suitable here.

2. ἐπέκειντο, from ἐπίκειμαι, to lie upon: — "they were instant with loud voices" (Vulg. *instabant*), Luke xxiii. 23. This might be rendered "they were pressing" (as in ver. 1).

3. ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ, "instantly serving God" (Acts xxvi. 7). The metaphor at the root of this word is that of stretching — on the stretch. Elsewhere in the A. V. it is represented by "fervently."

4. προσκαρτεροῦντες, "continuing instant" (Rom. xii. 12), Vulg. *instantes*. Here the adjectiv

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is hardly necessary, the word being elsewhere rendered by "continuing" — or to preserve the rhythm of so familiar a sentence — "continuing stedfast" (as Acts ii. 42).

5. Ἐνίστημι, from ἐφίστημι, to stand by or upon — "be instant in season, out of season" (2 Tim. iv. 2), Vulg. *insta*. Four verses further on it is rendered, "is at hand." The sense is "stand ready," "be alert" for whatever may happen. Of the five words this is the only one which contains the same metaphor as "instant."

In Luke ii. 38, "that instant" is literally "that same hour," — αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ. G.

* INWARD is used in the expression "my inward friends," for "familiar," "confidential" (A. V.) Job xix. 19 (מֵתֵי סוֹדִי, lit. *men of my intimacy*). The patriarch complains that those with whom he had been most familiar, to whom he had made known his most secret thoughts, had turned against him and abhorred him. H.

* INTEREST. [LOAN; USURY.]

* INTERPRETER. [PROPHET; MAGIC.]

IO'NIA ([Semitic יָוָן, JAVAN, which see:] Ἰωνία). The substitution of this word for ἡ Ἰνδική in 1 Macc. viii. 8 (A. V. "India") is a conjecture of Grotius, without any authority of MSS. It must be acknowledged, however, that the change removes a great difficulty, especially if, as the same commentator suggests, Μυσία [MYSIA] be substituted for Μηδεία or Μηδία in the same context.[a] The passage refers to the cession of territory which the Romans forced Antiochus the Great to make; and it is evident that India and Media are nothing to the purpose, whereas Ionia and Mysia were among the districts *cis Taurum*, which were given up to Enmenes.

As to the term Ionia, the name was given in early times to that part of the western coast of Asia Minor which lay between Æolis on the north and Doris on the south. These were properly ethnological terms, and had reference to the tribes of Greek settlers along this shore. Ionia, with its islands, was celebrated for its twelve, afterwards thirteen cities; five of which, Ephesus, Smyrna, Miletus, Chios, and Samos, are conspicuous in the N. T. In Roman times Ionia ceased to have any political significance, being absorbed in the province of Asia. The term, however, was still occasionally used, as in Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 2, § 3, from which passage we learn that the Jews were numerous in this district. This whole chapter in Josephus is very interesting, as a geographical illustration of that part of the coast. [JAVAN.] J. S. H.

IPHEDE'IAH [4 syl.] (יִפְדְּיָהוּ [*whom Jehovah frees*]: Ἰεφαδίας; [Vat. Ἰεφερεια;] Alex. Ἰφαδα: *Jephdaia*), a descendant of Benjamin, one of the Bene-Shashak (1 Chr. viii. 25); specially named as a chief of the tribe, and as residing in Jerusalem (comp. ver. 28).

IR (עִיר [*city, town*]: Ὦρ, as if עוֹר; Alex. Ωρα; [Vat. om.; Comp. Ἰρ:] *Hir*), 1 Chr. vii. 12. [IRI.]

I'RA (עִירָא [*vigilant*, Dietz.; or *watcher*]: *Ira*). 1. (Ἰρά, [Vat.] Alex. Ειρας.) "The Jairite," named in the catalogue of David's great officers (2 Sam. xx. 26) as "priest to David" (הַיָּאִרִי: A. V. "a chief ruler"). The Peshito version for "Jairite" has "from Jathir," *i. e.* probably JATTIR, where David had found friends during his troubles with Saul. [JAIRITE.] If this can be maintained, and it certainly has an air of probability, then this Ira is identical with —

2. (Ἴρας, Ἰρά; [Vat. Ειρας, Ιρα;] Alex. Ειρας, [Ιρας]) "Ira the Ithrite" (הַיִּתְרִי; A. V. omits the article), that is, the Jattirite, one of the heroes of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 38; 1 Chr. xi. 40). [ITHRITE; JATTIR; JETHER.]

3. (Ἴρας, Ὠρά; [Vat. Ειρας, Ωραι;] Alex. Ωραι; [in 1 Chr. xxvii., Ὀδουίας, Alex. Ειρα, Comp. Ἰρᾶ:] *Hira.*) Another member of David's guard, a Tekoite, son of Ikkesh (2 Sam. xxiii. 26: 1 Chr. xi. 28). Ira was leader of the sixth monthly course of 24,000, as appointed by David (1 Chr xxvii. 9).

I'RAD (עִירָד [*fleet, rapid*, Dietr.]: Γαιδάδ in both MSS.; Joseph. Ἰαριδης: Syr. Idar: *Irad*) son of Enoch; grandson of Cain, and father of Mehujael (Gen. iv. 18).

I'RAM (עִירָם [*watchful*, Dietr.]: Ζαφωιν [Alex. Ζαφωει, Ηραμ; Vat. in Chr., Ζαφωειρ:] *Hiram;* "belonging to a city," Ges.), a leader (אַלּוּף: LXX. ἡγεμών: "phylarch," A. V "duke") of the Edomites (Gen. xxxvi. 43; 1 Chr. i. 54), *i. e.* the chief of a family or tribe. He occurs in the list of "the names of the dukes [that came] of Esau, according to their families, after their places, by their names" (Gen. xxxvi. 40–43), but none of these names is found in the genealogy of Esau's immediate descendants; the latter being separated from them by the enumeration of the sons of Seir and the kings of Edom, both in Gen. and Chr. They were certainly descendants of Esau, but in what generation is not known; evidently not in a remote one. The sacred records are generally confined to the history of the chosen race, and the reason of the exclusion of the Edomite genealogy beyond the second generation is thus explicable. In remarking on this gap in the genealogy, we must add that there appears to be no safe ground for supposing a chronological sequence of sons and grandsons of Esau, sons of Seir, kings of Edom, and lastly descendants of Esau again, ruling over the Edomites. These were probably in part, or wholly, contemporaneous; and אַלּוּף, we think, should be regarded as signifying a chief of a tribe, etc. (as rendered above), rather than a king. The Jewish assertion that these terms signified the same rank, except that the former was uncrowned and the latter crowned, may be safely neglected.

The names of which Iram is one are "according to their families, after their places (or 'towns' מְקֹמֹתָם), by their names" (ver. 40); and again (ver. 43), "These [be] the dukes of Edom, according to their habitations in the land of their possession." These words imply that tribes and

[a] * For a copious note on this textual question, see Fritzsche's *Handb. zu den Apokryphen*, iii. 124. Unless the text be corrupt, it is impossible to acquit the writer of Maccabees of gross inaccuracy. Drusius and others had suggested the change of names before Grotius. It has been thought possible also that the error may have crept into the Greek in the process of translation from the Aramæan. H.

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places were called after their leaders and founders, and tend to confirm the preceding remarks on the descendants of Esau being chiefs of tribes, and probably more or less contemporaneous with each other, and with the kings and Horites named together with them in the same records. It has been suggested that the names we are considering are those of the tribes and places founded by Esau's immediate descendants, mentioned earlier in the record; but no proof has been adduced in support of this theory.

The time of the final destruction of the Horites is uncertain. By analogy with the conquest of Canaan (cf. Deut. ii. 12, 22) we may perhaps infer that it was not immediate on Esau's settlement. No identification of Iram has been found.

E. S. P.

IR-HA-HE'RES, in A. V. THE CITY OF DESTRUCTION (עִיר הַהֶרֶס, var. עִיר הַחֶרֶס: [πόλις ἀσεβές; FA.[1] π. ασεβηλιου; Comp. π. ἀχερές]: *Civitas Solis*), the name or an appellation of a city in Egypt, mentioned only in Is. xix. 18. The reading הֶרֶס is that of most MSS. the Syr. Aq. and Theod., the other reading, חֶרֶס, is supported by the LXX., but only in form, by Symm. who has πόλις ἡλίου, and the Vulg. Gesenius (*Thes.* pp. 391 *a*, 522) prefers the latter reading. There are various explanations: we shall first take those that treat it as a proper name, then those that suppose it to be an appellation used by the prophet to denote the future of the city.

1. עִיר הַחֶרֶס, *city of the sun*, a translation of the Egyptian sacred name of Heliopolis, generally called in the Bible On, the Hebrew form of its civil name AN [ON], and once *Beth-shemesh*, "the house of the sun" (Jer. xliii. 13), a more literal translation than this supposed one of the sacred name [BETH-SHEMESH].

2. עִיר הַהֶרֶס, or עִיר הַחֶרֶס, *the city Heres*, a transcription in the second word of the Egyptian sacred name of Heliopolis, HA-RA, "the abode (lit. 'house') of the sun." This explanation would necessitate the omission of the article. The LXX. favor it.

3. עִיר הַהֶרֶס, *a city destroyed*, lit. "a city of destruction;" in A. V. "the city of destruction," meaning that one of the five cities mentioned should be destroyed, according to Isaiah's idiom.

4. עִיר הַהֶרֶס, *a city preserved*, meaning that one of the five cities mentioned should be preserved. Gesenius, who proposes this construction, if the second word be not part of the name of the place, compares the Arabic حرس, "he guarded, kept, preserved," etc. It may be remarked that the word HERES or HRES in ancient Egyptian, probably signifies "a guardian." This rendering of Gesenius is, however, merely conjectural, and seems to have been favored by him on account of its directly contradicting the rendering last noticed.

The first of these explanations is highly improbable, for we find elsewhere both the sacred and the civil names of Heliopolis, so that a third name, merely a variety of the Hebrew rendering of the sacred name, is very unlikely. The name *Beth-shemesh* is, moreover, a more literal translation in its first word of the Egyptian name than this supposed one. It may be remarked, however, as to the second word, that one of the towns in Palestine called Beth-shemesh, a town of the Levites on the borders of Judah and Dan, was not far from a Mount Heres, הַר־הֶרֶס (Judg. i. 35), so that the two names as applied to the sun as an object of worship might probably be interchangeable. The second explanation, which we believe has not been hitherto put forth, is liable to the same objection as the preceding one, besides that it necessitates the exclusion of the article. The fourth explanation would not have been noticed had it not been supported by the name of Gesenius. The common reading and old rendering remains, which certainly present no critical difficulties. A very careful examination of the xixth chap. of Isaiah, and of the xviiith and xxth, which are connected with it, has inclined us to prefer it. Egypt and Ethiopia were then either under a joint rule or under an Ethiopian sovereign. We can, therefore, understand the connection of the three subjects comprised in the three chapters. Chap. xviii. is a prophecy against the Ethiopians, xix. is the Burden of Egypt, and xx., delivered in the year of the capture of Ashdod by Tartan, the general of Sargon, predicts the leading captive of the Egyptians and Ethiopians, probably the garrison of that great stronghold, as a warning to the Israelites who trusted in them for aid. Chap. xviii. ends with an indication of the time to which it refers, speaking of the Ethiopians — as we understand the passage — as sending "a present" "to the place of the name of the Lord of hosts, the mount Zion" (ver. 7). If this is to be taken in a proper and not a tropical sense, it would refer to the conversion of Ethiopians by the preaching of the Law while the Temple yet stood. That such had been the case before the gospel was preached is evident from the instance of the eunuch of Queen Candace, whom Philip met on his return homeward from worshipping at Jerusalem, and converted to Christianity (Acts viii. 26–39). The Burden of Egypt seems to point to the times of the Persian and Greek dominions over that country. The civil war agrees with the troubles of the Dodecarchy, then we read of a time of bitter oppression by "a cruel lord and [or 'even'] a fierce king," probably pointing to the Persian conquests and rule, and specially to Cambyses, or Cambyses and Ochus, and then of the drying of the sea (the Red Sea, comp. xi. 15) and the river and canals, of the destruction of the water-plants, and of the misery of the fishers and workers in linen. The princes and counsellors are to lose their wisdom and the people to be filled with fear, all which calamities seem to have begun in the desolation of the Persian rule. It is not easy to understand what follows as to the dread of the land of Judah which the Egyptians should feel, immediately preceding the mention of the subject of the article: "In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of hosts; one shall be called Ir-ha-heres. In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord. And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of hosts in the land of Egypt; for they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors, and he shall send them a savior

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and a great one, and he shall deliver them" (xix. 18–20). The partial or entire conversion of Egypt is prophesied in the next two verses (21, 22). The time of the Greek dominion, following the Persian rule, may be here pointed to. There was then a great influx of Jewish settlers, and as we know of a Jewish town, Onion, and a great Jewish population at Alexandria, we may suppose that there were other large settlements. These would "speak the language of Canaan," at first literally, afterwards in their retaining the religion and customs of their fathers. The altar would well correspond to the temple built by Oniss; the pillar, to the synagogue of Alexandria, the latter on the northern and western borders of Egypt. In this case Alexander would be the deliverer. We do not know, however, that at this period there was any recognition of the true God on the part of the Egyptians. If the prophecy is to be understood in a proper sense, we can however see no other time to which it applies, and must suppose that Ir-ha-heres was one of the cities partly or wholly inhabited by the Jews in Egypt: of these Onion was the most important, and to it the rendering, "One shall be called a city of destruction," would apply, since it was destroyed by Titus, while Alexandria, and perhaps the other cities, yet stand. If the prophecy is to be taken tropically, the best reading and rendering can only be determined by verbal criticism. R. S. P.

I'RI (Οὐρία; Alex. Ουρι; [Vat. Ουρεια; Ald. (with preceding word) Μαρμωθιουρί:] *Jorus*), 1 Esdr. viii. 62. This name answers to Uriah in Ezra (viii. 33). But whence did our translators get their form?

I'RI or IR (עִירִי or עִירִי [*adorer of Jehovah*, Dietr.; *Jehovah is watcher*, Fürst]: Οὐρί [Vat. -ρει] and Ὦρ; [Alex. ver. 12, Ωρα, Vat. omits:] *Urai* and *Vir*), a Benjamite, son of Bela, according to 1 Chr. vii. 7, 12. The name does not occur in any of the other genealogies of the tribe. [HUPHAM.] A. C. H.

IRI'JAH (יִרְאִיָּה [*whom Jehovah sees*, or *Jehovah sees*]: Ιαρουία; [Alex. FA. Ιαρουιας:] *Ierias*), son of Shelemiah, "a captain of the ward" (מֶפְקַד), who met Jeremiah in the gate of Jerusalem called the "gate of Benjamin," accused him of being about to desert to the Chaldeans, and led him back to the princes (Jer. xxxvii. 13, 14).

IR-NA'HASH (עִירנָחָשׁ = *serpent-city*: πόλις Ναας; [Comp. Ηρναδ:] *Urbs Naas*), a name which, like many other names of places, occurs in the genealogical lists of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 12). Tehinnah Abi Ir-nahash — "father of Ir-nahash" — was one of the sons of Eshton, all of them being descendants of Chelub (ver. 11). But it seems impossible to connect this special genealogy with the general genealogies of Judah, and it has the air of being a fragment of the records of some other family, related, of course, or it would not be here, but not the same. May not "Shuah, the brother of Chelub" (ver. 11), be Shuah the Canaanite, by whose daughter Judah had his three eldest sons (Gen. xxxviii. 2, &c.), and these verses be a fragment of Canaanite record preserved amongst those of the great Israelite family, who then became so closely related to the Canaanites? True, the two Shuahs are written differently in Hebrew — שׁוּעַ and שׁוּחַ, but, considering the early date of the one passage and the corrupt and incomplete state of the other, this is perhaps not irreconcilable.

No trace of the name of Ir-nahash attached to any site has been discovered. Jerome's interpretation (*Qu. Hebr.* ad loc.) — whether his own or a tradition he does not say — is, that Ir-nahash is Bethlehem, Nahash being another name for Jesse. [NAHASH.]

I'RON (יִרְאוֹן [*fearful*, perh. *God-fearing*] Κεφαί; Alex. Ιαριων; [Comp. Ιερών; Ald. Εφων:] *Jeron*), one of the cities of Naphtali, named between En-hazor and Migdal-el (Josh. xix. 38): hitherto unknown, though possibly *Yarûn*. G.

IRON (בַּרְזֶל, *barzel*: Ch. פַּרְזֶלָא, *parzla*: σίδηρος), mentioned with brass as the earliest of known metals (Gen. iv. 22). As it is rarely found in its native state, but generally in combination with oxygen, the knowledge of the art of forging iron, which is attributed to Tubal Cain, argues an acquaintance with the difficulties which attend the smelting of this metal. Iron melts at a temperature of about 3000° Fahrenheit, and to produce this heat large furnaces supplied by a strong blast of air are necessary. But, however difficult it may be to imagine a knowledge of such appliances at so early a period, it is perfectly certain that the use of iron is of extreme antiquity, and that therefore some means of overcoming the obstacles in question must have been discovered. What the process may have been is left entirely to conjecture; a method is employed by the natives of India, extremely simple and of great antiquity, which though rude is very effective, and suggests the possibility of similar knowledge in an early stage of civilisation (Ure, *Dict. Arts and Sciences*, art. *Steel*). The smelting furnaces of Æthalia, described by Diodorus (v. 13), correspond roughly with the modern bloomeries, remains of which still exist in this country (Napier, *Metallurgy of the Bible*, p. 140). Malleable iron was in common use, but it is doubtful whether the ancients were acquainted with cast-iron. The allusions in the Bible supply the following facts.

The natural wealth of the soil of Canaan is indicated by describing it as "a land whose stones are iron" (Deut. viii. 9). By this Winer (*Realw.* art. *Eisen*) understands the basalt which predominates in the Hauran, is the material of which Og's bedstead (Deut. iii. 11) was made, and contains a large percentage of iron. It is more probable that the expression is a poetical figure. Pliny (xxxvi. 11), who is quoted as an authority, says indeed that basalt is "ferrei coloris atque duritiæ," but does not hint that iron was ever extracted from it. The book of Job contains passages which indicate that iron was a metal well known. Of the manner of procuring it, we learn that "iron is taken from dust" (xxviii. 2). It does not follow from Jer. xix. 24, that it was used for a writing implement, though such may have been the case, any more than that adamant was employed for the same purpose (Jer. xvii. 1), or that shoes were shod with iron and brass (Deut. xxxiii. 25). Indeed, iron so frequently occurs in poetic figures, that it is difficult to discriminate between its literal and metaphorical sense. In such passages as the following in which a "*yoke* of iron" (Deut. xxviii. 48) denotes hard service; a "*rod* of iron" (Ps. ii. 9), stern government; a "*pillar* of iron" (Jer. i. 18

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a strong support; and "*threshing instruments* of iron" (Am. i. 3), the means of cruel oppression; the hardness and heaviness (Ecclus xxii. 15) of iron are so clearly the prominent ideas, that though it may have been used for the instruments in question, such usage is not of necessity indicated. The "*furnace* of iron" (Deut. iv. 20; 1 K. viii. 51) is a figure which vividly expresses hard bondage as represented by the severe labor which attended the operation of smelting. Iron was used for chisels (Deut. xxvii. 5), or something of the kind; for axes (Deut. xix. 5; 2 K. vi. 5, 6; Is. x. 34; Hom. *Il.* iv. 485); for harrows and saws (2 Sam. xii. 31; 1 Chr. xx. 3); for nails (1 Chr. xxii. 3), and the fastenings of the Temple; for weapons of war (1 Sam. xvii. 7; Job xx. 24), and for war-chariots (Josh. xvii. 16, 18; Judg. i. 19, iv. 3, 13). The latter were plated or studded with it. Its usage in defensive armor is implied in 2 Sam. xxiii. 7 (cf. Rev. ix. 9), and as a safeguard in peace it appears in fetters (Ps. cv. 18), prison-gates (Acts xii. 10), and bars of gates or doors (Ps. cvii. 16; Is. xiv. 2), as well as for surgical purposes (1 Tim. iv. 2). Sheet-iron was used for cooking utensils (Ex. iv. 3; cf. Lev. vii. 9),[a] and bars of hammered iron are mentioned in Job xl. 18, though here the LXX. perversely render *σίδηρος χυτός*, "cast-iron." That it was plentiful in the time of David appears from 1 Chr. xxii. 3. It was used by Solomon, according to Josephus, to clamp the large rocks with which he built up the Temple mount (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 3); and by Hezekiah's workmen to hew out the conduits of Gihon (Ecclus. xlviii. 17). Images were fastened in their niches in later times by iron brackets or clamps (Wisd. xiii. 15). Agricultural implements were early made of the same material. In the treaty made by Porsena was inserted a condition like that imposed on the Hebrews by the Philistines, that no iron should be used except for agricultural purposes (Plin. xxxiv. 39).

The market of Tyre was supplied with bright or polished iron by the merchants of Dan and Javan (Ez. xxvii. 19). Some, as the LXX. and Vulg., render this "wrought iron:" so De Wette "geschmiedetes Eisen."[b] The Targum has "bars of iron," which would correspond with the *strictura* of Pliny (xxxiv. 41). But Kimchi (*Lex.* s. v.) expounds עֶשְׁוֹת, *'ashôth*, as "pure and polished" (= Span. *acéro*, steel), in which he is supported by R. Sol. Parchon, and by Ben Zeb, who gives "glänzend" as the equivalent (comp. the Homeric *αἴθων σίδηρος*, *Il.* vii. 473). If the Javan alluded to were Greece, and not, as Bochart (*Phaleg*, ii. 21) seems to think, some place in Arabia, there might be reference to the iron mines of Macedonia, spoken of in the decree of Æmilius Paulus (Liv. xlv. 29); but Bochart urges, as a very strong argument in support of his theory, that, at the time of Ezekiel's prophecy, the Tyrians did not depend upon Greece for a supply of cassia and cinnamon, which are associated with iron in the merchandise of Dan and Javan, but that rather the contrary was the case. Pliny (xxxiv. 41) awards the palm to the iron of Serica, that of Parthia being next in excellence. The Chalybes of the Pontus were celebrated as workers in iron in very ancient times (Æsch. *Prom.* 733). They were identified by Strabo with the Chaldæi of his day (xii. 549), and the mines which they worked were in the mountains skirting the sea-coast. The produce of their labor is supposed to be alluded to in Jer. xv. 12, as being of superior quality. Iron mines are still in existence on the same coast, and the ore is found "in small nodular masses in a dark yellow clay which overlies a limestone rock" (Smith's *Geog. Dict.* art. *Chalybes*).

It was for a long time supposed that the Egyptians were ignorant of the use of iron, and that the allusions in the Pentateuch were anachronisms, as no traces of it have been found in their monuments; but in the sepulchres at Thebes butchers are represented as sharpening their knives on a round bar of metal attached to their aprons, which from its blue color is presumed to be steel. The steel weapons on the tomb of Rameses III. are also painted blue; those of bronze being red (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* iii. 247). One iron mine only has been discovered in Egypt, which was worked by the ancients. It is at Hammámi, between the Nile and the Red Sea; the iron found by Mr. Burton was in the form of specular and red ore (*Id.* iii. 246). That no articles of iron should have been found is easily accounted for by the fact that it is easily destroyed by exposure to the air and moisture. According to Pliny (xxxiv. 43) it was preserved by a coating of white lead, gypsum, and liquid pitch. Bitumen was probably employed for the same purpose (xxxv. 52). The Egyptians obtained their iron almost exclusively from Assyria Proper in the form of bricks or pigs (Layard, *Nin.* ii. 415). Specimens of Assyrian iron-work overlaid with bronze were discovered by Mr. Layard, and are now in the British Museum (*Nin. and Bab.* p. 191). Iron weapons of various kinds were found at Nimroud, but fell to pieces on exposure to the air. Some portions of shields and arrow-heads (*Id.* 194, 596) were rescued, and are now in England. A pick of the same metal (*Id.* 194) was also found, as well as part of a saw (195), and the head of an axe (357), and remains of scale-armor and helmets inlaid with copper (*Nin.* i. 340). It was used by the Etruscans for offensive weapons, as bronze for defensive armor. The Assyrians had daggers and arrow-heads of copper mixed with iron, and hardened with an alloy of tin (Layard, *Nin.* ii. 418). So in the days of Homer war-clubs were shod with iron (*Il.* vii. 141); arrows were tipped with it (*Il.* iv. 123); it was used for the axles of chariots (*Il.* v. 723), for fetters (*Od.* i. 204), for axes and bills (*Il.* iv. 485; *Od.* xxi. 3, 81). Adrastus (*Il.* vi. 48) and Ulysses (*Od.* xxi. 10) reckoned it among their treasures, the iron weapons being kept in a chest in the treasury with the gold and brass (*Od.* xxi. 61). In *Od.* i. 184, Mentes tells Telemachus that he is travelling from Taphos to Temese to procure brass in exchange for iron which Eustathius says was not obtained from the mines of the island, but was the produce of piratical excursions (Millin, *Mineral. Hom.* p. 115, 2d ed.). Pliny (xxxiv. 41) mentions iron as used symbolically for a statue of Hercules at Thebes (cf. Dan. ii. 33, v. 4), and goblets of iron as among

[a] The passage of Ezekiel is illustrated by the screens behind which the archers stand in the representations of a siege on the Nimroud sculptures.

[b] "This is the generally accepted meaning of עֶשְׁוֹת (Tuch, Hävernick, Hitzig, Fürst, Gesenius 6te Aufl.). See addition at the end of the article."

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the offerings in the temple of Mars the Avenger, at Rome. Alyattes the Lydian dedicated to the oracle at Delphi a small goblet of iron, the workmanship of Glaucus of Chios, to whom the discovery of the art of soldering this metal is attributed (Her. i. 25). The goblet is described by Pausanias (x. 16). From the fact that such offerings were made to the temples, and that Achilles gave as a prize of contest a rudely-shaped mass of the same metal (*Il.* xxiii. 826), it has been argued that in early times iron was so little known as to be greatly esteemed for its rarity. That this was not the case in the time of Lycurgus is evident, and Homer attaches to it no epithet which would denote its preciousness (Millin, p. 106). There is reason to suppose that the discovery of brass preceded that of iron (Lucr. v. 1292), though little weight can be attached to the line of Hesiod often quoted as decisive on this point (*Op. et Dies*, 150). The Dactyli Idæi of Crete were supposed by the ancients to have the merit of being the first to discover the properties of iron (Plin. vii. 57; Diod. Sic. v. 64), as the Cyclops were said to have invented the iron-smith's forge (Plin. vii. 57). According to the Arundelian marbles, iron was known B. C. 1370, while Larcher (*Chronol. d'Herod.* p. 570) assigns a still earlier date, B. C. 1537. Enough has been said to prove that the allusions to iron in the Pentateuch and other parts of the O. T. are not anachronisms.

There is considerable doubt whether the ancients were acquainted with cast-iron. The rendering given by the LXX. of Job xl. 18, as quoted above, seems to imply that some method nearly like that of casting was known, and is supported by a passage in Diodorus (v. 13). The inhabitants of Æthalia traded with pig-iron in masses like large sponges to Dicæarchia and other marts, where it was bought by the smiths and fashioned into various moulded forms (πλάσματα ποικιλόεντα).

In Ecclus. xxxviii. 28, we have a picture of the interior of an iron-smith's (Is. xliv. 12) workshop: the smith, parched with the smoke and heat of the furnace, sitting beside his anvil and contemplating the unwrought iron, his ears deafened with the din of the heavy hammer, his eyes fixed on his model, and never sleeping till he has accomplished his task. [STEEL.] W. A. W.

* Iron of a superior quality is mined and worked at the present day near the village of *Duma* in Mount Lebanon. It is especially valuable for shoeing beasts of burden, and is greatly sought for through Northern Syria. It is probable that the merchants of Dan, who had possessions in the extreme north of Palestine in the neighborhood of Cæsarea Philippi, derived from this source the "bright iron," which is probably to be translated "wrought iron," Ezr. xxvii. 19.

This view commends itself the more if we suppose Javan to be in Arabia, as the mention of the two places together makes it probable that they had at least a common entrepôt for their wares. This would be possible at the junction of the roads of Cœlesyria from the north, with those from Gilead on the east in the possessions of Dan, and would explain the circumstance that to Tyre Dan was a source of supply of iron from Mount Lebanon, and of cassia and calamus from Arabia.

Still further, the geographical position of this entrepôt corresponds with the language of the context. In ver. 18 the prophet speaks of Damascus; in ver. 19, of Dan with its trade with Javan; in ver. 20, of the caravans from Dedan, which would come in toward Tyre to the southward of Dan finally, ver. 21, of those from Arabia, which would come from a still more southerly direction. G. E. P

IR'PEËL (יִרְפְּאֵל [*whom God heals*, or *God repairs, builds*]: Καφάρ; [Ald.] Alex. Ἰερφαήλ. *Jarephel*), one of the cities of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 27), occurring in the list between Rekem and Taralah. No trace has yet been discovered of its situation. It will be observed that the Ir in this name is radically different from that in the names Ir-nahash, Ir-shemesh, etc. Taken as a Hebrew name it is Irpe-El = "restored by God." G.

IR-SHE'MESH (עִיר שֶׁמֶשׁ = *city of the sun*: πόλεις Σαμμαβ; Alex. πολις Χαμες: *Hersemes, id est, Civitas Solis*), a city of the Danites (Josh. xix. 41), probably identical with BETH-SHEMESH, and, if not identical, at least connected with MOUNT HERES (Judg. i. 35), the "mount of the sun." Beth-shemesh is probably the later form of the name. In other cases Beth appears to have been substituted for other older terms [see BAAL-MEON, etc.], such as Ir or Ar, which is unquestionably a very ancient word. G.

I'RU (עִירָד [*watch*, Fürst]: Ἤρ, Alex. Ηρα; [Comp. Ἰρούδ:] *Hir*), the eldest son of the great Caleb son of Jephunneh (1 Chr. iv. 15). It is by some supposed that this name should be Ir, the vowel at the end being merely the conjunction "and," properly belonging to the following name.

* It is true, וְ more frequently connects the nouns in such an enumeration; but that reason for changing Iru to Ir is not decisive. The copula may also be omitted between them (see 1 Chr. iv. 20, 24, &c.). H.

I'SAAC (יִצְחָק, or יִשְׂחָק, *laughter* [*mocker, laughter*, Fürst]: Ἰσαάκ: [*Isaac*]), the son whom Sarah, in accordance with the Divine promise, bore to Abraham in the hundredth year of his age, at Gerar. In his infancy he became the object of Ishmael's jealousy; and in his youth (when twenty-five years old, according to Joseph. *Ant.* i. 13, § 2) the victim, in intention, of Abraham's great sacrificial act of faith. When forty years old he married Rebekah his cousin, by whom, when he was sixty, he had two sons, Esau and Jacob. In his seventy-fifth year he and his brother Ishmael buried their father Abraham in the cave of Machpelah. From his abode by the well Lahai-roi, in the South Country — a barren tract, comprising a few pastures and wells, between the hills of Judæa and the Arabian desert, touching at its western end Philistia, and on the north Hebron — Isaac was driven by a famine to Gerar. Here Jehovah appeared to him and bade him dwell there and not go over into Egypt, and renewed to him the promises made to Abraham. Here he subjected himself, like Abraham in the same place and under like circumstances (Gen. xx. 2), to a rebuke from Abimelech the Philistine king for an equivocation. Here he acquired great wealth by his flocks; but was repeatedly dispossessed by the Philistines of the wells which he sunk at convenient stations. At Beersheba Jehovah appeared to him by night and blessed him, and he built an altar there: there, too like Abraham, he received a visit from the Philistine king Abimelech, with whom he made a covenant of peace. After the deceit by which Jacob

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acquired his father's blessing Isaac sent his son to seek a wife in Padanaram, and all that we know of him during the last forty-three years of his life is that he saw that son, with a large and prosperous family, return to him at Hebron (xxxv. 27) before he died there at the age of 180 years. He was buried by his two sons in the cave of Machpelah.

In the N. T. reference is made to the offering of Isaac (Heb. xi. 17; and James ii. 21) and to his blessing his sons (Heb. xi. 20). As the child of the promise, and as the progenitor of the children of the promise, he is contrasted with Ishmael (Rom. ix. 7, 10; Gal. iv. 28; Heb. xi. 18). In our Lord's remarkable argument with the Sadducees, his history is carried beyond the point at which it is left in the O. T., into and beyond the grave. Isaac, of whom it was said (Gen. xxxv. 29) that he was gathered to his people, is represented as still living to God (Luke xx. 38, &c.); and by the same Divine authority he is proclaimed as an acknowledged heir of future glory (Matt. viii. 11, &c.).

II. Such are the facts which the Bible supplies of the longest-lived of the three Patriarchs, the least migratory, the least prolific, and the least favored with extraordinary divine revelations. A few events in this quiet life have occasioned discussion.

(*a.*) The signification of Isaac's name is thrice alluded to (Gen. xvii. 17, xviii. 12, xxi. 6). Josephus (*Ant.* i. 12, § 2) refers to the second of those passages for the origin of the name; Jerome (*Quæst. Heb. in Gen.*) vehemently confines it to the first; Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 425), without assigning reasons, gives it as his opinion that all three passages have been added by different writers to the original record.

(*b.*) It has been asked what are the persecutions sustained by Isaac from Ishmael to which St. Paul refers (Gal. iv. 29)? If, as is generally supposed, he refers to Gen. xxi. 9, then the word מְצַחֵק *metzaḥeq*, may be translated *mocking*, as in the A. V., or *insulting*, as in xxxix. 14, and in that case the trial of Isaac was by means of "*cruel* mockings" (ἐμπαιγμῶν), in the language of the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 36). Or the word may include the signification *paying idolatrous worship*, as in Ex. xxxii. 6, or *fighting*, as in 2 Sam. ii. 14. These three significations are given by Jarchi, who relates a Jewish tradition (quoted more briefly by Wetstein on Gal. iv. 29) of Isaac suffering personal violence from Ishmael, a tradition which, as Mr. Ellicott thinks, was adopted by St. Paul. [HAGAR, Amer. ed.] The English reader who is content with our own version, or the scholar who may prefer either of the other renderings of Jarchi, will be at no loss to connect Gal. iv. 29 with Gen. xxi. 9. But Origen (*in Gen. Hom.* vii. § 3), and Augustine (*Sermo* iii.), and apparently Professor Jowett (on Gal. iv. 29), not observing that the gloss of the LXX. and the Latin versions "playing *with her son Isaac*" forms no part of the simple statement in Genesis, and that the words מְצַחֵק, *metzaḥeq*, are not to be confined to the meaning "playing," seem to doubt (as Mr. Ellicott does on other grounds), whether the passage in Genesis bears the construction apparently put upon it by St. Paul. On the other hand, Rosenmüller (*Schol. in Gen.* xxi. 9) even goes so far as to characterize διάνοια — "*assumenta*" — as a very excellent interpretation of מְצַחֵק. (See Drusius on Gen. xxi. 9 in *Crit. Sacr.*, and Estius on Gal. iv. 29.)

(*c.*) The offering up of Isaac by Abraham has been viewed in various lights. It is the subject of five dissertations by Frischmuth in the *Thes. Theol. Philol.* p. 197 (attached to *Crit. Sacri*). By Bishop Warburton (*Div. Leg.* b. vi. § 5) the whole transaction was regarded as "merely an information by action (compare Jer. xxvii. 2; Ex. xii. 3; Hos. i. 2), instead of words, of the great sacrifice of Christ for the redemption of mankind, given at the earnest request of Abraham, who longed impatiently to see Christ's day." This view is adopted by Dean Graves (*On the Pentateuch*, pt. iii. § 4), and has become popular. But it is pronounced to be unsatisfactory by Davison (*Primitive Sacrifice*, pt. iv. § 2), who, pleading for the progressive communication of the knowledge of the Christian atonement, protests against the assumption of a contemporary disclosure of the import of the sacrifice to Abraham, and points out that no expiation or atonement was joined with this emblematic oblation, which consequently symbolized only the act, not the power or virtue of the Christian sacrifice. Mr. Maurice (*Patriarchs and Lawgivers*, iv.) draws attention to the offering of Isaac as the last and culminating point (compare Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 430–4) in the divine education of Abraham, that which taught him the meaning and ground of self-sacrifice. The same line of thought is followed up in a very instructive and striking sermon on the sacrifice of Abraham in *Doctrine of Sacrifice*, iii. 31–48. Some German writers have spoken of the whole transaction as a dream (Eichhorn), or a myth (De Wette), and treat other events in Isaac's life as slips of the pen of a Jewish transcriber. Even the merit of novelty cannot be claimed for such views, which appear to have been in some measure forestalled in the time of Augustine (*Sermo* ii. *de Tentatione Abrahæ*). They are, of course, irreconcilable with the declaration of St. James, that it was *a work* by which Abraham was justified. Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* iv. 16, and i. 10) has preserved a singular and inaccurate version of the offering of Isaac in an extract from the ancient Phœnician historian Sanchoniathon; but it is absurd to suppose that the widely-spread (see Ewald, *Alterthümer* p. 79, and Thomson's *Bampton Lectures*, 1853, p. 38) heathen practice of sacrificing human beings received any encouragement from a sacrifice which Abraham was forbidden to accomplish (see Waterland, *Works*, iv. 203). Some writers have found for this transaction a kind of parallel — it amounts to no more — in the classical legends of Iphigenia and Phrixus. The story of Iphigenia, which inspired the devout Athenian dramatist with sublime notions of the import of sacrifice and suffering (Æsch. *Agam.* 147 ff.), supplied the Roman infidel only with a keen taunt against religion (Lucret. i. 102), just as the great trial which perfected the faith of Abraham and moulded the character of Isaac, draws from the Romanized Jew of the first century a rhetorical exhibition of his own unacquaintance with the meaning of sacrifice (see Joseph. *Ant.* i. 13, § 3).

(*d.*) No passage of his life has produced more reproach to Isaac's character than that which is recorded in Gen. xxvi. 6–11. Abraham's conduct while in Egypt (xii.) and in Gerar (xx.), where he conceal the closer connection between himself and his wife, was imitated by Isaac in Gerar. On the

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one hand, this has been regarded by avowed adversaries of Christianity as involving the guilt of "lying and endeavoring to betray the wife's chastity," and even by Christians, undoubtedly zealous for truth and right, as the conduct of "a very poor paltry earthworm, displaying cowardice, selfishness, readiness to put his wife in a terrible hazard for his own sake." But, on the other hand, with more reverence, more kindness, and quite as much probability, Waterland, who is no indiscriminate apologist for the errors of good men, after a minute examination of the circumstances, concludes that the patriarch did "right to evade the difficulty so long as it could lawfully be evaded, and to await and see whether Divine Providence might not, some way or other, interpose before the last extremity. The event answered. God did interpose." (*Scripture Vindicated*, in *Works*, iv. 188, 190.)

(*e.*) Isaac's tacit acquiescence in the conduct of his sons has been brought into discussion. Perhaps Fairbairn (*Typology*, i. 334) seems scarcely justified by facts in his conclusion that the later days of Isaac did not fulfill the promise of his earlier; that, instead of reaching to high attainments in faith, he fell into general feebleness and decay, moral and bodily, and made account only of the natural element in judging of his sons. The inexact translation (to modern ears) of צַיִד, *prey taken in hunting*, by "venison" (Gen. xxv. 28), may have contributed to form, in the minds of English readers, a low opinion of Isaac. Nor can that opinion be supported by a reference to xxvii. 4; for Isaac's desire at such a time for savory meat may have sprung either from a dangerous sickness under which he was laboring (Blunt, *Undesigned Coincidences*, pt. i. ch. vi.), or from the same kind of impulse preceding inspiration as prompted Elisha (2 K. iii. 15) to demand the soothing influence of music before he spoke the word of the Lord. For sadness and grief are enumerated in the Gemara among the impediments to the exercise of the gift of prophecy (Smith's *Select Discourses*, vi. 245). The reader who bears in mind the peculiarities of Isaac's character, will scarcely infer from those passages any fresh accession of mental or moral feebleness.

III. Isaac, the gentle and dutiful son, the faithful and constant husband, became the father of a house in which order did not reign. If there were any very prominent points in his character they were not brought out by the circumstances in which he was placed. He appears less as a man of action than as a man of suffering, from which he is generally delivered without any direct effort of his own. Thus he suffers as the object of Ishmael's mocking, of the intended sacrifice on Moriah, of the rapacity of the Philistines, and of Jacob's stratagem. But this thought of his sufferings is effaced by the ever-present tokens of God's favor; and he suffers with the calmness and dignity of a conscious heir of heavenly promises, without uttering any complaint, and generally without committing any action by which he would forfeit respect. Free from violent passions, he was a man of constant, deep, and tender affections. Thus he mourned for his mother till her place was filled by his wife. His sons were nurtured at home till a late period of their lives; and neither his grief for Esau's marriage, nor the anxiety in which he was involved in consequence of Jacob's deceit, estranged either of them from his affectionate care. His life of solitary blamelessness must have been sustained by strong habitual piety such as showed itself at the time of Rebekah's barrenness (xxv. 21), in his special intercourse with God at Gerar and Beer-sheba (xxvi. 2, 23), in the solemnity with which he bestows his blessing and refuses to change it. His life, judged by a worldly standard, might seem inactive, ignoble, and unfruitful; but the "guileless years, prayers, gracious acts and daily thank-offerings of pastoral life" are not to be so esteemed, although they make no show in history. Isaac's character may not have exercised any commanding influence upon either his own or succeeding generations; but it was sufficiently marked and consistent to win respect and envy from his contemporaries. By his posterity his name is always joined in equal honor with those of Abraham and Jacob; and so it was even used as part of the formula which Egyptian magicians in the time of Origen (*Contra Celsum*, i. 22) employed as efficacious to bind the demons whom they adjured (comp. Gen. xxxi. 42, 53).

If Abraham's enterprising, unsettled life foreshadowed the early history of his descendants; if Jacob was a type of the careful, commercial, unwarlike character of their later days, Isaac may represent the middle period, in which they lived apart from nations, and enjoyed possession of the fertile land of promise.

IV. The typical view of Isaac is barely referred to in the N. T.; but it is drawn out with minute particularity by Philo and those interpreters of Scripture who were influenced by Alexandrian philosophy. Thus in Philo, Isaac = laughter = the most exquisite enjoyment = the soother and cheerer of peace-loving souls, is foreshadowed in the facts that his father had attained 100 years (the perfect number) when he was born, and that he is specially designated as given to his parents by God. His birth from the mistress of Abraham's household symbolizes happiness proceeding from predominant wisdom. His attachment to one wife (Rebekah = perseverance) is contrasted with Abraham's multiplied connections and with Jacob's toil-won wives, as showing the superiority of Isaac's heaven-born, self-sufficing wisdom, to the accumulated knowledge of Abraham and the painful experience of Jacob. In the intended sacrifice of Isaac Philo sees only a sign that laughter = rejoicing is the prerogative of God, and is a fit offering to Him; and that He gives back to obedient man as much happiness as is good for him. Clement of Rome (ch. 31), with characteristic soberness, merely refers to Isaac as an example of faith in God. In Tertullian he is a pattern of monogamy and a type of Christ bearing the cross. But Clement of Alexandria finds an allegorical meaning in the incidents which connect Abimelech with Isaac and Rebekah (Gen. xxvi. 8) as well as in the offering of Isaac. In this latter view he is followed by Origen, and by Augustine, and by Christian expositors generally. The most minute particulars of that transaction are invested with a spiritual meaning by such writers as Rabanus Maurus, *in Gen.* § iii. Abraham is made a type of the First Person in the blessed Trinity, Isaac of the Second; the two servants dismissed are the Jewish sects who did not attain to a perception of Christ in his humiliation; the ass bearing the wood is the Jewish nation, to whom were committed the oracles of God which they failed to understand; the three days are the Patriarchal, Mosaic, and Christian dispensations; the ram is Christ on the cross; the thicket the

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who placed him there. Modern English writers hold firmly the typical significance of the transaction, without extending it into such detail (see Pearson *on the Creed*, i. 243, 251, ed. 1843; Fairbairn's *Typology*, i. 332). A recent writer (A. Jukes, *Types of Genesis*), who has shown much ingenuity in attaching a spiritual meaning to the characters and incidents in the book of Genesis, regards Isaac as representing the spirit of sonship, in a series in which Adam represents human nature, Cain the carnal mind, Abel the spiritual, Noah regeneration, Abraham the spirit of faith, Jacob the spirit of service, Joseph suffering or glory. With this series may be compared the view of Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 387–400), in which the whole patriarchal family is a prefigurative group, comprising twelve members with seven distinct modes of relation: (1.) Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are three fathers, respectively personifying active power, quiet enjoyment, success after struggles, distinguished from the rest as Agamemnon, Achilles, and Ulysses among the heroes of the Iliad, or as the Trojan Anchises, Æneas, and Ascanius, and mutually related as Romulus, Remus, and Numa; (2.) Sarah, with Hagar, as mother and mistress of the household; (3.) Isaac as child; (4.) Isaac with Rebekah as the type of wedlock (comp. *Alterthümer*, p. 233): (5.) Leah and Rachel the plurality of coequal wives; (6.) Deborah as nurse (compare Anna and Caieta, *Æn.* iv. 654, and vii. 1); (7.) Eliezer as steward, whose office is compared to that of the messenger of the Olympic deities.

V. Jewish legends represent Isaac as an angel made before the world, and descending to earth in human form (Origen, *in Josum.* ii. § 25); as one of the three men in whom human sinfulness has no place, as one of the six over whom the angel of death has no power (Eisenmenger, *Ent. Jud.* i. 343, 864). He is said to have been instructed in divine knowledge by Shem (Jarchi, *on Gen.* xxv.). The ordinance of evening prayer is ascribed to him (Gen. xxiv. 63), as that of morning prayer to Abraham (xix. 27), and night prayer to Jacob (xxviii. 11) (Eisenmenger, *Ent. Jud.* i. 483).

The Arabian traditions included in the Koran represent Isaac as a model of religion, a righteous person inspired with grace to do good works, observe prayer, and give alms (ch. 21), endowed with the divine gifts of prophecy, children, and wealth (ch. 19). The promise of Isaac and the offering of Isaac are also mentioned (ch. 11, 38). Faith in a future resurrection is ascribed to Abraham; but it is connected, not as in Heb. xi. 19 with the offering of Isaac, but with a fictitious miracle (ch. 2). W. T. B.

* A few additional words should be said on some of the points introduced or suggested in the foregoing article.

It is well to notice in regard to the origin of Isaac's name, that while it was given by divine command (Gen. xvii. 19), the reason for giving it is not explicitly stated. The historian employs the word on which the name is founded just before (ver. 17), in speaking of Abraham's joy on being assured that the child of promise was about to be born after so long a delay; and again, shortly after that (xviii. 12), in speaking of Sarah's incredulity as to the possibility of her becoming a mother at so advanced an age. We may infer, therefore, that the name was designed to embody and commemorate these incidents in the family-history. It represents, indeed, very different states of mind but no violence is done thereby to the Hebrew word, which readily admits of the twofold combination. No doubt Sarah refers once more to the signification of the name, on the occasion of formally giving it to the child at the time of circumcision (Gen. xxi. 3 ff.); but in that instance her object was simply to recognize in the better sense of the name a symbol and pledge of joy both to herself and to the multitude of others who should be blessed in the promised seed. Such reasons for the name are certainly not inconsistent with each other, and, still less, are they so inconsistent as to discredit the narrative as one made up from contradictory sources. For some good remarks on the significance of "birth-names," the reader may consult Wilkinson's *Personal Names of the Bible*, pp 256–312 (Lond. 1865).

It will be noticed above that some of the opinions respecting the typical character of Abraham's offering up of Isaac extend the analogy to numerous and very minute correspondences. It is of some importance here to distinguish between such opinions of interpreters and the explicit teaching of Scripture on this subject; so as not to make the sacred writers answerable for views or principles of exegesis in the allegorizing of the O. T. history, which in the hands of some expositors have led to very fanciful conclusions. It seems unreasonable to deny altogether a symbolic significance to this sacrificial act and its concomitants, both on account of its suitableness in itself considered to shadow forth Christian ideas and relations, and also on account of some hints given by Paul which point in that direction. The most extended reference to Isaac in the N. T. is that in Gal. iv. 21–31. Yet the intimations there in regard to his typical character, leave it questionable whether the Apostle meant to recognize the general facts of his history as in a strict sense prophetic of the N. T. dispensation, or simply to use the facts for the purpose of illustration. The points of comparison which the Apostle draws out in that passage are the following: As Ishmael was born in accordance with the laws of nature, so the Jews are a mere natural seed; but Christians who obtain justification in conformity with the promise made to Abraham, are the true promised seed, even as Isaac was. Further, as in the history of Abraham's family, Ishmael persecuted Isaac, the child of promise, so it should not be accounted strange that under the Gospel, the natural seed, that is, the Jews, should persecute the spiritual seed, that is, Christians. And finally, as Isaac was acknowledged as the true heir, but Ishmael was set aside, so must it be as to the difference which exists between Jews and believers. The former, or, in other words, those who depend on their own merit for obtaining the favor of God, will be rejected, while those who seek it by faith shall obtain the heavenly inheritance. It may be remarked that this parallelism (whether illustrative only or typical) enables the Apostle skilfully to recapitulate the prominent doctrines of the whole epistle, and thus to leave them so associated in the minds of the Galatians with a familiar and striking portion of sacred history, that the teachings of the epistle could never be easily forgotten.

No mention is made in Genesis of Ishmael's persecuting Isaac; but Ishmael's mocking at the feast of weaning (Gen. xxi. 8, 9) reveals the spirit out of which an active hostility would be expected to

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grew in due time. In all probability Paul refers to such effects of that spirit, well known to the Jews of his time, from traditionary sources. For other examples of traditions thus recognised as true, see under ABIATHAR (Amer. ed.). Beer (*Leben Abraham's*, pp. 49, 170) shows that the Jews found in Ishmael's "mocking" a significant intimation of the alienation and strife which marked the subsequent relations of the two brothers to each other.

Of the precise age of Isaac at the time of the great trial of Abraham's faith, we obtain no knowledge from the Bible. That he was no longer a child, but was at least approaching his manhood, is evident from the fact that the wood was laid on him, as the father and the son went up the mountain. He is called at that time a lad in the A. V. (Gen. xxii. 5), but the same Hebrew term (נַעַר) is applied also to the servants who accompanied Abraham on this journey. When Josephus speaks of him as then twenty-five years old (*Ant.* i. 13, § 2), it is a conjecture only, without any proof from Scripture or elsewhere to warrant so precise a statement. The full consent of Isaac to the wishes and design of Abraham must be taken for granted, as otherwise a resistance could have been made by the stronger to the weaker, rendering it difficult to bind the victim to the altar. It is evident from Heb. xi. 19, that the pious Hebrews regarded this trial of Abraham's character as illustrating not so much a blind submission to the will of God, whatever this might seem to require, as an unwavering faith in the power and willingness of God to bring back the son to life if the father's hand must slay him. The question of the place of sacrifice is discussed under MORIAH (Amer. ed.). The view maintained there, that it was some mount near Jerusalem, in all probability the temple-mount itself (2 Chr. iii. 1), is also that of Baumgarten (*Pentateuch*, i. 227); Knobel (*Die Genesis erklärt*, p. 174); Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 476, comp. iii. 313 f., 3e Aufl.); Hengstenberg (*Authentie des Pent.* ii. 195 ff.); Winer (*Realw.* ii. 108); Delitzsch (*Genesis*, p. 406 ff., and Edinb. transl. p. 249); Kurtz (*Geschichte des A. Bundes*, i. 213 f.), and others.

It has been made an objection to the accuracy of the Biblical history of the patriarchs that so many similar events and so many identical names of persons and places occur in the account of the different men. But it is not to be forgotten that the dissimilarity in what is related of them is incomparably greater than the agreement. Their personal characteristics are unlike, bearing unmistakable marks of originality and individuality. Isaac never goes beyond the boundary of Palestine, though Abraham and Jacob roamed from one extreme part of the East to another. The domestic events also of their respective families were as diverse as the vicissitudes of human condition could well permit, Abimelech's lawless seizure of the wives of the two strangers (Gen. xx. 2 ff., and xxvi. 6 ff.) proves only that the same passions belong to men in successive generations, and prompt to the same acts in the presence of the same temptations. That, leading as they all did a nomadic life, they should occasionally visit the same places, was natural and inevitable. Abraham and Isaac appear at different times at Gerar and Beer-sheba, but the fertility of these places, or the opportunity for obtaining water, accounts for that coincidence. The recurrence of the same personal names, *e. g.*, Abimelech and Phichol, in the intercourse of Abraham and Isaac with the Philistines, has its perfect analogy in the present customs of the East. It is generally allowed that ABIMELECH (which see) like Pharaoh in Egypt, and Cæsar among the Romans, was a royal title, and not the name of a single individual. But Phichol also, says Thomson (*Land and Book*, ii. 352), "may have been a name of office, as *mushir* or *mushtir* now is in this country. If one of these officers is spoken of, his *name* is rarely mentioned. I, indeed, never knew any but the official title of these Turkish officers." It is alleged as a difficulty that Beer-sheba is represented as receiving its name from Abraham, and then again from Isaac, in ratification, in both instances, of a similar covenant between them and the native chiefs or *sheiks* of the region. But we have here an example merely of the reaffirmation of a name (as in other instances, *e. g.* BETHEL) under new circumstances such as made the name doubly significant, or revived it after having fallen partially into disuse. Beer-sheba, being well known when Genesis was written, the name occurs proleptically in xxi. 14. But it was first so called when Abraham established there a treaty of peace with Abimelech respecting the well in dispute between them (Gen. xxi. 31). A similar difficulty arose between Isaac and the Abimelech who succeeded the other: and that being settled by a like treaty sealed with sacrifices and oaths, Isaac reimposed the appropriate name in token of the same happy issue of the strife. It was this restoration of the name, it would seem, that made it permanent through all time (Gen. xxvi. 33).

For an outline of the events in Isaac's life, and a discussion of some of the historical and exegetical questions which the narrative presents, the reader may see Kurtz's *Geschichte des A. Bundes*, i. 218–239. This writer regards "the ground-type of Isaac's character as a certain elasticity of endurance which does not resist evil, does not contend against it, but overcomes it by patience and concession (see Gen. xxvi. 17–22); and, in this respect, Isaac is truly great and worthy of admiration. That this greatness of men is usually unrecognized and abused, detracts nothing from its worth: and that in Isaac also it was mixed and marred by a degree of weakness and want of self command" shows that human virtue has its unavoidable limitations. Hess has sketched the patriarch's life with mingled praise and censure in his *Geschichte der Patriarchen*, ii. 3–64. Vaihinger has a brief article on Isaac in Herzog's *Real-Encyk.* vii. 81–83; and also Wunderlich, in Zeller's *Bibl. Wörterb.* i. 730 ff. The portraiture of Isaac's life, as this latter writer remarks, does not indeed impress us as that of an extraordinary personality; but, on the other hand, we are to remember that the design of Scripture here is, not to present men to us, even the elect ones, as they should be, but as they are. A spirit of humility and honesty must stamp itself on biography so written. It is not to be forgotten that what we know of the faults of good men in the Bible, rests, in great part, on confessions which they themselves have made, and not on the accusation of others. Bishop Hall's reflections on "Isaac's offering" (*Contemplations*, iv. bk. ii.) are characteristic and interesting. H.

* **ISAAC**, twice used (Am. vii. 9, 16, where the form is יִצְחָק) as a poetic synonym for Israel, *i. e* the ten tribes. Hence "the high-places

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of Isaac" (ver. 9) are the sanctuaries of idol worship to which the Israelites resorted in their apostasy from Jehovah. The LXX. go further, and find a sarcasm in the use and the import of the name (*βωμοὶ τοῦ γέλωτος*, "altars of laughter," but the laughter to become a *mockery* in the day of God's visitation). This hidden meaning is far-fetched. Pusey (*Amos*, p. 211) regards it with favor. H.

ISAI'AH [3 syl.] (יְשַׁעְיָהוּ, *i. e.* Yeshayahu [*Jehovah's help* or *salvation*], always in Heb. Text; but in Rabbinical superscriptions of the Heb. Bible ישעיה: Ἡσαΐας: *Isaias*). The Hebrew name, our shortened form of which occurs of other persons [see JESAIAH, JESHAIAH], signifies *Salvation of Jahu* (a shortened form of *Jehovah*). Reference is plainly made by the prophet himself (Is. viii. 18), to the significance of his own name as well as of those of his two sons. His father Amoz (אָמוֹץ, Ἀμώς) must not be confounded, as was done by Clemens Alexandrinus and some other of the Fathers through their ignorance of Hebrew, with the prophet Amos (עָמוֹס, in LXX. also Ἀμώς), who flourished in the reign of Jeroboam II. Nothing whatever is known of Amoz. He is said by some of the Rabbins to have been also a prophet, and brother of king Amaziah — the latter apparently a mere guess founded on the affinity of the two names. Kimchi (A. D. 1230) says in his commentary on Is. i. 1, "We know not his race, nor of what tribe he was."

I. The first verse of the book runs thus: "The vision of Isaiah the son of Amoz, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah." A few remarks on this verse will open the way to the solution of several inquiries relative to the prophet and his writings.

1. This verse is not the preface to the first chapter only, nor to any small portion of the book, as is clear from the enumeration of the four kings. It plainly prefaces at least the first part of the book (chs. i.–xxxix.), which leaves off in Hezekiah's reign; and as there appears no reason for limiting its reference even to the first part, the obvious construction would take it as applying to the whole book (comp. Hos. i. 1; Mic. i. 1). The word *vision* Heb. is a collective noun, as in 2 Chr. xxxii. 32; the חָזוֹן is never found in the plural. As this is the natural and obvious bearing of the verse,

2. We are authorised to infer, that no part of the *vision*, the fruits of which are recorded in this book, belongs to the reign of Manasseh. Hypotheses, therefore, which lengthen Isaiah's prophetic ministration into the reign of Manasseh, appear to lack historical foundation. A rabbinical tradition, it is true, apparently confirmed by the διεπρίσθησαν of Heb. xi. 37, which can be referred to no other known fact, reports the prophet to have been sawn asunder[a] in the trunk of a tree by order of Manasseh; but the hostility of the party opposed to the service of Jehovah, which gained the ascendency at the accession of that prince, had been sufficiently excited by the prophet during the reign of his predecessor to prompt them to the murder, without our lengthening the period of his prophesying beyond the limits which this verse assigns. For indeed —

3. Isaiah must have been an old man at the close of Hezekiah's reign. The ordinary chronology gives 758 B. C. for the date of Jotham's accession, and 698 for that of Hezekiah's death. This gives us a period of 60 years. And since his ministry commenced before Uzziah's death (how long we know not), supposing him to have been no more than 20 years old when he began to prophesy, he would have been 80 or 90 at Manasseh's accession.

4. The circle of hearers upon whom his ministry was immediately designed to operate is determined to be "Judah and Jerusalem." True, we have in the book prophecies relating to the kingdom of Israel — as also to Moab, Babylon, and other heathen states; but neither in the one case nor the other was the prophesying designed for the benefit of these foreign states, or meant to be communicated to them, but only for Judah, now becoming the sole home of Hebrew blessings and hopes. Every other interest in the prophet's inspired view moves round Judah, and is connected with her.

5. It is the most natural and obvious supposition that the "visions" are in the main placed in the collection according to their chronological order; and this supposition it would be arbitrary to set aside without more solid reasons than the mere impulses of subjective fancy. We grant that this presumption might be overruled, if good cause were shown; but till it is shown, we have no warrant for rejecting the principle that the present arrangement is in the main founded upon chronological propriety, only departed from in cases where (as is very natural to suppose) similarity of character occasioned the grouping together of visions which were not uttered at the same time.

6. If then we compare the contents of the book with the description here given of it, we recognize prophesyings which are certainly to be assigned to the reigns of Uzziah, Ahaz, and Hezekiah; but we cannot so certainly find any belonging to the reign of Jotham. The form of the expression in vi. 1, "the year that king Uzziah died," fixes the time of that vision to the close of Uzziah's reign, and not to the commencement of Jotham's. What precedes ch. vi. may be referred to some preceding part of Uzziah's reign: except perhaps the first chapter; this may be regarded as a general summary of advice founded upon the whole of what follows, — a kind of general preface; corresponding at the commencement of the book to the parænesis of the nine chapters at its close. Ch. vii. brings us at once from "the year that king Uzziah died" to "the days of Ahaz." We have then nothing left for Jotham's reign, unless we suppose that some of the group of "burdens" in xiii.–xxiii. belong to it, or some of the perhaps miscellaneous utterances in xxviii.–xxxv. It may be that prophesyings then spoken were not recorded, because, applying to a state of things similar to what obtained in the latter part of Uzziah, they were themselves of a similar strain with chs. ii.–v.

7. We naturally ask, Who was the compiler of the book? The obvious answer is, that it was Isaiah himself aided by a scribe; comp. the very interesting glimpse afforded us by Jer. xxxvi. 1–5, of the relation between the utterance of prophecies and their writing. Isaiah we know was otherwise

[a] The traditional spot of the martyrdom is a very old mulberry-tree which stands near the Pool of Siloam on the slopes of Ophel, below the S. E. wall of Jerusalem.

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an author; for in 2 Chr. xxvi. 22 we read: "Now the rest of the acts of Uzziah first and last did Isaiah the son of Amoz the prophet write"; and though that historical work has perished, the fact remains to show that Isaiah's mind was not alien from the cares of written composition (comp. also 2 Chr. xxxii. 32: and observe the first person used in viii. 1–5). The organic structure of the whole book also, which we hope to make apparent, favors the same belief. On the whole, that Isaiah was himself the compiler, claims to be accepted as the true view. The principal objection deserving of notice is that founded upon xxxvii. 38. It has been alleged (Hitzig, *in loc.*) that Sennacherib's murder took place B. C. 696, two years after Manasseh's accession; others, however, question this (comp. Hävernick's *Einleitung*): at all events the passage is quite reconcilable with the belief of Isaiah's being the compiler, if we suppose him to have lived two or three years after Manasseh's accession, even without our having recourse to the expedient of attributing the verse in question and the one before it to a later hand. The name given in xxxvi. 11, 13, to the Hebrew spoken in Jerusalem, "the Jews' language," יְהוּדִית, is no evidence of a later age; it is perfectly conceivable that while the *written* language remained the same in both kingdoms, as is evidenced by the prophetical books, the *spoken* dialect (comp. Judg. xii. 6) of the kingdom of Judah may have diverged so far from that of the (now perished) kingdom of Israel as to have received a distinct designation; and its name would naturally, like that of the kingdom itself, be drawn from the tribe which formed the chief constituent of the population. As we are seeking for objective evidence, we may neglect those wild hypotheses which some have indulged in, respecting an original work and its subsequent modifications: for since they originate in the denial of divine inspiration conjoined with reliance on a merely subjective appreciation of the several writings, such hypotheses must be assigned to the region of fancy rather than of historic investigation.

3. In this introductory verse we have yet to notice the description which it gives of Isaiah's prophesyings: they are "the *vision* which he saw." When we hear of *visions* we are apt to think of a mental condition in which the mind is withdrawn altogether from the perception of objects actually present, and contemplates, instead of these, another set of objects which appear at the moment sensibly present — a sort of dream without sleep. Such a vision was that of St. Peter at Joppa. Such again we recognize in Is. vi. — the only instance of this kind of pure vision in the book; in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zechariah, they abound. But Isaiah's mental state in his prophesying appears ordinarily to have been different from this. Outward objects really present were not withdrawn from his perception, but appear to have blended to his view, at times, with the spiritual which was really present, though not recognizable except to the eye of faith (*e. g.*, the presence of Jehovah); at times, with the future, whether sensible or spiritual, which seemed to the prophet as if actually present. In this view, his prophesyings are not to be regarded as utterances, in the delivery of which the Holy Ghost employed the intellectual and physical organs of the prophet as mere instruments wielded by itself, but as *seen* i. e., the description by the prophet himself under divine direction (2 Tim. iii. 16) of that which at the time he seemed to himself to see. If this view be just, it follows that in the descriptions which the prophet gives of that which appeared to be before him, we cannot be at once sure, whether he is describing what was actually objectively present, or whether the objects delineated as present belonged to the future. For example; at first sight the description given of the condition of Judah in i. 5–9, portraying an invasion, might be understood of what was actually present, and so might lead us either to supplement the history of 2 K. with a hypothetical invasion, or put forward the time of the prophesying to Ahaz or Hezekiah. But recollecting that it is *vision*, we see that it may be taken as simply predictive and threatening, and therefore as still spoken in Uzziah's reign. Similarly iii. 8, v. 13, x. 28–32, are all predictive. So in the second part is lxiv. 11. Further, it would be only in accordance with this method of prophetic sight if we found the prophet describing some future time as if present, and from that standing-point announcing some more distant future, sometimes as future, and sometimes, again, as present. And in fact it is thus that Isaiah represents the coming fortunes of God's people in the second part of his prophecy. Comp. xlii. 13–17, xlix. 18, xlv. 1–4, liii. 3–10, 11, 12, lxiii. 1–6, as illustrations of the manner in which the relations of past, present, and future time are in vision blended together.

It has been remarked above as characteristic of Isaiah's ordinary prophetic vision, that the actually present is not lost to view. In fact this was essential to his proper function. His first and immediate concern was with his contemporaries, as the reprover of sin, and to build up the piety of believers. Even when his vision the most contemplates the future, he yet does not lose his reference to the present, but (as we shall see even in the second part) he makes his prophesyings tell by exhortation and reproof upon the state of things actually around him. From all this it results, that we often find it difficult to discriminate his predictions from his rebukes of present disorders. His contemporaries, however, would be under no such difficulty. The idolatrous and ungodly Hebrew would promptly recognize his own description; the pious would be confirmed and cheered.

II. In order to realize the relation of Isaiah's prophetic ministry to his own contemporaries, we need to take account both of the foreign relations of Judah at the time, and internally of its social and religious aspects. Our materials are scanty, and are to be collected partly out of 2 K. and 2 Chr., and partly out of the remaining writings of contemporary prophets, Joel (probably), Obadiah, and Micah, in Judah; and Hosea, Amos, and Jonah, in Israel. Of these the most assistance is obtained from Micah.

1. Under Uzziah the political position of Judah had greatly recovered from the blows suffered under Amaziah; the fortifications of Jerusalem itself were restored; castles were built in the country; new arrangements in the army and equipments of defensive artillery were established; and considerable successes in war gained against the Philistines, the Arabians, and the Ammonites. [UZZIAH.] This prosperity continued during the reign of Jotham, except that, towards the close of this latter reign, troubles threatened from the alliance of Israel and Syria. [JOTHAM.] The consequence of this prosperity was an influx of wealth, and this with the increased means of military strength withdrew men's

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confidence from Jehovah, and led them to trust in worldly resources. Moreover great disorders existed in the internal administration, all of which, whether moral or religious, were, by the very nature of the commonwealth, as theocratic, alike amenable to prophetic rebuke. It was the very business of Isaiah and other prophets to raise their voices as public reformers, as well as to fulfill the work which belongs to religious teachers in edifying God's true servants and calling the irreligious to repentance. Accordingly our prophet steps forward into public view with the divine message, dressed after the manner of prophets in general — girded in coarse and black, or at least dark colored, hair-cloth (comp. Is. xx. 2, l. 3: 2 K. i. 8; Zech. xiii. 4) — emblematically indicating by this attire of mourning that Jehovah spoke to his people in grief and resentment. [SACKCLOTH.] From his house, which appears to have been in Jerusalem (comp. vii. 3, xxxvii. 5), he goes forth to places of general concourse, chiefly no doubt, as Christ and his Apostles afterwards did, to the colonnades and courts of the Temple, and proclaims in the audience of the people "the word of Jehovah."

2. And what is the tenor of his message in the time of Uzziah and Jotham? This we read in chs. i.–v. Chap. i. is very general in its contents. In perusing it we may fancy that we hear the very voice of the Seer as he stands (perhaps) in the Court of the Israelites denouncing to nobles and people, then assembling for divine worship, the whole estimate of their character formed by Jehovah, and his approaching chastisements. "They are a sinful nation; they have provoked the Holy One of Israel to anger. Flourishing as their worldly condition now appears, the man whose eyes are opened sees another scene before him (1–9) — the land laid waste, and Zion left as a cottage in a vineyard — (a picture realized in the Syro-Ephraimitish war, and more especially in the Assyrian invasion — the great event round which the whole of the first part of the book revolves). Men of Sodom and Gomorrah, that they are, let them hearken! they may go on if they will with their ritual worship, 'trampling' Jehovah's courts; nevertheless, He loathes them: the stain of innocent blood is on their hands: the weak are oppressed; there is bribery and corruption in the administration of justice. Let them reform; if they will not, Jehovah will burn out their sins in the smelting fire of his judgment. Zion shall be purified, and thus saved, whilst the sinners and recreants from Jehovah in her shall perish in their much-loved idolatries." This discourse suitably heads the book; it sounds the key-note of the whole; fires of judgment destroying, but purifying a remnant — such was the burden all along of Isaiah's prophesyings.

Of the other public utterances belonging to this period, chs. ii.–iv. are by almost all critics considered to be one prophesying — the leading thought of which is that the present prosperity of Judah should be destroyed for her sins, *to make room for the real glory of piety and virtue;* while ch. v. forms a distinct discourse, whose main purport is that Israel, God's vineyard, shall be brought to desolation. The idolatry denounced in these chapters is to be taken as that of private individuals, for both Uzziah and Jotham served Jehovah. They are prefaced by the vision of the exaltation of the mountain on which Jehovah dwells above all other mountains, to become the source of light and moral transformation to all mankind (ii. 2–4).

Here we are met by the fact that this same vision is found in very nearly the same words in Micah iv. 1–3. The two prophets were contemporary, and one may very well have heard the other, and adopted his words. Compare a nearly similar phenomenon in 1 Pet. v. 5–9, compared with Jam. iv. 6–10; for Peter and James had no doubt often heard each other's public teaching at Jerusalem. Which was the prior speaker of the words we cannot in either case determine. In many cases *writers* of Scripture adopt the words of former inspired *writers;* why not speakers also? In this instance, Isaiah or Micah may without improbability be imagined as standing by whilst the other announced Jehovah's word, and himself, still under divine inspiration, afterwards repeating the same word. As among the prophets in the Christian Church some were directed to remain in silence, and "judge" whilst others spoke; so we may believe that occasions frequently occurred in which the prophesying of one sable-dressed prophet was listened to, and ratified by other prophets, one or more, standing by, who might add their testimony: "This *is* the word of Jehovah" (comp. 1 K. xxii. 11, 12).

After thus refreshing pious souls with delineating future (Messianic) glories, Isaiah is recalled by the sad present. Far distant is God's people as yet from the high calling of being the teacher of the world. "All is now wrong. Heathenism is flooding the land with charmers and diviners, with silver and gold, with horses and chariots, and with *idols!* Jehovah, forgive them not! — Jehovah's day of judgment is coming, when all human glory shall disappear before *his* glory, and in consternation Hebrew idolaters shall hurl their images into any corner. Lo, Jehovah-Zebaoth will take away every stay of order and well-being in the state, leaving only the refuse of society to rule (if indeed they will) the desolated city. Look at them only! They are as shameless as Sodom! O my people, thy leaders lead thee astray, thy princes oppress: what mean ye that ye grind the faces of *my* poor? saith Jehovah. Look again at their ladies, with their jewels and their head-gear, and their fine dresses and their trinkets! Jehovah will take all of it away, leaving to them only shame and sackcloth. Yes, Zion shall lose both sons and daughters (so many are they who offend!), and bereaved of all shall sit on the bare ground. Yet out of these judgments shall issue purity and peace. He, the Branch of Jehovah's appointing (iv. 2), shall appear in glory and the redeemed springing out of the earth shall shine with accordant splendor in what is left of Israel. All in Zion shall then be holy, and the pillar of fire by night, and the overshadowing cloud by day, shall as of yore cheer and protect — what is precious must needs be protected! Sweet shall be the security and refreshment of those days."

Again the prophet is seen in the public concourse. At first he invites attention by reciting a parable (of the vineyard) in calm and composed accents (ch. v.). But as he interprets the parable his note changes, and a sixfold "woe" is poured forth with terrible invective. It is levelled against the covetous amassers of land, breaking down those landmarks which fenced the small hereditary freeholders whose perpetuity formed an essential element in the original constitution of the Hebrew commonwealth (comp. 1 K. xxi. 3); against luxurious revellers; against bold sinners who defied

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God's works of judgment, with which the prophets threatened them (comp. the similar association of revelling with hardened unbelief in Israel, Am. v. 18, vi. 3–6); against those who confounded moral distinctions; against self-conceited skeptics; and against profligate perverters of judicial justice. In fury of wrath Jehovah stretches forth his hand. Here there is an awful vagueness in the images of terror which the prophet accumulates, till at length out of the cloud and mist of wrath we hear Jehovah hiss for the stern and irresistible warriors (the Assyrians), who from the end of the earth should crowd forward to spoil, — after which all distinctness of description again fades away in vague images of sorrow and despair.

What effect (we may ask) would such denunciations produce upon the mass of Hebrew hearers? It was not from Isaiah only that the same persons heard them. Oppression, denounced by him (iii. 14, 15, v. 7–10), was denounced also by Micah (ii. 1, 2); maladministration of justice (Is. i. 23, v. 23) is noted also by Micah (iii. 1–3, 9–11, vii. 3); the combination of idolatry, diviners, and horses found in Is. ii. 6–8, 15, is paralleled in Mic. v. 10–15. This concurrence of prophetical testimony would not be without weight with those who had still some faith in Jehovah. But the worldly-minded, however silent when flagrant immorality was censured, might find what they would count plausible ground for demurring, when the prophet put the multiplication of gold, silver, horses, and chariots, in the same category with idols, or when with unsparing satire he particularized articles of female adornment as objects of Jehovah's wrath. But God's law through Moses had given similar injunctions (Deut. xvii. 16, 17); and indeed in general there is not a single page of the prophetic books in which the Pentateuch is not again and again referred to. The Hebrew commonwealth was not designed to be a commercial state, but a system of small hereditary land-owners under a theocracy. Material progress and ever heightening embellishment, whether in the court or in society in general, with the men or with the women, removed it further and further from its original constitution, and from Jehovah its God. Something resembling Spartan plainness belonged essentially to the idea of the Hebrew state.

3. In the year of Uzziah's death an ecstatic vision fell upon Isaiah, which, in compiling his prophecies long after, he was careful to record, both for other reasons, and also because he had then become aware of the failure of his ministry in reference to the bulk of his contemporaries, and of the desolation, yet not without hope, which awaited his people. We see in the case of St. Peter at Joppa (Acts x. 9–16) that such a state of *ecstasis*, though unquestionably of divine origin, yet in its form adapts itself to the previous condition, whether corporeal or psychological, of the patient. Isaiah at this period (as we must infer from the placing of the narrative) had been already for some time engaged in his ministry; and we may venture to surmise he lamented his little success. Seeing what he saw around him, and foreseeing what he foresaw, could he do otherwise than feel deeply how little he was able to effect for the welfare of his beloved country? In this vision he saw Jehovah, in the Second Person of the Godhead (John xii. 41; comp. Mal. iii. 1), enthroned aloft in his own earthly tabernacle, attended by seraphim, whose praise filled the sanctuary as it were with the smoke of incense. As John at Patmos, so Isaiah was overwhelmed with awe: he felt his own sinfulness and that of all with whom he was connected, and cried "woe" upon himself as if brought before Jehovah to receive the reward of his deeds. But, as at Patmos, the Son of Man laid his hand upon John saying, "Fear not!" so, in obedience evidently to the will of Jehovah, a seraph with a hot stone taken from the altar touched his lips, the principal organ of good and evil in man, and thereby removing his sinfulness, qualified him to join the seraphim in whatever service he might be called to. And now the condescending invitation of the Great King is heard: "Whom shall *I* send? Who will go for us?" "Here am I! send me." Had he not borne Jehovah's commission before? No doubt he had; yet now, with the intenser sense of the reality of divine things which that hour brought him, he felt as if he had not. What heaven-taught minister does not understand this? And what was to be the nature of his work? "Make the understanding of *this* people (not "my people") torpid; dull their ears; close up their eyes; the more they hear thy word, the more hardened they shall become; they must not, they shall not, receive the message so as to repent." A heart-crushing commission for one who loved his people as Isaiah did! The moan of grief at length finds utterance: "Lord, how long?" "Till the land be desolate — saving a small remnant, utterly desolate — a remnant of a holy seed, which will be a stock to sprout forth, but again and again to be cut back and burnt, and yet still to survive."

This vision in the main was another mode of representing what, both in previous and in subsequent prophesyings, is so continually denounced — the almost utter destruction of the Hebrew people, with yet a purified remnant. But while this prediction was its principal purport, we are sure that the inspired editor of his prophesyings so many years after, beheld in it also the sketch of the fruits of his ministry, which at the time when the revelation was made to him must have had no small effect upon his own private feelings. He goes afresh about his work, despairingly as to the main result for the present, yet with seraph-like zeal, ardent and heaven-purged, and not without hope too, for the time to come. The "holy seed" was to be the "stock." It was to be his business to form that holy seed.

It is a touching trait, illustrating the prophet's own feelings, that when he next appears before us, some years later, he has a son named Shearjashub, "Remnant-shall-return." The name was evidently given with significance; and the fact discovers alike the sorrow which ate his heart, and the hope in which he found solace.

4. Some years elapse between chs. vi. and vii. and the political scenery has greatly altered. The Assyrian power of Nineveh now threatens the Hebrew nation; Tiglath-pileser has already spoiled Pekah of some of the fairest parts of his dominions — of the country east of Jordan and the vale of the Sea of Galilee, removing the inhabitants probably to people the wide and as yet uninhabited space inclosed by the walls of Nineveh (B. C. 746). After the Assyrian army was withdrawn, the Syrian kingdom of Damascus rises into notice; its monarch, Rezin, combines with the now weakened king of Israel, and probably with other small states around, to consolidate (it has been conjectured) a power which shall confront Assur. Ahaz keeps aloof

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and becomes the object of attack to the allies; he has been already twice defeated (2 Chr. xxviii. 5, 6); and now the allies are threatening him with a combined invasion (741). The news that "Aram is encamped in Ephraim" (Is. vii. 2) fills both king and people with consternation, and the king is gone forth from the city to take measures, as it would seem, to prevent the upper reservoir of water from falling into the hands of the enemy. Under Jehovah's direction Isaiah goes forth to meet the king, surrounded no doubt by a considerable company of his officers and of spectators.[a] The prophet is directed to take with him the child whose name, Shearjashub, was so full of mystical promise, to add greater emphasis to his message. "Fear not," he tells the king, "Damascus is the head of Syria, and of Syria only; and Rezin head of Damascus, and not of Jerusalem; and within 65 years Ephraim shall be broken, to be no more a kingdom: so far shall Ephraim be from annexing Judah! Samaria again is head only of Ephraim, and Remaliah's son only of Samaria. If ye will be established, believe this!"

"Dost thou hesitate? Ask what sign thou wilt to assure thee that thus it shall be." The young king is already resolved not to let himself into the line of policy which Isaiah is urging upon him; he is bent upon an alliance with Assyria. To ask a sign might prove embarrassing; for, if it should be given ———? Ahas therefore, with a half-mocking show of reverence, declines to "tempt Jehovah." "O house of David, are ye not satisfied with trying the patience of an honest and wisely advising prophet, that you will put this contempt also upon the God who speaks through me? Jehovah himself, irrespective of your deservings, gives you a guarantee that the commonwealth of Israel is not yet to perish. Behold, the *Virgin* is with child, and is bearing a son, and thou, O mother (comp. Gen. xvi. 11), shalt call his name Immanuel. I seem to see that Child already born! Behold Him there! Cream and honey, abundance of the best food, shall he eat, when, ten or twenty years hence, he comes to the age of discretion; the devastating inroad of Syria and Israel shall be past then; for before that, the land of the two kings thou holdest so formidable shall be desolate. But ' —here the threat which mingles with the promise in *Shearjashub* appears — "upon thy people and upon thy family, not only in thy lifetime, but afterwards, Jehovah will bring an enemy more terrible than Jacob has ever known, Asshur — Asshur, whom thou wouldest fain hire to help (v. 20), but who shall prove a razor that will shave but too clean; he shall so desolate the land that its inhabitants shall be sparse and few." Again Isaiah predicts the Assyrian invasion; comp. ch. xxxvi.[b]

5. As the Assyrian empire began more and more to threaten the Hebrew commonwealth with utter overthrow, it is now that the prediction of the Messiah, the Restorer of Israel, becomes more positive and clear. Micah (v. 2) points to Bethlehem as the birthplace, and (v. 3) speaks of "her that travaileth" as an object to prophetic vision seeming almost present. Would not Micah and Isaiah confer with each other in these dark days of prevailing unbelief, upon the cheering hope which the Spirit of Christ that was in them suggested to their minds? (comp. Mal. iii. 16).

The king was bent upon an alliance with Assyria. This Isaiah stedfastly opposes (comp. x. 20). In a theocracy the messenger of Jehovah would frequently appear as a political adviser. "Neither fear Aram and Israel, for they will soon perish; nor trust in Asshur, for she will be thy direst oppressor." Such is Isaiah's strain. And by divine direction he employs various expedients to make his testimony the more impressive. He procured a large tablet (viii. 1), and with witnesses (for the purpose of attesting the fact, and displaying its especial significance) he wrote thereon in large characters suited for a public notice the words[c] HASTENBOOTY SPEEDSPOIL; which tablet was no doubt to be hung up for public view, in the entrance (we may suppose) to the Temple (comp. "priest," ver. 2). And further: his wife — who, by the way, appears to have been herself possessed of prophetic gifts, for "prophetess" always has this meaning and nowhere indicates a *prophet's wife* merely—just at this time apparently gave birth to a son. Jehovah bids the prophet give him the name *Hastenbooty Speedspoil*, adding, what Isaiah was to avow on all occasions, that before the child should be able to talk, the wealth of Damascus and the booty of Samaria should be carried away before the king of Assyria.

The people of Judah was split into political factions. The court was for Assyria, and indeed formed an alliance with Tiglath-pileser; but a popular party was for the Syro-Ephraimitic connection formed to resist Assyria — partly actuated by their fears of a confederacy from which they had already severely suffered, and partly perhaps influenced by sympathies of kindred race, drawing them to Israel, and even to Aram, in opposition to the more foreign Assyria. "Fear none but Jehovah only! fear Him, trust Him; He will be your safety." Such is the purport of the discourse viii. 5–ix. 7; in which, however, he augurs coming distress through the rejection of his counsels, but refreshes himself with the thought of the birth of the Great Deliverer.[d]

[a] The reader will observe the particular specification of the place, indicating the authenticity of the narrative. (Comp. Blunt's *Undesigned Coincidences*, pt. iii. no. 1.)

[b] That the birth of the Messiah is here pointed to cannot be doubted; indeed even Ewald sees this. But the exact interpretation of vv. 15, 16, is hard to determine. That given above is in the main Hengstenberg's (*Christology*, vol. ii.). The great difficulty which attaches to it is that the prophet represents Christ as already appearing, reckoning from his birth at the then present time, forward to the desolation of Syria and Israel within a few years. This difficulty is, however, alleviated by the consideration that the prophet states the future as exhibited to him in "vision," and in such prophetic vision the distances between events in point of time are often unperceived by the seer, who perhaps might sometimes in his own private interpretation of the vision (comp. 1 Pet. i. 10) have misconceived the relations of time in regard to events. The very clearness with which the future event was exhibited to him might deceive him in judging of its nearness. In the N. T. we have a somewhat similar phenomenon in the estimate formed by the Apostles and others of the relation of time between Christ's coming to judge Jerusalem and his second coming at the end of the world.

[c] A. V. Maher-shalal-hash-baz; by Luther rendered *Raubebald, Eilebeute*.

[d] With reference to Tiglath-pileser's having recently removed the population of Galilee, the prophet specifies that "as the former time brought humiliation in the direction of Zebulun and Naphtali," located on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee, "so the latter time

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The inspired advice was not accepted. Unbelief not discerning the power and faithfulness of Jehovah would argue that isolation was ruin, and accordingly involved Judah in alliances which soon brought her to almost utter destruction.

6. A prophecy was delivered at this time against the kingdom of Israel (ix. 8–x. 4), consisting of four strophes, each ending with the terrible refrain: "for all this, his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still." It announces that all expedients for recovering the power which Israel had lately lost were nugatory; they had forsaken Jehovah, and therefore God-forsaken (x. 4) they should perish. As Isaiah's message was only to Judah, we may infer that the object of this utterance was to check the disposition shown by many in Judah to connect Judah with the policy of the sister kingdom.

7. The utterance recorded in x. 5–xii. 6, one of the most highly wrought passages in the whole book, was probably one single outpouring of inspiration. It stands wholly disconnected with the preceding in the circumstances which it presupposes; and to what period to assign it, is not easy to determine.[a] To allay the dread of Assyria which now prevailed, Isaiah was in God's mercy to his people inspired to declare, that though heavy judgments would consume the bulk of the nation, yet Shearjashub! the remnant should return (x. 20–22; comp. vii. 3), and that the Assyrian should be overthrown in the very hour of apparently certain success by agency whose precise nature is left in awful mystery (x. 33, 34). From the destruction of Judah's enemies thus representatively foreshadowed, he then takes wing to predict the happy and peaceful reign of the "Twig which was to come forth from the stump of Jesse," when the united commonwealth of Judah and Ephraim should be restored in glory, and JAH JEHOVAH should be celebrated as the proved strength of his people. Here again is set forth a great deliverance, possibly the foreshadowing of xxxvii.

8. The next eleven chapters, xiii.–xxiii., contain chiefly a collection of utterances, each of which is styled a "burden."[b] As they are detached pieces, it is possible they have been grouped together without strict observance of their chronological order.

(*a.*) The first (xiii. 1–xiv. 27) is against Babylon; placed first, either because it was first in point of utterance, or because Babylon in prophetic vision, particularly when Isaiah compiled his book, headed in importance all the earthly powers opposed to God's people, and therefore was to be first struck down by the shaft of prophecy. As yet, not Babylon but Nineveh was the imperial city; but Isaiah possessed not a mere foreboding drawn from political sagacity, but an assured knowledge, that Babylon would be the seat of dominion and a leading antagonist to the theocratic people. Not only did he tell Hezekiah a few years later, when Nineveh was still the seat of empire, that his sons should be carried captive "to Babylon," but in this "burden" he also foretells both the towering ambition and glory of that city, and its final overthrow.[c] The ode of triumph (xiv. 3–23) in this burden is among the most poetical passages in all literature. It is remarkable that the overthrow of Babylon is in vv. 24, 25, associated with the blow inflicted upon the Ninevite empire in the destruction of Sennacherib's army (for here again this great miracle of divine judgment looms out into the prophet's view), which very disaster, however, probably helped on the rise of Babylon at the cost of its northern rival. The explanation seems to be that Babylon was regarded as merely another phase of Asshur's sovereignty (comp. 2 K. xxiii. 29), so that the overthrow of Sennacherib's army was a harbinger of that more complete destruction of the power of Asshur which

should bring these regions honor." A mysterious oracle *then!* But made clear to us by the event (Matt. iv. 16).

a Since the great object of this discourse is to allay Judah's fear of the Assyrian (x. 24), it can hardly belong to the very early part of the reign (742 to 727) of Ahaz; for then the more immediate fear was the Syro-Ephraimite alliance. According to the principle of chronological arrangement which we suppose to have been followed by Isaiah in his compilation, it would be before the death of Ahaz (comp. xiv. 28). Ahaz had "hired" the help of Tiglath-pileser by a large present (2 K. xvi.), and the Assyrian had come and fulfilled (738) the prediction of Isaiah (viii. 4) by capturing and spoiling Damascus. But already, in the time of Ahaz, Assyria began to occasion uneasiness to Judah (2 Chr. xxviii. 20). Shalmaneser succeeded Tiglath-pileser not later than 728, and might not care much for his predecessor's engagements — if, indeed, Tiglath-pileser himself felt bound by them. At any rate, so encroaching a power, bent on conquest, must needs be formidable to the feeble kingdom of Judah, Syria being now conquered and Israel powerless. Critics, who do not take sufficient account of the manner in which future events are represented in the predictions of inspiration as already taking place, have been led to unsettle the chronology by observing that Samaria is described by the boasting Assyrian as being already as Damascus, and that the invading army is already near Jerusalem. But the conquest of Samaria was already announced at the beginning of the reign of Ahaz (viii. 4) as equally certain with that of Damascus; and the imagery of x. 28–32 is probably that in which the imagination of one familiar with the passes of the country would obviously portray an invader's approach. The destruction of Sennacherib's army is the centre object of the first part of the book; and the action of predictive prophecy, and of miracle in relation to it, cannot be gainsaid without setting aside the authenticity of the narrative altogether.

b This remarkable word, מַשָּׂא, "lifting up," is variously understood, some taking it to refer to evils to be borne by the parties threatened, others as a lifting up of the voice in a solemn utterance. A hundred years later the term had been so misused by false prophets, that Jeremiah (xxiii. 33–40) seems to forbid its use. See 1 Chr. xv. 22, where in text and margin of A. V. it is rendered "song," "carriage," and "lifting up."

c Compare our remarks in p. 1160. Even if this were conceded to be the production of a later prophet than Isaiah (which there is no just cause whatever for believing), the problem which it presents to skepticism would remain as hard as ever; for whence should its author learn that the ultimate condition of Babylon would be such as is here delineated? (xiii. 19–22). In no time of Hebrew literature was there reason to anticipate this of Babylon in particular more than of other cities. In vain does skepticism quote xvii. 1; nothing is said there of the *ultimate* condition of Damascus; and it is obvious enough that any such blow as that (*e. g.*) inflicted by Tiglath-pileser would make Damascus for a while appear to be "no city" compared with what it had been, and would convert many of its streets into desolation. How different the language used of Babylon! And how wonderfully verified by time! We have the parallel language and verification in reference to Idumæa (xxxiv.).

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this burden announces. This prophecy is a note of preparation for the second part of the book: for the picture which it draws of Babylon, as having Jacob in captivity, and being compelled to relinquish her prey (xiv. 1–3), is in orief the same as is more fully delineated in xlvii.: while the concluding verses about Sennacherib's army (24–27) stand in somewhat the same relation to the rest of the "burden," as the full history in xxxvi., xxxvii stands to xl.–xlviii.

(*b.*) The short and pregnant "burden" against Philistia (xiv. 29–32) in the year that Ahaz died, was occasioned by the revolt of the Philistines from Judah and their successful inroad, recorded 2 Chr. xxviii. 18. "If Judah's rule was a serpent, that of Assyria would prove a basilisk — a flying dragon; let their gates howl at the smoke which announced the invading army! Meanwhile Zion would repose safe under the protection of her king:" — language plainly predictive, as the compiler in giving the date evidently felt; comp. xxxvii.

(*c.*) The "burden of Moab" (xv., xvi.) is remarkable for the elegiac strain in which the prophet bewails the disasters of Moab, and for the dramatic character of xvi. 1–6, in which 3–5 is the petition of the Moabites to Judah, and ver. 6 Judah's answer.[a] For Moab's relation to Israel see MOAB.

(*d.*) Chapters xvii., xviii. This prophecy is headed "the burden of Damascus;" and yet after ver. 3 the attention is withdrawn from Damascus and turned to Israel, and then to Ethiopia. Israel appears as closely associated with Damascus, and indeed dependent upon her, and as having adopted her religious rites, "strange slips," ver. 10 (comp. 2 K. xvi. 10, of Ahaz), which shall not profit her. This brings us to the time of the Syro-Ephraimitic alliance; at all events Ephraim has not *yet* ceased to exist. Chap. xvii. 12–14, as well as xviii. 1–7, point again to the event of xxxvii. But why this here? The solution seems to be that, though Assyria would be the ruin both of Aram and of Israel, and though it would even threaten Judah ("us," ver. 14), it should not then conquer Judah (comp. turn of xiv. 31, 32). And with this last thought ch. xviii. is inseparably connected; for it is a call of congratulation to Ethiopia ("woe" in ver. 1 of A. V. should be "ho!" as lv. 1; also in ver. 2 omit "saying"), whose deputies, predictively imagined as having come to Palestine to learn the progress of the Assyrian invasion (comp. xxxvii. 9), are sent back by the prophet charged with the glad news of Asshur's overthrow described in vv. 4–6. In ver. 7 we have the conversion of Ethiopia; for "the people tall, and shorn" is itself "the present" so be brought unto Jehovah. (Comp. Acts viii. 26–39, and the present condition of Ethiopia.)

These repeated predictions of Zion's deliverance from Asshur, in conjunction with Asshur's triumph over Zion's enemies, entered deeply into the essence of the prophet's public ministry; the great aim of which was to fix the dependence of his countrymen entirely upon Jehovah.

(*e.*) In the "burden of Egypt" (xix.) the prophet seems to be pursuing the same object. Both Israel (2 K. xvii. 4) and Judah (Is. xxxi.) were naturally disposed to look towards Egypt for succor against Assyria. Probably it was to counteract this tendency that the prophet is here directed to prophesy the utter helplessness of Egypt under God's judgments: she should be given over to Asshur (the "cruel lord" and "fierce king" of ver. 4, not Psammetichus), and should also suffer the most dreadful calamities through civil dissensions and through drought, — unless this drought is a figure founded upon the peculiar usefulness of the Nile, and the veneration with which it was regarded (1–15). But the result should be that numerous cities of Egypt should own Jehovah for their God, and be joined in brotherhood with his worshippers in Israel and in Asshur; — a reference to Messianic times.[b]

(*f.*) In the midst of these "burdens" stands a passage which presents Isaiah in a new aspect, an aspect in which he appears in this instance only. It was not uncommon both in the O. T. and in the New (comp. Acts xxi. 11) for a prophet to add to his spoken word an action symbolizing its import Sargon, known here only, was king of Assyria, probably between Shalmaneser and Sennacherib. His armies were now in the south of Palestine besieging Ashdod. It has been plausibly conjectured that Tirhakah, king of Meroë, and Sethos, the king of Egypt, were now in alliance. The more emphatically to enforce the warning already conveyed in the "burden of Egypt" — not to look thitherward for help — Isaiah was commanded to appear in the streets and temple of Jerusalem stripped of his sackcloth mantle, and wearing his vest only, with his feet also bare. "Thus shall Egyptians and Ethiopians walk, captives before the king of Assyria." For three years was he directed (from time to time, we may suppose) thus to show himself in public view, — to make the lesson the more impressive by constant repetition.

(*g.*) In "the burden of the desert of the sea," a poetical designation of Babylonia (xxi. 1–10), the images in which the fall of Babylon is indicated are sketched with Æschylean rapidity, and certainly not less than Æschylean awfulness and grandeur. As before (xiii. 17), the Medes are the captors. It is to comfort Judah sighing under the "treacherous spoiling" (v. 2) and continual "threshing" (v. 10) of Asshur — Ninevite and Babylonian — that the Spirit of God moves the prophet to this utterance.[c]

(*h.*) "The burden of Dumah," — in which the watchman can see nothing but night, let them ask him as often as they will — and "of Arabia" (xxi. 11–17), relate apparently to some Assyrian invasion.

(*i.*) In "the burden of *the valley of vision*" (xxii. 1–14), it is doubtless Jerusalem that is thus designated, and not without sadness, as having been so long the home of prophetic vision to so little result. The scene presented is that of Jerusalem

[a] A good deal of this burden is an enlargement of Num. xxi. 27–30, from the imitation of which the closing of its style in part arises. It in turn reappears in an enlarged edition in Jer. xlviii. The two concluding verses (Is. xvi. 13, 14), which furnish no real ground for doubting whether Isaiah wrote the whole of it, recount that of old time the purport of this denunciation has been decreed (namely, in Num. xxi. and xxiv. 17), but that within three years it should *begin* to be fulfilled. It was not completely fulfilled even in Jeremiah's time.

[b] Comp. the close of the "burden of Tyre." The "city of destruction" (xix 18) is supposed by many to be Beth-shemesh of Jer. xliii. 13, specified because hitherto an especial seat of idolatry. Onias's misuse of this prediction is well known. [See IR-HA-HERES.

[c] In vv. 3 and 4 the poet dramatically represents the feelings of the Babylonians.

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during an invasion; in the hostile army are named Elam and Kir, nations which no doubt contributed troops both to the Ninevite and to the Babylonian armies. The latter is probably here contemplated.[a] The homiletic purpose of this prediction in reference to Isaiah's contemporaries, was to inculcate a pious and humble dependence upon Jehovah in place of any mere fleshly confidence.

(*k.*) The passage xxii. 15–25 is singular in Isaiah as a prophesying against an individual. Comp. the word of Amos (vii.) against Amaziah, and of Jeremiah (xx.) against Pashur. Shebna was probably as ungodly as they. One of the king's highest functionaries, he seems to have been leader of a party opposed to Jehovah (v. 25, "the burden that is upon it"). Himself a stranger in Jerusalem — perhaps an alien, as Ewald conjectures from the un-Hebrew form of his name — he may have been introduced by Hezekiah's predecessor Ahaz; he made great parade of his rank (ver. 18; comp. 2 Sam. xv. 1), and presumed upon his elevation so far as to hew out a tomb high up in the cliffs (probably on the western or southwestern side of Jerusalem, where so many were excavated), as an ostentatious display of his greatness (comp. 2 Chr. xxxii. 33, *margin*). We may believe him to have been engaged with this business outside the walls when Isaiah came to him with his message. Shebna fancies his power securely rooted; but Jehovah will roll him up as a ball and toss him away into a far distant land, — *disgrace that he is to his master!* his stately robes of office, with his broad magnificent girdle, shall invest another, Eliakim. Ch. xxxvi. 3, seems to indicate a decline of his power, as it also shows Eliakim's promotion to Shebna's former post. Perhaps he was disgraced and exiled by Hezekiah, after the event of xxxvii., when the sinners in Zion were overawed and great ascendency for a while secured to the party which was true to Jehovah. If his fall was the consequence of the Assyrian overthrow, we can better understand both the denunciation against the individual and the position it occupies in the record.

(*l.*) The last "burden" is against Tyre (xxiii.). The only cause specified by Isaiah for the judgment upon Tyre is her pride (ver. 9; comp. Ez. xxviii. 2, 6); and we can understand how the Tyrians, proud of their material progress and its outward displays, may have looked with contempt upon the plainer habits of the theocratic people. But this was not the only ground. The contagion of her idolatry reached Jerusalem (1 K. xi. 5, 33; 2 K. xi. 18, xxiii. 13). Otherwise also she was an injurious neighbor (Ps. lxxxiii. 7; Joel, iii. 6; Am. i. 9). It therefore behoved Jehovah, both as avenging his own worship, and as the guardian and avenger of his peculiar people, to punish Tyre. Shalmaneser appears to have been foiled in his five years' siege; Nebuchadnezzar was more successful, capturing at least the mainland part of the city; and to this latter circumstance ver. 13 refers.[b] In vv. 15–17 it seems to be intimated that when the pressure of Asshur should be removed (by the Medo-Persian conquest), Tyre should revive. Her utter destruction is not predicted by Isaiah as it afterwards was by Ezekiel. Ver. 18 probably points to Messianic times: comp. Mark vii. 26; Acts xxi. 3; Euseb. *H. E.* x. 4.

9. The next four chapters, xxiv.–xxvii., form one prophecy essentially connected with the preceding ten "burdens" (xiii.–xxiii.), of which it is in effect a general summary; it presents previous denunciations in one general denunciation which includes the theocratic people itself, and therewith also the promise of blessings, especially Messianic blessings, for the remnant. It no longer particularizes (Moab, xxv. 10, represents all enemies of God's people, as Edom does in lxiii. 1), but speaks of judgments upon lands, cities, and oppressors in general terms, the reference of which is to be gathered from what goes before.[c]

The elegy of xxiv. is interrupted at ver. 13 by a glimpse at the happy remnant (ver. 15, *fires* probably means *east*), but is resumed at ver. 16, till at ver. 21 the dark night passes away altogether to usher in an inexpressibly glorious day.[d]

In xxv., after commemorating the destruction of *all* oppressors ("city" ver. 2, contemplates Babylon as type of all), the prophet gives us in vv. 6–9 a most glowing description of Messianic blessings, which connects itself with the N. T. by numberless links, indicating the oneness of the prophetic Spirit ("the Spirit of Christ," 1 Pet. i. 11), with that which dwells in the later revelation.[e]

In xxvi., vv. 12–18 describe the new, happy state of God's people as God's work wholly (comp. 13, "by thee only"); all *their* efforts were fruitless till God graciously interposed. The new condition of Israel is figuratively a resurrection (comp. Ezekiel's vision of dry bones, Ez. xxxvii.), a fruit of omnipotent agency; as indeed the glorified state of the Church hereafter will be literally a resurrection.

In xxvii. 1, "Leviathan the fleeing serpent, and Leviathan the twisting serpent, and the dragon in the sea," are perhaps Nineveh and Babylon — two phases of the same Asshur — and Egypt (comp. ver. 13); all, however, symbolizing adverse powers of evil. The reader will observe that in this period of his ministry, Isaiah already contemplates the

[a] That it is not Sennacherib's invasion, we infer from the unrelieved description of godlessness and recklessness (vv. 11, 12), and the threatened punishment unto death (ver. 14), whereas Hezekiah's piety was conspicuous, and saved the city. (Comp. 2 Chr. xxxvi. 12, 16.) Moreover, the famine in 2 K. xxv. 3 throws light on Is. xxii. 2. That vv. 9–11 agree with 2 Chr. xxxii. 3–5 proves nothing: the same measures would be taken in any invasion (comp. Is. vii. 3). The former part of ver. 2 and vv. 12, 13, describe the state of things preceding the imagined present.

[b] "Behold the land of the Chaldæans; this people," *i. e.* the Chaldæans, "was not: Asshur founded it for the inhabitants of the wilderness," assigning a location to the Chaldæans, heretofore nomadic, Job i. 17; "they," the Chaldæans, "set up their watch-towers; they demolished her (Tyre's) palaces: He made her a ruin." In the face of all external evidence, we cannot accept Ewald's ingenious conjecture of בְּנֵעִים for בַּשְׁדִּים.

[c] Thus comp. xxiv. 13–15, xxvii. 9, with xvii 5–8; also xxv. 2 with xiii. 19; also xxv. 8–12 with xviii. 7, xxiii. 18; and xxv. 5 with xviii. 4–6.

[d] In ver. 21, "Jehovah shall visit the host of the height" — stars, symbolic of rulers, as Mark xiii. 25. The "ancients" of ver. 23 represent the Church, like the elders in Rev. iv. 4.

[e] In ver. 7 "the face," *i. e.* "the surface of the covering," is the veil itself as lying upon the earth "of the covering." In ver. 11 we have the fruitless endeavors of Moab to escape out of the flood of God wrath.

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future deliverance of his people as a restoration from captivity, especially from Assyria, vv. 12, 13 (comp. xi. 11, 16), as he does in the second part; — Babylon being a second phase of Asshur.

10. Chs. xxviii.–xxxv. The former part of this section seems to be of a fragmentary character, being, as Hengstenberg with much probability conjectures, the substance of discourses not fully communicated, and spoken at different times. The latter part hangs more closely together, and may with considerable certainty be assigned to the time of Sennacherib's invasion. At such a season the spirit of prophecy would be especially awake.

Ch. xxviii. 1–6 is clearly predictive; it therefore preceded Shalmaneser's invasion, when Samaria, "the crown of pride" surmounting its beautiful hill, was destroyed. But the men of Judah also, ver. 7 (comp. ver. 14), are threatened. And here we have a picture given us of the way in which Jehovah's word was received by Isaiah's contemporaries. Priest and prophet were drunk with a spirit of infatuation, — "they erred in vision, they stumbled in judgment," and therefore only scoffed at his ministrations.[a]

In the lips of these false prophets, prophesying, in proportion to its falsehood, would be exaggerated in the wildness and incoherency of the style. Hence the scoffing prophets and priests made it a matter of reproach against Isaiah that his style was so plain and simple — as if he were dealing with little children, ver. 9. And in mockery they accumulate monosyllables as imitating his style (tsav la-tsav, tsav la-tsav, kav la-kav, kav la-kav, zeeir sham, zeeir sham, ver. 10). "Twist my words" (is Isaiah's reply) "into a mocking jabber if ye will; God shall in turn speak to you by the jabber of foreign invaders!" (comp. Deut. xxviii. 49). They trusted that they had made a "vision" — a compact with death and hell (vv 15, 18, "agreement," Hebr. *vision*), and that through the measures which they, seer and priest together, had adopted, no invasion should hurt them. But the stone which Jehovah lays in Zion (God's own prophets) alone secures those who trust in it; ye shall perish (16–22). Ver. 16 is applied in the N. T. to Christ; he is now the prophet who saves those who believe in him. This glimpse into Hebrew life explains to us in part the cause of the failure of the prophetic ministry. The travesty of "the word of Jehovah" preoccupied men's minds, or at least confused them; while further the conflicting voices of different prophets, the false and the true, would furnish them, as in all ages it does to the worldly and the skeptical, a ground for entire disbelief.

"Cannot ye wise men apply to the conduct of your affairs in relation to God that shrewdness and wisdom, which the farmer displays in dealing with his various businesses, and which God has given alike to him and to you?" (23–29).

Ch. xxix. Jerusalem was to be visited with extreme danger and terror, and then sudden deliverance, vv. 1–8. (Sennacherib's invasion again!) But the threatening and promise seemed very enigmatical; prophets, and rulers, and scholars, could make nothing of the riddle (9–12). Alas! the people themselves will only hearken to the prophets and priests speaking out of their own heart; even their so-called piety to Jehovah is regulated, not by his true organs, but by pretended ones, ver. 13 (comp. the condition of the Jews in relation to their rabbins and to Christ, Matt. xv. 8, 9); but all their vaunted policy shall be confounded; the wild wood shall become a fruitful field, and the fruitful field a wild wood; — the humble pupils of Jehovah and these self-wise leaders shall interchange their places of dishonor and prosperity, vv. 13–24.

One instance of the false leading of these prophets and priests (xxx. 1) in opposition to the true prophets (vv. 10, 11) was the policy of courting the help of Egypt against Assyria. Against this, Isaiah is commanded to protest, which he does both in xxx. 1–17, and in xxx. 1–3, pointing out at the same time the fruitlessness of all measures of human policy and the necessity of trusting in Jehovah alone for deliverance. In xxx. 18–33, and xxxi. 4–9, there is added to each address the prediction of the Assyrian's overthrow and its consequences, xxx. 19–24, in terms which, when read in the light of the event, seem very clear, but which no doubt appeared to the worldly and skeptical at the time mere frenzy.

As the time approaches, the spirit of prophecy becomes more and more glowing; that marvelous deliverance from Asshur, wherein God's "Name" (xxx. 27) so gloriously came near, opens even clearer glimpses into the time when God should indeed come and reign, in the Anointed One, and when virtue and righteousness should everywhere prevail (xxxii. 1–8, 15–20); then the mighty Jehovah should be a king dwelling amongst his people (xxxiii. 17, 22); he should himself be a sea of glory and defense encircling them, in which all hostile galleys should perish. At that glorious display of Jehovah's nearness (namely, that afforded in the Assyrian's overthrow), they who had rejected Jehovah in his servants and prophets, the sinners in Zion, should be filled with dismay, dreading lest his terrible judgment should alight upon themselves also (xxxiii. 14). With these glorious predictions are blended also descriptions of the grief and despair which should precede that hour, xxxii. 9–14 (?)[b] and xxxiii. 7–9, and the earnest prayer then to be offered by the pious (xxxiii. 2).

In ch. xxxiv. the prediction must certainly be taken with a particular reference to Idumæa (this is shown by the challenge in ver. 16, to compare the fulfillment with the prophecy); we are however led, both by the placing of the prophecy and by lxiii. 2, to take it in a general sense as well as typical.[c]

[a] "The priest and the prophet." There is no reason to understand these as connected with idolatry. There were always (it would seem) a numerous party who assumed the hair-wove mantle of the prophet ("wearing a hairy garment to deceive"); and these cable-clad men perhaps even swarmed in the streets of Jerusalem. (Elijah, p. 708, note c.) The priests, on the other hand, were the aristocracy of Judah, and, under the king, to a great extent ruled its policy. Like the coalition of strategus and orator at Athens, so priest and prophet played into each other's hands at Jerusalem. Whatever public policy the priests advised, they would be seconded therein by prophets, "in the name of Jehovah." Isaiah's contemporary shows us in what an unprincipled manner the prophets abused their function for their own advantage (Mic. iii. 5–7, 11): "The prophets prophesied falsely, and the priests bare rule by their means" (Jer. v. 31). Hence prophets and priests are so often named together (comp. xxix. 9, 10).

[b] In ver. 10, read "some days over a year shall ye be troubled."

[c] The reference to "the book of Jehovah," ver. 16 as containing this prediction, deserves notice. As the

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As xxxiv. has a general sense, so xxxv. indicates in general terms the deliverance of Israel as if out of captivity, rejoicing in their secure and happy march through the wilderness. It may be doubted whether the description is meant to apply to any deliverance out of temporal captivity, closely as the imagery approaches that of the second part. It rather seems to picture the march of the spiritual Israel to her eternal Zion (Heb. xii. 22).

11. xxxvii.–xxxix. — At length the season so often, though no doubt obscurely foretold, arrived. The Assyrian was near with forces apparently irresistible. In the universal consternation which ensued, all the hope of the state centred upon Isaiah; the highest functionaries of the state, — Shebna too, — wait upon him in the name of their sovereign, confessing that they were now in the very extremity of danger (xxxvii. 3), and entreating his prayers; — a signal token this, of the approved fidelity of the prophet in the ministry which he had so long exercised. The short answer which Jehovah gave through him was, that the Assyrian king should hear intelligence which would send him back to his own land, there to perish. The event shows that the intelligence pointed to was that of the destruction of his army. Accordingly Hezekiah communicated to Sennacherib, now at Libnah, his refusal to submit, expressing his assurance of being protected by Jehovah (comp. ver. 10). This drew from the Assyrian king a letter of defiance against Jehovah himself, as being no more able to defend Jerusalem, than other tutelary gods had been to defend the countries which he had conquered. On Hezekiah spreading this letter before Jehovah in the Temple for him to read and answer (ver. 17), Isaiah was commissioned to send a fuller reply to the pious king (21–35), the manifest object of which was the more completely to signalize, especially to God's own people themselves, the meaning of the coming event.[a] *How* the deliverance was to be effected, Isaiah was not commissioned to tell; but the very next night (2 K. xix. 35) brought the appalling fulfillment. A divine interposition so marvelous, so evidently miraculous, was in its magnificence worthy of being the kernel of Isaiah's whole book; it is indeed *that* without which the whole book falls to pieces, but with which it forms a well-organized whole (comp. Ps. lxxvi., xlvi., xlviii.).

Chs. xxxviii., xxxix. chronologically precede the two previous ones;[b] but there seems to be a twofold purpose in this arrangement: one ethical, to illustrate God's discipline exercised over his most favored servants, and the other literary, to introduce by the prediction of the Babylonian Captivity the second part of the book. As the two preceding chapters look back upon the prediction of the first part, and therefore stand even before xxxviii., so xxxix. looks forward to the subsequent prophesyings, and is therefore placed immediately before them.[c]

12. The last 27 chapters form a prophecy, whose coherence of structure and unity of authorship are generally admitted even by those who deny that it was written by Isaiah. The point of time and situation from which the prophet here speaks, is for the most part that of the Captivity in Babylon (comp., *e. g.*, lxiv. 10, 11). But this is adopted on a principle already noted as characterizing "vision," namely, that the prophet sees the future as if present. That the present with the prophet in this section was imagined and not real, is indicated by the specification of sins which are rebuked; as neglect of sacrifices (xliii. 22–24), unacceptable sacrifices (lxvi. 3), various idolatries (lvii. 3–10) lxv. 3, 4); sins belonging to a period before the exile, and not to the exile itself.[d] But that this imagined time and place should be maintained through so long a composition, is unquestionably a remarkable phenomenon. It is, however, explained by the fact, that the prophet in these later prophesyings is a writer rather than a public speaker, writing for the edification of God's people in those future days of the approach of which Isaiah was aware. For the punishment of exile had been of old denounced in case of disobedience even by Moses himself (Lev. xxvi. 31–35), and thus contemplated by Solomon (1 K. viii. 46–50); moreover, Isaiah had himself often realized and predicted it, with reference repeatedly to Babylon in particular (xxxix. 6, 7, xxvii. 12, 13, xxi. 2, 10, xiv. 2, 3, xi. 11, 12, vi. 11, 12); which was also done by Micah (iv. 10, vii. 12, 13). Apart therefore from the immediate suggestion of an inspiring afflatus, it was a thought already fixed in Isaiah's mind by a chain of foregoing revelations, that the Hebrews would be deported to Babylon, and that too within a generation or two. We dwell upon this, because it must

prophet's spoken word was "the *word* of Jehovah," so his written word is here called "the *book* of Jehovah." It shows Isaiah's estimate of his prophetical writings. So xxx. 8 points to an enduring record in which he was to deposit his testimony concerning Egypt. (In xxx. 9, for "That this is," etc., read "Because this is," etc.)

[a] How like Isaiah's style the whole passage is! xxxvii. 26 refers to the numerous predictions of Ashur's conquests and overthrow found in preceding parts of the book (comp. xliv. 8; xlvi. 9–11, &c.). Comp. ver. 27 with xli. 2. "Sign" in ver. 30, as in vii. 14–16; — There must be a remnant; therefore ye shall now be delivered. For further explanation, Ewald refers to the law in Lev. xxv. 5, 11: "Your condition this year will be like that of a Sabbath year; next year (the land being even then not quite cleared of invaders) like that of the jubilee year: as at the jubilee the Hebrew commonwealth starts afresh, restored to its proper condition, so now reformation, the fruit of affliction, shall introduce better days" (ver. 31).

[b] For Hezekiah's sickness was 15 years before his death, whereas the destruction of Sennacherib's army (so chronologers determine) occurred 12 or 13 years before the same date.

[c] Since xxxviii. 9–20 is not in 2 K., and on the other hand in 2 K. are found many touches not found in Is. (*e. g.* 2 K. xviii. 14–16; xx. 4, 5, 9, &c.), critics are generally agreed that neither account was drawn from the other, but both of them from the record mentioned in 2 Chr. xxxii. 32 as "the vision of Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amos, (found) in (not, as in A. V., '*and* in') the book of the kings of Judah and Israel"; which record Isaiah adopted with modifications into the compilation of his prophecies.

[d] As it is for the benefit of God's own people that Isaiah writes, and not to affect heathen nations to whom he had no commission, the arguing against idolatry, of which we have so much in this part, is to be ascribed to idolatrous tendencies among the Hebrews themselves, which ceased at the Captivity; for the deportation probably (Hengst.) affected chiefly the best disposed of the nation, especially the priests, of whom there appears to have been a disproportionate number both among those who were exiled and those who returned.

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so acknowledged, and we have already made the remark, that "vision" even in its most heightened form still adapted itself more or less to the previous mental condition of the seer. We can understand, therefore, how Isaiah might be led to write prophesyings, such as should serve as his ministerial bequest to his people when the hour of their captivity should have fallen upon them.

This same fact, namely, that the prophet is here, in the undisturbed retirement of his chamber, giving us a written prophecy, and not recording, as in the early part of the book, spoken discourses, goes far to explain the greater profusion of words, and the clearer, more flowing, and more complete exposition of thoughts, which *generally* characterize this second part; whereas the first part *frequently* exhibits great abruptness, and a close compression and terseness of diction, at times almost enigmatical — as an indignant man might speak among gainsayers from whom little was to be hoped. This difference of style, so far as it exists (for it has been greatly exaggerated), may be further ascribed to the difference of purpose; for here Isaiah generally appears as the tender and compassionate comforter of the pious and afflicted; whereas before he appears rather as accuser and denouncer. There exists after all sufficient similarity of diction to indicate Isaiah's hand (see Keil's *Einleitung*, § 72, note 7).

This second part falls into three sections, each, as it happens, consisting of nine chapters; the two first end with the *refrain*, "There is no peace, saith Jehovah (*or* "my God"), to the wicked;" and the third with the same thought amplified.

(1.) The first section (xl.–xlviii.) has for its main topic the comforting assurance of the deliverance from Babylon by Koresh (Cyrus) who is even named twice (xli. 2, 3, 25, xliv. 28, xlv. 1–4, 13, xlvi. 11, xlviii. 14, 15).[a] This section abounds with arguments against idolatry, founded mainly (not wholly, see the noble passage xliv. 9–20) upon the gift of prediction possessed by Jehovah's prophets, especially as shown by their predicting Cyrus, and even naming him (xli. 26, xliv. 8, 24–26, xlv. 4, 19, 21, xlvi. 8–11, xlviii. 3–8, 15). Idols and heathen diviners are taunted with not being able to predict (xli. 1–7, 21–24, xliii. 8–13, xlv. 20–21, xlvii. 10–13). This power of foretelling the future, as shown in this instance, is insisted upon as the test of divinity.[b] It is of importance to observe, in reference to the prophet's standing-point in this second part, that in speaking both of the Captivity in Babylon and of the deliverance out of it, there is (excepting Cyrus's name) no specification of particular circumstances, such as we might expect to find if the writer had written at the end of the exile; the delineation is of a general kind, borrowed frequently from the history of Moses and Joshua. Let it be observed, in particular, that the language respecting the *wilderness* (e. g. xli. 17–20), through which the redeemed were to pass, is unmistakably ideal and symbolical.

It is characteristic of sacred prophecy in general, that the "vision" of a great deliverance leads the seer to glance at the great deliverance to come through Jesus Christ. This association of ideas is found in several passages in the first part of Isaiah, in which the destruction of the Assyrian army suggests the thought of Christ (e. g. x. 24–xi. 16, xxxi. 8–xxxii. 2). This principle of association prevails in the second part taken as a whole, but in the first section, taken apart, it appears as yet imperfectly. However, xlii. 1–7 is a clear prediction of the Messiah, and that too as viewed in part in contrast with Cyrus; for the "servant" of Jehovah is meek and gentle (ver. 2, 3), and will establish the true religion in the earth (ver. 4). Nevertheless, since the prophet regards the two deliverances as referable to the same type of thought (comp. lxi. 1–3), so the announcement of one (xl. 3–5) is held by all the four Evangelists, and by John Baptist himself, as predictive of the announcement of the other.[c]

(2.) The second section (xlix.–lvii.) is distinguished from the first by several features. The person of Cyrus as well as his name, and the specification of Babylon (named in the first section four times) and of its gods, and of the Chaldæans (named before five times), disappear altogether. Return from exile is indeed repeatedly spoken of and at length (xlix. 9–26, li. 9–lii. 12, lv. 12, 13, lvii. 14); but in such general terms as admit of being applied to the spiritual and Messianic, as well as to the literal restoration. And that the Messianic restoration (whether a spiritual restoration or not) is principally intended, is clear from the connection of the restoration promised in xlix. 9–25 with the Messiah portrayed in xlix. 1–8;[d] from the description of the suffering Christ (in l. 5, 6) in the midst of the promise of deliverance (l. 1–11); from the same description in lii. 13–liii. 12, between the passages li. 1–lii. 12, and liv. 1–17; and from the exhibition of Christ in lv. 4 (connected in ver. 3 with the Messianic promise given to David), forming the foundation on which is raised the promise of lv. 3–13. Comp. also the interpretation of liv. 13 given by Christ himself in John vi. 45, and that of lxi. 1–3 in Luke iv. 18. In fact the place of Cyrus in the first section is in this second section held by his greater Antitype.[e]

(3.) In the third section (lviii.–lxvi.) as Cyrus

[a] The point has been argued for, and the evidence seems satisfactory (Hävernick, Hengst.), that Koresh, a word meaning *Sun*, was commonly in the East, and particularly in Persia, a title of princes, and that it was assumed by Cyrus, whose original name was Agradates, on his ascending the throne. It stands, however, in history as his own proper name. This instance of particularizing in prophecy is paralleled by the specification of Josiah's name (1 K. xiii. 2) some 360 years before his time.

[b] It is difficult to acquit the passages above cited of impudent and indeed suicidal mendacity, if they were not written before Cyrus appeared on the political scene.

[c] For the discussion and refutation of all expositions which understand by "the servant of Jehovah" here or in the second section, the Jewish people, or the pious among them, or the prophetical order, or some other object than the Messiah, comp. Hengstenberg's *Christology*, vol. ii.

[d] In this passage Christ is called "Israel," as the concentration and consummation of the covenant-people — as he in whom its idea is to be realized.

[e] That Jesus of Nazareth is the object which in "vision" the prophet saw in l. 6, and in lii. 13, liii. 12 (connecting lii. 13 with liii. 12 as one passage), will hardly be questioned amongst ourselves, except by those whose minds are prepossessed by the notion that predictive revelation is inconceivable. Meanwhile all will acknowledge the truth of Ewald's remark: "In the Servant of Jahve, who so vividly hovers before his view, the prophet discerns a new clear light shed abroad over all possible situations of that time; in him he finds the balm of consolation, the cheer of

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nowhere appears, so neither does "Jehovah's servant" occur so frequently to view as in the second. The only delineation of the latter is in lxi. 1–3 and in lxiii. 1–6, 9. He no longer appears as suffering, but only as saving and avenging Zion.[a] The section is mainly occupied with various practical exhortations founded upon the views of the future already set forth. In the second the parænesis is almost all consoling, taking in lv. 1–7 the form of advice; only in lii. and towards the close in lvi. 9–lvii. 14 is the language accusing and minatory. In this third section, on the other hand, the prophesying is very much in this last-named strain (cf. lviii. 1–7, lix. 1–8, lxv. 1–16, lxvi. 1–6, 15–17, 24); taking the form of national self-bewailment in lix. 9–15 and lxiii. 15–lxiv. 12. Still, interspersed in this admonition, accusation, and threatening, there are gleams, and even bright tracts, of more cheering matter; besides the conditional promises as arguments for well-doing in lviii. 8–14 and lxvi. 1, 2, we have the long passage of general and unconditional promise in lix. 20–lxiii. 6, and the shorter ones lxv. 17–25, lxvi. 7–14, 18–23; and in some of these passages the future of Zion is depicted with brighter coloring than almost anywhere before in the whole book. But on the whole the predominant feature of this section is exhortation with the view, as it should seem, of qualifying men to receive the promised blessings. There was to be "no peace for the wicked," but only for those who turned from ungodliness in Jacob; and therefore the prophet in such various forms of exhortations urges the topic of repentance, — promising, advising, leading to confession (lxiv. 6–12; comp. Hos. xiv. 2, 3), warning, threatening. In reference to the sins especially selected for rebuke, we find specified idolatry lxv. 3, 4, 11, lxvi. 17 (as in the second section lvii. 3–10), bloodshedding, and injustice (lix. 1–15), selfishness (lxv. 5), and merely outward and ceremonial religiousness (lxvi. 1–3). If it were not for the place given to idolatry, we might suppose with Dr. Henderson that the spirit of God is already by prophetic anticipation rebuking the Judaism of the time of Jesus Christ, — so accurately in many places are its features delineated as denounced in the N. T. But the specification of idolatry leads us to seek for the immediate objects of this parænesis in the prophet's own time, when indeed the Pharisaism displayed in the N. T. already existed, being in fact in all ages the natural product of an unconverted, unspiritual heart combining with the observance of a positive religion, and in all ages (comp. e. g. Ps. l.) antagonistic to true piety.

While we can clearly discern certain dominant thoughts and aims in each of these three sections, we must not, however, expect to find them pursued with the regularity which we look for in a modern sermon; such treatment is wholly alien from the spirit of prophecy, which always more or less is in the strict sense of the word desultory. Accordingly we find in these, as in the earlier portions of the book, the transitions sudden, and the exhortation every now and then varied by dramatic interlocution, by description, by odes of thanksgiving, by prayers.

III. Numberless attacks have been made by German critics upon the integrity of the whole book, different critics pronouncing different portions of the first part spurious, and many concurring to reject the second part altogether. A few observations, particularly on this latter point, appear therefore to be necessary.

1. The first writer who ever breathed a suspicion that Isaiah was not the author of the last twenty seven chapters was Koppe, in remarks upon ch. l., in his German translation of Lowth's *Isaiah*, published in the years 1779–1781. This was presently after followed up by Döderlein, especially in his Latin translation and commentary in 1789; by Eichhorn, who in a later period most fully developed his views on this point in his *Hebräischen Propheten*, 1816–1819; and the most fully and effectively by Justi. The majority of the German critics have given in their adhesion to these views: as Paulus (1793), Bertholdt (1812), De Wette (1817), Gesenius (1820, 1821), Hitzig (1833), Knobel (1838), Umbreit and Ewald (1841). Defenders of the integrity of the book have not, however, been wanting — particularly Jahn in his *Einleitung* (1802); Möller in his *De Authentiâ Oraculorum Jesaiæ* (Copenhagen, 1825); Kleinert in his *Echtheit des Jesaias* (1829); Hengstenberg in his *Christology*, vol. ii.; Hävernick, *Einleitung*, B. iii. (1849); Stier in his *Jesaias nicht Pseudo-Jesaias* (1850); and Keil, *Einleitung* (1853), in which last the reader will find a most satisfactory compendium of the controversy and of the grounds for the generally received view.

2. The catalogue of authors who gainsay Isaiah's authorship of this second part is, in point of numbers, of critical ability, and of profound Hebrew scholarship, sufficiently imposing. Nevertheless when we come to inquire into their grounds of objection, we soon cease to attach much value to this formidable array of authorities. The circumstance mainly urged by them is the unquestionable fact that the author has to a considerable view taken his standing-point at the close of the Babylonish Captivity as if that were his present, and from thence looks forward into the subsequent future. Now is it possible (they ask) that in such a manner and to such a degree a Seer should step out of his own time, and plant his foot so firmly in a later time? We must grant (they urge) that he might gaze upon a future not very distant, as if present, and represent it accordingly; but in the case before us infallible insight and prescience must be predicated of him; for this idea of an Isaiah who knows even Cyrus's name was not realized for two centuries later, and a chance hit is here out of the question. "This, however, is inconceivable. A prophet's prescience *must* be limited to the notion of foreboding (*Ahnung*), and to the deductions from patent facts taken in combination with real or supposed truths. Prophets were bounded like other men by the horizon of their own age; they borrowed the object of their soothsaying from their

everlasting hope, the weapon wherewith to combat and fight down those who understand not the time, the means of impressive exhortation. And if in this long piece (xl.–lxvi.) a multitude of very diverse weighty thoughts emerge into view, yet this is the dominant thought which binds everything together" (*Propheten*, ii. p. 407).

[a] Restoration from captivity is spoken of in lviii. 12, lxi. 4–7, lxii. 4, 5, 10; but for the most part in such general terms as *might* easily be understood as referring to spiritual restoration only; but since the literal restoration pre-required repentance, this exhortation may be taken with a reference to literal restoration as well.

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present; and excited by the relations of their present they spoke to their contemporaries of what affected other people's minds or their own, occupying themselves only with that future whose rewards or punishments were likely to reach their contemporaries. For exegesis the position is impregnable, that the prophetic writings are to be interpreted in each case out of the relations belonging to the time of the prophet; and from this follows as a corollary the critical Canon: that *that* time, *those* time-relations, out of which a prophetic writer is explained, are *his* time, *his* time-relations; — to that time he must be referred as the date of his own existence" (Hitzig, p. 463–468).

3. This is the main argument. Other grounds which are alleged are confessedly "secondary and external," and are really of no great weight. The most important of these is founded upon the difference in the complexion of style which has already been noticed; this point will come into view again presently. A number of particulars of diction said to be non-Isaianic have been accumulated; but the reasoning founded upon them has been satisfactorily met by opposing evidence of a similar kind (see Keil, *Einleitung*, § 72) It is not, however, on such considerations that the chief stress is laid by the impugners of the Isaianic authorship of this portion of Scripture: the great ground of objection is, as already stated, the incompatibility of those phenomena of prediction which are noted in the writings in question, with the subjective theories of inspiration (or rather non-inspiration) which the reader has just had submitted to him. The incompatibility is confessed. But where is the solution of the difficulty to be sought? Are those theories so certainly true that all evidence must give way to them? This is not the place for combating them: but, for our own part, we are so firmly convinced that the theory is utterly discredited by the facts exhibited to us in the Bible throughout, that we are content to lack in this case the countenance of its upholders. Their judgment in the critical question before us is determined, not by their scholarship, but avowedly by the prepossessions of their unbelief.

4. For our present purpose it must suffice briefly to indicate the following reasons as establishing the integrity of the whole book, and as vindicating the authenticity of the second part: —

(*a.*) *Externally.* — The *unanimous* testimony of Jewish and Christian tradition — Ecclus. xlviii. 24, 25, which manifestly (in the words παρεκάλεσε τοὺς πενθοῦντας ἐν Σιών and ὑπέδειξε — τὰ ὑπόκρυφα πρὶν ἢ παραγενέσθαι αὐτά) refers to this second part. The use apparently made of the second part by Jeremiah (x. 1–16, v. 25, xxv. 31, l., li.), Ezekiel (xxiii. 40, 41), and Zephaniah (ii. 15, iii. 10). The decree of Cyrus in Ezr. i. 2–4, which plainly is founded upon Is. xliv. 28, xlv. 1, 13, accrediting Josephus's statement (*Ant.* xi. 1, § 2) that the Jews showed Cyrus Isaiah's predictions of him. The inspired testimony of the N. T., which often (Matt. iii. 3 and the parallel passages; Luke iv. 17; Acts viii. 28; Rom. x. 16, 20) quotes with specification of Isaiah's name prophecies found in the second part.

(*b.*) *Internally.* — The unity of design and construction which, as we have seen, connects these last twenty-seven chapters with the preceding parts of the book. — The oneness of diction which pervades the whole book. — The peculiar elevation and grandeur of style, which, as is universally acknowledged, distinguishes the whole contents of the second part as much as of the first, and which assigns their composition to the golden age of Hebrew literature. — The absence of any other name than Isaiah's claiming the authorship. At the time to which the composition is assigned, a Zechariah or a Malachi could gain a separate name and book; how was it that an author of such transcendent gifts, as "the Great Unnamed" who wrote xl.–lxvi., could gain none? — The claims which the writer makes to the *fore*knowledge of the deliverance by *Cyrus*, which claims, on the opposing view, must be regarded as a fraudulent personation of an earlier writer. — Lastly, *the predictions which it contains of the character, sufferings, death, and glorification of Jesus Christ:* a believer in Christ cannot fail to regard those predictions as affixing to this second part the broad seal of Divine Inspiration; whereby the chief ground of objection against its having been written by Isaiah is at once annihilated.[a]

IV. It remains to make a few observations on

[a] In the critical discussions respecting the prophecies ascribed to Isaiah, the language which has sometimes been used has led to a misapprehension of the real question at issue. Such terms as "spurious," "Pseudo-Isaiah," have been very naturally understood as implying that the portions so designated are regarded as unworthy of a place among the writings of the Hebrew Prophets, or even as the work of fraud. But this has not been generally, if ever, intended by those who have used such expressions. The question is essentially one of authorship and date; it does not necessarily affect the value, the inspiration, or the canonicity of the portions of Scripture under consideration. Take, for example, the last 27 chapters of Isaiah. Whoever was the author of that wonderful composition, it shines by its own light; and its splendor is not lessened by the supposition that the name of the writer, like that of the Book of Job, must remain unknown. If he were not the Isaiah who wrote the earlier prophecies which have been collected in the same volume, we have two great prophets instead of one. His lofty strains of exhortation, warning, and consolation do not lose their power when we consider them specially adapted to the condition of his immediate contemporaries, rather than designed for the edification of the people 150 years or more after the death of the author. Those who feel compelled from internal evidence to ascribe the latter part of Isaiah to a writer who flourished in the time of the Captivity, do not on that account value the work the less, but regard this view of it as investing it with new interest Thus Dr. Noyes calls the author "the greatest of all the Jewish prophets" (*New Trans. of the Hebrew Prophets*, 4th ed., i. p. xli.); Dean Stanley speaks of these chapters as "the most deeply inspired, the most truly Evangelical, of any portion of the Prophetical writings, whatever be their date, and whoever their author" (*Hist. of the Jewish Church*, ii. 637); and Dean Milman remarks: "It is well known that the later chapters of Isaiah are attributed, by the common consent of most of the profoundly learned writers of Germany . . . to a different writer, whom they call the great nameless Prophet, or the second Isaiah, who wrote during the exile. I must acknowledge that these chapters, in my judgment, read with infinitely greater force, sublimity, and reality under this view. If they lose, and I hardly feel that they do lose, in what is commonly called prophetic, they rise far more in historical, interest. . . . As to what are usually called the Messianic predictions . . . they have the same force and meaning, whether uttered by one or two prophets, at one or two different periods

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Isaiah's style; though in truth the abundance of the materials which offer themselves makes it a difficult matter to give anything like a just and definite view of the subject, without trespassing unduly upon the limits necessarily prescribed to us. On this point we cannot do better than introduce some of the remarks with which Ewald prefaces his translation of such parts of the book as he is disposed to acknowledge as Isaiah's (*Propheten*, i. 166–179): —

"In Isaiah we see prophetic authorship reaching its culminating point. Everything conspired to raise him to an elevation to which no prophet either before or after could as writer attain. Among the other prophets, each of the more important ones is distinguished by some one particular excellence, and some one peculiar talent: in Isaiah, all kinds of talent and all beauties of prophetic discourse meet together so as mutually to temper and qualify each other; it is not so much any single feature that distinguishes him as the symmetry and perfection of the whole.

"We cannot fail to assume, as the first condition of Isaiah's peculiar historical greatness, a native power and a vivacity of spirit, which even among prophets is seldom to be met with. It is but rarely that we see combined in one and the same spirit the three several characteristics of — first, the most profound prophetic excitement and the purest sentiment; next, the most indefatigable and successful practical activity amidst all perplexities and changes of outward life; and, thirdly, that facility and beauty in representing thought which is the prerogative of the genuine poet: but this threefold combination we find realized in Isaiah as in no other prophet; and from the traces which we can perceive of the unceasing joint-working of these three powers we must draw our conclusions as to the original greatness of his genius. — Both as prophet and as author Isaiah stands upon that calm, sunny height, which in each several branch of ancient literature one eminently favored spirit at the right time takes possession of; which seems as it were to have been waiting for *him;* and which, when he has come and mounted the ascent, seems to keep and guard him to the last as its own right man. In the sentiments which he expresses, in the topics of his discourses, and in the manner of expression, Isaiah uniformly reveals himself as the Kingly Prophet.

"In reference to the last named point, it cannot be said that his manner of representing thought is elaborate and artificial: it rather shows a lofty simplicity and an unconcern about external attractiveness, abandoning itself freely to the leading and requirement of each several thought; but nevertheless it always rolls along in a full stream which overpowers all resistance, and never fails at the right place to accomplish at every turn its object without toil or effort.

"The progress and development of the discourse is always majestic, achieving much with few words, which though short are yet clear and transparent; an overflowing, swelling fullness of thought, which might readily lose itself in the vast and indefinite, but which always at the right time with tight rein collects and tempers its exuberance; to the bottom exhausting the thought and completing the utterance, and yet never too diffuse. This severe self-control is the most admirably seen in those shorter utterances, which, by briefly sketched images and thoughts, give us the vague apprehension of something infinite, whilst nevertheless they stand before us complete in themselves and clearly delineated; *e. g.*, vii. 6–ix. 6, xiv. 29–32, xviii. 1–7, xxi. 11, 12; while in the long piece, xxviii.–xxxii., if the composition here and there for a moment languishes, it is only to lift itself up again afresh with all the greater might. In this rich and thickly crowded fullness of thought and word, it is but seldom that the simile which is employed appears apart, to set forth and complete itself (xxxi. 4, 5); in general, it crowds into the delineation of the object which it is meant to illustrate and is swallowed up in it, — aye, and frequently simile after simile; and yet the many threads of the discourse which for a moment appeared ravelled together soon disentangle themselves into perfect clearness; — a characteristic which belongs to this prophet alone, a freedom of language which with no one else so easily succeeds.

"The versification in like manner is always full, and yet strongly marked: while however this prophet is little concerned about anxiously weighing out to each verse its proper number of words; not unfrequently he repeats the same word in two members (xxxi. 8, xxxii. 17, xi. 5, xix. 13), as if, with so much power and beauty in the matter within, he did not so much require a painstaking finish in the outside. The structure of the strophe is always easy and beautifully rounded.

"Still the main point lies here, — that we cannot in the case of Isaiah, as in that of other prophets, specify any particular peculiarity, or any favorite

(*Hist. of the Jews*, i. 462, note, new Amer. ed.). Davidson, in his *Introduction to the Old Testament* (iii. 59), after a full discussion of the authorship, concludes as follows: "Among all the prophetic writings, the first place in many respects is due to those of the younger Isaiah. . . . None has announced in such strains as his the downfall of all earthly powers; or [so] unfolded to the view of the afflicted the transcendent glory of Jehovah's salvation which should arise upon the remnant of Israel, forsaken and persecuted. None has penetrated so far into the essence of the new dispensation. . . . There is majesty in his sentiments, beauty and force in his language, propriety and elegance in his imagery." Delitzsch, one of the most orthodox and conservative of the modern German theologians, in his elaborate article on *Isaiah* in Fairbairn's *Imperial Bible Dictionary*, maintains that all the prophecies in the book which bears the name of Isaiah are correctly ascribed to him; but also remarks that, on the contrary supposition, "the prophetic discourses chs. xl.–lxvi. would not necessarily lose anything of their predictive character and of their incomparable value. Their anonymous author might pass henceforward, also, as the greatest evangelist of the Old Testament. We have no doctrinal reasons which would forbid us to distinguish in the book of Isaiah prophecies of Isaiah himself, and prophecies of anonymous prophets annexed to these." (Fairbairn, i. 805, 806.) He had before spoken of the composite character of the historical books of the Old Testament, and of the book of Proverbs, "where, under the name of Solomon, the gnomic pearls of different times and of several authors are arranged beside one another, just as in the Psalter the poets of many centuries are collected under the banner of David, the father of lyric poetry." So Prof. Stuart observes, "It is of little or no theological or doctrinal importance which way this question is decided" (*Crit. Hist. of the Old Test Canon*, p. 109). On this subject see also the excellent remarks of Stanley, in his Note "On the Authorship of the Books of the Old Testament," appended to vol. ii. of his *History of the Jewish Church*. A.

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color as attaching to his general style. *He is not the especially lyrical prophet, or the especially elegiacal prophet, or the especially oratorical and hortatory prophet, as we should describe a Joel, a Hosea, a Micah, with whom there is a greater prevalence of some particular color; but, just as the subject requires, he has readily at command every several kind of style and every several change of delineation; and it is precisely this that, in point of language, establishes his greatness, as well as in general forms one of his most towering points of excellence.* His only fundamental peculiarity is the lofty, majestic calmness of his style, proceeding out of the perfect command which he feels he possesses over his subject-matter. This calmness, however, no way demands that the strain shall not, when occasion requires, be more vehemently excited and assail the hearer with mightier blows; but even the extremest excitement, which does here and there intervene, is in the main bridled still by the same spirit of calmness, and, not overstepping the limits which that spirit assigns, it soon with lofty self-control returns back to its wonted tone of equability (ii. 10–iii. 1, xxviii. 11–23, xxix. 9–14). Neither does this calmness in discourse require that the subject shall always be treated only in a plain, level way, without any variation of form; rather, Isaiah shows himself master in just that variety of manner which suits the relation in which his hearers stand to the matter now in hand. If he wishes to bring home to their minds a distant truth which they like not to hear, and to judge them by a sentence pronounced by their own mouth, he retreats back into a popular statement of a case drawn from ordinary life (vv. 1–6, xxviii. 23–29). If he will draw the attention of the overwise to some new truth, or to some future prospect, he surprises them by a brief oracle clothed in an enigmatical dress, leaving it to their penetration to discover its solution (vii. 14–16, xxix. 1–8). When the unhappy temper of people's minds which nothing can amend leads to loud lamentation, his speech becomes for a while the strain of elegy and lament (i. 21–23, xxii. 4, 5). Do the frivolous leaders of the people mock? — he outdoes them at their own weapons, and crushes them under the fearful earnest of divine mockery (xxviii. 10–13). Even a single ironical word in passing will drop from the lofty prophet (xvii. 3, *glory*). *Thus his discourse varies into every complexion: it is tender and stern, didactic and threatening, mourning and again exulting in divine joy, mocking and earnest;* but ever at the right time it returns back to its original elevation and repose, and never loses the clear ground-color of its divine seriousness."

In this delineation of Isaiah's style, Ewald contemplates exclusively the Isaiah of i.–xxxix., in which part of the book itself, however, there are several passages of which he will not allow Isaiah to be the author. These are the following: xii., xiii. 2–xiv. 23, xxi. 1–10, xxiv.–xxvii., xxxiv., xxxv. In reference to all these passages, with the exception of the first, the ground of objection is obvious upon a moment's observation of the contents: on rationalistic views of prophecy, none of them can be ascribed to Isaiah. For the proof of their genuineness it is sufficient to refer to Drechsler's *Prophet Jesaja*, or to Keil's *Einleitung*. We cannot, however, help noticing the estimate which the honesty of Ewald's æsthetical judgment forms of the style of nearly all these passages. He pronounces the magnificent denunciation of Babylon, xiii. 2–xiv. 23, to be referable to the same author as the prediction of Babylon's overthrow in xxi. 1–10, and both as alike remarkable for "the poetical facility of the words, images, and sentiments,' particularizing xiv. 5–20 especially as "an ode of high poetical finish," which in the last strophe (vv. 20–23) rises to "prophetical sublimity." In xxiv.–xxvii. he finds parts, particularly the "beautiful utterances" in xxv. 6–8, xxvii. 9, 12, 13, which he considers as plainly borrowed from oracles which are now lost; while lastly, in xxxiv., xxxv. (which in his 20th lecture on Hebrew poetry Bishop Lowth selects for particular comment on account of its peculiar poetical merit), he traces much that "reëchoes words of the genuine Isaiah."

If we refer to that part of Ewald's *Propheten* which treats of xl.–lxvi., which he ascribes to "the Great Unnamed," the terms in which he speaks of its style of composition do not fall far short of those which he has employed respecting the former part. "Creative as this prophet is in his views and thoughts, he is not less peculiar and new in his language, which at times is highly inspired, and carries away the reader with a wonderful power. — Although, after the general manner of the later prophets, the discourse is apt to be too diffuse in delineation; yet, on the other side, it often moves confusedly and heavily, owing to the over-gushing fullness of fresh thoughts continually streaming in. But whenever it rises to a higher strain, as *e. g.*, xl., xlii. 1–4, it then attains to such a pure luminous sublimity, and carries the hearer away with such a wonderful charm of diction, that one might be ready to fancy he was listening to another prophet altogether, if other grounds did not convince us that it is one and the same prophet speaking, only in different moods of feeling. *In no prophet does the mood in the composition of particular passages so much vary, as throughout the three several sections into which this part of the book is divided, while under vehement excitement the prophet pursues the most diverse objects.* It is his business at different times, to comfort, to exhort, to shame, to chasten; to show, as out of heaven, the heavenly image of the Servant of the Lord, and, in contrast, to scourge the folly and base groveling of image-worship; to teach what conduct the times require, and to rebuke those who linger behind the occasion, and then also to draw them along by his own example — his prayers, confessions, and thanksgivings. thus smoothing for them the approach to the exalted object of the New Time. Thus the complexion of the style, although hardly anywhere passing into the representation of visions properly so called, varies in a constant interchange; and rightly to recognize these changes is the great problem for the interpretation" (*Propheten*, vol. ii. 407–409).

For obvious reasons we have preferred citing the æsthetical judgments of so accomplished a critic as Ewald, to attempting any original criticism of our own; and this all the more willingly, because the inference to be drawn from the above cited passages (the reader will please especially to mark the sentences which we have put into italics) is clear, that in point of style, after taking account of the considerations already stated by us, we can find no difficulty in recognizing in the second part the presence of the same plastic genius as we discover in the first. And, altogether, the æsthetic criticism of all the different parts of the book brings us to the conclusion substantiated by the evidence previously accumulated; namely, that the whole

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of the book originated in one mind, and that mind one of the most sublime and variously gifted instruments which the Spirit of God has ever employed to pour forth its voice upon the world.

V. The following are the most important works on Isaiah: Vitringa's *Commentarius in Librum Prophetiarum Isaiæ*, 2 vols. fol. 1714, a vast mine of materials; Rosenmüller's *Scholia*, 1818–1820 [3d ed., 1829–34], or his somewhat briefer *Scholia in Compendium redacta*, 1831, which, though rationalistic, is [are] sober, and valuable in particular for the full use which he makes of Jerome and the Jewish expositors; Gesenius's *Philologisch-kritischer und historischer Commentar*, 1821 [and *Uebersetzung*, 2te *Aufl.*, 1829]; Hitzig's *Prophet Jesaja übersetzt und ausgelegt*, 1833, and Knobel, 1843 [3d ed. 1861], in the *Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alt. Testam.*, which are all three decidedly skeptical, but for lexical and historical materials are of very great value; Ewald's *Propheten des Alten Bundes* [1840–41, 2te Ausg. 1867–68], which, though likewise skeptical, is absolutely indispensable for a just appreciation of the poetry; the second volume of Hengstenberg's *Christology*, translated in Clark's Foreign Theological Library, 1856; Drechsler's *Prophet Jesaja übersetzt und erklärt*, now in course of publication [completed after the author's death by F. Delitzsch and A. Hahn, 3 Theile, 1845–57], and Rud. Stier's *Jesaias nicht Pseudo-Jesaias*, 1850–51, which is a commentary on the last 27 chapters. The two chief English works are Bishop Lowth's *Isaiah, a new translation, with Notes, Critical, Philological, and Explanatory*, 1778 [13th ed., 1842], (whose incessant correction of the Hebrew text is constantly to be mistrusted), and Dr. Ebenezer Henderson's *Translation and Commentary*, 2d ed., 1857. E. H. S.

* The strong internal evidence of the common origin of the various writings attributed to Isaiah is of a cumulative character, and (especially as requiring often for its just presentation the aid of exegesis) can only be adequately exhibited at considerable length. A few of the more prominent points of the argument, in addition to those above given, may be here alluded to.

It is a consideration of no little weight, that many of the representations which are most strikingly characteristic of the second part are but further developments of thoughts that are more or less clearly suggested in the first. Thus the Captivity and the restoration, so largely and variously dwelt upon in the disputed portions, are distinctly predicted in ch. vi. 11–13, as well as intimated in other passages of which Isaiah is unhesitatingly admitted to be the author. Even the view presented of the Servant of Jehovah, which is perhaps the most distinctive feature of the second part, and which, combining as it does elements at first sight wholly irreconcilable with one another,[a] has always been the stumbling-block of expositors, is, when rightly regarded, but a further unfolding of the conception which Gesenius, Ewald, and Knobel find in ch. xi. of the organic relation subsisting between the (ideal) Messiah and his people — the same conception, substantially, which Ewald, Hitzig, and Knobel find in viii. 8 and ix. 6, and which Ewald recognizes even in vii. 14.

In xliv. 28–xlv. 13 we find the thought expanded and applied to Cyrus which occurs in another form with a different application in x. 5–7. Compare here also xlvi. 11, liv. 16. The elements of the representation of the *new heaven and the new earth* in lxv. 17–25 are found in xi. 6–9 and elsewhere.

The magnificent representations, ch. lx. and elsewhere, of the glory of Jehovah being made the light and the defense of his people, have their germ in iv. 5.

In like manner the predictions in xliii. 6, xlix. 22, and lxvi. 20 are foreshadowed in xiv. 1,2.[b] Compare also xlv. 9–11 with xix. 25, and xxix. 23; xliv 9–20 with ii. 8; lxiii. 17 with vi. 10.

One of the most prominent characteristics of style, binding together the various portions of the book, is the frequent occurrence of the expression, *The Holy One of Israel*. This designation of Jehovah is found out of Isaiah but six times; 2 K. xix. 22; Ps. lxxi. 22, lxxviii. 41, lxxxix. 18; Jer. l. 29, li. 5. In the first of these passages it is put into the mouth of *Isaiah himself*. In the passages of Jeremiah, the whole intermediate context exhibits an expansion of the thoughts of Isaiah, sometimes presented even in his own language, yet in such a manner as to suggest that Jeremiah was not (as Hengstenberg affirms) imitating, but only writing with the impression full upon his mind of the utterances of his great predecessor. It deserves to be noticed that by such critics as Ewald, J. Olshausen, and Hitzig, the Psalms where the expression occurs are all assigned to a period later than the time of Isaiah. According to this view the expression must in all probability have originated with Isaiah.

Another remarkable peculiarity observable in the different portions of Isaiah is the frequent use of the formula *to be named* in the sense of *to be*. Such coincidences as these cannot have been accidental. Gesenius, with whom De Wette substantially agrees, attempting to account for them, conjectures that there may have been an imitation of the earlier writer by the later, or, as he supposes with more probability, an attempt by a later hand to bring the various portions of the book into mutual conformity. But the former supposition, if consistently carried out and applied to all cases of marked resemblance occurring in these writings, must lead to results which no one capable of recognizing the impress of independent thought can possibly admit. The latter supposition is simply absurd. No proper parallel to such a procedure can be found in the history of ancient literature. Gesenius refers indeed to the traces of a *conforming*

a * For an exposition of the phrase *Servant of Jehovah*, which meets perhaps better than any other the demands of the various connections in which this phrase occurs, the reader is referred to the commentary of Dr. J. A. Alexander on ch. xlii. D. S. T.

b * Chap. xlii. and xlv. 1–23 are among the sections most confidently referred to the later period of the Captivity. But if anything in the results of criticism can be regarded as established, it is that Is. xiv. 9–19 is the original, from which are derived some of the most remarkable images and expressions in Ez. xxxi. 14–18 and xxxii. 18–32. That there is a connection between these passages can hardly be denied. Nor is there any room to question that the great conception embodied in Isaiah xiv. is an original conception. We need not affirm that in the later prophet there is any conscious imitation. But in the many and varied repetitions of Ezekiel we hear beyond all reasonable doubt the reverberations of that majestic strain in which Isaiah has described the descent of the king of Babylon to the region of the dead. D. S. T.

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used in the punctuation of הוּא and נַעַר in the Pentateuch. But it is not necessary to point out how wide is the difference between the correction of what was supposed to be an error in a single letter, and the radical changes which upon the supposition in question must have been made by the "conforming hand" in such passages as liv. 5, lxii. 2, 4.

To say nothing of the difficulty there is in imagining an adequate motive for such a procedure, the procedure itself implies a habit of critical observation which was wholly foreign to the spirit of the times. And those who can suppose a Jewish *rédacteur*, living two or three centuries before Christ, to have thus placed himself by anticipation at the stand-point of modern criticism, ought to find no difficulty in conceiving that a prophet writing in the time of Hezekiah should take his position amidst the scenes of the Captivity, and should announce the name of the deliverer.[a]

While there are confessedly marked peculiarities, both of thought and diction, exhibited in the later portions of the prophecies attributed to Isaiah, and to some extent in the other portions also of which the genuineness has been called in question, the uncertain nature of the argument they furnish is sufficiently shown by a comparison of the widely different conclusions which different critics of the same school have formed in view of them. A very striking comparison of this kind is presented by Alexander in his *Commentary*, vol. i. pp. xxvii., xxviii.

The array of linguistic evidence in proof of a diversity of authorship, which has gradually grown within the last century into the formidable proportions in which it meets us in the pages of Knobel and others, rests very largely upon an assumption which none of these critics have the hardihood distinctly to vindicate, namely, that within the narrow compass of the Hebrew literature that has come down to us from any given period, we have the means for arriving at an accurate estimate of all the resources which the language at that time possessed. When we have eliminated from the list of words and phrases relied upon to prove a later date than the time of Isaiah, everything the value of which to the argument must stand or fall with this assumption, there remains absolutely nothing which may not be reasonably referred to the reign of Hezekiah. Indeed, considering all the circumstances of the times, it might justly have been expected that the traces of foreign influence upon the language would be far more conspicuous in a writing of this date than they actually are in the controverted portions.

It is to be remembered that the ministry of the prophet must have extended through a period, *at the lowest calculation*, of nearly fifty years;[b] a period signalized, especially during the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah, by constant and growing intercourse with foreign nations, thus involving continually new influences for the corruption of public morals and new dangers to the state, and making it incumbent upon him who had been divinely constituted at once the political adviser of the nation and its religious guide, to be habitually and intimately conversant among the people, so as to descry upon the instant every additional step taken in their downward course and the first approaches of each new peril from abroad, and to be able to meet each successive phase of their necessities with forms of instruction, admonition, and warning, not only in their general purport, but in their very style and diction, accommodated to conditions hitherto unknown, and that were still perpetually changing. Now when we take all this into the account, and then imagine to ourselves the prophet, toward the close of this long period, entering upon what was in some respects a novel kind of labor, and writing out, with a special view[c] to the benefit of a remote posterity, the suggestions of that mysterious *Theopneustia* to which his lips had been for so many years the channel of communication with his contemporaries, far from finding any difficulty in the diversities of style perceptible in the different portions of his prophecy, we shall only see fresh occasion to admire that native strength and grandeur of intellect, which have still left upon productions so widely remote from each other in the time and circumstances of their composition, so plain an impress of one and the same overmastering individuality. Probably there is not one of all the languages of the globe, whether living or dead, possessing any considerable literature, which does not exhibit instances of greater change in the style of an author, writing at different periods of his life, than appears upon a comparison of the later prophecies of Isaiah with the earlier.

D. S. T.

[a] "As a further exhibition of the correspondences in thought, illustration, and expression which occur in the different portions of the book, the reader is referred to the following passages, which are but a part of what might be adduced: i. 8, v. 13, xxix. 24, xxx. 20, liv. 13; i. 11 ff., xxix. 13, lviii. 2 ff.; i. 22, 25, xlviii. 10; vi. 13, lxv. 8, 9; ix. 19, xlvii. 14; ix. 20, xix. 2, xlix. 26; x. 20, xlviii. 1, 2; xxiv. 23, xxx. 26, lx. 19, 20; xxix. 5, xli. 16; xxix. 18, xxxv. 5, xlii. 7, 18, 19; xxx. 22, lxiv. 6 (see Ges. *Lex.* under עֶדְוָה, first under עֲדִי); xxx. 27, 30, lxiv. 1, 2, lxvi. 6, 14, 15, 16; xxxii. 15, xxxv. 1, lv. 13. D. S. T.

[b] "Isaiah certainly began his public work as early, at least, as the last year of Uzziah, and continued it at least till the 14th of Hezekiah. This gives him a maximum period of 47 years. In all probability his ministry lasted several years longer. D. S. T.

[c] "That the prophet throughout his later writings had more or less reference continually to the circumstances of his own time, is abundantly manifest, and deserves to be particularly noticed here. Those who deny the genuineness of these productions, while they admit (see Bertholdt, *Einl.* pp. 1384, 1385) that Isaiah and other prophets often transfer themselves in spirit into future times, lay great stress upon the alleged fact that the writer here deals *exclusively* with a period which in the age of Isaiah was yet future. But in addition to the considerations in relation to this point presented in the preceding article, p. 1158 *b*, the passage lvii. 11 may be adduced as plainly implying that at the time the prophet wrote, Jehovah had as yet forborne to punish his rebellious people, and that his forbearance had only been abused. The last clause of the first verse is also most naturally explained as containing an intimation of coming judgment. Still further, the only explanation of ver. 9 which satisfies all the demands of the passage makes it to refer to the attempts of the people, in the age preceding the Captivity, to strengthen themselves by foreign alliances, and these attempts are spoken of as being made by the contemporaries of the prophet. It is also strongly implied in ver. 5, 7, and still more strongly in lxvi. 3 6, 20 (last clause), that the Temple was yet standing

D. S. T.

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* *Additional Literature.* — Cahen's *Bible* (Hebrew), tom. ix. Paris, 1838, containing a French translation and notes, also a translation of the Preface of Abarbanel to his commentary on Isaiah, and of his commentary on ch. xxxiv., with a full critical notice by Munk of the Arabic version by Saadias Gaon, and of a Persian MS. version in the Royal Libr. at Paris; Hendewerk, *Des Proph. Jesaja Weissagungen, chron. geordnet, übers. u. erklärt*, 2 Bde. Königsb. 1838–43; J. Heinemann, *Der Proph. Jesaias*, Berl. 1840. original text, comm. of Rashi, Chaldee paraphrase, German translation (in the Hebrew character), notes, and Masora; F. Beck, *Die cyro-jesajanischen Weissagungen* (Is. xl.–lxvi.) *krit. u. exeget. bearbeitet*, Leipz. 1844; Umbreit, *Prakt. Comm. üb. d. Proph. d. Alten Bundes*, Bd. i., *Jesaja*, 2e Aufl. Hamb. 1846; E. Meier, *Der Proph. Jesaja erklärt*, 1e Hälfte, Pforzh. 1850; Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, Theil ii. 1e Hälfte, Leipz. 1860, translation, with popular notes; G. K. Mayer (Rom. Cath.), *Die Messianischen Prophezieen d. Jesaias*, Wien, 1860, new title-ed. 1863; J. Steeg, *Esaïe* xl.–lxvi., in the *Nouvelle Rev. de Théol.* (Strasb.) 1862, x. 121–180, translation, with brief introduction and notes; F. Delitzsch, *Bibl. Comm. üb. d. Proph. Jesaia*, Leipz. 1866 (Theil iii. Bd. i. of Keil and Delitzsch's *Bibl. Comm. üb. d. A. T.*), Eng. trans. in 2 vols. Edinb. 1867 (Clark's Foreign Theol. Libr.); S. D. Luzzatto, the eminent Italian Hebraist, *Il profeta Isaia tradotta . . . coi commenti ebraici*, 2 tom. Padova, 1865–67. In this country we have Albert Barnes, *The Book of Isaiah with a New Trans. and Notes*, 3 vols. Boston, 1840, 8vo, abridged ed. New York, 1848, in 2 vols. 12mo; J. A. Alexander, *The Earlier Prophecies of Isaiah*, New York. 1846; *Later Prophecies*, ibid. 1847; both reprinted in Glasgow under the editorship of Dr. Eadie, 1848; new edition with the title, *The Prophecies of Isaiah translated and explained*, 2 vols. New York, 1865, 8vo; abridged ed., *ibid.* 1851. 2 vols. 12mo. This may be regarded as the most valuable commentary on the book in English. See also Dr. Noyes's *New Translation of the Hebrew Prophets, with Notes*, vol. i., 3d ed., Boston, 1867. Dr. Cowles promises a volume on Isaiah in continuation of his labors on the Hebrew Prophets. A translation of ch. xiii., xiv., with explanatory notes, by Prof. B. B. Edwards, may be found in the *Bibl. Sacra* for 1849, vi. 765–785. Gesenius's Commentary on Is. xv., xvi. is translated in the *Bibl. Repos.* for Jan. 1836, and on Is. xvii. 12–14, xviii. 1–7, *ibid.* July, 1836.

For summaries of the results of recent investigation respecting the book, one may consult particularly Bleek's *Einl. in das A. T.* (1860), pp. 448–466; Keil's *Einl. in das A. T.*, pp. 205–248, and Davidson's *Introd. to the O. T.* (1863), iii. 1–86. Umbreit's art. *Jesaja* in Herzog's *Real-Encykl.* vi. 507–521 is valuable as a critique and a biography. The elaborate art. on *Isaiah* in Kitto's *Cycl. of Bibl. Lit.* is by Hengstenberg, and that in Fairbairn's *Imperial Bible Dict.* i. 801–814, by Delitzsch. See also on the critical questions connected with the book, besides the various Introductions and Commentaries, A. F. Kleinert, *Ueber d. Echtheit sämmtl. in d. Buch Jesaia enthaltenen Weissagungen*, Theil i. Berl. 1829, called by Hengstenberg "the standard work on the subject"; C. P. Caspari, *Beiträge zur Einl. in das Buch Jesaia*, Berl. 1848, apologetic; Rüetschi, *Plan u. Gang von Is. 40–66*, in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1854, pp. 261–296; Ensfelder, *Chronol. des proph d'Esaïe*, in the Strasb. *Rev. de Théol.* 1853, pp. 16–42; and F. Hosse, *Die Weissagungen der Proph. Jesaia*, Berl. 1865 (a pamphlet), defending the unity of authorship.

On the "Servant of God" in Is. xl.–lxvi., besides the works already referred to, and general treatises like Hengstenberg's *Christologie*, Stähelin's *Die messianischen Weissagungen des A. T.* (1847), and Hävernick's *Vorlesungen üb. d. Theol. d. A. T.* (2e Aufl. 1863), one may consult Umbreit, *Der Knecht Gottes, Beitrag zur Christologie des A. T.*, Hamb. 1840; Bleek, *Erklärung von Jesaja* 52, 13—53, 12, in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1861, pp. 177–218; P. Kleinert, *Ueber das Subject der Weissagung Jes.* 52, 13 — 53, 12, *ibid.* 1862, pp. 699–752, and V. F. Oehler, *Der Knecht Jehovah's im Deuterojesajah*, 2 Thle. Stuttg. 1865; comp. G. F. Oehler, art. *Messias* in Herzog's *Real-Encykl.* ix. 420 f. The Introduction to vol. i. of Dr. Noyes's *New Trans. of the Hebrew Prophets*, 3d ed. (1867), contains a discussion of the subject of Jewish prophecy in general and of the Messianic prophecies in particular. Hengstenberg's remarks on the genuineness of Is. xl.–lxvi. and his interpretation of Is. lii. 12–liii. are translated from the first edition of his Christology of the O. T. in the *Bibl. Repos.* for Oct. 1831 and April 1832.

Stanley's description of Isaiah (*Jewish Church*, ii. 494–504) presents him to us as one of the grandest figures on the page of history. A few sentences may be quoted, showing the universality of Isaiah's ideas and sympathies and the reach of his prophetic vision. "First of the prophets, he and those who followed him seized with unreserved confidence the mighty thought, that not in the chosen people, so much as in the nations outside of it, was to be found the ultimate well-being of man, the surest favor of God. Truly might the Apostle say that Isaiah was "very bold," — "bold beyond" (ἀποτολμᾷ, Rom. x. 20) all that had gone before him — in enlarging the boundaries of the church; bold with that boldness, and large with that largeness of view which, so far from weakening the hold on things divine, strengthens it to a degree unknown in less comprehensive minds. For to him also, with a distinctness which makes all other anticipations look pale in comparison, a distinctness which grew with his advancing years, was revealed the coming of a Son of David, who should restore the royal house of Judah and gather the nations under its sceptre. . . . Lineament after lineament of that Divine Ruler was gradually drawn by Isaiah or his scholars, until at last a Figure stands forth, so marvelously combined of power and gentleness and suffering as to present in the united proportions of his descriptions the moral features of an historical Person, such as has been, by universal confession, known once, and once only, in the subsequent annals of the world."

H. and A.

IS'CAH (יִסְכָּה [*one who looks about*, or *peers*]: Ἰεσχά: *Jescha*), daughter of Haran the brother of Abram, and sister of Milcah and of Lot (Gen. xi. 29). In the Jewish traditions as preserved by Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, § 5), Jerome (*Quæst. in Genesim*), and the Targum Pseudo-jonathan — not to mention later writers — she is identified with SARAI.

ISCARIOT. [JUDAS ISCARIOT.]

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ISDAEL ('Ισδαήλ: *Gaddahel*), 1 Esdr. v. 33. [GIDDEL, 2.]

ISH'BAH (יִשְׁבָּח [*praising*]: ὁ 'Ισσβά; [Vat. Μαρεθ;] Alex. Ισσαβα: *Iesba*), a man in the line of Judah, commemorated as the "father of Eshtemoa" (1 Chr. iv. 17); but from whom he was immediately descended is, in the very confused state of this part of the genealogy, not to be ascertained. The most feasible conjecture is that he was one of the sons of Mered by his Egyptian wife BITHIAH. (See Bertheau, *Chronik*, ad loc.)

ISH'BAK (יִשְׁבָּק [*leaving behind*, Ges.]: 'Ισσβάκ, Ἰοβδα; [Alex. in Chr., Ισσβοκ:] *Jesboc*), a son of Abraham and Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2; 1 Chr. i. 32), and the progenitor of a tribe of northern Arabia. The settlements of this people are very obscure, and we can only suggest as possible that they may be recovered in the name of the valley called Sabák, or, it is said, Sibák (سِبَاق), in the Dahnà (الدهنآء and الدَّهْنَا), (*Marásid*, s. v.). The Heb. root שׁבק corresponds to the Arabic سبق in etymology and signification: therefore identifications with names derived from the root شبك are improbable. There are many places of the latter derivation, as Shebek (شَبَك), Shibák (شِبَاك), and Esh-Shóbak (الشَّوْبَك): the last having been supposed (as by Bunsen, *Bibelwerk*, i. pt. ii. 53) to preserve a trace of Ishbak. It is a fortress in Arabia Petræa; and is near the well-known fortress of the Crusader's times called *El-Karak*.

The Dahnà, in which is situate Sabák, is a fertile and extensive tract, belonging to the Bene-Temeem, in Nejd, or the highland, of Arabia, on the northeast of it, and the borders of the great desert, reaching from the rugged tract ("hazn") of Yensoo'ah to the sands of Yebreen. It contains much pasturage, with comparatively few wells, and is greatly frequented by the Arabs when the vegetation is plentiful (*Mushtarak* and *Marásid*, s. v.). There is, however, another Dahnà, nearer to the Euphrates (*ib.*), and some confusion may exist regarding the true position of Sabák; but either Dahnà is suitable for the settlements of Ishbak. The first-mentioned Dahnà lies in a favorable portion of the widely-stretching country known to have been peopled by the Keturahites. They extended from the borders of Palestine even to the Persian Gulf, and traces of their settlements must be looked for all along the edge of the Arabian peninsula, where the desert merges into the cultivable land, or (itself a rocky undulating plateau) rises to the wild, mountainous country of Nejd. Ishbak seems from his name to have preceded or gone before his brethren: the place suggested for his dwelling is far away towards the Persian Gulf, and penetrates also into the peninsula. On these, as well as mere etymological grounds, the identification is sufficiently probable, and every way better than that which connects the patriarch with Esh-Shobak, etc. E. S. P.

ISH'BI-BE'NOB (יִשְׁבִּי בְנֹב, *Keri*, יִשְׁבִּי [*dwelling in rest*]: 'Ισσβί; [Alex. Ισσβι εν Νοβ:] *Jesbi-benob*), son of Rapha, one of the race of Philistine giants, who attacked David in battle, but was slain by Abishai (2 Sam. xxi. 16, 17).

H. W. P.

ISH-BO'SHETH (אִישׁ בֹּשֶׁת [see *infra*]: 'Ισβοσθέ; [in 2 Sam. ii., Alex. Ισβοσθαι or Ισβ., Comp. 'Ισβόσεθ; in 2 Sam. iii., iv., Vat. Μεμφιβοσθει, Alex. Μεμφιβοσθαι:] *Isboseth*), the youngest of Saul's four sons, and his legitimate successor. His name appears (1 Chr. viii. 33, ix. 39) to have been originally ESH-BAAL, אִישׁ־בָּעַל, *the man of Baal*. Whether this indicates that *Baal* was used as equivalent to *Jehovah*, or that the reverence for Baal still lingered in Israelitish families, is uncertain; but it can hardly be doubted that the name (Ish-bosheth, "the man of *shame*") by which he is commonly known, must have been substituted for the original word, with a view of removing the scandalous sound of Baal from the name of an Israelitish king, and superseding it by the contemptuous word (Bosheth — "shame") which was sometimes used as its equivalent in later times (Jer. iii. 24, xi. 13; Hos. ix. 10). A similar process appears in the alteration of Jerubbaal (Judg. viii. 35) into Jerubbesheth (2 Sam. xi. 21); Meribaal (2 Sam. iv. 4) into Mephi-bosheth (1 Chr. viii. 34, ix. 40). The three last cases all occur in Saul's family. He was 35 years of age at the time of the battle of Gilboa, in which his father and three oldest brothers perished; and therefore, according to the law of Oriental, though not of European succession, ascended the throne, as the oldest of the royal family, rather than Mephi-bosheth, son of his elder brother Jonathan, who was a child of five years old. He was immediately taken under the care of Abner, his powerful kinsman, who brought him to the ancient sanctuary of Mahanaim on the east of the Jordan, beyond the reach of the victorious Philistines (2 Sam. ii. 8). There was a momentary doubt even in those remote tribes whether they should not close with the offer of David to be their king (2 Sam. ii. 7, iii. 17). But this was overruled in favor of Ish-bosheth by Abner (2 Sam. iii. 17), who then for five years slowly but effectually restored the dominion of the house of Saul over the Transjordanic territory, the plain of Esdraelon, the central mountains of Ephraim, the frontier tribe of Benjamin, and eventually "over all Israel" (except the tribe of Judah, 2 Sam. ii. 9). Ish-bosheth was then "40 years old when he began to reign over Israel, and reigned two years" (2 Sam. ii. 10). This form of expression is used only for the accession of a fully recognized sovereign (comp. in the case of David, 2 Sam. ii. 4, and v. 4).

During these two years he reigned at Mahanaim, though only in name. The wars and negotiations with David were entirely carried on by Abner (2 Sam. ii. 12, iii. 6, 12). At length Ish-bosheth accused Abner (whether rightly or wrongly does not appear) of an attempt on his father's concubine, Rizpah; which, according to oriental usage, amounted to treason (2 Sam. iii. 7; comp. 1 K. ii. 13; 2 Sam. xvi. 21, xx. 3). Abner resented this suspicion in a burst of passion, which vented itself in a solemn vow to transfer the kingdom from the house of Saul to the house of David. Ish-

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bosheth was too much cowed to answer; and when, shortly afterwards, through Abner's negotiation, David demanded the restoration of his former wife, Michal, he at once tore his sister from her reluctant husband, and committed her to Abner's charge (2 Sam. iii. 14, 15).

The death of Abner deprived the house of Saul of their last remaining support. When Ish-bosheth heard of it, "his hands were feeble and all the Israelites were troubled" (2 Sam. iv. 1).

In this extremity of weakness he fell a victim, probably, to a revenge for a crime of his father. The guard of Ish-bosheth, as of Saul, was taken from their own royal tribe of Benjamin (1 Chr. xii. 29). But amongst the sons of Benjamin were reckoned the descendants of the old Canaanitish inhabitants of Beeroth, one of the cities in league with Gibeon (2 Sam. iv. 2, 3). Two of those Beerothites, Baana and Rechab, in remembrance, it has been conjectured, of Saul's slaughter of their kinsmen the Gibeonites, determined to take advantage of the helplessness of the royal house to destroy the only representative that was left, excepting the child Mephi-bosheth (2 Sam. iv. 4). They were "chiefs of the marauding troops" which used from time to time to attack the territory of Judah (comp. 2 Sam. iv. 2, iii. 22, where the same word גְּדוּד is used; Vulg. *principes latronum*). [BENJAMIN, vol. i. p. 278 *a*; GITTAIM, vol. ii. p. 930.] They knew the habits of the king and court, and acted accordingly. In the stillness of an eastern noon they entered the palace, as if to carry off the wheat which was piled up near the entrance. The female slave, who, as usual in eastern houses, kept the door, and was herself sifting the wheat, had, in the heat of the day, fallen asleep at her task (2 Sam. iv. 5, 6, in LXX. and Vulg.). They stole in, and passed into the royal bedchamber, where Ish-bosheth was asleep on his couch. They stabbed him in the stomach, cut off his head, made their escape, all that afternoon, all that night, down the valley of the Jordan (Arabah, A. V. "plain;" 2 Sam. iv. 7), and presented the head to David as a welcome present. They met with a stern reception. David rebuked them for the cold-blooded murder of an innocent man, and ordered them to be executed; their hands and feet were cut off, and their bodies suspended over [prob. by or near] the tank at Hebron. The head of Ish-bosheth[a] was carefully buried in the sepulchre of his great kinsman Abner, at the same place (2 Sam. iv. 9–12).[b]

A. P. S.

I'SHI (יִשְׁעִי [*saving, salutary*]: *Jesi*). 1. (Ἰσεμιήλ; Alex. Ἰεσει.) A man of the descendants of Judah, son of Appaim (1 Chr. ii. 31); one of the great house of Hezron, and therefore a near connection of the family of Jesse (comp. 9–13). The only son here attributed to Ishi is Sheshan.

2. (Ἰεσί; [Vat. Ἰεει:] Alex. Ες; [Comp. Ἰεσί.]) In a subsequent genealogy of Judah we find another Ishi, with a son Zoheth (1 Chr. iv. 20). There does not appear to be any connection between the two.

3. (Ἰεσί; [Vat. Ἰεσθεν:] Alex. Ἰεσει.) Four men of the Bene-Ishi [sons of I.], of the tribe of Simeon, are named in 1 Chr. iv. 42 as having headed an expedition of 500 of their brethren, who took Mount Seir from the Amalekites, and made it their own abode.

4. (Ἰεσί; [Vat. Ἰεει:] Alex. Ἰεσει.) One of the heads of the tribe of Manasseh on the east of Jordan (1 Chr. v. 24).

I'SHI (אִישִׁי: ὁ ἀνήρ μου: *Vir meus*). This word has no connection whatever with the foregoing. It occurs in Hos. ii. 16, and signifies "my man," "my husband." It is the Israelite term, in opposition to BAALI [Amer. ed.] the Canaanite term, with the same meaning, though with a significance of its own. See pp. 207–8, 210 *a*, where the difference between the two appellations is noticed more at length.

ISHI'AH (יִשִּׁיָּה, *i. e.* Ishiyah [*whom Jehovah lends*, perh. with the idea of children as a trust]: Ἰεσία; [Vat. corrupt: *Jesia*]), the fifth of the five sons of Izrahiah; one of the heads of the tribe of Issachar in the time of David (1 Chr vii. 3).

The name is identical with that elsewhere given as ISHIJAH, ISSHIAH, JESIAH.

ISHI'JAH (יִשִּׁיָּהוּ [as above]: Ἰεσία; [Vat. FA. Ἰεσσεια:] Alex. Ἰεσσια: *Josue*), a lay Israelite of the Bene-Harim [sons of H.], who had married a foreign wife, and was compelled to relinquish her (Ezr. x. 31). In Esdras the name is ASEAS.

This name appears in the A. V. under the various forms of ISHIAH, ISSHIAH, JESIAH.

ISH'MA (יִשְׁמָא [*waste, desert*, Ges.]: Ἰεσμάν; [Vat. Ραγμα:] Alex. Ἰεσμα: *Jesema*), a name in the genealogy of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 3). The passage is very obscure, and in the case of many of the names it is difficult to know whether they are of persons or places. Ishma and his companions appear to be closely connected with Bethlehem (see ver. 4).

ISH'MAEL (יִשְׁמָעֵאל, *whom God hears*: Ἰσμαήλ: *Ismael*), the son of Abraham by Hagar, his concubine, the Egyptian; born when Abraham was fourscore and six years old (Gen. xvi. 15, 16). Ishmael was the first-born of his father; in ch. xv. we read that he was then childless, and there is no apparent interval for the birth of any other child; nor does the teaching of the narrative, besides the precise enumeration of the sons of Abraham as the father of the faithful, admit of the supposition. The saying of Sarah, also, when she gave him Hagar, supports the inference that until then he was without children. When he "added and took a wife" (A. V. "Then again Abraham took a wife," xxv. 1), Keturah, is uncertain, but it is not likely to have been until after the birth of Isaac, and perhaps the death of Sarah. The conception of Ishmael occasioned the flight of Hagar [HAGAR]; and it was during her wandering in the wilderness that the angel of the Lord appeared to her, commanding her to return to her mistress, and giving her the promise, "I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, that it shall not be numbered for multitude;" and, "Behold, thou [art] with child, and shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name Ishmael, because the

[a] In Dryden's *Absalom and Ahithophel*, "foolish Ishbosheth" is ingeniously taken to represent Richard Cromwell.

[b] "The Jews at Hebron claim that they know the exact place of this sepulchre. They are accustomed to offer prayers there on every new moon-day (Sepp. *Jerusalem u. das heilige Land*, i. 499). The custom shows a trace of the old superstition in regard to the observance of such days (Is. i. 13, 14; Col. ii. 16, &c.)

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Lord hath heard thy affliction. And he will be a wild man; his hand [will be] against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren" (xvi. 10–12).

Ishmael was born in Abraham's house, when he dwelt in the plain of Mamre; and on the institution of the covenant of circumcision, was circumcised he being then thirteen years old (xvii. 25). With the institution of the covenant, God renewed his promise respecting Ishmael. In answer to Abraham's entreaty, when he cried, "O that Ishmael might live before thee!" God assured him of the birth of Isaac, and said, "As for Ishmael, I have heard thee: behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly; twelve princes [a] shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation" (xvii. 18, 20). Before this time, Abraham seems to have regarded his first-born child as the heir of the promise, his belief in which was counted unto him for righteousness (xv. 6); and although that faith shone yet more brightly after his passing weakness when Isaac was first promised, his love for Ishmael is recorded in the narrative of Sarah's expulsion of the latter: "And the thing was very grievous in Abraham's sight because of his son" (xxi. 11).

Ishmael does not again appear in the narrative until the weaning of Isaac. The latter was born when Abraham was a hundred years old (xxi. 5), and as the weaning, according to eastern usage, probably took place when the child was between two and three years old, Ishmael himself must have been then between fifteen and sixteen years old. The age of the latter at the period of his circumcision, and at that of his expulsion (which we have now reached), has given occasion for some literary speculation. A careful consideration of the passages referring to it fails, however, to show any discrepancy between them. In Gen. xvii. 25, it is stated that he was thirteen years old when he was circumcised; and in xxi. 14 (probably two or three years later), "Abraham . . . took bread, and a bottle of water, and gave [it] unto Hagar, putting [it] on her shoulder, and the child, and sent her away." [b] Here it is at least unnecessary to assume that the child was put on her shoulder, the construction of the Hebrew (mistranslated by the LXX., with whom seems to rest the origin of the question) not requiring it; and the sense of the passage renders it highly improbable: Hagar certainly carried the bottle on her shoulder, and perhaps the bread: she could hardly have also thus carried a child. Again, these passages are quite reconcilable with ver. 20 of the last quoted chapter, where Ishmael is termed הַנַּעַר, A. V. "lad" (comp., for use of this word, Gen. xxxiv. 19. xxxvii. 2, xli. 12).

At the "great feast" made in celebration of the weaning, "Sarah saw the son of Hagar the Egyptian, which she had borne unto Abraham, mocking," and urged Abraham to cast out him and his mother. The patriarch, comforted by God's renewed promise that of Ishmael he would make a nation, sent them both away, and they departed and wandered in the wilderness of Beer-sheba. Here the water being spent in the bottle, Hagar cast her son under one of the desert shrubs, [c] and went away a little distance, "for she said, Let me not see the death of the child," and wept. "And God heard the voice of the lad, and the angel of the Lord called to Hagar out of heaven," renewed the promise already thrice given, "I will make him a great nation," and "opened her eyes and she saw a well of water." Thus miraculously saved from perishing by thirst, "God was with the lad; and he grew, and dwelt in the wilderness; and became an archer." It is doubtful whether the wanderers halted by the well, or at once continued their way to the "wilderness of Paran," where, we are told in the next verse to that just quoted, he dwelt, and where "his mother took him a wife out of the land of Egypt" (Gen. xxi. 9–21). This wife of Ishmael is not elsewhere mentioned; she was, we must infer, an Egyptian; and this second infusion of Hamitic blood into the progenitors of the Arab nation, Ishmael's sons, is a fact that has been generally overlooked. No record is made of any other wife of Ishmael, and failing such record, the Egyptian was the mother of his twelve sons, and daughter. This daughter, however, is called the "sister of Nebajoth" (Gen. xxviii. 9), and this limitation of the parentage of the brother and sister certainly seems to point to a different mother for Ishmael's other sons. [d]

[a] The Heb. rendered "prince" in this case, is נָשִׂיא, which signifies both a "prince" and the "leader," or "captain" of a tribe, or even of a family (Gesen.). It here seems to mean the leader of a tribe, and Ishmael's twelve sons are enumerated in Gen. xxv. 16 "according to their nations," more correctly "peoples," לְאֻמֹּתָם.

[b] The ambiguity lies in the A. V., rather than the original. According to the Hebrew construction (though a little peculiar), the expression "putting on her shoulder" should be taken as parenthetic, and that of "the child" be made the object of the first of the verbs which precede. H.

[c] This allusion to "the shrubs" of the desert brings out a picturesque trait of the narrative. The word so rendered (שִׂיחִים) is still used in Arabic, unchanged. It is used, however, with some latitude, being a general designation for the shrubby or bushy plants. These shrubby plants, which are of various kinds, are called generally شيح, as we speak of "bushes." The kind, however, most in use, and more than any other specifically designated, is the *Spartium junceum*. This is a tall shrub, growing to the height of eight or ten feet, of a close ramification, but making a light shade, owing to the small size and lanceolate shape of its leaves. Its flowers are yellow, and its seeds edible. It grows in stony places, usually where there is little moisture, and is widely diffused. We should expect to find it, of course, in a "wilderness" like that of Beer-sheba. But whether we understand by שִׂיחִים this particular plant, whose light and insufficient shade would prove the only mitigation of the heat of the sun, or, in general, a bush or shrub, the allusion to it in Gen. xxi. 15 is locally exact, and explains why the mother sought such a shelter for the child. It might also be understood of *Genista monosperma*, the *Retem* of the Arabs, which furnished a shade to the prophet Elijah (1 K. xix. 4, 5), and is spoken of in Ps. cxx. 4, and Job xxx. 4. This species is said to abound in the desert of Sinai, and is kindred to the شيح, being, in fact, mentioned with it in Job xxx. 4. G. E. P.

[d] According to Rabbinical tradition, Ishmael put away his wife and took a second; and the Arabs,

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Of the later life of Ishmael we know little. He was present with Isaac at the burial of Abraham; and Esau contracted an alliance with him when he "took unto the wives which he had Mahalath [or BASHEMATH or BASMATH, Gen. xxxvi. 3] the daughter of Ishmael Abraham's son, the sister of Nebajoth, to be his wife;" and this did Esau because the daughters of Canaan pleased not Isaac and Rebekah, and Jacob in obedience to their wishes had gone to Laban to obtain of his daughters a wife (xxviii. 6–9). The death of Ishmael is recorded in a previous chapter, after the enumeration of his sons, as having taken place at the age of a hundred and thirty-seven years; and, it is added, "he died in the presence of all his brethren"[a] (xxv. 17, 18). The alliance with Esau occurred before this event (although it is mentioned in a previous passage), for he "went . . . unto Ishmael;" but it cannot have been long before, if the chronological data be correctly preserved.[b]

It remains for us to consider, (1), the place of Ishmael's dwelling; and, (2), the names of his children, with their settlements, and the nation sprung from them.

1. From the narrative of his expulsion, we learn that Ishmael first went into the wilderness of Beer-sheba, and thence, but at what interval of time is uncertain, removed to that of Paran. His continuance in these or the neighboring places seems to be proved by his having been present at the burial of Abraham; for it must be remembered that in the East, sepulture follows death after a few hours' space; and by Esau's marrying his daughter at a time when he (Esau) dwelt at Beer-sheba: the tenor of the narrative of both these events favoring the inference that Ishmael did not settle far from the neighborhood of Abraham and Isaac. There are, however, other passages which must be taken into account. It is prophesied of him, that "he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren," and thus too he "died in the presence of all his brethren" (xxv. 18).[b] The meaning of these passages is confessedly obscure; but it seems only to signify that he dwelt near them. He was the first Abrahamic settler in the east country. In ch. xxv. 6 it is said, "But unto the sons of the concubines, which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son, while he yet lived, eastward, unto the east country." The "east country" perhaps was restricted in early times to the wildernesses of Beer-sheba and Paran, and it afterwards seems to have included those districts (though neither supposition necessarily follows from the above passage); or, Ishmael removed to that east country, northwards, without being distant from his father and his brethren; each case being agreeable with Gen. xxv. 6. The appellation of the "east country" became afterwards applied to the whole desert extending from the frontier of Palestine east to the Euphrates, and south probably to the borders of Egypt and the Arabian peninsula. This question is discussed in art. BENE-KEDEM; and it is interwoven, though obscurely, with the next subject, that of the names and settlements of the sons of Ishmael. See also KETURAH, etc.; for the "brethren" of Ishmael, in whose presence he dwelt and died, included the sons of Keturah.[c]

2. The sons of Ishmael were, Nebajoth (expressly stated to be his first-born), Kedar, Adbeel, Mibsam, Mishma, Dumah, Massa, Hadar, Tema, Jetur, Naphish, Kedemah (Gen. xxv. 13–15); and he had a daughter named Mahalath (xxviii. 9), elsewhere written Bashemath (or Basmath, Gen. xxxvi. 3), the sister of Nebajoth, before mentioned. The sons are enumerated with the particular statement that "these are their names, by their towns, and by their castles; twelve princes according to their nations" or "peoples" (xxv. 16). In seeking to identify Ishmael's sons, this passage requires close attention: it bears the interpretation of their being fathers of tribes, having towns and castles called after them; and identifications of the latter become therefore more than usually satisfactory. "They dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, that is before Egypt, as thou goest unto Assyria" (xxv. 18), and it is certain, in accordance with this statement of their limits [see HAVILAH, SHUR], that they stretched in very early times across the desert to the Persian Gulf, peopled the north and west of the Arabian peninsula, and eventually formed the chief element of the Arab nation. Their language, which is generally acknowledged to have been the Arabic commonly so called, has been adopted with insignificant exceptions throughout Arabia. It has been said that the Bible requires the whole of that nation to be sprung from Ishmael, and the fact of a large admixture of Joktanite and even Cushite peoples in the south and southeast has been regarded as a suggestion of skepticism. Yet not only does the Bible contain no warrant for the assumption that all Arabs are Ishmaelites; but the characteristics of the Ishmaelites, strongly marked in all the more northern tribes of Arabia, and exactly fulfilling the prophecy "he will be a wild man; his hand [will be] against every man, and every man's hand against him," become weaker in the south, and can scarcely be predicated of all the peoples of Joktanite and other descent. The true Ishmaelites, however, and even tribes of very mixed race, are thoroughly "wild men," living by warlike forays and plunder; dreaded by their neighbors; dwelling in tents, with hardly any household chattels, but rich in flocks and herds, migratory, and recognizing no law but the authority of the chiefs of their tribes. Even the religion of Mohammad is held in light esteem by many of the more remote tribes, among whom the ancient usages of their people obtain in almost

probably borrowing from the above, assert that he twice married; the first wife being an Amalekite, by whom he had no issue; and the second, a Joktanite, of the tribe of Jurhum (*Mir-át ez-Zemán*, MS., quoting a tradition of Mohammad Ibn-Is-hák).

[a] * The meaning is different in the Hebrew. The verb there is נָפַל, and means not "died" but "settled" or "dwelt" (= יָשַׁב, Gen. xvi. 12). The statement is really made not of Ishmael, but of his descendants. Ishmael's death is mentioned in ver. 17, but not in ver 18. H.

[b] Abraham at the birth of Ishmael was 86 years old, and at Isaac's about 100. Isaac took Rebekah to wife when he was 40 years old, when Ishmael would be about 54. Esau was born when his father was 60; and Esau was more than 40 when he married Ishmael's daughter. Therefore Ishmael was then at least 114 (54 + 20 + 40 = 114), leaving 23 years before his death for Esau's coming to him.

[c] * Ishmael is not named in the N. T., but is directly referred to in the allegory, Gal iv. 25 ff. See additions under ISAAC. H.

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...old simplicity, besides idolatrous practices altogether repugnant to Mohammadanism as they are to the faith of the patriarchs; practices which may be ascribed to the influence of the Canaanites, of Moab, Ammon, and Edom, with whom, by intermarriages, commerce, and war, the tribes of Ishmael must have had long and intimate relations.

The term ISHMAELITE (יִשְׁמְעֵאלִי) occurs on three occasions, Gen. xxxvii. 25, 27, 28, xxxix. 1; Judg. viii. 24; Ps. lxxxiii. 6. From the context of the first two instances, it seems to have been a general name for the Abrahamic peoples of the east country, the Bene-Kedem; but the second admits also of a closer meaning. In the third instance the name is applied in its strict sense to the Ishmaelites. It is also applied to Jether, the father of Amasa, by David's sister Abigail (1 Chr. ii. 17). [ITHRA; JETHER.]

The notions of the Arabs respecting Ishmael (اسماعيل) are partly derived from the Bible, partly from the Jewish Rabbins, and partly from native traditions. The origin of many of these traditions is obscure, but a great number may be ascribed to the fact of Mohammad's having for political reasons claimed Ishmael for his ancestor, and striven to make out an impossible pedigree; while both he and his followers have, as a consequence of accepting this assumed descent, sought to exalt that ancestor. Another reason may be safely found in Ishmael's acknowledged headship of the naturalized Arabs, and this cause existed from the very period of his settlement. [ARABIA.] Yet the rivalry of the Joktanite kingdom of southern Arabia, and its intercourse with classical and mediæval Europe, the wandering and unsettled habits of the Ishmaelites, their having no literature, and, as far as we know, only a meagre oral tradition, all contributed, till the importance it acquired with the promulgation of El-Islâm, to render our knowledge of the Ishmaelitic portion of the people of Arabia, before Mohammad, lamentably defective. That they maintained, and still maintain, a patriarchal and primitive form of life is known to us. Their religion, at least in the period immediately preceding Mohammad, was in central Arabia chiefly the grossest fetishism, probably learnt from aboriginal inhabitants of the land; southwards it diverged to the cosmic worship of the Joktanite Himyerites (though these were far from being exempt from fetishism), and northwards (so at least in ancient times) to an approach to that true faith which Ishmael carried with him, and his descendants thus gradually lost. This last point is curiously illustrated by the numbers who, in Arabia, became either Jews (Caraites) or Christians (though of a very corrupt form of Christianity), and by the movement in search of the faith of the patriarchs which had been put forward, not long before the birth of Mohammad, by men not satisfied with Judaism or the corrupt form of Christianity, with which alone they were acquainted. This movement first aroused Mohammad, and was afterwards the main cause of his success.

The Arabs believe that Ishmael was the first born of Abraham, and the majority of their doctors (but the point is in dispute) assert that this son, and not Isaac, was offered by Abraham in sacrifice.[a] The scene of this sacrifice is Mount 'Arafât, near Mekkeh, the last holy place visited by pilgrims, it being necessary to the completion of pilgrimage to be present at a sermon delivered there on the 9th of the Mohammedan month Zu-l-Hejjeh, in commemoration of the offering, and to sacrifice a victim on the following evening after sunset, in the valley of Minè. The sacrifice last mentioned is observed throughout the Muslim world, and the day on which it is made is called "The Great Festival" (Mr. Lane's *Mod. Egypt.* ch. iii.). Ishmael, say the Arabs, dwelt with his mother at Mekkeh, and both are buried in the place called the "Hejr," on the northwest (termed by the Arabs the north) side of the Kaabeh, and inclosed by a curved wall called the "Hateem." Ishmael was visited at Mekkeh by Abraham, and they together rebuilt the temple, which had been destroyed by a flood. At Mekkeh, Ishmael married a daughter of Mudâd or El-Mudâd, chief of the Joktanite tribe Jurhum [ALMODAD; ARABIA], and had thirteen children (*Mir-át-ez-Zemán*, MS.), thus agreeing with the Biblical number, including the daughter.

Mohammad's descent from Ishmael is totally lost, for an unknown number of generations to 'Adnán, of the twenty-first generation before the prophet: from him downwards the latter's descent is, if we may believe the genealogists, fairly proved. But we have evidence far more trustworthy than that of the genealogists; for while most of the natives of Arabia are unable to trace up their *pedigrees*, it is scarcely possible to find one who is ignorant of his *race*, seeing that his very life often depends upon it. The law of blood-revenge necessitates his knowing the names of his ancestors for four generations, but no more; and this law extending from time immemorial has made any confusion of race almost impossible. This law, it should be remembered, is not a law of Mohammad, but an old pagan law that he endeavored to suppress, but could not. In casting doubt on the prophet's pedigree, we must add that this cannot affect the proofs of the chief element of the Arab nation being Ishmaelite (and so too the tribe of Kureyah of whom was Mohammad). Although partly mixed with Joktanites, they are more mixed with Keturahites, etc.; the characteristics of the Joktanites, as before remarked, are widely different from those of the Ishmaelites; and whatever theories may be adduced to the contrary, we believe that the Arabs, from physical characteristics, language, the concurrence of native traditions (*before* Mohammadanism made them untrustworthy), and the testimony of the Bible, are mainly and essentially Ishmaelite. [ISMAEL, 1.] E. S. P.

2. One of the sons of Azel, a descendant of Saul through Merib-baal, or Mephi-bosheth (1 Chr. viii. 38, ix. 44). See the genealogy, under SAUL.

3. [Vat. omits: *Ismahel.*] A man of Judah, whose son or descendant ZEBADIAH was ruler (נָגִיד) of the house of Judah in the time of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xix. 11).

4. [Vat. M. Ισραηλ: *Ismahel.*] Another man of Judah, son of Jehohanan; one of the "captains (שָׂרֵי) of hundreds" who assisted Jehoiada in restoring Joash to the throne (2 Chr. xxiii. 1).

5. [Vat. Ζαμαηλ; FA. Ζαμαηλ.] A priest, of the Bene-Pashur [sons of P.], who was forced

[a] With this and some other exceptions, the Muslims have adopted the chief facts of the history of Ishmael recorded in the Bible.

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by Ezra to relinquish his foreign wife (Ezr. x. 22). [ISHMAEL, 2.]

6. [Vat.[1] in 2 K. xxv. 25, Μαναηλ: *Ismahel.*] The son of Nethaniah; a perfect marvel of craft and villainy, whose treachery forms one of the chief episodes of the history of the period immediately succeeding the first fall of Jerusalem. His exploits are related in Jer. xl. 7–xli. 15, with a short summary in 2 K. xxv. 23–25, and they read almost like a page from the annals of the late Indian mutiny.

His full description is "Ishmael, the son of Nethaniah, the son of Elishama, of the seed royal"[a] of Judah (Jer. xli. 1; 2 K. xxv. 25). Whether by this is intended that he was actually a son of Zedekiah, or one of the later kings, or, more generally, that he had royal blood in his veins — perhaps a descendant of ELISHAMA, the son of David (2 Sam. v. 16) — we cannot tell. During the siege of the city he had, like many others of his countrymen (Jer. xl. 11), fled across the Jordan, where he found a refuge at the court of Baalis, the then king of the Bene-Ammon (Jos. *Ant.* x. 9, § 2). Ammonite women were sometimes found in the harems of the kings of Jerusalem (1 K. xi. 1), and Ishmael may have been thus related to the Ammonite court on his mother's side. At any rate he was instigated by Baalis to the designs which he accomplished but too successfully (Jer. xl. 14; *Ant.* x. 9, § 3). Several bodies of Jews appear to have been lying under arms in the plains on the S. E. of the Jordan,[b] during the last days of Jerusalem, watching the progress of affairs in Western Palestine, commanded by "princes"[c] (שָׂרֵי), the chief of whom were Ishmael, and two brothers, Johanan and Jonathan, sons of Kareah. Immediately after the departure of the Chaldæan army these men moved across the Jordan to pay their respects to GEDALIAH, whom the king of Babylon had left as superintendent (פְּקִידִ) of the province. Gedaliah had taken up his residence at MIZPAH, a few miles north of Jerusalem, on the main road, where Jeremiah the prophet resided with him (xl. 6). The house would appear to have been isolated from the rest of the town. We can discern a high inclosed court-yard and a deep well within its precincts. The well was certainly (Jer. xli. 9; comp. 1 K. xv. 22), and the whole residence was probably, a relic of the military works of Asa king of Judah.

Ishmael made no secret of his intention to kill the superintendent, and usurp his position. Of this Gedaliah was warned in express terms by Johanan and his companions; and Johanan, in a secret interview, foreseeing how irreparable a misfortune Gedaliah's death would be at this juncture (xl. 15), offered to remove the danger by killing Ishmael. This, however, Gedaliah, a man evidently of a high and unsuspecting nature, would not hear of (xl. 16, and see the amplification in Joseph. *Ant.* x. 9, § 3). They all accordingly took leave. Thirty days after (*Ant.* x. 9, § 4), in the seventh month (xli. 1), on the third day of the month — so says the tradition — Ishmael again appeared at Mizpah, this time accompanied by ten men, who were, according to the Hebrew text, "princes of the king" (רַבֵּי הַמֶּלֶךְ), though this is omitted by the LXX. and by Josephus. Gedaliah entertained them at a feast (xli. 1). According to the statement of Josephus this was a very lavish entertainment, and Gedaliah became much intoxicated. It must have been a private one, for before its close Ishmael and his followers had murdered Gedaliah and all his attendants with such secrecy that no alarm was given outside the room. The same night he killed all Gedaliah's establishment, including some Chaldæan soldiers who were there. Jeremiah appears fortunately to have been absent, and, incredible as it seems, so well had Ishmael taken his precautions that for two days the massacre remained perfectly unknown to the people of the town. On the second day Ishmael perceived from his elevated position a large party coming southward along the main road from Shechem and Samaria. He went out to meet them. They proved to be eighty devotees, who with rent clothes, and with shaven beards, mutilated bodies, and other marks of heathen devotion, and weeping[d] as they went, were bringing incense and offerings to the ruins of the Temple. At his invitation they turned aside to the residence of the superintendent. And here Ishmael put into practice the same stratagem, which on a larger scale was employed by Mehemet Ali in the massacre of the Mamelukes at Cairo in 1806. As the unsuspecting pilgrims passed into the court-yard[e] he closed the entrances

[a] זרע המלוכה. Jerome (*Qu. Hebr.* on 2 Chron. xxviii. 7) interprets this expression as meaning "of the seed of Molech." He gives the same meaning to the words "the King's son" applied to Maaseiah in the above passage. The question is an interesting one, and has been recently revived by Geiger (*Urschrift*, etc. p. 307), who extends it to other passages and persons. [MOLECH.] Jerome (as above) further says — perhaps on the strength of a tradition — that Ishmael was the son of an Egyptian slave, Gera: as a reason why the "seed royal" should bear the meaning he gives it. This the writer has not hitherto succeeded in elucidating.

[b] So perhaps, taking it with the express statement of xl. 11, we may interpret the words "the forces which were in the field" (Jer. xl. 7, 13), where the term rendered "the field" (בַּעֲשַׂדֶּה) is one used to denote the pasture grounds of Moab — the modern *Belka* — oftener than any other district. See Gen. xxxvi. 35; Num. xxi. 20; Ruth i. 1, and *passim*; 1 Chr. viii. 8; and Stanley's *S. & P.* App. § 15. The persistent use of the word in the semi-Moabite book of Ruth is alone enough to fix its meaning.

[c] It is a pity that some different word is not employed to render this Hebrew term from that used in xli. 1 to translate one totally distinct.

[d] This is the LXX. version of the matter — αὐτοὶ ἐπορεύοντο καὶ ἔκλαιον. The statement of the Hebrew Text and A. V. that Ishmael wept is unintelligible.

[e] The Hebrew has הָעִיר — "the city" (A. V. ver. 7). This has been read by Josephus חָצֵר — "court-yard." The alteration carries its genuineness in its face. The same change has been made by the Masorets (*Keri*) in 2 K. xx. 4.

[e] It is safer to follow the text, with Hitzig, Umbreit, De Wette, and others. It is to be noted that in the Hebrew אֶל precedes הָעִיר, *i. e.* they came "into the midst of the city," so that they were completely in Ishmael's power before the massacre took place. It was natural to mention that circumstance but there is no obvious reason for speaking thus precisely of "*the midst* of the court-yard." That specification also seems to require the article before the genitive. The "pit" (or "cistern," the word is בּוֹר

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behind them, and there he and his band butchered the whole number: ten only escaped by the offer of heavy ransom for their lives. The seventy corpses were then thrown into the well, which, as at Cawnpore, was within the precincts of the house, and which was completely filled with the bodies. It was the same thing that had been done by Jehu — a man in some respects a prototype of Ishmael — with the bodies of the forty-two relatives of Ahaziah (2 K. x. 14). This done he descended to the town, surprised and carried off the daughters of king Zedekiah, who had been sent there by Nebuchadnezzar for safety, with their eunuchs and their Chaldæan guard (xli. 10, 16), and all the people of the town, and made off with his prisoners to the country of the Ammonites. Which road he took is not quite clear; the Hebrew text and LXX. say by Gibeon, that is north; but Josephus, by Hebron, round the southern end of the Dead Sea. The news of the massacre had by this time got abroad, and Ishmael was quickly pursued by Johanan and his companions. Whether north or south, they soon tracked him and his unwieldy booty, and found them reposing by some copious waters (מַיִם רַבִּים). He was attacked, two of his bravoes slain, the whole of the prey recovered, and Ishmael himself, with the remaining eight of his people, escaped to the Ammonites, and thenceforward passes into the obscurity from which it would have been well if he had never emerged.

Johanan's foreboding was fulfilled. The result of this tragedy was an immediate panic. The small remnants of the Jewish commonwealth — the captains of the forces, the king's daughters, the two prophets Jeremiah and Baruch, and all the men, women, and children — at once took flight into Egypt (Jer. xli. 17; xliii. 5–7); and all hopes of a settlement were for the time at an end. The remembrance of the calamity was perpetuated by a fast — the fast of the seventh month (Zech. vii. 5; viii. 19), which is to this day strictly kept by the Jews on the third of Tishri. (See Reland, *Antiq.* iv. 10; Kimchi on Zech. vii. 5.) The part taken by Baalis in this transaction apparently brought upon his nation the denunciations both of Jeremiah (xlix. 1–6), and the more distant Ezekiel (xxv. 1–7), but we have no record how these predictions were accomplished. G.

ISHMAELITE. [ISHMAEL, p. 1171.]

ISHMA'IAH [3 syl.] (יִשְׁמַעְיָהוּ, *i. e.* Ishmaya'hu [*Jehovah hears*]: Σαμαΐας: *Jesmaias*), son of Obadiah: the ruler of the tribe of Zebulun in the time of king David (1 Chr. xxvii. 19).

ISH'MEËLITE AND **ISH'MEËLITES** יִשְׁמְעֵאלִי and יִשְׁמְעֵאלִים respectively: [Ἰσμαηλίτης (Vat. -λει-), Ἰσμαηλῖται: *Ismahelithes, Ismaëlita*]), the form — in agreement with the vowels of the Hebrew — in which the descendants of Ishmael are given in a few places in the A. V.; the former in 1 Chr. ii. 17; the latter in Gen. xxxvii. 25, 27, 28, xxxix. 1.

ISH'MERAI [3 syl.] (יִשְׁמַרְי [*whom Jehovah keeps*]: Ἰσαμαρί; [Vat. Σαμαρει;] Alex. Ἰεσαμαρι: *Jesamari*), a Benjamite; one of the family of Elpaal, and named as a chief man in the tribe (1 Chr. viii. 18).

ISH'OD (אִישְׁהוֹד, *i. e.* Ish-hod [*man of renown*]: ὁ Ἰσιωδ; [Vat. Ισαδεκ;] Alex. Ζουδ: *virum decorum*), one of the tribe of Manasseh on the east of Jordan, son of Hammoleketh, *i. e.* the Queen, and, from his near connection with Gilead evidently an important person (1 Chr. vii. 18).

ISH'PAN (יִשְׁפָּן [perh. *bald*, Ges.; *one strong*, Fürst]: Ἰεσφάν; [Vat. Ισφαν;] Alex. Εσφαν: *Jespham*), a Benjamite, one of the family of Shashak; named as a chief man in his tribe (1 Chr. viii. 22).

ISH'TOB (אִישׁ־טוֹב [see *infra*]: Ἰστράβ; [Vat. Ειστωβ;] Joseph. Ἴστωβος: *Istob*), apparently one of the small kingdoms or states which formed part of the general country of Aram, named with Zobah, Rehob, and Maacah (2 Sam. x. 6, 8). In the parallel account of 1 Chr. xix. Ishtob is omitted. By Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 6, § 1) the name is given as that of a king. But though in the ancient versions the name is given as one word, it is probable that the real signification is "the men of TOB," a district mentioned also in connection with Ammon in the records of Jephthah, and again perhaps, under the shape of TOBIE or TUBIENI, in the history of the Maccabees. G.

ISH'UAH (יִשְׁוָה [*even, level*, Ges.; *resting peaceful*, Dietr.]: Ἰεσσουέ, Alex. Ἰεσσαι: *Jesui*), the second son of Asher (Gen. xlvi. 17). In the genealogies of Asher in 1 Chr. vii. 30 the name, though identical in the original, is in the A. V. given as ISUAH. In the lists of Num. xxvi., however, Ishuah is entirely omitted.

* The word is properly Ishvah, and was probably intended by the translators of the A. V. to be so read, *u* being used in the edition of 1611 for *v*. A.

ISH'UAI [3 syl.] (יִשְׁוִי, *i. e.* Ishvi [see above]: Ἰσουί; Alex. Ἰεσουι: *Jesui*), the third son of Asher (1 Chr. vii. 30), founder of a family bearing his name (Num. xxvi. 44; A. V. "Jesuites"). His descendants, however, are not mentioned in the genealogy in Chronicles. His name is elsewhere given in the A. V. as ISUI, JESUI, and (another person) ISHUI.

ISH'UI (יִשְׁוִי, *i. e.* Ishvi [*peaceful, quiet*, Dietr.]: Ἰεσσιού; [Vat. Ιεσσιουλ;] Alex. Ισουει; Joseph. Ἰεσοῦς: *Jessus*), the second son of Saul by his wife Ahinoam (1 Sam. xiv. 49, comp. 50): his place in the family was between Jonathan and Melchishua. In the list of Saul's genealogy in 1 Chr. viii. and ix., however, the name of Ishui is entirely omitted; and in the sad narrative of the battle of Gilboa his place is occupied by Abinadab (1 Sam. xxxi. 2). We can only conclude that he died young.

The same name is elsewhere given in the A. V as ISUI, and ISHUAI. [In all these names *u* may have been intended by the translators of the A. V. to be read as *v*. See ISHUAH. — A.] G.

ISLE (אִי: νῆσος). The radical sense of the Hebrew word seems to be "habitable places," as opposed to water, and in this sense it occurs in Is. xlii. 15. Hence it means secondarily any maritime district, whether belonging to a continent or to an island: thus it is used of the shore of the Medi-

ento which the bodies were thrown may have been in a court-yard or elsewhere In eastern towns there are reservoirs for public use as well as private. H.

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terranean (Is. xx. 6, xxiii. 2, 6), and of the coasts of Elishah (Ez. xxvii. 7), *i. e.* of Greece and Asia Minor. In this sense it is more particularly restricted to the shores of the Mediterranean, sometimes in the fuller expression "islands of the sea" (Is. xi. 11), or "isles of the Gentiles" (Gen. x. 5; comp. Zeph. ii. 11), and sometimes simply as "isles" (Ps. lxxii. 10; Ez. xxvi. 15, 18, xxvii. 3, 35, xxxix. 6; Dan. xi. 18): an exception to this, however, occurs in Ez. xxvii. 15, where the shores of the Persian gulf are intended. Occasionally the word is specifically used of an island, as of Caphtor or Crete (Jer. xlvii. 4), and Chittim or Cyprus (Ez. xxvii. 6; Jer. ii. 10), or of islands as opposed to the mainland (Esth. x. 1). But more generally it is applied to any region separated from Palestine by water, as fully described in Jer. xxv. 22, "the isles which are beyond the sea," which were hence regarded as the most remote regions of the earth (Is. xxiv. 15, xlii. 10, lix. 18: compare the expression in Is. lxvi. 19, "the isles afar off"), and also as large and numerous (Is. xl. 15; Ps. xcvii. 1): the word is more particularly used by the prophets. (See J. D. Michaelis, *Spicilegium*, i. 131–142.) W. L. B.

ISMACHI'AH (יִסְמַכְיָהוּ, *i. e.* Ismacyah'hu [*whom Jehovah supports*]: ὁ Σαμαχία [Vat. -χει-]: *Jesmachias*), a Levite who was one of the overseers (פְּקִידִים) of offerings, during the revival under king Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxxi. 13).

ISMAEL. 1. (Ἰσμαήλ: *Ismaël*), Jud. ii. 23. Another form for the name ISHMAEL, son of Abraham.

2. (Ἰσμαῆλος: *Hismaenis*), 1 Esdr. ix. 22. [ISHMAEL, 5.]

ISMAI'AH [3 syl.] (יִשְׁמַעְיָה [*Jehovah hears*]: Σαμαΐας: *Samaias*), a Gibeonite, one of the chiefs of those warriors who relinquished the cause of Saul, the head of their tribe, and joined themselves to David, when he was at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 4). He is described as "a hero (*Gibbor*) among the thirty and over the thirty" — *i. e.* David's body-guard: but his name does not appear in the lists of the guard in 2 Sam. xxiii. and 1 Chr. xi. Possibly he was killed in some encounter before David reached the throne.

ISPAH (יִשְׁפָּה, *i. e.* Ishpah [perh. *bald*, Ges.]: Ἰεσφά; Alex. Εσφαχ: *Jespha*), a Benjamite, of the family of Beriah; one of the heads of his tribe (1 Chr. viii. 16).

ISRAEL (יִשְׂרָאֵל [*see infra*]: Ἰσραήλ). 1. The name given (Gen. xxxii. 28) to Jacob after his wrestling with the Angel (Hos. xii. 4) at Peniel. In the time of Jerome (*Quæst. Hebr. in Gen.* Opp. iii. 357) the signification of the name was commonly believed to be "the man (*or* the mind) seeing God." But he prefers another interpretation, and paraphrases the verse after this manner: "Thy name shall not be called Jacob, *Supplanter*, but Israel, *Prince with God*. For as I am a Prince, so thou who hast been able to wrestle with Me shalt be called a Prince. But if with Me who am God (or an Angel) thou hast been able to contend, how much more [shalt thou be able to contend] with men, *i. e.* with Esau, whom thou oughtest not to dread?" The A. V., apparently following Jerome, translates שָׂרִיתָ, "as a prince thou hast power;" but Rosenmüller and Gesenius give it the simpler meaning, "thou hast contended." Gesenius interprets Israel "soldier of God."

2. It became the national name of the twelve tribes collectively. They are so called in Ex. iii 16 and afterwards.

3. It is used in a narrower sense, excluding Judah, in 1 Sam. xi. 8. It is so used in the famous cry of the rebels against David (2 Sam. xx. 1), and against his grandson (1 K. xii. 16). Thenceforth it was assumed and accepted as the name of the Northern Kingdom, in which the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, Levi, Dan, and Simeon had no share.

4. After the Babylonian Captivity, the returned exiles, although they were mainly of the kingdom of Judah, resumed the name Israel as the designation of their nation; but as individuals they are almost always described as Jews in the Apocrypha and N. T. Instances occur in the Books of Chronicles of the application of the name Israel to Judah (*e. g.* 2 Chr. xi. 3, xii. 6); and in Esther of the name Jews to the whole people. The name Israel is also used to denote laymen, as distinguished from priests, levites, and other ministers (Ezr. vi. 16, ix. 1, x. 25; Neh. xi. 3, &c.). W. T. B.

ISRAEL, KINGDOM OF. 1. The prophet Ahijah of Shiloh, who was commissioned in the latter days of Solomon to announce the division of the kingdom, left one tribe (Judah) to the house of David, and assigned ten to Jeroboam (1 K. xi. 35, 31). These were probably Joseph (= Ephraim and Manasseh), Issachar, Zebulun, Asher, Naphtali, Benjamin, Dan, Simeon, Gad, and Reuben; Levi being intentionally omitted. Eventually, the greater part of Benjamin, and probably the whole of Simeon and Dan, were included as if by common consent in the kingdom of Judah. With respect to the conquests of David, Moab appears to have been attached to the kingdom of Israel (2 K. iii. 4); so much of Syria as remained subject to Solomon (see 1 K. xi. 24) would probably be claimed by his successor in the northern kingdom; and Ammon, though connected with Rehoboam as his mother's native land (2 Chr. xii. 13), and though afterwards tributary to Judah (2 Chr. xxvii. 5), was at one time allied (2 Chr. xx. 1), we know not how closely, or how early, with Moab. The sea-coast between Accho and Japho remained in the possession of Israel.

2. The population of the kingdom is not expressly stated, and in drawing any inference from the numbers of fighting-men, we must bear in mind that the numbers in the Hebrew text of the O. T. are strongly suspected to have been subjected to extensive, perhaps systematic, corruption. Forty years before the disruption, the census taken by direction of David gave 800,000 according to 2 Sam xxiv. 9, or 1,100,000[a] according to 1 Chr. xxi. 5, as the number of fighting-men in Israel. Jeroboam, B. C. 957, brought into the field an army of 800,000 men (2 Chr. xiii 3). The small number of the army of Jehoahaz (2 K. xiii. 7) is to be attributed to his compact with Hazael; for in the next reign Israel could spare a mercenary host ten times as numerous for the wars of Amaziah (2 Chr. xxv. 6). Ewald is scarcely correct in his remark that we know not what time of life is reckoned as the military age (*Gesch. Isr.* iii. 185); for it is defined in

[a] Bp. Patrick proposes to reconcile these two numbers, by adding to the former 288,000 on account of David's standing legions.

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Num. i. 3, and again 2 Chr. xxv. 5, as "twenty years old and above." If in B. C. 957 there were actually under arms 800,000 men of that age in Israel, the whole population may perhaps have amounted to at least three millions and a half.[a] Later observers have echoed the disappointment with which Jerome from his cell at Bethlehem contemplated the small extent of this celebrated country (*Ep.* 129, *ad Dardan.* § 4). The area of Palestine, as it is laid down in Kiepert's *Bibel-Atlas* (ed. Lionnet, 1859), is calculated at 13,620 English square miles. Deducting from this 810 miles for the strip of coast S. of Japho, belonging to the Philistines, we get 12,810 miles as the area of the land occupied by the 12 tribes at the death of Solomon: the area of the two kingdoms being — Israel, 9,375, Judah, 3,435. Hence it appears that the whole area of Palestine was nearly equal to that of the kingdom of Holland (13,610 square miles); or rather more than that of the six northern counties of England (13,136 square miles). The kingdom of Judah was rather less than Northumberland, Durham, and Westmoreland (3,683 square miles, with 752,852 population in 1851); the kingdom of Israel was very nearly as large as Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cumberland (9,453 square miles, with 4,023,713 population in 1851).

3. SHECHEM was the first capital of the new kingdom (1 K. xii. 25), venerable for its traditions, and beautiful in its situation. Subsequently Tirzah, whose loveliness had fixed the wandering gaze of Solomon (Cant. vi. 4), became the royal residence, if not the capital, of Jeroboam (1 K. xiv. 17) and of his successors (xv. 33, xvi. 8, 17, 23). Samaria, uniting in itself the qualities of beauty and fertility, and a commanding position, was chosen by Omri (1 K. xvi. 24), and remained the capital of the kingdom until it had given the last proof of its strength by sustaining for three years the onset of the hosts of Assyria. Jezreel was probably only a royal residence of some of the Israelitish kings. It may have been in awe of the ancient holiness of Shiloh, that Jeroboam forbore to pollute the secluded site of the Tabernacle with the golden calves. He chose for the religious capitals of his kingdom Dan, the old home of northern schism, and Bethel,[b] a Benjamite city not far from Shiloh, and marked out by history and situation as the rival of Jerusalem.

4. The disaffection of Ephraim and the northern tribes, having grown in secret under the prosperous but burdensome reign of Solomon, broke out at the critical moment of that great monarch's death. It was just then that Ephraim, the centre of the movement, found in Jeroboam an instrument prepared to give expression to the rivalry of centuries, with sufficient ability and application to raise him to high station, with the stain of treason on his name, and with the bitter recollections of an exile in his mind. Judah and Joseph were rivals from the time that they occupied the two prominent places, and received the amplest promises in the blessing of the dying patriarch (Gen. xlix. 8, 22). When the twelve tribes issued from Egypt, only Judah and Joseph could muster each above 70,000 warriors. In the desert and in the conquest, Caleb and Joshua, the representatives of the two tribes, stand out side by side eminent among the leaders of the people. The blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii. 13) and the divine selection of Joshua inaugurated the greater prominence of Joseph for the next three centuries. Othniel, the successor of Joshua, was from Judah; the last, Samuel, was born among the Ephraimites. Within that period Ephraim supplied at Shiloh (Judg. xxi. 19) a resting-place for the ark, the centre of divine worship; and a rendezvous, or capital at Shechem (Josh. xxiv. 1; Judg. ix. 2) for the whole people. Ephraim arrogantly claimed (Judg. viii. 1, xii. 1) the exclusive right of taking the lead against invaders. Royal authority was offered to one dweller in Ephraim (viii. 22), and actually exercised for three years by another (ix. 22). After a silent, perhaps sullen, acquiescence in the transfer of Samuel's authority with additional dignity to a Benjamite, they resisted for seven years (2 Sam. ii. 9–11) its passing into the hands of the popular Jewish leader, and yielded reluctantly to the conviction that the sceptre which seemed almost within their grasp was reserved at last for Judah. Even in David's reign their jealousy did not always slumber (2 Sam. xix. 43); and though Solomon's alliance and intercourse with Tyre must have tended to increase the loyalty of the northern tribes, they took the first opportunity to emancipate themselves from the rule of his son. Doubtless the length of Solomon's reign, and the clouds that gathered round the close of it (1 K. xi. 14–25), and possibly his increasing despotism (Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* iii. 395), tended to diminish the general popularity of the house of David; and the idolatry of the king alienated the affection of religious Israelites. But none of these was the immediate cause of the disruption. No aspiration after greater liberty, political privileges, or aggrandizement at the expense of other powers, no spirit of commercial enterprise, no breaking forth of pent-up energy seems to have instigated the movement. Ephraim proudly longed for independence, without considering whether or at what cost he could maintain it. Shechem was built as a capital, and Tirzah as a residence, for an Ephraimite king, by the people who murmured under the burden imposed upon them by the royal state of Solomon. Ephraim felt no patriotic pride in a national splendor of which Judah was the centre. The dwelling-place of God when fixed in Jerusalem ceased to be so honorable to him as of old. It was ancient jealousy rather than recent provocation, the opportune death of Solomon rather than unwillingness to incur taxation, the opportune return of a persecuted Ephraimite rather than any commanding genius for rule which Jeroboam possessed, that finally broke up the brotherhood of the children of Jacob. It was an outburst of human feeling so soon as that divine influence which restrained the spirit of disunion was withdrawn in consequence of the idolatry of Solomon, so soon as that stern prophetic voice which had called Saul to the throne under a protest, and David to the throne in repentance, was heard in anger summoning Jeroboam to divide the kingdom.

[a] "Mr. Rickman noticed that in 1821 and in 1831 the number of males under 20 years of age, and the number of males of 20 years of age and upwards, were nearly equal; and this proportion has been since regarded as invariable: or, it has been assumed, that the males of the age of 20 and upwards are equal in number to a fourth part of the whole population."—*Census of Great Britain*, 1851, *Population Tables, II. Ages*, etc., p. vi.

[b] On these seven places see Stanley's *S. & P.*, chaps iv. v. and xi.

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5. Disruption where there can be no expansion, or dismemberment without growth, is fatal to a state. If England and America have prospered since 1783 it is because each found space for increase, and had vital energy to fill it. If the separation of east and west was but a step in the decline of the Roman empire, it was so because each portion was hemmed in by obstacles which it wanted vigor to surmount. The sources of life and strength begin to dry up; the state shrinks within itself, withers, and falls before some blast which once it might have braved.

The kingdom of Israel developed no new power. It was but a portion of David's kingdom deprived of many elements of strength. Its frontier was as open and as widely extended as before; but it wanted a capital for the seat of organized power. Its territory was as fertile and as tempting to the spoiler, but its people were less united and patriotic. A corrupt religion poisoned the source of national life. When less reverence attended on a new and unconsecrated king, and less respect was felt for an aristocracy reduced by the retirement of the Levites, the army which David found hard to control rose up unchecked in the exercise of its willful strength; and thus eight houses, each ushered in by a revolution, occupied the throne in quick succession. Tyre ceased to be an ally when the alliance was no longer profitable to the merchant-city. Moab and Ammon yielded tribute only while under compulsion. A powerful neighbor, Damascus, sat armed at the gate of Israel; and, beyond Damascus, might be discerned the rising strength of the first great monarchy of the world.

These causes tended to increase the misfortunes, and to accelerate the early end of the kingdom of Israel. It lasted 254 years, from B. C. 975 to B. C. 721, about two thirds of the duration of its more compact neighbor Judah.

But it may be doubted whether the division into two kingdoms greatly shortened the independent existence of the Hebrew race, or interfered with the purposes which, it is thought, may be traced in the establishment of David's monarchy. If among those purposes were the preservation of the true religion in the world, and the preparation of an agency adapted for the diffusion of Christianity in due season, then it must be observed — first, that as a bulwark providentially raised against the corrupting influence of idolatrous Tyre and Damascus, Israel kept back that contagion from Judah, and partly exhausted it before its arrival in the south; next, that the purity of divine worship was not impaired by the excision of those tribes which were remote from the influence of the Temple, and by the concentration of priests and religious Israelites within the southern kingdom; and lastly, that to the worshippers at Jerusalem the early decline and fall of Israel was a solemn and impressive spectacle of judgment — the working out of the great problem of God's toleration of idolatry. This prepared the heart of Judah for the revivals under Hezekiah and Josiah, softened them into repentance during the captivity, and strengthened them for their absolute renunciation of idolatry, when after seventy years they returned to Palestine, to teach the world that there is a spiritual bond more efficacious than the occupancy of a certain soil for keeping up national existence, and to become the channel through which God's greatest gift was conveyed to mankind. [CAPTIVITY.]

6. The detailed history of the kingdom of Israel will be found under the names of its nineteen kings. [See also EPHRAIM.] A summary view may be taken in four periods: —

(*a.*) B. C. 975–929. Jeroboam had not sufficient force of character in himself to make a lasting impression on his people. A king, but not a founder of a dynasty, he aimed at nothing beyond securing his present elevation. Without any ambition to share in the commerce of Tyre, or to compete with the growing power of Damascus, or even to complete the humiliation of the helpless monarch whom he had deprived of half a kingdom, Jeroboam acted entirely on a defensive policy. He attempted to give his subjects a centre which they wanted for their political allegiance, in Shechem or in Tirzah. He sought to change merely so much of their ritual as was inconsistent with his authority over them. But as soon as the golden calves were set up, the priests and Levites and many religious Israelites (2 Chr. xi. 16) left their country, and the disastrous emigration was not effectually checked even by the attempt of Baasha to build a fortress (2 Chr. xvi. 6) at Ramah. A new priesthood was introduced (1 K. xii. 31) absolutely dependent on the king (Am. vii. 13), not forming as under the Mosaic law a landed aristocracy, not respected by the people, and unable either to withstand the oppression or to strengthen the weakness of a king. A priesthood created, and a ritual devised for secular purposes, had no hold whatever on the conscience of the people. To meet their spiritual cravings a succession of prophets was raised up, great in their poverty, their purity, their austerity, their self-dependence, their moral influence, but imperfectly organized; — a rod to correct and check the civil government, not, as they might have been under happier circumstances, a staff to support it. The army soon learned its power to dictate to the isolated monarch and disunited people. Baasha in the midst of the army at Gibbethon slew the son and successor of Jeroboam; Zimri, a captain of chariots, slew the son and successor of Baasha; Omri, the captain of the host, was chosen to punish Zimri; and after a civil war of four years he prevailed over Tibni, the choice of half the people.

(*b.*) B. C. 929–884. For forty-five years Israel was governed by the house of Omri. That sagacious king pitched on the strong hill of Samaria as the site of his capital. Damascus, which in the days of Baasha had proved itself more than a match for Israel, now again assumed a threatening attitude. Edom and Moab showed a tendency to independence, or even aggression. Hence the princes of Omri's house cultivated an alliance with the contemporary kings of Judah, which was cemented by the marriage of Jehoram and Athaliah, and marked by the community of names among the royal children. Ahab's Tyrian alliance strengthened him with the counsels of the masculine mind of Jezebel, but brought him no further support. The entire rejection of the God of Abraham, under the disguise of abandoning Jeroboam's unlawful symbolism, and adopting Baal as the god of a luxurious court and subservient populace, led to a reaction in the nation, to the moral triumph of the prophets in the person of Elijah, and to the extinction of the house of Ahab in obedience to the bidding of Elisha.

(*c.*) B. C. 884–772. Unparalleled triumphs, but deeper humiliation, awaited the kingdom of Israel under the dynasty of Jehu. The worship of Baal was abolished by one blow; but, so long as the

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kingdom lasted, the people never rose superior to the debasing form of religion established by Jeroboam. Hazael, the successor of the two Ben-hadads, the ablest king of Damascus, reduced Jehoahaz to the condition of a vassal, and triumphed for a time over both the disunited Hebrew kingdoms. Almost the first sign of the restoration of their strength was a war between them; and Jehoash, the grandson of Jehu, entered Jerusalem as the conqueror of Amaziah. Jehoash also turned the tide of war against the Syrians; and Jeroboam II., the most powerful of all the kings of Israel, captured Damascus, and recovered the whole ancient frontier from Hamath to the Dead Sea. In the midst of his long and seemingly glorious reign the prophets Hosea and Amos uttered their warnings more clearly than any of their predecessors. The short-lived greatness expired with the last king of Jehu's line.

(*d.*) B. C. 772–721. Military violence, it would seem, broke off the hereditary succession after the obscure and probably convulsed reign of Zachariah. An unsuccessful usurper, Shallum, is followed by the cruel Menahem, who, being unable to make head against the first attack of Assyria under Pul, became the agent of that monarch for the oppressive taxation of his subjects. Yet his power at home was sufficient to insure for his son and successor Pekahiah a ten years' reign, cut short by a bold usurper, Pekah. Abandoning the northern and transjordanic regions to the encroaching power of Assyria under Tiglath-pileser, he was very near subjugating Judah, with the help of Damascus, now the coequal ally of Israel. But Assyria interposing summarily put an end to the independence of Damascus, and perhaps was the indirect cause of the assassination of the baffled Pekah. The irresolute Hoshea, the next and last usurper, became tributary to his invader, Shalmaneser, betrayed the Assyrian to the rival monarchy of Egypt, and was punished by the loss of his liberty, and by the capture, after a three years' siege, of his strong capital, Samaria. Some gleanings of the ten tribes yet remained in the land after so many years of religious decline, moral debasement, national degradation, anarchy, bloodshed, and deportation. Even these were gathered up by the conqueror and carried to Assyria, never again, as a distinct people, to occupy their portion of that goodly and pleasant land which their forefathers won under Joshua from the heathen.

7. The following table shows at one view the chronology of the kings of Israel and Judah. Columns 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10 are taken from the Bible. Columns 4, 5, 6 are the computations of eminent modern chronologists: column 4 being the

Year of preceding King of Judah.	Duration of Reign.	KINGS OF ISRAEL.	Commencement of Reign. A. V.	Clinton	Winer.	KINGS OF JUDAH.	Duration of Reign.	Year of preceding King of Israel.	Queen Mother in Judah.
	22	Jeroboam . .	975	976	975	Rehoboam .	17	.	Naamah.
			958	959	957	Abijah . . .	3	18th .	Michaiah (?)
			955	956	955	Asa . . .	41	20th .	Maachah (?)
2nd	2	Nadab . . .	954	955	954				
3rd	24	Baasha . .	953	954	953				
26th	2	Elah . . .	930	930	930				
27th .	0	Zimri . . .	929	930	928				
	12	Omri . . .	929	930	928				
38th .	22	Ahab . . .	918	919	918				
			914	915	914	Jehoshaphat .	25	4th .	Azubah
17th .	2	Ahaziah . .	898	896	897				
18th .	12	Jehoram . .	896	895	896				
			892	891	889	Jehoram . .	8	5th .	
			885	884	885	Ahaziah . .	1	12th .	Athaliah.
	28	Jehu . . .	884	883	884	Athaliah . .	6		
			878	877	878	Jehoash . .	40	7th .	Zibiah.
23rd .	17	Jehoahas . .	856	855	856				
37th .	16	Jehoash . .	841	839	840				
			839	837	838	Amaziah . .	29	2d . .	Jehoaddan
15th .	41	Jeroboam II.	825	823	825				
			810	808	809	Uzziah or Azariah	52	27th .	Jecholiah
	11	Interregnum.							
38th .	0	Zachariah .	773	771	772				
	0	Shallum . .	772	770	771				
39th	10	Menahem . .	772	770	771				
50th .	2	Pekahiah . .	761	759	760				
52d .	20	Pekah . . .	759	757	758				
			758	756	758	Jotham . .	16	2d .	Jerusha.
			742	741	741	Ahaz . . .	16	17th	
	9	2d Interregnum.							
12th	9	Hoshea . .	730	730	729				
			726	726	725	Hezekiah . .	29	3rd .	Abi.
6th		Samaria taken	721	721	721				
			698	697	696	Manasseh . .	55		Hephzibah
			643	642	641	Amon . . .	2		Meshullemeth.
			641	640	639	Josiah . . .	31		Jedidah.
			610	609	609	Jehoahaz .	0		Hamutal.
			610	609	609	Jehoiachim .	11		Zebudah
			599	598	598	Jehoiachin or Coniah	0		Nehushta.
			599	598	596	Zedekiah .	11		Hamutal.
			588	587	586	Jerusalem destroyed			

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scheme adopted in the margin of the English Version, which is founded on the calculations of Archbishop Ussher: column 5 being the computation of Clinton (*Fasti Hellenici*, iii. App. § 5); and column 6 being the computation of Winer (*Realwörterbuch*).

The numerous dates given in the Bible as the limits of the duration of the king's reigns act as a continued check on each other. The apparent discrepancies between them have been unduly exaggerated by some writers. To meet such difficulties various hypotheses have been put forward; — that an interregnum occurred; that two kings (father and son) reigned conjointly; that certain reigns were dated not from their real commencement, but from some arbitrary period in that Jewish year in which they commenced; that the Hebrew copyists have transcribed the numbers incorrectly, either by accident or design; that the original writers have made mistakes in their reckoning. All these are mere suppositions, and even the most probable of them must not be insisted on as if it were a historical fact. But in truth most of the discrepancies may be accounted for by the simple fact that the Hebrew annalists reckon in round numbers, never specifying the months in addition to the years of the duration of a king's reign. Consequently some of these writers seem to set down a fragment of a year as an entire year, and others omit such fragments altogether. Hence in computing the date of the commencement of each reign, without attributing any error to the writer or transcribers, it is necessary to allow for a possible mistake amounting to something less than two years in our interpretation of the indefinite phraseology of the Hebrew writers. But there are a few statements in the Hebrew text which cannot thus be reconciled.

(*a.*) There are in the Second Book of Kings three statements as to the beginning of the reign of Jehoram king of Israel, which in the view of some writers involve a great error, and not a mere numerical one. His accession is dated (1) in the second year of Jehoram king of Judah (2 K. i. 17); (2) in the fifth year before Jehoram king of Judah (2 K. viii. 16); (3) in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat (2 K. iii. 1). But these statements may be reconciled by the fact that Jehoram king of Judah had two accessions which are recorded in Scripture, and by the probable supposition of Archbishop Ussher that he had a third and earlier accession which is not recorded. These three accessions are, (1) when Jehoshaphat left his kingdom to go to the battle of Ramoth-Gilead, in his 17th year; (2) when Jehoshaphat (2 K. viii. 16) either retired from the administration of affairs, or made his son joint king, in his 23d year; (3) when Jehoshaphat died, in his 25th year. So that, if the supposition of Ussher be allowed, the accession of Jehoram king of Israel in Jehoshaphat's 18th year synchronized with (1) the second year of the first accession, and (2) the fifth year before the second accession of Jehoram king of Judah.

(*b.*) The date of the beginning of Uzziah's reign (2 K. xv. 1) in the 27th year of Jeroboam II. cannot be reconciled with the statement that Uzziah's father, Amaziah, whose whole reign was 29 years only, came to the throne in the second year of Joash (2 K. xiv. 1), and so reigned 14 years contemporaneously with Joash and 27 with Jeroboam. Ussher and others suggest a reconciliation of these statements by the supposition that Jeroboam's reign had two commencements, the first not mentioned in Scripture, on his association with his father Joash, B. C. 837. But Keil, after Capellus and Grotius, supposes that בַּ is an error of the Hebrew copyists for מַ, and that instead of 27th of Jeroboam we ought to read 15th.

(*c.*) The statements that Jeroboam II. reigned 41 years (2 K. xiv. 23) after the 15th year of Amaziah, who reigned 29 years, and that Jeroboam's son Zachariah came to the throne in the 38th year of Uzziah (2 K. xv. 8), cannot be reconciled without supposing that there was an interregnum of 11 years between Jeroboam and his son Zachariah. And almost all chronologists accept this as a fact, although it is not mentioned in the Bible. Some chronologists, who regard an interregnum as intrinsically improbable after the prosperous reign of Jeroboam, prefer the supposition that the number 41 in 2 K. xiv. 23 ought to be changed to 51, and that the number 27 in xv. 1 should be changed to 14, and that a few other corresponding alterations should be made.

(*d.*) In order to bring down the date of Pekah's murder to the date of Hoshea's accession, some chronologists propose to read 29 years for 20, in 2 K. xv. 27. Others prefer to let the dates stand as at present in the text, and suppose that an interregnum, not expressly mentioned in the Bible, occurred between those two usurpers. The words of Isaiah (ix. 20, 21) seem to indicate a time of anarchy in Israel.

The Chronology of the Kings has been minutely investigated by Abp. Ussher, *Chronologia Sacra, Pars Posterior, De Annis Regum*, Works, xii. 95–144; by Lightfoot, *Order of the Texts of the O. T.*, Works, i. 77–130; by Hales, *New Analysis of Chronology*, ii. 372–447; by Clinton, *l. c.*; and by H. Browne, *Ordo Sæclorum*. [See also D. Wolff, *Versuch, die Widersprüche in den Jahrreihen der Könige Juda's u. Isr. u. andere Differenzen in d. bibl. Chronol. auszugleichen*, in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1858, pp. 625–688, and the references under CHRONOLOGY, Amer. ed. — A.]

W. T. B.

ISRAELITE (יִשְׂרְאֵלִי: Ἰεζραηλίτης; [Vat. Ισραηλειτης; Ald. Ἰσραηλίτης;] Alex. Ισμαηλειτης: *de Jesraëli*). In 2 Sam. xvii. 25, Ithra, the father of Amasa, is called "an Israelite," or more correctly "the Israelite," while in 1 Chr. ii. 17 he appears as "Jether the Ishmaelite." The latter is undoubtedly the true reading, for unless Ithra had been a foreigner there would have been no need to express his nationality. The LXX. and Vulg. appear to have read יִזְרְעֵאלִי, "Jezreelite."

W. A. W.

* "Israelite" also occurs in the A. V. as the rendering of אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל, "man of Israel," Num. xxv. 14; and of Ἰσραηλίτης or Ἰσραηλεῖτης (Tisch. Treg.), John i. 47, Rom. xi. 1. "Israelites" is the translation of בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל, used collectively, in Ex. ix. 7; Lev. xxiii. 42; Josh. iii. 17, xiii. 6 Judg. xx. 21; 1 Sam. ii. 14, xiii. 20, xiv. 21, xxv 1, xxix. 1; 2 Sam. iv. 1; 2 K. iii. 24, vii. 13; 1 Chron. ix. 2; — of Ἰσραήλ, Bar. iii. 4; 1 Macc. i 43, 53, 58, iii. 46, vi. 18; — of υἱοὶ Ἰσραήλ, Jud vi. 14; 1 Macc. vii. 23; — and of Ἰσραηλῖται or -λεῖται, Rom. ix. 4; 2 Cor. xi. 22. A.

* **ISRAELITISH** (יִשְׂרְאֵלִית: Ἰσραηλ

ra Vat. -λεε-; Alex. once Ιεζραηλιτις: *Jezraelitis*) The designation of a certain woman (Lev. xxiv. 10, 11) whose son was stoned for blasphemy. A.

ISSACHAR (יִשָּׂשכָר, [see *infra*], i. e. Issacar — such is the invariable spelling of the name in the Hebrew, the Samaritan Codex and Version, the Targums of Onkelos and Pseudo-jonathan, but the Masorets have pointed it so as to supersede the second S, יִשָּׂשָׂכָר, Issa [s] car: Ἰσσάχαρ; Rec. Text of N. T. Ἰσασχάρ, but Cod. C, Ἰσαχάρ [Cod. A. and Sin. Ισσαχαρ]; Joseph. Ἰσσάχαρις: *Issachar*). the ninth son of Jacob and the fifth of Leah; the firstborn to Leah after the interval which occurred in the births of her children (Gen. xxx. 17; comp. xxix. 35). As is the case with each of the sons the name is recorded as bestowed on account of a circumstance connected with the birth. But, as may be also noticed in more than one of the others, two explanations seem to be combined in the narrative, which even then is not in exact accordance with the requirements of the name. "God hath given me my hire (שָׂכָר, *sâcâr*) . . . and she called his name Issachar," is the record; but in verse 18 that "hire" is for the surrender of her maid to her husband — while in ver. 14–17 it is for the discovery and bestowal of the mandrakes. Besides, as indicated above, the name in its original form — Isascar — rebels against this interpretation, an interpretation which, to be consistent, requires the form subsequently imposed on the word Is-sachar.[a] The allusion is not again brought forward as it is with Dan, Asher, etc., in the blessings of Jacob and Moses. In the former only it is perhaps allowable to discern a faint echo of the sound of "Issachar" in the word *shicmo* — "shoulder" (Gen. xlix. 15).

Of Issachar the individual we know nothing. In Genesis he is not mentioned after his birth, and the few verses in Chronicles devoted to the tribe contain merely a brief list of its chief men and heroes in the reign of David (1 Chr. vii. 1–5).

At the descent into Egypt four sons are ascribed to him, who founded the four chief families of the tribe (Gen. xlvi. 13; Num. xxvi. 23, 25: 1 Chr. vii. 1). Issachar's place during the journey to Canaan was on the east of the Tabernacle with his brothers Judah and Zebulun (Num. ii. 5), the group moving foremost in the march (x. 15), and having a common standard, which, according to the Rabbinical tradition, was of the three colors of sardine, topaz, and carbuncle, inscribed with the names of the three tribes, and bearing the figure of a lion's whelp (see Targum Pseudojon. on Num. ii. 3). At this time the captain of the tribe was Nethaneel ben-Zuar (Num. i. 8, ii. 5, vii. 18, x. 15). He was succeeded by Igal ben-Joseph, who went as representative of his tribe among the spies (xiii. 7), and he again by Paltiel ben-Azzan, who assisted Joshua in apportioning the land of Canaan (xxxiv. 26). Issachar was one of the six tribes who were to stand on Mount Gerizim during the ceremony of blessing and cursing (Deut. xxvii. 12). He was still in company with Judah, Zebulun being opposite on Ebal. The number of the fighting men of Issachar when taken in the census at Sinai was 54,400. During the journey they seem to have steadily increased, and after the mortality at Peor they amounted to 64,300, being inferior to none but Judah and Dan. — to the latter by 100 souls only. The numbers given in 1 Chr. vii. 2, 4, 5 probably the census of Joab, amount in all to 145,600.

The Promised Land once reached, the connection between Issachar and Judah seems to have closed, to be renewed only on two brief occasions, which will be noticed in their turn. The intimate relation with Zebulun was however maintained. The two brother-tribes had their portions close together, and more than once they are mentioned in company. The allotment of Issachar lay above that of Manasseh. The specification of its boundaries and contents is contained in Josh. xix. 17–23. But to the towns there named must be added Daberath, given in the catalogue of Levitical cities (xxi. 28. Jarmuth here is probably the Remeth of xix. 21), and five others — Beth-shean, Ibleam, En-dor, Taanach, and Megiddo. These last, though the property of Manasseh, remained within the limits of Issachar (Josh. xvii. 11; Judg. i. 27), and they assist us materially in determining his boundary. In the words of Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, § 22), "it extended in length from Carmel to the Jordan, in breadth to Mount Tabor." In fact it exactly consisted of the plain of Esdraelon or Jezreel. The south boundary we can trace by En-gannim, the modern *Jenin*, on the heights which form the southern inclosure to the Plain; and then, further westward, by Taanach and Megiddo, the authentic fragments of which still stand on the same heights as they trend away to the hump of Carmel. On the north the territory also ceased with the plain, which is there bounded by Tabor, the outpost of the hills of Zebulun. East of Tabor the hill-country continued so as to screen the tribe from the Sea of Galilee, but a continuous tract of level on the S. E. led to Beth-shean and the upper part of the Jordan valley. West of Tabor, again, a little to the south, is Chesulloth, the modern *Iksal*, close to the traditional "Mount of Precipitation;" and over this the boundary probably ran in a slanting course till it joined Mount Carmel, where the Kishon (Josh. xix. 20) worked its way below the eastern bluff of that mountain — and thus completed the triangle at its western apex. Nazareth lies among the hills, a few [about two] miles north of the so-called Mount of Precipitation, and therefore escaped being in Issachar. Almost exactly in the centre of this plain stood Jezreel, on a low swell, attended on the one hand by the eminence of Mount Gilboa, on the other by that now called *ed-Duhy*, or "little Hermon," the latter having Shunem, Nain, and En-dor on its slopes, names which recall some of the most interesting and important events in the history of Israel.

This territory was, as it still is, among the richest land in Palestine. Westward was the famous plain which derived its name, the "seed-plot of God" — such is the signification of Jezreel — from its fertility, and the very weeds of which at this day

[a] The words occur again almost identically in 2 Chron. 7. and Jer. xxxi. 16: יֵשׁ שָׂכָר — "there is a reward for," A. V. "shall be rewarded."

An expansion of the story of the mandrakes, with curious details, will be found in the *Testamentum Issachar*, Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepigr.* i. 620–623. They were ultimately deposited "in the house of the Lord," whatever that expression may mean.

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testify to its enormous powers of production (Stanley *S. & P.* p. 348). [ESDRAELON: JEZREEL.] On the north is Tabor, which even under the burning sun of that climate is said to retain the glades and dells of an English wood (*ibid.* p. 350). On the east, behind Jezreel, is the opening which conducts to the plain of the Jordan — to that Beth-shean which was proverbially among the Rabbis the gate of Paradise for its fruitfulness. It is this aspect of the territory of Issachar which appears to be alluded to in the Blessing of Jacob. The image of the "strong-boned he-ass" (חֲמֹר גָּרֶם) — the large animal used for burdens and field work, not the lighter and swifter she-ass for riding — "couching down between the two hedge-rows,"[a] chewing the cud of stolid ease and quiet — is very applicable, not only to the tendencies and habits, but to the very size and air of a rural agrarian people, while the sequel of the verse is no less suggestive of the certain result of such tendencies when unrelieved by any higher aspirations: "He saw that rest was good and the land pleasant, and he bowed his back to bear, and became a slave[b] to tribute" — the tribute imposed on him by the various marauding tribes who were attracted to his territory by the richness of the crops. The Blessing of Moses completes the picture. He is not only "in tents" — in nomad or semi-nomad life — but "rejoicing" in them, and it is perhaps not straining a point to observe that he has by this time begun to lose his individuality. He and Zebulun are mentioned together as having part possession in the holy mountain of Tabor, which was on the frontier line of each (Deut. xxxiii. 18, 19). We pass from this to the time of Deborah: the chief struggle in the great victory over Sisera took place on the territory of Issachar, "by Taanach at the waters of Megiddo" (Judg. v. 19); but the allusion to the tribe in the song of triumph is of the most cursory nature, not consistent with its having taken any prominent part in the action.

One among the Judges of Israel was from Issachar — TOLA (Judg. x. 1) — but beyond the length of his sway we have only the fact recorded that he resided out of the limits of his own tribe — at Shamir in Mount Ephraim. By Josephus he is omitted entirely (see *Ant.* v. 7, § 6). The census of the tribe taken in the reign of David has already been alluded to. It is contained in 1 Chr. vii. 1–5, and an expression occurs in it which testifies to the nomadic tendencies above noticed. Out of the whole number of the tribe no less than 36,000 were marauding mercenary troops — "bands" (גְּדוּדִים) — a term applied to no other tribe in this enumeration, though elsewhere to Gad, and uniformly to the irregular bodies of the Bedouin nations round Israel.[c] This was probably at the close of David's reign. Thirty years before, when two hundred of the head men of the tribe had gone to Hebron to assist in making David king over the entire realm different qualifications are noted in them — they "had understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to do . . . and all their brethren were at their commandment." To what this "understanding of the times" was we have no clew. By the later Jewish interpreters it is explained as skill in ascertaining the periods of the sun and moon, the intercalation of months, and dates of solemn feasts, and the interpretation of the signs of the heavens (Targum, *ad loc.*; Jerome, *Quæst. Hebr.*). Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 2, § 2) gives it as "knowing the things that were to happen;" and he adds that the armed men who came with these leaders were 20,000. One of the wise men of Issachar, according to an old Jewish tradition preserved by Jerome (*Quæst. Hebr.* on 2 Chr. xvii. 16), was Amasiah son of Zichri, who with 200,000 men offered himself to Jehovah in the service of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr xvii. 16): but this is very questionable, as the movement appears to have been confined to Judah and Benjamin. The ruler of the tribe at this time was Omri, of the great family of Michael (1 Chr xxvii. 18; comp. vii. 3). May he not have been the forefather of the king of Israel of the same name — the founder of the "house of Omri" and of the "house of Ahab," the builder of Samaria, possibly on the same hill of Shamir on which the Issacharite judge, Tola, had formerly held his court? But whether this was so or not, at any rate one dynasty of the Israelite kings was Issacharite. BAASHA, the son of Ahijah, of the house of Issachar, a member of the army with which Nadab and all Israel were besieging Gibbethon, apparently not of any standing in the tribe (comp. 1 K. xvi. 2), slew the king, and himself mounted the throne (1 K. xv. 27, &c.). He was evidently a fierce and warlike man (xv. 29; 2 Chr. xvi. 1), and an idolater like Jeroboam. The Issacharite dynasty lasted during the 24 years of his reign and the 2 of his son Elah. At the end of that time it was wrested from him by the same means that his father had acquired it, and Zimri, the new king, commenced his reign by a massacre of the whole kindred and connections of Baasha — he left him "not even so much as a dog" (xvi. 11).

One more notice of Issachar remains to be added to the meagre information already collected. It is fortunately a favorable one. There may be no truth in the tradition just quoted that the tribe was in any way connected with the reforms of Jehoshaphat, but we are fortunately certain that, distant as Jezreel was from Jerusalem, they took part in the passover with which Hezekiah sanctified the opening of his reign. On that memorable occasion a multitude of the people from the northern tribes, and amongst them from Issachar, although so long estranged from the worship of Jehovah as to have forgotten how to make the necessary purifications, yet by the enlightened wisdom of Hezekiah were

[a] The word here rendered "hedge-rows" is one which only occurs in Judg. v. 16. The sense there is evidently similar to that in this passage. But as to what that sense is all the authorities differ. See Gesenius, Ben Zev, etc. The rendering given seems to be nearer the real force than any.

[b] לְמַס עֹבֵד. By the LXX. rendered ὑπήκοος ὑποφόρος. Comp. their similar rendering of עֲבֹדָה (A. V. "servants," and "husbandry") in Gen. xxvi.

[c] The word "bands," which is commonly employed in the A. V. to render *Gedúdim*, as above, is unfortunately used in 1 Chr. xii. 23 for a very different term, by which the orderly assembly of the fighting men of the tribes is denoted when they visited Hebron to make David king. This term is רָאשֵׁי = "heads." We may almost suspect a mere misprint, especially as the Vulgate has *principes*. [The marginal rendering shows that it is not a misprint.]

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allowed to keep the feast, and they did keep it seven days with great gladness — with such tumultuous joy as had not been known since the time of Solomon, when the whole land was one. Nor did they separate till the occasion had been signalized by an immense destruction of idolatrous altars and symbols, "in Judah and Benjamin, in Ephraim and Manasseh," up to the very confines of Issachar's own land — and then "all the children of Israel returned every man to his possession into their own cities" (2 Chr. xxxi. 1). It is a satisfactory farewell to take of the tribe. Within five years from this date Shalmaneser king of Assyria had invaded the north of Palestine, and after three years' siege had taken Samaria, and with the rest of Israel had carried Issachar away to his distant dominions. There we must be content to leave them until, with the rest of their brethren of all the tribes of the children of Israel (Dan only excepted), the twelve thousand of the tribe of Issachar shall be sealed in their foreheads (Rev. vii. 7).

2. (יִשָּׂשכָר: Ἰσσάχαρ: [*Issachar.*]) A Korhite Levite, one of the doorkeepers (A. V. "porters") of the house of Jehovah, seventh son of OBED-EDOM (1 Chr. xxvi. 5). G.

ISSHI'AH (יִשִּׁיָּה [*whom Jehovah leads*]). 1. (Vat. omits; Alex. Ἰεσιας: *Jesias.*) A descendant of Moses by his younger son Eliezer; the head of the numerous family of Rehabiah, in the time of David (1 Chr. xxiv. 21; comp. xxiii. 17, xxvi. 25). His name is elsewhere given as JESHAIAH. [ISHIAH.]

2 (Ἰσία; Alex. Ασια: *Jesia.*) A Levite of the house of Kohath and family of Uzziel; named in the list of the tribe in the time of David (1 Chr. xxiv. 25).

* **ISSUE OF BLOOD.** [BLOOD, ISSUE OF.]

ISSUE, RUNNING. The texts Lev. xv. 2, 3, xxii. 4, Num. v. 2 (and 2 Sam. iii. 29, where the malady [a] is invoked as a curse), are probably to be interpreted of gonorrhœa. In Lev. xv. 3 a distinction is introduced, which merely means that the cessation of the actual flux does not constitute ceremonial cleanness, but that the patient must bide the legal time, 7 days (ver. 13), and perform the prescribed purifications and sacrifice (ver. 14). See, however, Surenhusius's preface to the treatise *Zabim* of the Mishna, where another interpretation is given. As regards the specific varieties of this malady, it is generally asserted that its most severe form (*gon. virulenta*) is modern, having first appeared in the 15th century. Chardin (*Voyages en Perse*, ii. 200) states that he observed that this disorder was prevalent in Persia, but that its effects were far less severe than in western climates. If this be true, it would go some way to explain the alleged absence of the *gon. virul.* from ancient nosology, which found its field of observation in the East, Greece, &c.; and to confirm the supposition that the milder form only was the subject of Mosaic legislation. But, beyond this, it is probable that diseases may appear, run their course, and disappear, and, for want of an accurate observation of their symptoms, leave no trace behind them. The "bed," "seat," etc. (Lev. xv. 5, 6, &c.), are not to be supposed regarded by that law as contagious, but the defilement extended to them merely to give greater prominence to the ceremonial strictness with which the case was ruled. In the woman's "issue" (ver. 19) the ordinary menstruation seems alone intended, supposed prolonged (ver. 25) to a morbid extent. The Scriptural handling of the subject, not dealing, as in the case of leprosy, in symptoms, it seems gratuitous to detail them here: those who desire such knowledge will find them in any compendium of therapeutics. The references are Joseph. *B. J.* v. 5, § 6, vi. 9, § 3; Mishna, *Celim*, i. 3, 8; Maimon. *ad Zabim*, ii. 2: whence we learn that persons thus affected might not ascend the Temple-mount, nor share in any religious celebration, nor even enter Jerusalem. See also Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, iv. 282. H. H

ISTALCU'RUS. In 1 Esdr. viii. 40, the "son of Istalcurus" (ὁ τοῦ Ἰσταλκούρου [Vat. Ισταλκαλκου]) is substituted for "and Zabbud" of the corresponding list in Ezra (viii. 14). The *Keri* has Ziccur instead of Zabbud, and of this there is perhaps some trace in Istalcurus.

ISU'AH (יִשְׁוָה, *i. e.* Ishvah [*peaceful, quiet*]: Σουιά; [Vat. Ισουα;] Alex. Ιεσουα: *Jesua*), second son of Asher (1 Chr. vii. 30). Elsewhere in the A. V. his name, though the same in Hebrew, appears as ISHUAH.

ISU'I (יִשְׁוִי, *i. e.* Ishvi [as above]: Vat [Rom. (not in Vat.)] and Alex. Ἰεσυλ: *Jesui*), third son of Asher (Gen. xlvi. 17); founder of a family called after him, though in the A. V. appearing as THE JESUITES (Num. xxvi. 44). Elsewhere the name also appears as ISHUAI.

* **IT** is used for *its* in Lev. xxv. 5 in the A. V. ed. 1611 ("That which groweth of *it* owne accord," etc.), as in the Genevan version, though *its* has been substituted here in later editions. This use of *it* was not uncommon in the English of the sixteenth century, and occurs 15 times in Shakespeare in the folio edition of 1623 (see the examples in Eastwood and Wright's *Bible Word-Book*, p. 273 f.). *Its* is not found in the original edition of the A. V., *his* being everywhere used in its place, with the single exception noted above. [HIS.] It was just beginning to come into use in the time of Shakespeare, in whose plays it occurs 10 times (commonly spelt *it's*). For fuller details, see Eastwood and Wright as above. A.

* **ITALIAN BAND or COHORT** (σπεῖρα Ἰταλική), Acts x. i. This topic has been alluded to under ARMY and ITALY, but demands a fuller notice. It is no longer questioned that the Roman cohorts were distinguished from each other as well as the legions, not by numbers only but by names. Five legions are known to have been called Italian, and at least one cohort (see Vömel's *Schulprogramme*, p. 7, 1850). No ancient writer, it is true, speaks of any cohort as bearing this name, stationed at Cæsarea. It certainly was not a cohort detached from the *Italica Legio* or *Prima Italica* mentioned by Tacitus (*Hist.* i. 59, 64; ii. 100, &c.); for that legion was raised by Nero (Dio Cass. l. 5, 24), and hence did not exist at the time of Peter's visit to the centurion, about A. D. 40–43. Yet Luke's ac-

[a] The expressions are, זוֹב מִבְּשָׂרוֹ, or זָב alone, also יָרַד בְּשָׂרוֹ אֶת־זוֹבוֹ; and those of the LXX., ῥύσις ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, the verb γονορρυεῖν, or the adj γονορρυής, etc.

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accuracy here, though not confirmed by any direct evidence, is not left wholly unsupported. It so happens that one of Gruter's inscriptions speaks of a 'Cohors militum Italicorum voluntaria, quæ est in Syria" (see Akerman, *Numismatic Illustr. of the Narrative Portions of the N. T.* p. 34). There was a class of soldiers in the Roman army who enlisted of their own accord, and were known as "voluntarii" in distinction from conscripts (see Pauly's *Real-Encyk.* vi. 2744).

It is supposed, therefore, with good reason, that there was such a cohort at Cæsarea, at the time to which Luke's narrative refers, and that it was called Italian because it consisted of native Italians; whereas the other cohorts in Palestine were levied, for the most part, from the country itself (see Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 15, § 10; *B. J.* i. 17, § 1). Ewald conjectures that this Italian cohort and the Augustan cohort (Acts xxvii. 1) may have been the same; but the fact that Luke employs different names is against that supposition, and so much the more because different cohorts are known to have been in Judæa at this time (Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 9, § 2; xx. 8, § 7). It is worthy of remark, as Tholuck observes (*Glaubw. der Evang. Geschichte*, p. 174), that Luke places this *Italian* cohort at Cæsarea. That city was the residence of the Roman procurator; and it was important that he should have there a body of troops on whose fidelity he could rely. We may add that, if the soldiers who composed this legion were Italians, no doubt Cornelius himself who commanded them was an Italian.

Writers on this topic refer, as the principal authority, to Schwartz, *Dissertatio de cohorte Italica et Augusta*, Altorf, 1720. For notes or remarks more or less extended, see also Wolf's *Curæ Philologicæ*, ii. 1148 f; Kuinoel, *Acta Apost.* p. 360; Wieseler, *Chronologie des Apost. Zeitalters*, p. 145; Biscoe, *History of the Acts Confirmed*, pp. 217–224 (Oxford, 1840); and Conybeare and Howson's *Life and Letters of St. Paul*, i. 143 (Amer. ed.).

H.

ITALY (Ἰταλία: [*Italia*]). This word is used in the N. T. in the usual sense of the period, *i. e.* in its true geographical sense, as denoting the whole natural peninsula between the Alps and the Straits of Messina. For the progress of the history of the word, first as applied to the extreme south of the peninsula, then as extended northwards to the right bank of the Po, see the *Dict. of Geogr.* vol. ii. pp. 75, 76. From the time of the close of the Republic it was employed as we employ it now. In the N. T. it occurs three, or indeed, more correctly speaking, four times. In Acts x. 1, the talian cohort at Cæsarea (ἡ σπεῖρα ἡ καλουμένη Ἰταλική, A. V. "Italian band"), consisting, as it doubtless did, of men recruited in Italy, illustrates the military relations of the imperial peninsula with the provinces. [ARMY.] In Acts xviii. 2, where we are told of the expulsion of Aquila and Priscilla with their compatriots "from Italy," we are reminded of the large Jewish population which many authorities show that it contained. Acts xxvii. 1, where the beginning of St. Paul's voyage "to Italy" is mentioned, and the whole subsequent narrative, illustrate the trade which subsisted between the peninsula and other parts of the Mediterranean. And the words in Heb. xiii. 24, "They of Italy (*οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας*) salute you," whatever they may prove for or against this being the region in which the letter was written (and the matter has been strongly argued both ways), are interesting as a specimen of the progress of Christianity in the west. J. S. H.

ITHAI [2 syl.] (אִיתַי [*with Jehovah*]: Αἰ[Vat. Αιρει; FA. Αιθει; Alex.] Ηθου; [Ald. Ἠθαί Comp. Ἰθαΐ:] *Ethai*), a Benjamite, son of Ribai of Gibeah, one of the heroes of David's guard (1 Chr. xi. 31). In the parallel list of 2 Sam. xxiii the name is given as ITTAI. But Kennicott decides that the form Ithai is the original (*Dissertation*, ad loc.).

ITHAMAR (אִיתָמָר [*land of palms*]: Ἰθαμάρ: *Ithamar*), the youngest son of Aaron (Ex. vi. 23). After the deaths of Nadab and Abihu (Lev. x. 1), Eleazar and Ithamar, having been admonished to show no mark of sorrow for their brothers' loss, were appointed to succeed to their places in the priestly office, as they had left no children (Ex. xxviii. 1, 40, 43; Num. iii. 3, 4; 1 Chr. xxiv. 2). In the distribution of services belonging to the Tabernacle and its transport on the march of the Israelites, the Gershonites had charge of the curtains and hangings, and the Merarites of the pillars, cords, and boards, and both of these departments were placed under the superintendence of Ithamar (Ex. xxxviii. 21; Num. iv. 21–33). These services were continued under the Temple system, so far as was consistent with its stationary character, but instead of being appropriated to families, they were divided by lot, the first lot being taken by the family of Eleazar, whose descendants were more numerous than those of Ithamar (1 Chr. xxiv. 4, 6). The high-priesthood passed into the family of Ithamar in the person of Eli, but for what reason we are not informed. It reverted into its original line in the person of Zadok, in consequence of Abiathar's participation in the rebellion of Adonijah. Thus was fulfilled the prophecy delivered to Samuel against Eli (1 Sam. ii. 31–35; 1 K. ii. 26, 27, 35; Joseph. *Ant* viii. 1, § 3).

A descendant of Ithamar, by name Daniel, is mentioned as returning from captivity in the time of Artaxerxes (Ezr. viii. 2). H. W. P.

ITHIEL (אִיתִיאֵל [*God is with me*]: Ἐθήλ; [Vat. Alex. Αιθιηλ; FA. Σεθιηλ:] *Ethiel*) 1. A Benjamite, son of Jesaiah (Neh. xi. 7).

2. (LXX. omit; Vulg. translates, *cum quo est Deus.*) One of two persons — Ithiel and Ucal — to whom Agur ben-Jakeh delivered his discourse (Prov. xxx. 1). [UCAL.]

ITHMAH (יִתְמָה [*orphanage*]: Ἰεθαμά, [Vat. Εθομα; FA. Εθεμα:] Alex. Ιεθεμα: *Jethma*), a Moabite, one of the heroes of David's guard, according to the enlarged list of Chronicles (1 Chr. xi. 46).

ITHNAN (יִתְנָן [*bestowed, given*]; in both MSS. of the LXX. the name is corrupted by being attached to that next it: Ἀσορισωναίν, Alex. Ιθναζιφ: *Jethnam*), one of the towns in the extreme south of Judah (Josh. xv. 23), named with Kedesh and Telem (comp. 1 Sam. xv. 4), and therefore probably on the borders of the desert, if not actually in the desert itself. No trace of its existence has yet been discovered, nor does it appear to have been known to Jerome. The village *Idna* which recalls the name, is between Hebron and *Beit-Jibrin*, and therefore much too far north G.

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ITHRA (יִתְרָא [*abundance, eminence*]: Ἰεθέρ; [Vat. Alex.] Ἰοθορ; Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 10, § 1, Ἰεθδρσος: *Jetra*), an Israelite (2 Sam. xvii. 25) or Ishmaelite (1 Chr. ii. 17, "Jether the Ishmeelite"); the father of Amasa by Abigail, David's sister. He was thus brother-in-law to David and uncle to Joab, Abishai, and Asahel, the three "sons of Zeruiah." There is no absolute means of settling which of these — Israelite or Ishmaelite — is correct; but there can be little doubt that the latter is so; the fact of the admixture of Ishmaelite blood in David's family being a fit subject for notice in the genealogies, whereas Ithra's being an Israelite would call for no remark. [JETHER.]

G.

* Keil and Delitzsch also (*Books of Samuel*, p. 433, Eng. transl.) read "Ishmaelite" for "Israelite," 2 Sam. xvii. 25. Wordsworth (*Books of Samuel*, p. 111) suggests that if "Israelite" be correct, Ithra may be so called because he belonged to one of the other tribes, and not to that of Judah into which he married. [ABIGAIL.] As to the question (not an easy one to answer) of his precise relationship to David in consequence of the marriage, see NAHASH.

H.

ITHRAN (יִתְרָן [as above]). 1. (Ἰθράν, Ἰεθράμ; [Alex. Ἰεθραν; Vat. in 1 Chr., Γεθραμ:] *Jethram, Jethran*), a son of Dishon, a Horite (Gen. xxxvi. 26; 1 Chr. i. 41); and probably a phylarch ("duke," A. V.) of a tribe of the Horim, as was his father (Gen. xxxvi. 30); for the latter was evidently a son of Seir (vv. 21 and 30), and not a son of Anah (ver. 25).

2. (Ἰεθρά: [Vat. Θερα: Alex. Ἰεθερ; Comp. Ald. Ἰεθράν:] *Jethran*), a descendant of Asher, in the genealogy contained in 1 Chr. vii. 30–40.

E. S. P.

ITHREAM (יִתְרְעָם [*residue of the people*]: Ἰεθεραάμ, Ἰεθραάμ; [Vat. in 1 Chr., Ἰθαραμ;] Alex. Ειεθερααμ, Ἰεθραμ; Joseph. Γεθραάμης: *Jethraam*), a son of David, born to him in Hebron, and distinctly specified as the sixth, and as the child of "Eglah, David's wife" (2 Sam. iii. 5; 1 Chr. iii. 3). In the ancient Jewish traditions Eglah is said to have been Michal, and to have died in giving birth to Ithream.

ITHRITE, THE (הַיִּתְרִי [patronym. from יֶתֶר]: ὁ Ἐθιραῖος, Ἐθεναῖος, Ἰεθρί; [Vat. Αιθειραιος, Εθθεναιος, Ηθηρει (FA. Ιθηρει);] Alex. ο Εθραιος, Τεθριτης, Ιεθερι, Ιθηρει: *Jethrites, Jethræus*), the native of a place, or descendant of a man called Iether (according to the Hebrew mode of forming derivatives): the designation of two of the members of David's guard, Ira and Gareb (2 Sam. xxiii. 38; 1 Chr. xi. 40). The Ithrite (A. V. "Ithrites" [Αἰθαλίμ, Vat. Alex. -λειμ: *Jethrei*]) is mentioned in 1 Chr. ii. 53 as among the "families of Kirjath-jearim;" but this does not give us much clew to the derivation of the term, except that it fixes it as belonging to Judah. The two Ithrite heroes of David's guard may have come from JATTIR, in the mountains of Judah, one of the places which were the "haunt" of David and his men in their freebooting wanderings, and where he had "friends" (1 Sam. xxx. 27; comp. 31). Ira has been supposed to be identical with "Ira the Jairite," David's priest (2 Sam. xx. 26) — the Syriac version reading "from Jatir" in that place. But nothing more than conjecture can be arrived at on the point.

* ITS. [HIS; IT.]

ITTAH-KA'ZIN (עִתָּה קָצִין): ἐπὶ πλαιὰ Κατασέμ; Alex. Κασιμ: *Thacasin*), one of the landmarks of the boundary of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 13), named next to Gath-hepher. Like that place (A. V. "Gittah-hepher") the name is probably Eth-kazin, with the Hebrew particle of motion (*ah*) added — *i. e.* "to Eth-kazin." Taken as Hebrew the name bears the interpretation *time, or people, of a judge* (Ges. *Thes.* p. 1083 *b*). It has not been identified.

G.

ITTAI [2 syl.] (אִתַּי [*in time, opportunely present*]). 1. (Ἐθί, and so Josephus; [Vat. Ζεθθει;] Alex. Εθθει: *Ethai.*) "ITTAI THE GITTITE," *i. e.* the native of Gath, a Philistine in the army of King David. He appears only during the revolution of Absalom. We first discern him on the morning of David's flight, while the king was standing under the olive-tree below the city, watching the army and the people defile past him. [See DAVID, vol. i. p. 563 *a*.] Last in the procession came the 600 heroes who had formed David's band during his wanderings in Judah, and had been with him at Gath (2 Sam. xv. 18; comp. 1 Sam. xxiii. 13, xxvii. 2, xxx. 9, 10; and see Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 9, § 2). Amongst these, apparently commanding them, was Ittai the Gittite (ver. 19). He caught the eye of the king, who at once addressed him and besought him as "a stranger and an exile," and as one who had but very recently joined his service, not to attach himself to a doubtful cause, but to return "with his brethren" and abide with the king[a] (19, 20). But Ittai is firm; he is the king's slave (עֶבֶד, A. V. "servant"), and wherever his master goes he will go. Accordingly he is allowed by David to proceed, and he passes over the Kedron with the king (xv. 22, LXX.), with all his men, and "all the little ones that were with him." These "little ones" (טַף־הַנָּשִׁים, "all the children") must have been the families of the band, their "households" (1 Sam. xxvii. 3). They accompanied them during their wanderings in Judah, often in great risk (1 Sam. xxx. 6), and they were not likely to leave them behind in this fresh commencement of their wandering life.

When the army was numbered and organized by David at Mahanaim, Ittai again appears, now in command of a third part of the force, and (for the time at least) enjoying equal rank with Joab and Abishai (2 Sam. xviii. 2, 5, 12). But here, on the eve of the great battle, we take leave of this valiant and faithful stranger; his conduct in the fight and his subsequent fate are alike unknown to us. Now is he mentioned in the lists of David's captains and of the heroes of his body-guard (see 2 Sam. xxiii.; 1 Chr. xi.), lists which are possibly of a date previous to Ittai's arrival in Jerusalem.

An interesting tradition is related by Jerome (*Quæst. Hebr.* on 1 Chr. xx. 2). "David took the crown off the head of the image of Milcom (A. V. 'their king'). But by the law it was forbidden to any Israelite to touch either gold or silver of an idol. Wherefore they say that Ittai

[a] The meaning of this is doubtful. "The king" may be Absalom, or it may be Ittai's former king Achish. By the LXX the words are omitted

the Gittite, who had come to David from the Philistines, was the man who snatched the crown from the head of Milcom; for it was lawful for a Hebrew to take it from the hand of a man, though not from the head of the idol." The main difficulty to the reception of this legend lies in the fact that if Ittai was engaged in the Ammonite war, which happened several years before Absalom's revolt, the expression of David (2 Sam. xv. 20), "thou camest but yesterday," loses its force. However, these words may be merely a strong metaphor.

From the expression "thy brethren" (xv. 20) we may infer that there were other Philistines besides Ittai in the six hundred; but this is uncertain. Ittai was not exclusively a Philistine name, nor does "Gittite"—as in the case of Obed-edom, who was a Levite—necessarily imply Philistine parentage. Still David's words, "stranger and exile," seem to show that he was not an Israelite.

2. (Ἐσθαΐ; [Vat. Εσθαει; Comp. Ald. Ἐθθί:] *Ithai.*) Son of Ribai, from Gibeah of Benjamin; one of the thirty heroes of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 29). In the parallel list of 1 Chr. xi. the name is given as ITHAI. G.

ITURÆ'A (Ἰτουραία [from יְטוּר, *enclosure, nomadic camp*, Ges.]), a small province on the northwestern border of Palestine, lying along the base of Mount Hermon. In Luke iii. 1 it is stated that Philip was "tetrarch of Iturea and the region of Trachonitis;" and this is the only mention in Scripture of the district under its Greek name. But the country became historic long before the rule of the Herodian family or the advent of the Greeks. JETUR (יְטוּר) was a son of Ishmael, and he gave his name, like the rest of his brethren, to the little province he colonized (Gen. xxv. 15, 16). In after years, when the Israelites had settled in Canaan, a war broke out between the half-tribe of Manasseh and the Hagarites (or Ishmaelites), Jetur, Nephish, and Nodab. The latter were conquered, and the children of Manasseh "dwelt in the land, and they increased from Bashan unto Baal-Hermon." They already possessed the whole of Bashan, including Gaulanitis and Trachonitis; and now they conquered and colonized the little province of Jetur, which lay between Bashan and Mount Hermon (1 Chr. v. 19–23). Subsequent history shows that the Ishmaelites were neither annihilated nor entirely dispossessed, for in the second century B. C., Aristobulus, king of the Jews, reconquered the province, then called by its Greek name Iturea, and gave the inhabitants their choice of Judaism or banishment (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 11, § 3). While some submitted, many retired to their own rocky fastnesses, and to the defiles of Hermon adjoining. Strabo says that in his day the mountainous regions in the kingdom of Chalcis were inhabited partly by Ituræans, whom he describes as κακοῦργοι πάντες (xvi. pp. 518, 520). Other early writers represent them as skillful archers and daring plunderers (Cic. *Phil.* ii. 44; Virg. *Georg.* ii. 448; Lucan. *Phar.* vii. 230). Iturea, with the adjoining provinces, fell into the hands of a chief called Zeuodorus; but, about B. C. 20, they were taken from him by the Roman emperor, and given to Herod the Great (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 10, § 1), who bequeathed them to his son Philip (*Ant.* xvii. 8, § 1; Luke iii. 1; comp. Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 5, § 3).

The passages above referred to point clearly to the position of Iturea, and show, notwithstanding the arguments of Reland and others (Reland. p. 106; Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* s. v. *Iturea*), that it was distinct from Auranitis. Pliny rightly places it north of Bashan and near Damascus (v. 23);[a] and J. de Vitry describes it as adjoining Trachonitis, and lying along the base of Libanus between Tiberias and Damascus (*Gesta Dei*, p. 1074; comp. pp. 771, 1003). At the place indicated is situated the modern province of *Jedûr* (جيدور), which is just the Arabic form of the Hebrew Jetur (יְטוּר). It is bounded on the east by Trachonitis, on the south by Gaulanitis, on the west by Hermon, and on the north by the plain of Damascus. It is tableland with an undulating surface, and has little conical and cup-shaped hills at intervals. The southern section of it has a rich soil, well watered by numerous springs and streams from Hermon. The greater part of the northern section is entirely different. The surface of the ground is covered with jagged rocks; in some places heaped up in huge piles, in others sunk into deep pits; at one place smooth and naked, at another seamed with yawning chasms in whose rugged edges rank grass and weeds spring up. The rock is all basalt, and the formation similar to that of the Lejah. [ARGOB.] The molten lava seems to have issued from the earth through innumerable pores, to have spread over the plain, and then to have been rent and shattered while cooling (Porter's *Handbook*, p. 465). *Jedûr* contains thirty-eight towns and villages, ten of which are now entirely desolate, and all the rest contain only a few families of poor peasants, living in wretched hovels amid heaps of ruins (Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 272 ff.). J. L. P.

* Yet there is some dissent from this view of the identity of Jetur (Gen. xxv. 15) and *Jedûr*, and hence of the situation of Iturea as being on the northeastern slope of *Jebel Heisch*, one of the spurs of Hermon. The German traveller in the *Hauràn*, Dr. Wetzstein, though he regards Jetur and Iturea as unquestionably the same, maintains that Jetur and *Jedûr*, or *Gedûr*, are not identical, partly on account of the difference in the names (generally considered unimportant), and partly because the Ituræans, as described by ancient writers, must have been a more hardy and powerful race than the inhabitants of a few villages in a comparatively low region like *Gedûr*, and poorly protected against invasion and subjugation. He places Iturea further south, on the summits and on the eastern declivity of the central mountains of the *Hauràn*, now inhabited by a portion of the Druzes, one of the most warlike tribes of the East. He holds that the Biblical Jetur, though now lost, was among these mountains, and belonged to an Ishmaelitic tribe, as stated in Gen. xxv. 12 ff. He argues, also, that a little district like *Gedûr*, so near to Damascus, would be under the jurisdiction of that city, and not form part of an independent tetrarchy. The farms and villages there at present are owned by patrician families of Damascus. See this author's *Reisebericht über Hauràn und die Trachonen*, pp. 88–92. The derivation of *Gedûr* from Jetur, says the writer on "Iturea," in Zeller's *Bibl. Wörterb.*, s. v. (2te Aufl.), has not yet been shown. If the ancient name still remains, it cer-

[a] Pliny assigns Iturea to Cœle-Syria in *H. N.* v. 19, but does not refer to it in v. 23. H.

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tainly favors the finding of Iturea in *Gedûr*, as does also its being assigned by some of the ancient writers to Cœle-Syria. Yet Cœle-Syria, it should be said, is a vague designation, and was sometimes used so as to embrace nearly all inner Syria from Damascus to Arabia (see Winer's *Bibl. Realw.* i. 232, 3te Aufl.). Dr. Robinson (*Phys. Geogr.* p. 319) follows the common representation. See, to the same effect, Raumer's *Palästina*, p. 227, 4te Aufl. For a paper on "Bashan, Iturea, and Kerath," by Mr. Porter, author of the above article, see *Bibl. Sacra*, xiii. 789–808. H.

IVAH, or AVA (עִוָּה, or עַוָּא [*destruction, ruins*, Ges.]: Ἀβά, [in Is. (with Hena), Ἀσσιγουάνα, Vat. (with Hena) Ἀναγουγαυα; Comp. Ἀουάν; in 2 K. xviii., Vat. omits, Alex. Ἀυα; in xix., Vat. Οὐδου, Alex. Αυτα:] *Ava*), which is mentioned in Scripture twice (2 K. xviii. 34, xix. 13; comp. Is. xxxvii. 13, in connection with Hena and Sepharvaim, and once (2 K. xvii. 24) in connection with Babylon and Cuthah, must be sought in Babylonia, and is probably identical with the modern *Hit*, which is the Ἶς of Herodotus (i. 179). This town lay on the Euphrates, between *Sippara* (Sepharvaim) and *Anah* (Hena), with which it seems to have been politically united shortly before the time of Sennacherib (2 K. xix. 13). It is probably the Ahava (אַהֲוָא) of Ezra (viii. 15). The name is thought to have been originally derived from that of a Babylonian god, *Iva*, who represents the sky or Æther, and to whom the town is supposed to have been dedicated (Sir H. Rawlinson, in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 606, note). In this case *Ivah* (עִוָּה) would seem to be the most proper pointing. The pointing *Ava*, or rather *Avva* (עַוָּא), shows a corruption of articulation, which might readily pass on to Ahava (אַהֲוָא). In the Talmud the name appears as *Ihih* (יחיא); and hence would be formed the Greek Ἶς, and the modern *Hit*, where the *t* is merely the feminine ending. Isidore of Charax seems to intend the same place by his Ἀεί-πολις (*Mans. Parth.* p. 5). Some have thought that it occurs as *Ist* in the Egyptian Inscriptions of the time of Thothmes III., about B. C. 1450 (Birch, in *Otia Ægyptiaca*, p. 80).

This place has always been famous for its bitumen springs. It is bitumen which is brought to Thothmes III. as tribute from *Ist*. From *Is*, according to Herodotus, was obtained the bitumen used as cement in the walls of Babylon (*l. s. c.*). Isidore calls Aeipolis "the place where are the bitumen springs" (ἔνθα ἀσφαλτίτιδες πηγαί). These springs still exist at *Hit*, and sufficiently mark the identity of that place with the Herodotean Is, and therefore probably with the *Ivah* of Scripture. They have been noticed by most of our Mesopotamian travellers (see, among others, Rich's *First Memoir on Babylon*, p. 64, and Chesney's *Euphrates Expedition*, i. 55). G. R.

IVORY (שֵׁן, *shên*, in all passages, except 1 K. x. 22, and 2 Chr. ix. 21, where שֶׁנְהַבִּים, *shenhabbîm*, is so rendered). The word *shên* literally signifies the "tooth" of any animal, and hence more especially denotes the substance of the projecting tusks of elephants. By some of the ancient nations these tusks were imagined to be horns (Ez. xxvii. 15; Plin. viii. 4, xviii. 1), though Diodorus Siculus (i. 55) correctly calls them teeth. As they were first acquainted with elephants through their ivory, which was an important article of commerce, the shape of the tusks, in all probability, led them into this error. It is remarkable that no word in Biblical Hebrew denotes an elephant, unless the latter portion of the compound *shenhabbîm* be supposed to have this meaning. Gesenius derives it from the Sanscrit *ibhas*, "an elephant;" Keil (on 1 K. x. 22) from the Coptic *eboy;* while Sir Henry Rawlinson mentions a word *kabba*, which he met with in the Assyrian inscriptions, and which he understands to mean "the large animal," the term being applied both to the elephant and the camel (*Journ. of As. Soc.* xii. 463). It is suggested in Gesenius' *Thesaurus* (*s. v.*) that the original reading may have been שֵׁן הַבְּנִים, "ivory, ebony" (cf. Ez. xxvii. 15). Hitzig (*Jesaiah*, p. 643), without any authority, renders the word "nubischen Zahn." The Targum Jonathan on 1 K. x. 22 has שֵׁן דְּפִיל, "elephant's tusk," while the Peshito gives simply "elephants." In the Targum of the Pseudo Jonathan, Gen. l. 1 is translated, "and Joseph placed his father upon a bier of שִׁנְדַּפִּין" (*shindâphîn*), which is conjectured to be a valuable species of wood, but for which Buxtorf, with great probability, suggests as another reading שֵׁן דְּפִיל, "ivory."

The Assyrians appear to have carried on a great traffic in ivory. Their early conquests in India had made them familiar with it, and (according to one rendering of the passage) their artists supplied the luxurious Tyrians with carvings in ivory from the isles of Chittim (Ez. xxvii. 6). On the obelisk in the British Museum the captives or tribute bearers are represented as carrying tusks. Among the merchandise of Babylon, enumerated in Rev xviii. 12, are included "all manner vessels of ivory." The skilled workmen of Hiram, king of Tyre, fashioned the great ivory throne of Solomon, and overlaid it with pure gold (1 K. x. 18; 2 Chr. ix. 17). The ivory thus employed was supplied by the caravans of Dedan (Is. xxi. 13; Ez. xxvii. 15), or was brought with apes and peacocks by the navy of Tharshish (1 K. x. 22). The Egyptians, at a very early period, made use of this material in decoration. The cover of a small ivory box in the Egyptian collection at the Louvre is "inscribed with the prænomen Nefer-ka-re, or Neper-cheres, adopted by a dynasty found in the upper line of the tablet of Abydos, and attributed by M. Bunsen to the fifth. . . . In the time of Thothmes III. ivory was imported in considerable quantities into Egypt, either 'in boats laden with ivory and ebony' from Ethiopia, or else in tusks and cups from the Ruten-nu. . . . The celebrated car at Florence has its linchpins tipped with ivory" (Birch, in *Trans. of Roy. Soc. of Lit.* iii. 2d series). The specimens of Egyptian ivory work, which are found in the principal museums of Europe, are, most of them, in the opinion of Mr. Birch, of a date anterior to the Persian invasion, and some even as old as the 18th dynasty.

The ivory used by the Egyptians was principally brought from Ethiopia (Herod. iii. 114), though their elephants were originally from Asia. The Ethiopians, according to Diodorus Siculus (i. 55), brought to Sesostris "ebony and gold, and the

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teeth of elephants." Among the tribute paid by them to the Persian kings were "twenty large tusks of ivory" (Herod. iii. 97). In the Periplus of the Red Sea (c. 4), attributed to Arrian, Coloe (*Calai*) is said to be "the chief mart for ivory." It was thence carried down to Adouli (*Zulla*, or *Thulla*), a port on the Red Sea, about three days' journey from Coloe, together with the hides of hippopotami, tortoise-shell, apes, and slaves (Plin. vi. 34). The elephants and rhinoceroses, from which it was obtained, were killed further up the country, and few were taken near the sea, or in the neighborhood of Adouli. At Ptolemais Theron was found a little ivory like that of Adouli (*Peripl.* c. 3). Ptolemy Philadelphus made this port the depôt of the elephant trade (Plin. vi. 34). According to Pliny (viii. 10), ivory was so plentiful on the borders of Ethiopia that the natives made door-posts of it, and even fences and stalls for their cattle. The author of the *Periplus* (c. 16) mentions Rhapta as another station of the ivory trade, but the ivory brought down to this port is said to have been of an inferior quality, and "for the most part found in the woods, damaged by rain, or collected from animals drowned by the overflow of the rivers at the equinoxes" (Smith, *Dict. Geogr.* art. *Rhapta*). The Egyptian merchants traded for ivory and onyx stones to Barygaza, the port to which was carried down the commerce of Western India from Ozene (*Peripl.* c. 49).

In the early ages of Greece ivory was frequently employed for purposes of ornament. The trappings of horses were studded with it (Hom. *Il.* v. 584); it was used for the handles of keys (*Od.* xxi. 7), and for the bosses of shields (Hes. *Sc. Herc.* 141, 142). The "ivory house" of Ahab (1 K. xxii. 39) was probably a palace, the walls of which were panelled with ivory, like the palace of Menelaus described by Homer (*Odys.* iv. 73; cf. Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 583, ἐλεφαντοδέτοι δόμοι. Comp. also Am. iii. 15, and Ps. xlv. 8, unless the "ivory palaces" in the latter passage were perfume boxes made of that material, as has been conjectured). Beds inlaid or veneered with ivory were in use among the Hebrews (Am. vi. 4; cf. Hom. *Od.* xxiii. 200), as also among the Egyptians (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* iii. 169). The practice of inlaying and veneering wood with ivory and tortoise-shell is described by Pliny (xvi. 84). The great ivory throne of Solomon, the work of the Tyrian craftsmen, has been already mentioned (cf. Rev. xx. 11); but it is difficult to determine whether the "tower of ivory" of Cant. vii. 4 is merely a figure of speech, or whether it had its original among the things that were. By the luxurious Phœnicians ivory was employed to ornament the boxwood rowing benches (or "hatches" according to some) of their galleys (Ez. xxvii. 6). Many specimens of Assyrian carving in ivory have been found in the excavations at Nimroud, and among the rest some tablets "richly inlaid with blue and opaque glass, lapis lazuli, etc." (Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, p. 334; cf. Cant. v. 14). Part of an ivory staff, apparently a sceptre, and several entire elephants' tusks were discovered by Mr. Layard in the last stage of decay, and it was with extreme difficulty that these interesting relics could be restored (*Nin. and Bab.* p. 195).

W. A. W.

IVY (κισσός: *hedera*), the common *Hedera helix*, of which the ancient Greeks and Romans describe two or three kinds, which appear to be only varieties. Mention of this plant is made only in 2 Macc. vi. 7, where it is said that the Jews were compelled, when the feast of Bacchus was kept, to go in procession carrying ivy to this deity, to whom it is well known this plant was sacred. Ivy, however, though not mentioned by name, has a peculiar interest to the Christian, as forming the "corruptible crown" (1 Cor. ix. 25) for which the competitors at the great Isthmian games contended, and which St. Paul so beautifully contrasts with the "incorruptible crown" which shall hereafter encircle the brows of those who run worthily the race of this mortal life. In the Isthmian contests the victor's garland was either *ivy* or *pine*.

W. H.

* The ivy (such as is described above) grows wild also in Palestine. G. E. P.

IZ'EHAR ['Ισσάαρ: *Jesaar*]. The form in which the name Izhar is given in the A. V. of Num. iii. 19 only. In ver. 27 the family of the same person is given as Izeharites. The Hebrew word is the same as Izhar.

IZ'EHARITES, THE (הַיִּצְהָרִי: ὁ 'Ισσάαρ; Alex. ὁ Ἰσαάρ: *Jesaarita*). A family of Kohathite Levites, descended from Izhar the son of Kohath (Num. iii. 27); called also in the A. V. "Izharites." W. A. W.

IZ'HAR (spelt Izehar in Num. iii. 19, of A. V.; in Heb. always יִצְהָר [*oil*, and perh. *one anointed with oil*]: 'Ισσάαρ and [1 Chr. vi. 38, xxiii. 12, 18,] 'Ισάαρ [but here Vat. Alex. read Ισσααρ; Vat. in Ex. iii. 19, Ισσαχαρ]: *Isaar*), son of Kohath, grandson of Levi, uncle of Aaron and Moses, and father of Korah (Ex. vi. 18, 21; Num. iii. 19, xvi. 1; 1 Chr. vi. 2, 18). But in 1 Chr. vi. 22 *Amminadab* is substituted for *Ishar*, as the son of Kohath and father of Korah, in the line of Samuel. This, however, must be an accidental error of the scribe, as in ver. 38, where the same genealogy is repeated, Izhar appears again in his right place. The Cod. Alex. in ver. 22 reads *Izhar* [Ισσααρ] in place of *Amminadab*, and the Aldine and Complut. read *Amminadab* between Izhar and Kore, making another generation. But these are probably only corrections of the text. (See Burrington's *Genealogies of the O. T.*) Izhar was the head of the family of the IZHARITES or IZEHARITES (Num. iii. 27; 1 Chr. xxvi. 23, 29), one of the four families of the Kohathites.

A. C. H.

IZ'HARITES, THE (הַיִּצְהָרִי: ὁ 'Ισσααρί, 'Ισσαάρ, ὁ 'Ισσααρί; [Vat. in 1 Chr. xxiv. 22, xxvi. 29, Ισσαρει:] Alex. ὁ Ισσααρι, Ισσαρι, ὁ Ικααρι: *Isaari, Isaarita*). The same as the preceding. In the reign of David, Shelomith was the chief of the family (1 Chr. xxiv. 22), and with his brethren had charge of the treasure dedicated for the Temple (1 Chr. xxvi. 23, 29). W. A. W.

IZRAHI'AH (יִזְרַחְיָה [*Jehovah arises to sprout forth* or *appear*]: 'Ιεζραΐα, 'Εζραΐα; [Vat. Ζαρεια:] Alex. Ιεζρια: *Izrahia*), a man of Issachar, one of the Bene-Uzzi [sons of U.], and father of four, or five — which, is not clear — of the principal men in the tribe (1 Chr. vii. 3).

IZ'RAHITE, THE (הַיִּזְרָחִי, *i. e.* "the Izrach" [*indigenous, native*, Ges., First]: ὁ 'Ισραΐ [Vat. Εσραε:] Alex. Ιεζραελ: *Jezerites*), the designation of Shamhuth, the captain of the fifth

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monthly course as appointed by David (1 Chr. xxvii 3). In its present form the Hebrew will not bear the interpretation put on it in the A. V. Its real force is probably Zerahite, that is, from the great Judaic family of ZERAH — the Zarhites.

* IZ'REËL is used for JEZREEL in Josh. xix. 18 in the A. V. ed. 1611. It is the common form in the Genevan version. A.

IZ'RI (הַיִּצְרִי, *i. e.* "the Itsrite [*Jehovah creates*, Fürst]:" Ἰεσρί; [Vat. Ἰεσδρει:] Alex. Ἰεσδρι: *Isari*), a Levite, leader of the fourth course or ward in the service of the house of God (1 Chr. xxv. 11). In ver. 3 he is called ZERI.

J.

JA'AKAN (יַעֲקָן [*one sagacious, intelligent*, Fürst]: Ἰακίμ; [Vat.] Alex. Ἰακειμ: *Jacan*), the forefather of the Bene-Jaakan, round whose wells the children of Israel encamped after they left Mosera, and from which they went on to Hor-Hagidgad (Deut. x. 6). Jaakan was son of Ezer, the son of Seir the Horite (1 Chr. i. 42). The name is here given in the A. V. as JAKAN, though without any reason for the change. In Gen. xxxvi. 27 it is in the abbreviated form of AKAN. The site of the wells has not been identified. Some suggestions will be seen under BENE-JAAKAN. G.

JAAKO'BAH (יַעֲקֹבָה: Ἰακωβά; Alex. Ἰαχαβα: *Jacoba*), one of the princes (נְשִׂיאִים) of the families of Simeon (1 Chr. iv. 36). Excepting the termination, the name is identical with that of JACOB.

* Fürst makes this name = "to Jacob," *i. e.* reckoned to him. It is the unaccented paragogic ־ָה, appended to a class of proper names in the later Hebrew. (*Hebr. und Chald. Handw.* s. v.) H.

JA'ALA (יַעֲלָא [*wild she-goat*]: Ἰελήλ; [Alex. FA. Ἰεαηλ:] *Jahala*). Bene-Jaala [sons of J.] were among the descendants of "Solomon's slaves" who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Neh. vii. 58). The name also occurs as —

JA'ALAH (יַעֲלָה [as above]: Ἰεηλά; Alex. Ἰελα: *Jala*), Ezr. ii. 56; and in Esdras as JEELI.

JA'ALAM (יַעְלָם: *whom God hides*, Ges.: Ἰεγλάμ: *Ihelon, Ihelom*), a son of Esau by his wife AHOLIBAMAH (Gen. xxxvi. 5, 14, 18; cf. 1 Chr. i 35), and a phylarch (A. V. "duke") or head of a tribe of Edom. E. S. P.

JA'ANAI [3 syl.] (יַעְנַי: [*whom Jehovah answers*]: Ἰαανί; [Vat. Ἰαανειν:] Alex. Ἰαναι: *Jaani*), a chief man in the tribe of Gad (1 Chr. v. 12). The LXX. have connected the following name, Shaphat, to Jaanai, and rendered it as I. ὁ γραμματεύς.

JA'ARE-OR'EGIM (יַעְרֵי אֹרְגִים [see *infra*]: Ἀριωργίμ; [Vat. Alex. -γειμ:] *Saltus polymitarius*), according to the present text of 2 Sam. xxi. 19, a Bethlehemite, and the father of Elhanan who slew Goliath (the words "the brother of," are added in the A. V.). In the parallel passage, 1 Chr. xx. 5, besides other differences Jair is found instead of Jaare, and Oregim is omitted. Oregim is not elsewhere found as a proper name nor is it a common word; and occurring as it does without doubt at the end of the verse (A. V. "weavers"), in a sentence exactly parallel to that in 1 Sam. xvii. 7, it is not probable that it should also occur in the middle of the same. The conclusion of Kennicott (*Dissertation*, 80) appears a just one — that in the latter place it has been interpolated from the former, and that Jair or Jaor is the correct reading instead of Jaare. [ELHANAN, vol. i. p. 697 *a*.]

Still the agreement of the ancient versions with the present Hebrew text affords a certain corroboration to that text, and should not be overlooked. [JAIR.]

The Peshito, followed by the Arabic, substitutes for Jaare-Oregim the name "Malaph the weaver," to the meaning of which we have no clew. The Targum, on the other hand, doubtless anxious to avoid any apparent contradiction of the narrative in 1 Sam. xvii., substitutes David for Elhanan, Jesse for Jaare, and is led by the word Oregim to relate or possibly to invent a statement as to Jesse's calling — "And David son of Jesse, weaver of the veils of the house of the sanctuary, who was of Bethlehem, slew Goliath the Gittite." By Jerome Jaare is translated by *saltus*, and Oregim by *polymitarius* (comp. *Quæst. Hebr.* on both passages). In Josephus's account (*Ant.* vii. 12, § 2) the Israelite champion is said to have been "Nephan the kinsman of David" (Νεφάνος ὁ συγγενὴς αὐτοῦ); the word kinsman perhaps referring to the Jewish tradition of the identity of Jair and Jesse, or simply arising from the mention of Bethlehem.

In the received Hebrew text Jaare is written with a small or suspended ר, showing that in the opinion of the Masorets that letter is uncertain.

JA'ASAU (יַעְשָׂו, but the *Keri* has יַעְשִׁי, *i. e.* Jaasai [*Jehovah makes*, or *is maker*]: and so the Vulg. *Jasi*), one of the Bene-Bani who had married a foreign wife, and had to put her away (Ezr. x. 37). In the parallel list of 1 Esdras the name is not recognizable. The LXX. had a different text — καὶ ἐτοίησαν = וַיַּעַשׂוּ.

JAA'SIEL (יַעֲשִׂיאֵל [*whom God created*]: Ἰασιήλ; [Vat. Ασειηρ:] Alex. Ασιηλ: *Jasiel*), son of the great Abner, ruler (נָגִיד) or "prince" (שַׂר) of his tribe of Benjamin, in the time of David (1 Chr. xxvii. 21).

JAAZANI'AH (יַאֲזַנְיָה and יַאֲזִנְיָהוּ [*whom Jehovah hears*]). 1. YA'AZAN-YA'HU (Ἰεζονίας; [Vat. Οζονιας:] *Jezonias*), one of the "captains of the forces" who accompanied Johanan ben-Kareah to pay his respects to Gedaliah at Mizpah after the fall of Jerusalem (2 K. xxv. 23), and who appears afterwards to have assisted in recovering Ishmael's prey from his clutches (comp. Jer. xli. 11). After that, he probably went to Egypt with the rest (Jer. xliii. 4, 5). He is described as the "son of the (not 'a') Maachathite." In the narrative of Jeremiah the name is slightly changed to JEZANIAH.

2. YA'AZAN-YA'HU (Ἰεχονίας; Alex. Ἰεζονιας: *Jezonias*), son of Shaphan: leader of the band of seventy of the elders of Israel, who were seen by Ezekiel worshipping before the idols on the wall of

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the court of the house of Jehovah (Ez. viii. 11). It is possible that he is identical with —

3. YA'AZAN-YAH' ('Ιεχονίας: *Jezonias*), son of Azur; one of the "princes" (שָׂרֵי) of the people against whom Ezekiel was directed to prophesy (Ez. xi. 1).

4. YA'AZAN-YAH' ('Ιεχονίας: *Jezonias*), a Rechabite, son of Jeremiah. He appears to have been the sheikh of the tribe at the time of Jeremiah's interview with them (Jer. xxxv. 3). [JEHONADAB.]

JA'AZER and **JA'ZER** [*helper*, Ges.; or *place hedged about*, Fürst: see *infra*]. (The form of this name is much varied both in the A. V. and the Hebrew, though the one does not follow the other. In Num. xxxii. it is twice given Jazer and once Jaazer, the Hebrew being in all three cases יַעְזֵר [?], i. e. Ya'ezzer. Elsewhere in Numbers and in Josh. xiii. it is Jaazer; but in Josh. xxi., in 2 Sam. xxiv., Isaiah and Jeremiah, Jazer: the Hebrew in all these is יַעְזֹר, Ya'ezer. In Chronicles it is also Jazer; but here the Hebrew is in the extended form of יַעְזִיר Ya'ezeir, a form which the Samar. Codex also presents in Num. xxxii. The LXX. have 'Ιαζήρ, but once [2 Sam. xxiv. 5] 'Ελιέζερ, Alex. Ελιαζηρ — including the affixed Heb. particle, [and in 1 Chr. vi. 81, Vat. Γαζερ; xxvi. 31, Vat. Ριαζηρ, Alex. Γαζηρ:] Vulg. *Jazer*, *Jaser*, [*Jezer*]). A town on the east of Jordan, in or near to Gilead (Num. xxxii. 1, 3; 1 Chr. xxvi. 31). We first hear of it in possession of the Amorites, and as taken by Israel after Heshbon, and on their way from thence to Bashan (Num. xxi. 32).[a] It was rebuilt subsequently by the children of Gad (xxxii. 35), and was a prominent place in their territory (Josh. xiii. 25; 2 Sam. xxiv. 5). It was allotted to the Merarite Levites (Josh. xxi. 39; 1 Chr. vi. 81), but in the time of David it would appear to have been occupied by Hebronites, i. e. descendants of Kohath (1 Chr. xxvi. 31). It seems to have given its name to a district of dependent or "daughter" towns (Num. xxi. 32, A. V. "villages;" 1 Macc. v. 8), the "land of Jazer" (Num. xxxii. 1). In the "burdens" proclaimed over Moab by Isaiah and Jeremiah, Jazer is mentioned so as to imply that there were vineyards there, and that the cultivation of the vine had extended thither from SIBMAH (Is. xvi. 8, 9; Jer. xlviii. 32). In the latter passage, as the text at present stands, mention is made of the "Sea of Jazer" (יָם יַעְזֵר). This may have been some pool or lake of water, or possibly is an ancient corruption of the text, the LXX. having a different reading — πόλις 'Ι. (See Gesenius, *Jesaia*, i. 550.)

Jazer was known to Eusebius and Jerome, and its position is laid down with minuteness in the *Onomasticon* as 10 (or 8, *s. voc.* Ἀζώρ) Roman miles west of Philadelphia (*Ammân*), and 15 from Heshbon, and as the source of a river which falls into the Jordan. Two sites bearing the names of *Ghurbet Szâr* and *es-Szîr*, on the road westward of *Amman*, were pointed out to Seetzen in 1806 (*Reisen*, 1854, i. 397, 398). The latter of these was passed also by Burckhardt (*Syr.* 364) at 2½ hours below *Futeis* going south. The ruins appear to have been on the left (east) of the road, and below them and the road is the source of the *Wady Szîr* (صير), or *Mojeb es-Szîr* (Seetzen), answering though certainly but imperfectly, to the ποταμὸς μέγιστος of Eusebius. Seetzen conjectures that the sea of Jazer may have been at the source of this brook, considerable marshes or pools sometimes existing at these spots. (Comp. his early suggestion of the source of the *Wady Serka*, p. 393.) *Szîr*, or *Seir*, is shown on the map of Van de Velde as 9 Roman miles W. of *Ammân*, and about 12 from Heshbon. And here, until further investigation, we must be content to place Jazer. G.

JAAZI'AH (יַעֲזִיָּהוּ, i. e. Yaaziya'hu [*whom Jehovah consoles*]: Ὀζία; [Vat. Ὀζεια:] *Oziau*), apparently a third son, or a descendant, of Merari the Levite, and the founder of an independent house in that family (1 Chr. xxiv. 26, 27); neither he nor his descendants are mentioned elsewhere (comp. the lists in xxiii. 21–23; Ex. vi. 19, &c.). The word Beno (בְּנוֹ), which follows Jaaziah, should probably be translated "his son," i. e. the son of Merari.

JAA'ZIEL (יַעֲזִיאֵל [*whom God consoles*]: Ὀζιήλ [Vat. FA. -ζει-]; Alex. Ιαουλ: *Jaziel*), one of the Levites of the second order who were appointed by David to perform the musical service before the ark (1 Chr. xv. 18). If AZIEL in ver. 20 is a contracted form of the same name — and there is no reason to doubt it (comp. Jesharelah and Asharelah, 1 Chr. xxv. 2, 14) — his business was to "sound the psaltery on Alamoth."

* In the A. V. ed. 1611 the name is written Jaziel, as in the Bishops' Bible and the Vulgate. A.

JA'BAL (יָבָל [*a stream*]: 'Ιωβήλ; [Alex. Ιωβελ:] *Jabel*), the son of Lamech and Adah (Gen. iv. 20) and brother of Jubal. Though descended from a dweller in a city (ver. 17), he is described as the father of such as dwell in tents and have cattle. Bochart (*Hieroz.* i. ii. c. 44, near the end) points out the difference between his mode of life and Abel's. Jabal's was a migratory life, and his possessions probably included other animals besides sheep. The shepherds who were before him may have found the land on which they dwelt sufficiently productive for the constant sustenance of their flocks in the neighborhood of their fixed abodes. W. T. B.

JAB'BOK (יַבֹּק [*streaming forth, flowing*, Sim. Ges.]: ['Ιαβόκ; in Gen. xxxii. 22, Rom.] 'Ιαβόχ: *Jaboc*, [*Jeboc*]), a stream which intersects the mountain-range of Gilead (comp. Josh. xii. 2, and 5), and falls into the Jordan about midway between the sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea. There is some difficulty in interpreting two or three passages of Scripture in which the Jabbok is spoken of as "the border of the children of Ammon." The following facts may perhaps throw some light upon them: — The Ammonites at one time possessed the whole country between the rivers Arnon and Jabbok, from the Jordan on the west to the wilderness on the east. They were driven out of it by Sihon king of the Amorites; and he was in turn expelled by the Israelites. Yet long subsequent to these events, the country was popularly called "the

[a] In Num. xxi. 24, where the present Hebrew text has עַז (A. V. "strong"), the LXX. have read 'Ιαζήρ.

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and of the Ammonites," and was even claimed by them (Judg. xi. 12–22). For this reason the Jabbok is still called "the border of the children of Ammon" in Deut. iii. 16, and Josh. xii. 2. Again, when the Ammonites were driven out by Sihon from their ancient territory, they took possession of the eastern plain, and of a considerable section of the eastern defiles of Gilead, around the sources and upper branches of the Jabbok. Rabbath-Ammon, their capital city (2 Sam. xi.), stood within the mountains of Gilead, and on the banks of a tributary to the Jabbok. This explains the statement in Num. xxi. 24 — "Israel possessed his (Sihon's) land from Arnon unto Jabbok, unto the children of Ammon (עַד־בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן), for the border of the children of Ammon was strong" — the border among the defiles of the upper Jabbok was strong. This also illustrates Deut. ii. 37, "Only unto the land of the children of Ammon thou camest not, unto every place of the torrent Jabbok (כָּל־יַד נַחַל יַבֹּק), and unto the cities in the mountains, and every place which the Lord our God forbad."

It was on the south bank of the Jabbok the interview took place between Jacob and Esau (Gen. xxxii. 22); and this river afterwards became, towards its western part, the boundary between the kingdoms of Sihon and Og (Josh. xii. 2, 5). Eusebius rightly places it between Gerasa and Philadelphia (*Onom.* s. v.); and at the present day it separates the province of *Belka* from *Jebel Ajlun*. Its modern name is *Wady Zurka*. It rises in the plateau east of Gilead, and receives many tributaries from both north and south in the eastern declivities of the mountain-range — one of these comes from Gerasa, another from Rabbath-Ammon; but all of them are mere winter streams. The *Zurka* cuts through Gilead in a deep, narrow defile. Throughout the lower part of its course it is fringed with thickets of cane and oleander, and the banks above are clothed with oak-forests. Towards its mouth the stream is perennial, and in winter often impassable. J. L. P.

* For other notices of the Jabbok, its history and scenery, the reader may see Robinson's *Phys. Geogr.* pp. 57, 156 f.; Tristram's *Land of Israel*, pp. 476, 563 (2d ed.); Stanley's *S. & P.* p. 290 (Amer. ed.); Porter's *Handbook of Syria*, p. 310 f.; and Lynch's *Expedition to the Dead Sea*, p. 253. The ford of Jabbok which Jacob crossed with his family on his return from Mesopotamia (Gen. xxxii. 13 ff.) is pointed out at *Kalnat Serka*, on the great Damascus road through Gilead. A legend which contradicts the Biblical account assigns the passage to the Jordan, north of the Sea of Galilee. See Ritter's *Geogr. of Palestine*, Gage's transl. ii. 228. The depression which marks the valley of the *Zerka* (Jabbok) can be seen from the heights near Bethel (Rob. *Res.* i. 444, 2d ed.). H.

JA'BESH (יָבֵשׁ [*dry, parched*]: Ἰαβίς; [Vat. Ἰαβεις;] Alex. Ἀβεις, Ἰαβεις; Joseph. Ἰαβῆνος: *Jabes*). 1. Father of SHALLUM, the 15th king of Israel (2 K. xv. 10, 13, 14 .

2. [Vat. Ἰαβεις; Alex. in 1 Sam., Ειαβεις. In 1 Chr., Ἰαβεις.] The short form of the name ABESH-GILEAD (1 Chr. x. 12 only). The short form also occurs in 1 Sam. xi. 1, 3, 5, 9, 10, xxxi. 12, 13. — A.]

JA'BESH-GIL'EAD (יָבֵשׁ גִּלְעָד, also יָבִישׁ, 1 Sam. xi. 1, 9, &c., *dry*, from יָבֵשׁ, *to be dry* [1 Sam. xi. 1, 2 Sam. xxi. 12,] Ἰαβίς [Vat. Alex. -βεις] Γαλαάδ; [1 Sam. xi. 9, Ἰαβίς (Vat -βεις); Alex. Ειαβεις Γαλααδ; 1 Sam. xxxi. 11 2 Sam. ii. 4, 5, Ἰαβίς (Vat. -βεις, Alex. Ειαβεις τῆς Γαλααδίτιδος (Vat. -δει-); 1 Chr. x. 11 Γαλαάδ:] *Jabes Galaad*), or Jabesh in the territory of Gilead. [GILEAD.] In its widest sense Gilead included the half tribe of Manasseh (1 Chr xxvii. 21) as well as the tribes of Gad and Reuben (Num. xxxii. 1–42) east of the Jordan — and of the cities of Gilead, Jabesh was the chief. It is first mentioned in connection with the cruel vengeance taken upon its inhabitants for not coming up to Mizpeh on the occasion of the fierce war between the children of Israel and the tribe of Benjamin. Every male of the city was put to the sword, and all virgins — to the number of 400 — seized to be given in marriage to the 600 men of Benjamin that remained (Judg. xxi. 8–14). Nevertheless the city survived the loss of its males; and being attacked subsequently by Nahash the Ammonite, gave Saul an opportunity of displaying his prowess in its defense, and silencing all objections made by the children of Belial to his sovereignty (1 Sam. xi. 1–15). Neither were his exertions in behalf of this city unrequited; for when he and his three sons were slain by the Philistines in Mount Gilboa (1 Sam. xxxi. 8), the men of Jabesh-Gilead came by night and took down their corpses from the walls of Beth-shan where they had been exposed as trophies; then burnt the bodies, and buried the bones under a tree near the city — observing a strict funeral fast for seven days (*ibid.* 13). David does not forget to bless them for this act of piety towards his old master, and his more than brother (2 Sam. ii. 5); though he afterwards had their remains translated to the ancestral sepulchre in the tribe of Benjamin (2 Sam. xxi. 14). As to the site of the city, it is not defined in the O. T., but Eusebius (*Onomast.* s. v.) places it beyond Jordan, 6 miles from Pella on the mountain-road to Gerasa; where its name is probably preserved in the *Wady Yabes*, which, flowing from the east, enters the Jordan below Beth-shan or Scythopolis. According to Dr. Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* iii. 319), the ruin *ed-Deir*, on the S. side of the Wady, still marks its site. E. S. Ff.

JA'BEZ (יַעְבֵּץ [*who causes sorrow*, Ges.; possibly *a high place*, Fürst]: Ἰαβίς; [Vat. Γαμεσαρ;] Alex. Γαβης: *Jabes*), apparently a place at which the families of the scribes (סֹפְרִים) resided, who belonged to the families of the Kenites (1 Chr. ii. 55). It occurs among the descendants of Salma, who was of Judah, and closely connected with Bethlehem (ver. 51), possibly the father of Boaz; and also — though how is not clear — with Joab. The Targum states some curious particulars, which, however, do not much elucidate the difficulty, and which are probably a mixture of trustworthy tradition and of mere invention based on philological grounds. Rechab is there identified with Rechabiah the son of Eliezer, Moses' younger son (1 Chr. xxvi. 25), and Jabez with Othniel the Kenezzite, who bore the name of Jabez "because he founded by his counsel (עִיצָּדוֹ) a school (הַתִּרְעִיצָא) of disciples called Tirathites, Shimeathites, and Sucathites." See also the quotations

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from Talmud. *Temurah*, in Buxtorf's *Lex.* col. 966, where a similar derivation is given.

2. [Ἰγαβής; Alex. Ιαγβης, Γαβης.] The name occurs again in the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 9, 10) in a passage of remarkable detail inserted in a genealogy again connected with Bethlehem (ver. 4). Here a different force is attached to the name. It is made to refer to the sorrow (עֵצֶב, *otzeb*) with which his mother bore him, and also to his prayer that evil may not grieve (עָצַב) him. Jabez was "more honorable than his brethren," though who they were is not ascertainable. It is very doubtful whether any connection exists between this genealogy and that in ii. 50–55. Several names appear in both — Hur, Ephratah, Bethlehem, Zareathites (in A. V. iv. 2 inaccurately "Zorathites"), Joab, Caleb; and there is much similarity between others, as Rechab and Rechah, Eshton and Eshtaulites; but any positive connection seems undemonstrable. The Targum repeats its identification of Jabez and Othniel.

These passages in the Targums are worthy of remark, not only because they exemplify the same habit of playing on words and seeking for derivations which is found in the above and many other passages of the Bible, both early and late, but also because, as often as not, the puns do not now exist in the Rabbinical Hebrew in which these paraphrases are written, although they appear if that Rabbinical Hebrew is translated back into Biblical Hebrew. There are several cases of this in the Targum above quoted, namely, on 1 Chr. ii. 55 (see Tirathim, Socathim, etc.), and others in the Targum on Ruth, in the additions to the genealogy at the end of that book. One example will show what is intended. "Obed (עוֹבֵד) was he who *served* the Lord of the world with a perfect heart." "Served" in Biblical Hebrew is יָעַבַד, from the same root as Obed, but in the dialect of the Targum it is דְּפָלַח, so that the allusion (like that in Coleridge's famous pun) exists, as it stands, neither for the eye nor the ear. G.

JA'BIN (יָבִין [*intelligent*, Fürst; *one whom God observes*, Ges.]: Ἰαβίς; [Vat. Alex. Ιαβεις: *Jabin*]). 1. King of Hazor, a royal city in the north of Palestine, near the waters of Merom, who organised a confederacy of the northern princes against the Israelites (Josh. xi. 1–3). He assembled an army, which the Scripture narrative merely compares to the sands for multitude (ver. 4), but which Josephus reckons at 300,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 20,000 chariots. Joshua, encouraged by God, surprised this vast army of allied forces "by the waters of Merom" (ver. 7; near Kedesh, according to Josephus), utterly routed them, cut the hoof-sinews of their horses, and burnt their chariots with fire at a place which from that circumstance may have derived its name of MISREPHOTH-MAIM (Hervey, *On the Genealogies*, p. 228). [MISREPHOTH-MAIM.] It is probable that in consequence of this battle the confederate kings, and Jabin among them, were reduced to vassalage, for we find immediately afterwards that Jabin is safe in his capital. But during the ensuing wars (which occupied some time, Josh. xi. 18), Joshua "turned back," and perhaps on some fresh rebellion of Jabin, inflicted on him a signal and summary vengeance, making Hazor an exception to the general rule of not burning the conquered cities of Canaan (xi. 1–14 Joseph. *Ant.* v. 1, § 18; Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 328).

2. [In Judg., Ἰαβίν (Vat. -βειν); Alex. Ιαμειν Ιαβειν; in Ps., Ἰαβείν.] A king of Hazor, whose general Sisera was defeated by Barak, whose army is described in much the same terms as that of his predecessor (Judg. iv. 3, 13), and who suffered precisely the same fate. We have already pointed out the minute similarity of the two narratives (Josh. xi.; Judg. iv., v.), and an attentive comparison of them with Josephus (who curiously omits the name of Jabin altogether in his mention of Joshua's victory, although his account is full of details) would easily supply further points of resemblance. [BARAK; DEBORAH.] It is indeed by no means impossible that in the course of 150 years Hazor should have risen from its ashes, and even reassumed its preëminence under sovereigns who still bore the old dynastic name. But entirely independent considerations show that the period between Joshua and Barak could not have been 150 years, and indeed tend to prove that those two chiefs were contemporaries (Hervey, *Geneal.* p. 228); and we are therefore led to regard the two accounts of the destruction of Hazor and Jabin as really applying to the same monarch, and the same event. What is to prevent us from supposing that Jabin and his confederate kings were defeated both by Joshua and by Barak, and that distinct accounts of both victories were preserved? The most casual reader of the narrative cannot but be struck by the remarkable resemblance between the two stories. There is no ground whatever to throw doubts on the *historical veracity* of the earlier narrative, as is done by Hasse (p. 129), Maurer (*ad loc.*), Studer (*on Judges*, p. 90), and De Wette (*Einl.* p. 231), according to Keil, *on Josh.* xi. 10–15; and by Rosenmüller (*Schol. Jos.* xi. 11); but when the chronological arguments are taken into consideration, we do not (in spite of the difficulties which still remain) consider Hävernick successful in removing the improbabilities which beset the common supposition that this Jabin lived long after the one which Joshua defeated. At any rate we cannot agree with Winer in denouncing any attempt to identify them with each other as the *ne plus ultra* of uncritical audacity. F. W. F.

JAB'NEEL (יַבְנְאֵל [*God permits* or *causes to build*]). The name of two towns in Palestine.

1. (In O. T. Λεβνά; [Vat. Λεμνα;] Alex. Ιαβνηλ; in Apocr. Ἰαμνεία: *Jebneel, Jamnia.*) One of the points on the northern boundary of Judah, not quite at the sea, though near it[a] (Josh. xv. 11). There is no sign, however, of its ever having been occupied by Judah. Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, § 22) attributes it to the Danites. There was a constant struggle going on between that tribe and the Philistines for the possession of all the places in the lowland plain [DAN], and it is not surprising that the next time we meet with Jabneel it should be in the hands of the latter (2 Chr. xxvi. 6). Uzziah dispossessed them of it, and demolished its fortifications. Here it is in the shorter form of

[a] In Josh. xv. 46, after the words "from Ekron," the LXX. add Ἰαμνια, Jabneh, instead of "even unto the sea;" probably reading יַמְנָה for the present word יָמָּה.

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IABNEEL. In its Greek garb, IAMNIA, it is frequently mentioned in the Maccabees (1 Macc. iv. 15, v. 58, x. 69, xv. 40), in whose time it was again a strong place. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 8, § 6) Gorgias was governor of it; but the text of the Maccabees (2 Macc. xii. 32) has Idumæa. At this time there was a harbor on the coast, to which, and the vessels lying there, Judas set fire, and the conflagration was seen at Jerusalem, a distance of about 25 miles (2 Macc. xii. 9). The harbor is also mentioned by Pliny, who in consequence speaks of the town as double — *duæ Jamnes* (see the quotations in Reland, p. 823). Like Ascalon and Gaza, the harbor bore the title of Majumas, perhaps a Coptic word, meaning the "place on the sea" (Reland, p. 590, &c.; Raumer, p. 174, *note*, 184, *note*; Kenrick, *Phœnicia*, pp. 27, 29). At the time of the fall of Jerusalem. Jabneh was one of the most populous places of Judæa, and contained a Jewish school of great fame,[a] whose learned doctors are often mentioned in the Talmud. The great Sanhedrim was also held here. In this holy city, according to an early Jewish tradition, was buried the great Gamaliel. His tomb was visited by Parchi in the 14th century (Zunz, in Asher's *Benj. of Tudela*, ii. 439, 440; also 98). In the time of Eusebius, however, it had dwindled to a small place, πολίχνη, merely requiring casual mention (*Onomasticon*). In the 6th century, under Justinian, it became the seat of a Christian bishop (Epiphanius, *adv. Hær.* lib. ii. 730). Under the Crusaders it bore the corrupted name of Ibelin, and gave a title to a line of Counts, one of whom, Jean d'Ibelin, about 1250, restored to efficiency the famous code of the "Assises de Jérusalem" (Gibbon. ch. 58 *ad fin.*; also the citations in Raumer, *Palästina*, p. 185).

The modern village of *Yebna*, or more accurately *Ibna* (يبنا), stands about two miles from the sea, on a slight eminence just south of the *Nahr Rubin*. It is about 11 miles south of *Jaffa*, 7 from *Ramleh*, and 4 from *Akir* (Ekron). It probably occupies its ancient site, for some remains of old buildings are to be seen, possibly relics of the fortress which the Crusaders built there (Porter, *Handbook*, p. 274). G.

* Raumer (*Palästina*, p. 203, 4te Aufl.) regards Jabneel and Jabneh as probably the same. Fürst (*Handw.* i. 479) denies that they are the same, regarding Jabneh indeed as represented by *Yebna*, but the site of Jabneel as lost. The traveller going from *Esdud* (Ashdod) to *Yâfa* (Joppa) passes near *Yebna*, conspicuous on a hill to the right, at the foot of which is a well from which the water is raised by a large wheel. The women of the village may be seen here in picturesque groups, with their water-skins and jars, at almost any hour. A slab of antique marble forms the front-piece of the watering-trough, and other similar fragments lie scattered here and there. At a little distance further south occur a few remains of a Roman aqueduct. The Gamaliel whose tomb is shown at *Yebna* (see above) must be understood to be Gamaliel the younger, a grandson of the great Gamaliel who was Paul's teacher. (See Sepp's *Jerus. und das heil. Land*, ii. 501.) The origin, studies, and fame of the Jewish school established at Jamnia or *Yebna* after the destruction of Jerusalem form an important chapter in the history of rabbinical and Biblical literature. Lightfoot furnishes an outline of the subject (*Opp.* ii. pp. 141–144, Amsterd. 1686). The best modern account of this seminary and its influence on the philosophy and religious ideas of the Jews is probably that of Dr. H. Graetz in the opening chapter of his *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iv. (Berlin, 1853). The reader may see also Jost's *Geschichte der Israeliten*, iii. 185 ff.; and Dean Milman's *History of the Jews*, vol. ii. bk. xvii. (Amer. ed.). H.

2. (Ἰεφθαμάλ; Alex. Ἰαβνηλ; [Comp. Ἰαβνιήλ:] *Jebnaël.*) One of the landmarks on the boundary of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 33, only). It is named next after Adami-Nekeb, and had apparently Lakkum between it and the "outgoings" of the boundary at the Jordan. But little or no clew can be got from the passage to its situation. Doubtless it is the same place which, as Ἰαμνεία (*Vita*, § 37), and Ἰαμνίθ (*B. J.* ii. 20, § 6), is mentioned by Josephus among the villages in Upper Galilee, which, though strong in themselves (περόδεις οὖσας), were fortified by him in anticipation of the arrival of the Romans. The other villages named by him in the same connection are Meroth, Achabare, or the rock of the Achabari, and Seph. Schwarz (p. 181) mentions that the later name of Jabneel was *Kefr Yamah*,[b] the village by the sea. Taking this with the vague indications of Josephus, we should be disposed to look for its traces at the N. W. part of the Sea of Galilee, in the hill country. G.

JAB'NEH (יַבְנֶה [*he lets* or *causes to build*]: Ἰαβνήρ; [Vat. Αβεννηρ;] Alex. Ἰαβεις: *Jabnia*), 2 Chr. xxvi. 6. [JABNEEL.]

JA'CHAN (יָעָקָן [*affliction* or *afflicted*]: Ἰωαχάν; [Vat. Χιμα;] Alex. Ἰαχαν: *Jachan*), one of seven chief men of the tribe of Gad (1 Chr v. 13).

JA'CHIN (יָכִין [*he shall establish*]: in Kings, Ἰαχούμ, Alex. Ἰαχουν; but in Chr. Κατόρθωσις in both MSS.; Josephus, Ἰαχίν: *Jachin*, *Jachim*), one of the two pillars which were set up "in the porch" (1 K. vii. 21) or before the temple (2 Chr. iii. 17) of Solomon. It was the "right-hand" one of the two; by which is probably meant the south (comp. 1 K. vii. 39). However, both the position and the structure of these famous columns are full of difficulties, and they will be most suitably examined in describing the TEMPLE. Interpreted as a Hebrew word Jachin signifies firmness [See BOAZ 2.]

JA'CHIN (יָכִין [as above]: Ἀχείν, Ἰαχείν, Ἰαχίν; [in Num., Vat. Alex. Ἰαχειν; in Gen. and Ex.,] Alex. Ἰαχειμ: *Jachin*). 1. Fourth son of Simeon (Gen. xlvi. 10; Ex. vi. 15); founder of the family of the JACHINITES (Num. xxvi. 12).

2. [In 1 Chr. ix. and Neh., Ἰαχίν, Vat. Alex. Ἰαχειν; in 1 Chr. xxiv., Ἀχίμ, Vat. Αχειμ, Alex. Ἀχειν.] Head of the 21st course of priests in the time of David. Some of the course returned from Babylon (1 Chr. ix. 10, xxiv. 17; Neh. xi.

[a] * Graetz (*Geschichte der Juden*, iv. 13) speaks of this idea of a renowned Jewish school at Jabneh before the fall of Jerusalem as unfounded. All its celebrity if not its existence, was subsequent to the event. H.

[b] Can the name in the Vat. LXX. (given above) be a corruption of this? It can hardly be corrupted from Jamnia or Jabneel.

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10) [JOIARIB.] Jacimus, the original name of Alcimus (1 Macc. vii. 5, &c.; Joseph. *Ant.* xii., ix. § 7), who was the first of his family that was high-priest, may possibly have been in Hebrew Jachin, though the κ more properly suggests Jakim.

Ἀχείμ, ACHIM (Matt. i. 14), seems also to be the same name. A. C. H.

JA'CHINITES, THE (הַיָּכִינִי [see above]: Ἰαχινί [Vat. -νει]; Alex. ο Ἰαχεινι: *familia Jachinitarum*), the family founded by JACHIN, son of Simeon (Num. xxvi. 12).

JACINTH (ὑάκινθος: *hyacinthus*), a precious stone, forming one of the foundations of the walls of the new Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 20). It seems to be identical with the Hebrew *leshem* (לֶשֶׁם, A. V. "ligure"), which was employed in the formation of the high-priest's breastplate (Ex. xxviii. 19). The jacinth or hyacinth is a red variety of zircon, which is found in square prisms, of a white, gray, red, reddish-brown, yellow, or pale-green color. Ligurite is a crystallized mineral of a yellowish-green or apple-green hue, found in Liguria, and thence deriving its name. It was reputed to possess an attractive power similar to that of amber (Theophrast. *Lapp.* 28), and perhaps the Greek λιγύριον, which the LXX. gives, was suggested by an apparent reference to this quality (as if from λείχειν, "to lick"). The expression in Rev. ix. 17, "of jacinth," applied to the breastplate, is descriptive simply of a *hyacinthine*, i. e. dark-purple color, and has no reference to the stone. W. L. B.

JA'COB (יַעֲקֹב = *supplanter*: Ἰακώβ: *Jacob*), the second son of Isaac and Rebekah. He was born with Esau, when Isaac was 59 and Abraham 159 years old, probably at the well Lahai-roi. His history is related in the latter half of the book of Genesis. He grew up a quiet, domestic youth, the favorite son of his mother. He bought the birthright from his brother Esau; and afterwards, at his mother's instigation, acquired the blessing intended for Esau, by practicing a well-known deceit on Isaac. Hitherto the two sons shared the wanderings of Isaac in the South Country; but now Jacob, in his 78th year, was sent from the family home, to avoid his brother, and to seek a wife among his kindred in Padan-aram. As he passed through Bethel, God appeared to him. After the lapse of 21 years he returned from Padan-aram with two wives, two concubines, eleven sons, and a daughter, and large property. He escaped from the angry pursuit of Laban, from a rencontre with Esau, and from the vengeance of the Canaanites provoked by the murder of Shechem; and in each of those three emergencies he was aided and strengthened by the interposition of God, and in sign of the grace won by a night of wrestling with God his name was changed at Jabbok into Israel ("soldier of God"). Deborah and Rachel died before he reached Hebron; and it was at Hebron, in the 129d year of his age, that he and Esau buried their father Isaac. Joseph, the favorite son of Jacob, was sold into Egypt eleven years before the death of Isaac; and Jacob had probably exceeded his 130th year when he went thither, being encouraged in a divine vision as he passed for the last time through Beer-sheba. He was presented to Pharaoh, and dwelt for seventeen years in Rameses and Goshen. After giving his solemn blessing to Ephraim and Manasseh, and his own sons one by one, and charging the ten to complete them reconciliation with Joseph, he died in his 147th year. His body was embalmed, carried with great care and pomp into the land of Canaan, and deposited with his fathers, and his wife Leah, in the cave of Machpelah.

The example of Jacob is quoted by the first and the last of the minor prophets. Hosea, in the latter days of the kingdom, seeks (xii. 3, 4, 12) to convert the descendants of Jacob from their state of alienation from God, by recalling to their memory the repeated acts of God's favor shown to their ancestor. And Malachi (i. 2) strengthens the desponding hearts of the returned exiles by assuring them that the love which God bestowed upon Jacob was not withheld from them. Besides the frequent mention of his name in conjunction with those of the other two Patriarchs, there are distinct references to events in the life of Jacob in four books of the N. T. In Rom. ix. 11–13, St. Paul adduces the history of Jacob's birth to prove that the favor of God is independent of the order of natural descent. In Heb. xii. 16, and xi. 21, the transfer of the birthright and Jacob's dying benediction are referred to. His vision at Bethel, and his possession of land at Shechem are cited in St. John i. 51, and iv. 5, 12. And St. Stephen, in his speech (Acts vii. 12–16), mentions the famine which was the means of restoring Jacob to his lost son in Egypt, and the burial of the patriach in Shechem.

Such are the events of Jacob's life recorded in Scripture. Some of them require additional notice.

1. For the sale of his birthright to Jacob, Esau is branded in the N. T. as a "profane person" (Heb. xii. 16). The following sacred and important privileges have been mentioned as connected with primogeniture in patriarchal times, and as constituting the object of Jacob's desire. (*a.*) Superior rank in the family: see Gen. xlix. 3, 4. (*b.*) A double portion of the father's property; so Aben Ezra: see Deut. xxi. 17, and Gen. xlviii. 22. (*c.*) The priestly office in the patriarchal church: see Num. viii. 17–19. In favor of this, see Jerome *ad Evang. Ep.* lxxiii. § 6; Jarchi in *Gen.* xxv.; Estius in *Hebr.* xii.; Shuckford's *Connexion*, bk. vii.; Blunt, *Undes. Coincid.* pt. i. 1, §§ 2, 3; and against it, Vitringa, *Obs. Sac.*, and J. D. Michaelis, *Mosaisch. Recht*, ii. § 64, cited by Rosenmüller in *Gen.* xxv. (*d.*) A conditional promise or adumbration of the heavenly inheritance: see Cartwright in the *Crit. Sacr.* on Gen. xxv. (*e.*) The promise of the Seed in which all nations should be blessed, though not included in the birthright, may have been so regarded by the patriarchs, as it was by their descendants, Rom. ix. 8, and Shuckford, viii.

The whole subject has been treated in separate essays by Vitringa in his *Obs. Sac.* pt. i. 11, § 2; also by J. H. Hottinger, and by J. J. Schröder, cited by Winer.

2. With regard to Jacob's acquisition of his father's blessing, ch. xxvii., few persons will accept the excuse offered by Augustine, *Serm.* iv. § 22, 23, for the deceit which he practiced—that it was merely a figurative action, and that his personation of Esau was justified by his previous purchase of Esau's birthright. It is not however necessary with the view of cherishing a Christian hatred of sin, to heap opprobrious epithets upon a fallible man whom the choice of God has rendered venerable in the eyes of believers. Waterland (iv. 208) speaks of the conduct of Jacob in language which

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a neither wanting in reverence nor likely to encourage the extenuation of guilt. "I do not know whether it be justifiable in every particular: I suspect that it is not. There were several very good and laudable circumstances in what Jacob and Rebekah did; but I do not take upon me to acquit them of all blame." And Blunt, (*Undes. Coinc.*) observes that none "of the patriarchs can be set up as a model of Christian morals. They lived under a code of laws that were not absolutely good, perhaps not so good as the Levitical: for as this was but a preparation for the more perfect law of Christ, so possibly was the patriarchal but a preparation for the Law of Moses." The circumstances which led to this unhappy transaction, and the retribution which fell upon all parties concerned in it, have been carefully discussed by Benson, *Hulsean Lectures* (1822) *on Scripture Difficulties*, xvi. and xvii. See also Woodgate's *Historical Sermons*, ix.; and Maurice, *Patriarchs and Lawgivers*, v. On the fulfillment of the prophecies concerning Esau and Jacob, and on Jacob's dying blessing, see Bp. Newton, *Dissertations on the Prophecies*, §§ iii. and iv.

3. Jacob's vision at Bethel is considered by Miegius in a treatise, *De Scalâ Jacobi*, in the *Thesaurus novus Theologico-Philologicus*, i. 195. See also Augustine, *Serm.* cxxii. His stratagem with Laban's cattle is commented on by Jerome, *Quæst. in Gen.* Opp. iii. 352, and by Nitschmann, *De corylo Jacobi* in *Thes. nov. Theol.-Phil.* i. 201.

4. Jacob's polygamy is an instance of a patriarchal practice quite repugnant to Christian morality, but to be accounted for on the ground that the time had not then come for a full expression of the will of God on this subject. The mutual rights of husband and wife were recognized in the history of the Creation; but instances of polygamy are frequent among persons mentioned in the sacred records from Lamech (Gen. iv. 19) to Herod (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 1, § 2). In times when frequent wars increased the number of captives and orphans, and reduced nearly all service to slavery, there may have been some reason for extending the recognition and protection of the law to concubines or half-wives as Bilhah and Zilpah. And in the case of Jacob, it is right to bear in mind that it was not his original intention to marry both the daughters of Laban. (See on this subject Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, xxii. 47–54.)

5. Jacob's wrestling with the angel at Jabbok is the subject of Augustine's *Sermo* v.; compare with it *De Civitate Dei*, xvi. 39.

In Jacob may be traced a combination of the quiet patience of his father with the acquisitiveness which seems to have marked his mother's family; and in Esau, as in Ishmael, the migratory and independent character of Abraham was developed into the enterprising habits of a warlike hunter-chief. Jacob, whose history occupies a larger space, leaves on the reader's mind a less favorable impression than either of the other patriarchs with whom he is joined in equal honor in the N. T. (Matt. viii. 11). But in considering his character we must bear in mind that we know not what limits were set in those days to the knowledge of God and the sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit. A timid, thoughtful boy would acquire no self-reliance in a secluded home. There was little scope for the exercise of intelligence, wide sympathy, generosity, frankness. Growing up a stranger to the great joys and great sorrows of natural life — deaths, and wedlock, and births: inured to caution and restraint in the presence of a more vigorous brother; secretly stimulated by a belief that God designed for him some superior blessing, Jacob was perhaps in a fair way to become a narrow, selfish, deceitful, disappointed man. But, after dwelling for more than half a life-time in solitude, he is driven from home by the provoked hostility of his more powerful brother. Then in deep and bitter sorrow the outcast begins life afresh long after youth has passed, and finds himself brought first of all unexpectedly into that close personal communion with God which elevates the soul, and then into that enlarged intercourse with men which is capable of drawing out all the better feelings of human nature. An unseen world was opened. God revived and renewed to him that slumbering promise over which he had brooded for threescore years, since he learned it in childhood from his mother. Angels conversed with him. Gradually he felt more and more the watchful care of an ever present spiritual Father. Face to face he wrestled with the Representative of the Almighty. And so, even though the moral consequences of his early transgressions hung about him, and saddened him with a deep knowledge of all the evil of treachery and domestic envy, and partial judgment, and filial disobedience, yet the increasing revelations of God enlightened the old age of the patriarch; and at last the timid "supplanter," the man of subtle devices, waiting for the salvation of Jehovah, dies the "soldier of God" uttering the messages of God to his remote posterity.

For reflections on various incidents in Jacob's life, see Bp. Hall's *Contemplations*, bk. iii. Many rabbinical legends concerning him may be found in Eisenmenger's *Entd. Judenthum*, and in the *Jerusalem Targum*. In the Koran he is often mentioned in conjunction with the other two patriarchs (ch. 2, and elsewhere). W. T. B.

* Some of the other writers on the subject of this article may be mentioned: Hess, *Geschichte der Patriarchen*, ii. 67–423, the fullest of his Scripture histories. Kurtz, *Geschichte des A. Bundes*, i. 239 338, valuable as a historical sketch, and for its vindication of the narrative against objections. Ranke, *Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch*, i. 50 ff. Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israels*, i. 489–519 (3te Aufl.). Drechsler, especially on Jacob's and Esau's character, *Die Einheit und Echtheit der Genesis*, pp. 230–237. Winer, *Realw.* i. 522 ff. Auberlen, "Jakob" in Herzog's *Real-Encyk.* vi. 373–378. Wunderlich, "Jakob" in Zeller's *Bibl. Worterb.* i. 649–650. Heim, *Bibelstunden*, 1845. Kitto, *Daily Biblical Illustrations*, with additions by J. L. Porter, i. 294–335 (ed. 1866). Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 23–29, 354 f., 398 f. Blunt, *Veracity of the Book of Moses*, ch. viii. Milman, *History of the Jews*, i. 75–108. Stanley, *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*, i. 58–82 (Amer. ed.). Quarry, *Genesis and its Authorship*, pp. 482–508, 566–575 (Lond. 1866). The portions of Genesis relating to Jacob are fully and ably treated here in opposition to critics of the Colenso school. See HARAN (Amer. ed.) for supposed difficulties connected with Jacob's flight from Mesopotamia.

Dean Stanley takes decided ground against those who entertain a disparaging view of Jacob's character as compared with that of Esau. We quote a part of his reply to that adverse opinion: "Taking the two from first to last, how entirely is the judgment of Scripture and the judgment of posterity confirmed by the result of the whole. The

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mere impulsive hunter vanishes away, light as air: he did eat and drink, and rose up and went his way. Thus Esau despised his birthright.' The substance, the strength of the chosen family, the true inheritance of the promise of Abraham, was interwoven with the very essence of the character of the 'plain man, dwelling in tents,' steady, persevering, moving onward with deliberate settled purpose, through years of suffering and of prosperity, of exile and return, of bereavement and recovery. The birthright is always before him. Rachel is won from Laban by hard services, 'and the seven years seemed unto him but a few days for the love he had to her.' Isaac and Rebekah, and Rebekah's nurse, are remembered with a faithful, filial remembrance; Joseph and Benjamin are long and passionately loved with a more than parental affection, — bringing down his gray hairs for their sakes 'in sorrow to the grave.' This is no character to be contemned or scoffed at; if it was encompassed with much infirmity, yet its very complexity demands our reverent attention; in it are bound up, as his double name expresses, not one man, but two; by toil and struggle, Jacob, the Supplanter, is gradually transformed into Israel, the Prince of God; the harsher and baser features are softened and purified away; he looks back over his long career with the fullness of experience and humility. 'I am not worthy of the least of all the mercies and of all the truth which thou hast shown unto thy servant' (Gen. xxxii. 10). Alone of the patriarchal family, his end is recorded as invested with the solemnity of warning and of prophetic song, 'Gather yourselves together, ye sons of Jacob; and hearken unto Israel your father.' We need not fear to acknowledge that the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac was also the God of Jacob." (*Jewish Church*, p. 59 f.) H.

JACU'BUS ('Ιάκουβος; [Vat. Ιαρσουβοος:] *Accubus*), 1 Esdr. ix. 48. [AKKUB, 4.]

JA'DA (יָדָע [*known, skillful*]: 'Ιαδαέ, and at ver. 32, Δαδαέ, [Vat. Ιδουδα,] Alex. Ιεδδαε: [*Jada*]), son of Onam, and brother of Shammai, in the genealogy of the sons of Jerahmeel by his wife Atarah (1 Chr. ii. 28, 32). This genealogy is very corrupt in the LXX., especially in the Vatican Codex. A. C. H.

JA'DAU [2 syl.] (יָדָו, but the *Keri* has יָדּוֹ, *i. e.* Yaddai [*favorite, friend*, Fürst]: 'Ιαδαί; [Vat. Αδια:] *Jeddu*), one of the Bene-Nebo who had taken a foreign wife, and was compelled by Ezra to relinquish her [Ezr. x. 43).

JADDU'A (יְדוּעַ [*known*]: 'Ιαδού, 'Ιδούα; [in Neh. xii. 22, Vat. Ιαδου, FA.[1] Αδου:] *Jeddoa*), son, and successor in the high-priesthood, of Jonathan or Johanan. He is the last of the high-priests mentioned in the O. T., and probably altogether the latest name in the canon (Neh. xii. 11, 22), at least if 1 Chr. iii. 22–24 is admitted to be corrupt (see *Geneal. of our Lord*, pp. 101, 107). His name marks distinctly the time when the latest additions were made to the book of Nehemiah and the canon of Scripture, and *perhaps* affords a clew to the age of Malachi the prophet. All that we learn concerning him in Scripture is the fact of his being the son of Jonathan, and high-priest. We gather also pretty certainly that he was priest in the reign of the last Persian king Darius, and that he was still high-priest after the Persian dynasty was overthrown, *i. e.* in the reign of Alexander the Great. For the expression "Darius *the Persian*" must have been used after the accession of the Grecian dynasty, and had another high-priest succeeded, his name would most likely have been mentioned. Thus far then the book of Nehemiah bears out the truth of Josephus's history, which makes Jaddua high-priest when Alexander invaded Judæa. But the story of his interview with Alexander [HIGH-PRIEST, vol. ii. p. 1072 *b*] does not on that account deserve credit, nor his account of the building of the temple on Mount Gerizim during Jaddua's pontificate, at the instigation of Sanballat, both of which, as well as the accompanying circumstances, are probably derived from some apocryphal book of Alexandrian growth, since lost, in which chronology and history gave way to romance and Jewish vanity. Josephus seems to place the death of Jaddua after that of Alexander (*A. J.* xi. 8, § 7). Eusebius assigns 20 years to Jaddua's pontificate (*Geneal. of our Lord*, 323 ff.; Selden, *de Succ.*; Prideaux, *etc.*). A. C. H.

JADDU'A (יְדוּעַ [as above]: 'Ιεδδούα [Vat. FA.[1] omit;] Alex. Ιεδδουκ: *Jeddua*), one of the chief of the people, *i. e.* of the laymen, who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 21).

JA'DON (יָדוֹן [*judge*]: Ειδρων in both MSS. [rather, in the Roman ed.; Vat. Alex. FA.[1] omit]: *Jadon*), a man, who in company with the Gibeonites and the men of Mizpah assisted to repair the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 7). His title, "the Meronothite" (comp. 1 Chr. xxvii. 30), and the mention of Gibeonites, would seem to point to a place Meronoth, and that in the neighborhood of Gibeon; but no such place has yet been traced.

Jadon ('Ιαδών) is the name attributed by Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 8, § 5) to the man of God from Judah, who withstood Jeroboam at the altar at Bethel — probably intending IDDO the seer. By Jerome (*Qu. Hebr.* on 2 Chr. ix. 29) the name is given as *Jaddo*.

JA'EL (יָעֵל [*climber*, Fürst, and hence *wild goat*]: Hex. Syr. *Anael*: 'Ιαήλ; Joseph. 'Ιάλη: *Jahel*), the wife of Heber the Kenite. Heber was the chief of a nomadic Arab clan, who had separated from the rest of his tribe, and had pitched his tent under the oaks, which had in consequence received the name of "oaks of the wanderers" (A. V. plain of Zaanaim, Judg. iv. 11), in the neighborhood of Kedesh-Naphthali. [HEBER; KENITES.] The tribe of Heber had secured the quiet enjoyment of their pastures by adopting a neutral position in a troublous period. Their descent from Jethro secured them the favorable regard of the Israelites, and they were sufficiently important to conclude a formal peace with Jabin king of Hazor.

In the headlong rout which followed the defeat of the Canaanites by Barak, Sisera, abandoning his chariot the more easily to avoid notice (ccmp. Hom. *Il.* v. 20), fled unattended, and in an opposite direction from that taken by his army, to the tent of the Kenite chieftainess. "The tent of Jael" is expressly mentioned either because the harem of Heber was in a separate tent (Rosenmüller *Morgenl.* iii. 22), or because the Kenite himself was absent at the time. In the sacred seclusion of this almost inviolable sanctuary, Sisera might well have felt himself absolutely secure from the incursions of the enemy (Calmet, *Fragm.* xxv.)

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and although he intended to take refuge among the Kenites, he would not have ventured so openly to violate all idea of oriental propriety by entering a woman's apartments (D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* s. v. "Haram"), had he not received Jael's express, earnest, and respectful entreaty to do so. He accepted the invitation, and she flung a mantle[a] over him as he lay wearily on the floor. When thirst prevented sleep, and he asked for water, she brought him butter-milk in her choicest vessel, thus ratifying with the semblance of officious zeal the sacred bond of eastern hospitality. Wine would have been less suitable to quench his thirst, and may possibly have been eschewed by Heber's clan (Jer. xxxv. 2). Butter-milk, according to the quotations in Harmer, is still a favorite Arab beverage, and that this is the drink intended we infer from Judges v. 25, as well as from the direct statement of Josephus (γάλα διεφθορὸς ἤδη, *Ant.* v. 5, § 4), although there is no reason to suppose with Josephus and the Rabbis (D. Kimchi, Jarchi, etc.), that Jael purposely used it because of its soporific qualities (Bochart, *Hieroz.* i. 473). But anxiety still prevented Sisera from composing himself to rest, until he had exacted a promise from his protectress that she would faithfully preserve the secret of his concealment; till at last, with a feeling of perfect security, the weary and unfortunate general resigned himself to the deep sleep of misery and fatigue. Then it was that Jael took in her left hand one of the great wooden[b] pins (A. V. "nail") which fastened down the cords of the tent, and in her right hand the mallet (A. V. "a hammer") used to drive it into the ground, and creeping up to her sleeping and confiding guest, with one terrible blow dashed it through Sisera's temples deep into the earth. With one spasm of fruitless agony, with one contortion of sudden pain, "at her feet he bowed, he fell; where he bowed, there he fell down dead" (Judg. v. 27). She then waited to meet the pursuing Barak, and led him into her tent that she might in his presence claim the glory of the deed!

Many have supposed that by this act she fulfilled the saying of Deborah, that God would sell Sisera into the hand of a woman (Judg. iv. 9; Joseph. v. 5, § 4); and hence they have supposed that Jael was actuated by some divine and hidden influence. But the Bible gives no hint of such an inspiration, and it is at least equally probable that Deborah merely intended to intimate the share of the honor which would be assigned by posterity to her own exertions. If therefore we eliminate the still more monstrous supposition of the Rabbis that Sisera was slain by Jael because he attempted to offer her violence — the murder will appear in all its hideous atrocity. A fugitive had asked, and received *d'ikheel* (or protection) at her hands, — he was miserable, defeated, weary, — he was the ally of her husband, — he was her invited and honored guest, — he was in the sanctuary of the haram, — above all, he was confiding, defenseless, and asleep; yet she broke her pledged faith, violated her solemn hospitality, and murdered a trustful and unprotected slumberer. Surely we require the clearest and most positive statement that Jael was instigated to such a murder by divine suggestion.

But it may be asked, "Has not the deed of Jael been praised by an inspired authority?" "Blessed above women shall Jael the wife of Heber the Kenite be, blessed shall she be above women in the tent" (Judg. v. 24). Without stopping to ask when and where Deborah claims for herself any infallibility, or whether, in the passionate moment of patriotic triumph, she was likely to pause in such wild times to scrutinize the moral bearings of an act which had been so splendid a benefit to herself and her people, we may question whether any moral commendation is *directly* intended. What Deborah stated was a *fact*, namely, that the wives of the nomad Arabs would undoubtedly regard Jael as a public benefactress, and praise her as a popular heroine.

The suggestion of Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 608 *b*), Hollmann, and others, that the Jael alluded to in Judg. v. 6 is not the wife of Heber, but some unknown Israelitish judge, appears to us extremely unlikely, especially as the name Jael must almost certainly be the name of a woman (Prov. v. 19, A. V. "roe"). At the same time it must be admitted that the phrase "in the days of Jael" is one which we should hardly have expected. F. W. F.

* This view of Gesenius that Jael (Judg v. 6), is the name of a judge otherwise unknown, is also that of Fürst, Bertheau, Wordsworth, and others. The name is masculine, and very properly used of a man, though such names were often borne by women. Cassel (*Richter und Ruth*, p. 50) denies that the wife of Heber can be meant in this instance, since Deborah was contemporary with her, and would hardly designate her own days as those of Jael. But to suppose with him that Shamgar mentioned in the other line is called Jael (="active," "chivalrous") merely as a complimentary epithet, seems far-fetched. From the order of the names, if this Jael was one of the judges, we should be led to place his time between Shamgar and Barak, and so have a more distinct enumeration of the long series of years during which the land was afflicted before the deliverance achieved by Deborah and her allies. H.

JA'GUR (יָגוּר [*lodging-place*]: Ἀσώρ; Alex. Ἰαγουρ: *Jagur*), a town of Judah, one of those furthest to the south, on the frontier of Edom (Josh. xv. 21). Kabzeel, one of its companions in the list, recurs subsequently; but Jagur is not again met with, nor has the name been encountered in the imperfect explorations of that dreary region. The Jagur, quoted by Schwarz (p. 99) from the Talmud as one of the boundaries of the territory of Ashkelon, must have been further to the N. W. G.

JAH (יָהּ: Κύριος: *Dominus*). The abbreviated form of "Jehovah," used only in poetry. It occurs frequently in the Hebrew, but with a single exception (Ps. lxviii. 4) is rendered "Lord" in the A. V. The identity of Jah and Jehovah is strongly marked in two passages of Isaiah (xii. 2, xxvi. 4), the force of which is greatly weakened by the English rendering "the Lord." The former of these should be translated "for my strength and song is JAH JEHOVAH" (comp. Ex. xv. 2); and the latter, "trust ye in Jehovah for ever, for in

[a] "Mantle" is here inaccurate; the word is הַשְּׂמִיכָה — with the definite article. But as the item is not found elsewhere, it is impossible to recognise what the *Semicah* was. Probably some part of the regular furniture of the tent.

[b] Ὑάσσαλος, LXX.; but according to Josephus σιδήρεον ἦλον.

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JAH JEHOVAH is the rock of ages." "Praise ye the Lord," or Hallelujah, should be in all cases "praise ye Jah." In Ps. lxxxix. 8 [9] Jah stands in parallelism with "Jehovah the God of hosts" in a passage which is wrongly translated in our version. It should be "O Jehovah, God of hosts, who like thee is strong, O Jah!" W. A. W.

JA'HATH (יַחַת [*oneness, union*]: Ἰαήθ, [Ἰεήθ; Vat. Ιεεθ, Ηχα: *Jahath*]). 1. Son of Libni, the son of Gershom, the son of Levi (1 Chr. vi. 20, A. V.). He was ancestor to Asaph (ver. 43).

2. [Ἰαήθ: *Iehath.*] Head of a later house in the family of Gershom, being the eldest son of Shimei, the son of Laadan. The house of Jahath existed in David's time (1 Chr. xxiii. 10, 11).
A. C. H.

3. (Ἰαήθ; Alex. omits: [*Jahath.*]) A man in the genealogy of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 2), son of Reaiah ben-Shobal. His sons were Ahumai and Lahad, the families of the Zorathites. If Reaiah and Haroeh are identical, Jahath was a descendant of Caleb ben-Hur. [HAROEH.]

4. ([Ἰάθ; Vat.] Alex. Ιναθ.) A Levite, son of Shelomoth, the representative of the Kohathite family of IZHAR in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxiv. 22).

5. [Ἰαήθ; Vat. ιτ; Comp. Ἰαιάθ.] A Merarite Levite in the reign of Josiah, one of the overseers of the repairs to the Temple (2 Chr. xxxiv. 12).

JA'HAZ, also JAHA'ZA, JAHA'ZAH, and JAH'ZAH. Under these four forms are given in the A. V. the name of a place which in the Hebrew appears as יַהְצ and יַהְצָה, the ה being in some cases — as Num. and Deut. — the particle of motion, but elsewhere an integral addition to the name. It has been uniformly so taken by the LXX., who have Ἰασσά, and twice Ἰασά [once, namely, Judg. xi. 20, where Alex. reads Ισραηλ]. JAHAZ is found Num. xxi. 23; Deut. ii. 32; Judg. xi. 20; Is. xv. 4; Jer. xlviii. 34. In the two latter only is it יַהַץ, without the final ה. The Samaritan Cod. has יחצה: Vulg. *Jasa.*

At Jahaz the decisive battle was fought between the children of Israel and Sihon king of the Amorites, which ended in the overthrow of the latter and in the occupation by Israel of the whole pastoral country included between the Arnon and the Jabbok, the *Belka* of the modern Arabs (Num. xxi. 23; Deut. ii. 32; Judg. xi. 20). It was in the allotment of Reuben (Josh. xiii. 18), though not mentioned in the catalogue of Num. xxxii.; and it was given with its suburbs to the Merarite Levites (1 Chr. vi. 78: and Josh. xxi. 36, though here omitted in the ordinary Hebrew text).

Jahazah occurs in the denunciations of Jeremiah and Isaiah on the inhabitants of the "plain country," *i. e.* the Mishor, the modern *Belka* (Jer. xlviii. 21, 34; Is. xv. 4); but beyond the fact that at this period it was in the hands of Moab we know nothing of its history.

From the terms of the narrative in Num. xxi. and Deut. ii., we should expect that Jahaz was in the extreme south part of the territory of Sihon, but yet north of the river Arnon (see Deut. ii. 24, 36: and the words in 31, "begin to possess"). and in exactly this position a site named *Jaazza* is mentioned by Schwarz (227), though by him only. But this does not agree with the statements of Eusebius (*Onom.* Ἰεσσά), who says it was existing in his day between Medeba and Δηβούς, by which he probably intends Dibon, which would place Jahaz considerably too far to the north. Like many others relating to the places east of the Dead Sea, this question must await further research (See Ewald, *Geschichte*, ii. 266, 271.) G.

JAHA'ZA (יַהְצָה, *i. e.* Yahtzah [*trodden down, threshing-floor*]: Βασάν; Alex. Ιασσα *Jassa*), Josh. xiii. 18. [JAHAZ.]

JAHA'ZAH (יַהְצָה [as above]: in Jer. Ῥεφάς, in both MSS.; [FA.1 Ραφαθ, Comp. Ἰασσά:] *Jaser, Jasa*), Josh. xxi. 36 (though omitted in the Rec. Hebrew Text, and not recognizable in the LXX. [perhaps represented by Ἰαζήρ]), Jer. xlviii. 21. [JAHAZ.]

JAHAZI'AH (יַחְזִיָּה, *i. e.* Yach'zeyah [*whom Jehovah beholds*, Ges.]: Ἰαζίας; [Vat. FA.1 Λαζεια:] *Jaasia*), son of Tikvah, apparently a priest; commemorated as one of the four who originally sided with Ezra in the matter of the foreign wives (Ezr. x. 15). In Esdras the name becomes EZECHIAS.

JAHA'ZIEL (יַחֲזִיאֵל [*whom God strengthens*]). 1. (Ἰεζιήλ; [Vat. FA. Ιεζηλ:] *Jehesiel.*) One of the heroes of Benjamin who deserted the cause of Saul and joined David when he was at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 4).

2. (Ὀζιήλ [Vat. FA.2 Οζειηλ:] *Jaziel.*) A priest in the reign of David, whose office it was, in conjunction with Benaiah, to blow the trumpet at the ministrations before the ark, when David had brought it to Jerusalem (1 Cor. xvi. 6). [HIGH-PRIEST.]

3. (Ἰεζιήλ, Ἰαζιήλ; [Vat. Οζιηλ, Ιασηι;] Alex. Ιαζηλ: [*Jahaziel.*]) A Kohathite Levite, third son of Hebron. His house is mentioned in the enumeration of the Levites in the time of David (1 Chr. xxiii. 19; xxiv. 23). A. C. H.

4. (Ὀζιήλ: [Vat. Οζειηλ; Comp. Ἰεζιήλ:] *Jahaziel.*) Son of Zechariah, a Levite of the Bene-Asaph, who was inspired by the Spirit of Jehovah to animate Jehoshaphat and the army of Judah in a moment of great danger, namely, when they were anticipating the invasion of an enormous horde of Moabites, Ammonites, Mehunims, and other barbarians (2 Chr. xx. 14). Ps. lxxxiii. is entitled a Psalm of Asaph, and this, coupled with the mention of Edom, Moab, Ammon, and others, in hostility to Israel, has led some to connect it with the above event. [GEBAL.] But, however desirable, this is very uncertain.

5. (Ἀζιήλ; [Vat. Alex. omit:] *Ezechiel.*) The "son of Jahaziel" was the chief of the Bene-Shecaniah [sons of S.] who returned from Babylon with Ezra, according to the present state of the Hebrew text (Ezr. viii. 5). But according to the LXX., and the parallel passage in 1 Esdr. (viii. 32), a name has escaped from the text, and it should read, "of the Bene-Zathoe (probably ZATTU), Shecaniah son of Jahaziel." In the latter place the name appears as JEZELUS.

JAH'DAI [2 syl.] (יַהְדַּי, *i. e.* Yehdai [*whom Jehovah leads*]: Ἀδδαΐ; [Vat. Ιησουι] Alex. Ιαδαι: *Jahoddai*), a man who appears to be thrust abruptly into the genealogy of Caleb, as the father of six sons (1 Chr. ii. 47). Various suggestions

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regarding the name have been made: as that Gaash, the name preceding, should be Jahdai; that Jahdai was a concubine of Caleb, etc.: but these are mere groundless suppositions (see Burrington, i. 216; Bertheau, *ad loc.*).

JAH'DIEL (יַחְדִּיאֵל [*whom God makes joyful*]: Ἰεδιήλ; [Vat. Ἰελειηλ:] *Jediel*), one of the heroes who were heads of the half-tribe of Manasseh on the east of Jordan (1 Chr. v. 24).

JAH'DO (יַחְדּוֹ [*united, together*]: Ἰεδδαί, as if the name had originally been יחדי; comp. JAASAU, JADAU; [Vat. Ιουρει; Comp. Ἰεδδώ:] *Jeddo*), a Gadite named in the genealogies of his tribe (1 Chr. v. 14) as the son of Buz and father of Jeshishai.

JAH'LEËL (יַחְלְאֵל [*hoping in God*]: Ἀχοήλ; Alex. Αλοηλ, Αλληλ: *Jahelel*, [*Jalel*]), the third of the three sons of Zebulun (Gen. xlvi. 14; Num. xxvi. 26), founder of the family of the JAHLEELITES. Nothing is heard of him or of his descendants.

JAH'LEËLITES, THE (הַיַּחְלְאֵלִי: ὁ Ἀλλαλί [Vat. -λει]: *Jalelita*). A branch of the tribe of Zebulon, descendants of Jahleel (Num. xxvi. 26). W. A. W.

JAH'MAI [2 syl.] (יַחְמַי [*whom Jehovah guards*]: Ἰαμαί; [Vat. Ειακαν; Alex. Ιεμου: *Jemai*), a man of Issachar, one of the heads of the house of Tola (1 Chr. vii. 2).

JAH'ZAH (יַהְצָה [*a place stamped, threshing-floor*]: Ἰασά; [Vat. omits:] *Jassa*), 1 Chr. vi. 78. [JAHAZ.]

JAH'ZEËL (יַחְצְאֵל [*God apportions*]: Ἀσιήλ; [Vat.[1] in Num., Σαηλ:] *Jasiel*), the first of the four sons of Naphtali (Gen. xlvi. 24), founder of the family of THE JAHZEELITES (הַיַּחְצְאֵלִי. Num. xxvi. 48). His name is once again mentioned (1 Chr. vii. 13) in the slightly different form of JAHZIEL.

JAH'ZEËLITES, THE (הַיַּחְצְאֵלִי: ὁ Ἀσιηλί; [Vat.[1] Σαηλει, 2. m. Ασηλει:] *Jesielita*). A branch of the Naphtalites, descended from Jahzeel (Num. xxvi. 48).

JAH'ZERAH (יַחְזְרָה [*whom God leads back*]: Ἐζιρά [or Ἐζιρά; Vat. Ιεδειας; Alex. Ιεζρας:] *Jezra*), a priest, of the house of Immer; ancestor of Maasiai (read Maaziah), one of the courses which returned (1 Chr. ix. 12). [JEHOIARIB.] In the duplicate passage in Neh. xi. 13 he is called אֲחַזַי, AHASAI, and all the other names are much varied. A. C. H.

* **JAILOR.** [PRISON; PUNISHMENTS.]

JAH'ZIEL (יַחְצִיאֵל [*God allots or apportions*]: Ἰασιήλ; [Vat. Ιεσιηλ:] *Jasiel*), the form in which the name of the first of Naphtali's sons, elsewhere given JAHZEEL, appears in 1 Chr. vii. 13 only.

JA'IR (יָאִיר [*whom Jehovah enlightens*]: Ἰαΐρ; [Vat. commonly Ιαειρ: Alex. Ιαειρ, -ηρ, -ρ:] *Jair*). 1. A man who on his father's side was descended from Judah, and on his mother's from Manasseh. His father was Segub, son of Hezron the son of Pharez, by his third wife, the daughter of the great Machir, a man so great that his name is sometimes used as equivalent to that of Manasseh (1 Chr. ii. 21, 22). Thus on both sides he was a member of the most powerful family of each tribe. By Moses he is called the "son of Manasseh" (Num. xxxii. 41; Deut. iii. 14), and according to the Chronicles (1 Chr. ii. 23), he was one of the "sons of Machir the father of Gilead." This designation from his mother rather than his father, perhaps arose from his having settled in the tribe of Manasseh, east of Jordan. During the conquest he performed one of the chief feats recorded. He took the whole of the tract of ARGOB (Deut. iii. 14 [comp. Josh. xiii. 30]), the naturally inaccessible Trachonitis, the modern *Lejah* — and in addition possessed himself of some nomad villages in Gilead, which he called after his own name, HAVVOTH-JAIR (Num. xxxii. 41; 1 Chr. ii. 23).[a] None of his descendants are mentioned with certainty; but it is perhaps allowable to consider IRA THE JAIRITE as one of them. Possibly another was —

2. [Ἰαΐρ; Vat. Ιαειρ; Alex. Ιαειρ, Αειρ.] "JAIR THE GILEADITE," who judged Israel for two and twenty years (Judg. x. 3–5). He had thirty sons who rode thirty asses (עֲיָרִים), and possessed thirty "cities" (עָרִים) in the land of Gilead, which, like those of their namesake, were called Havvoth-Jair. Possibly the original twenty-three formed part of these. Josephus (*Ant.* v. 7, § 6) gives the name of Jair as Ἰαείρης; he declares him to have been of the tribe of Manasseh, and his burial place, CAMON, to have been in Gilead. [HAVOTH-JAIR.]

3. [Ἰάειρος; Vat. FA. Ιαειρος; Alex. Ιατρος.] A Benjamite, son of Kish and father of Mordecai (Esth. ii. 5). In the Apocrypha his name is given as JAIRUS.

4. (יָעִיר [*whom God awakens*]: a totally different name from the preceding; Ἰαΐρ; [Vat. Ιαειρ;] Alex. Αδειρ: *Saltus.*) The father of Elhanan, one of the heroes of David's army, who killed Lachmi the brother of Goliath (1 Chr. xx. 5). In the original Hebrew text (*Cethib*) the name is Jaor (יָעוֹר). In the parallel narrative of Samuel (2 Sam. xxi. 19) Jaare-Oregim is substituted for Jair. The arguments for each will be found under ELHANAN and JAARE-OREGIM.

In the N. Test., as in the Apocrypha, we encounter Jair under the Greek form of JAIRUS. G.

JA'IRITE, THE (הַיָּאִרִי [patronym.]: ὁ Ἰαϊρί [Vat. -ειν]; Alex. ο Ιαειρε: *Jairites*). IRA the Jairite was a priest (כֹּהֵן, A. V. "chief ruler") to David (2 Sam. xx. 26). If "priest" is to be taken here in its sacerdotal sense, Ira must have been a descendant of Aaron, in whose line however no Jair is mentioned. But this is not imperative [see PRIEST], and he may therefore

[a] This verse would seem not to refer to the original conquest of these villages by Jair, as the A. V. represents, but rather to their recapture. The accurate rendering is said to be, "And Geshur and Aram took the Havvoth-Jair from them, with Kenath and her daughter-towns, sixty cities" (Bertheau, *Chronik*, p. 161.

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have sprung from the great Jair of Manasseh, or some lesser person of the name.

JAI'RUS [3 syl.]. 1. ('Ιάειρος: [*Jairus*]), a ruler of a synagogue, probably in some town near the western shore of the Sea of Galilee. He was the father of the maiden whom Jesus restored to life (Matt. ix. 18; Mark v. 22; Luke viii. 41). The name is probably the Grecized form of the Hebrew JAIR.

* It has been questioned whether the daughter of Jairus was really dead and raised to life again by the power of Jesus, or lay only in a state of insensibility. Among others Olshausen (*Bibl. Comm.* i. 321 ff.) and Robinson (*Lex. of the N. T.*, p. 362) entertain the latter view. The doubt has arisen chiefly from the fact that the Saviour said of the damsel, "She is not dead, but sleepeth" (see Matt. ix. 24). The usual verb for describing death as a sleep, it is true, is a different one (κοιμάω, see John xi. 11 f.); but the one which the Saviour employed in this instance (καθεύδει) is also used of the dead in 1 Thess. v. 10, where "whether we wake or sleep" is equivalent to "whether we are alive or dead." Hence we may attach the same figurative sense to the word as applied in the passage before us. It was a peculiarly expressive way of saying that in its relation to Christ's power death was merely a slumber: he had only to speak the word, and the lifeless rose at once to consciousness and activity. But there are positive reasons for understanding that Christ performed a miracle on this occasion. The damsel lay dying when the father went in pursuit of Jesus (Luke viii. 42); shortly after that she was reported as dead (Mark v. 35); and was bewailed at the house with the lamentation customary on the decease of a person (Mark v. 38 ff.). The idea that she was asleep merely was regarded as absurd (Matt. ix. 24), and Luke states expressly (viii. 55) that "her spirit came again" to her on being commanded to arise. The parents and the crowd "were astonished with a great astonishment" at what they beheld or heard related (Mark v. 42), and the Saviour permitted that impression to remain with them.

One other circumstance in this account deserves notice. Our Lord on arriving at the house of Jairus found the mourners already singing the death-dirge, and the "minstrels" (αὐληταί, "flute-players") performing their part in the service (Matt. ix. 23). On that custom, see De Wette's *Hebr. Archäologie*, § 263 (4te Aufl.).

Mr. Lane mentions that it is chiefly at the funerals of the rich among the modern Egyptians that musicians are employed as mourners. (*Modern Egyptians*, ii. 287, 297.) It is not within the ability of every family to employ them, as they are professional actors, and their presence involves some expense. The same thing, as a practical result, was true, no doubt, in ancient times.[a] Hence "the minstrels" very properly appear in this particular history. Jairus, the father of the damsel whom Christ restored to life, being a ruler of the synagogue, was a person of some rank among his countrymen. In such a family the most decent style of performing the last sad offices would be observed. Further, the narrative allows of hardly any interval between the daughter's death and the commencement of the wailing. This agrees with the present oriental custom; for when the death of a person is expected, preparations are often made so as to have the lament begin almost as soon as the last breath is drawn. H.

2. ('Ιδίρος; [Vat. Ιεειρος.]) Esth. xi. 2. [JAIR, 3.] W. T. B.

JA'KAN (יַעֲקָן [= עֲקָן, *intelligent, sagacious*]: Ἀκάν; [Vat. Ωκαν;] Alex. [Ισαακαν και] Ουκαμ: *Jacan*), son of Ezer the Horite (1 Chr. i. 42). The name is identical with that more commonly expressed in the A. V. as JAAKAN. And see AKAN.

JA'KEH (יָקֶה, and in some MSS. יָקֵא [see *infra*], which is followed by a MS. of the Targum in the Cambridge Univ. Libr., and was evidently the reading of the Vulgate, where the whole clause is rendered symbolically — "Verba congregantis filii *vomentis*"). The A. V. of Prov. xxx. 1, following the authority of the Targum and Syriac, has represented this as the proper name of the father of Agur, whose sayings are collected in Prov. xxx., and such is the natural interpretation. But beyond this we have no clew to the existence of either Agur or Jakeh. Of course if Agur be Solomon, it follows that Jakeh was a name of David of some mystical significance. But for this there is not a shadow of support. Jarchi, punning on the two names, explains the clause, "the words of Solomon, who gathered understanding and vomited it," evidently having before him the reading יָקֵא, which he derived from קוּא, "to vomit." This explanation, it needs scarcely be said, is equally characterized by elegance and truth. Others, adopting the form יָקֶה, and connecting it with יְקוּדָה (or as Fürst gives it, יִקְוָה), *yikh'dâh*, "obedience," apply it to Solomon in his late repentance. But these and the like are the merest conjectures. If Jakeh be the name of a person, as there is every reason to believe, we know nothing more about him; if not, there is no limit to the symbolical meanings which may be extracted from the clause in which it occurs, and which change with the ever-shifting ground of the critic's point of view. That the passage was early corrupted is clear from the rendering of the LXX., who insert ch. xxx. 1-14 in the middle of ch. xxiv. The first clause they translate τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους, υἱέ, φοβήθητι, καὶ δεξάμενος αὐτοὺς μετανόει — "My son, fear my words, and, having received them, repent:" a meaning which at first sight seems hard to extract from the Hebrew, and which has therefore been abandoned as hopelessly corrupt. But a slight alteration of one or two letters and the vowel-points will, if it do no more, at least show how the LXX. arrived at their extraordinary translation. They must have read דִּבְרֵי הַנּוֹגֵד בְּנִי קַוֵּה וְאֵשֵׁם, in which the letters of the last word are slightly transposed, in order to account for μετανόει. In support of this alteration see Zech. xi. 5, where יְאֵשְׁמוּ is rendered μετεμέλοντο.[b] The Targum

[a] * Even if the rule was stricter, circumstances could control the practice. The poor must often withhold the prescribed tribute. The Talmud (*Chethuboth*, iv. 8) says, with reference to the death of a wife: "Etiam pauperrimus inter Israelitas præbebit ei non minus quam duas tibias et unam lamentatricem." H.

[b] This conjecture incidentally throws light on the LXX. of Prov. xiv. 15, ἄφρονι εἰς μετανοίαν, in

and Syriac point to different readings also, though not where Jakeh is concerned.

Hitzig (*die Sprüche Salomo's*), unable to find any other explanation, has recourse to an alteration of the text as violent as it is unauthorized. He proposes to read בֶּן יְקֻוָּהּ מַשָּׂא, "the son of her whose obedience is Massa:" which, to say the least of it, is a very remarkable way of indicating "the queen of Massa." But in order to arrive at this reading he first adopts the rare word יְקֻוָּה (which only occurs in the const. state in two passages, Gen. xlix. 10, and Prov. xxx. 17), to which he attaches the unusual form of the pronominal suffix, and ekes out his explanation by the help of an elliptical and highly poetical construction, which is strangely out of place in the bald prose heading of the chapter. Yet to this theory Bertheau yields a coy assent ("nicht ohne Zögern," *die Spr. Sal. Einl.* p. xviii.); and thus Agur and Lemuel are brothers, both sons of a queen of Massa, the former being the reigning monarch (Prov. xxxi. 1).

מַשָּׂא, *massâ*, "prophecy" or "burden," is considered as a proper name and identical with the region named MASSA in Arabia, occupied by the descendants of a son of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 14; 1 Chr. i. 30), and mentioned in connection with Dumah. This district, Hitzig conjectures, was the same which was conquered and occupied by the 500 Simeonites, whose predatory excursion in the reign of Hezekiah is narrated in 1 Chr. iv. 41–43. They are there said to have annihilated the Amalekites in Mount Seir, and to have seized their country. That this country was Massa, of which Lemuel was king, and that Agur was a descendant of the conquering Simeonites, is the opinion of Hitzig, approved by Bunsen. But the latter, retaining the received text, and considering Jakeh as a proper name, takes הַמַּשָּׂא, *hammassâ*, as if it were הַמַּשְׂאִי, *hammassî*, a gentilic name, "the man of Massa," supporting this by a reference to Gen. xv. 2, where דַּמֶּשֶׂק, *Dammesek*, is apparently used in the same manner (*Bibelwerk*, i., clxxviii.). There is good reason, however, to suspect that the word in question in the latter passage is an interpolation, or that the verse is in some way corrupt, as the rendering of the Chaldee and Syriac is not supported by the ordinary usages of Hebrew, though it is adopted by the A. V., and by Gesenius, Knobel, and others. In any case the instances are not analogous. W. A. W.

JA'KIM (יָקִים [*whom God lifts up*]: Ἰακείμ; [Vat.] Ιαχειμ: *Jacim*). 1. Head of the 12th course of priests in the reign of David (1 Chr xxiv. 12). The Alex. LXX. gives the name Eliakim (Ελιακειμ). [JEHOIARIB; JACHIN.]

2. [Alex. Ιαχειμ.] A Benjamite, one of the Bene-Shimhi [sons of S.] (1 Chr. viii. 19).
A. C. H.

JA'LON (יָלוֹן [*lodging, abiding*]: Ἰαμών; [Vat. Αμων:] Alex. Ιαλων: *Jalon*), one of the sons of Ezrah, a person named in the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 17).

JAMBRES. [See JANNES and JAMBRES.]

JAMBRI. Shortly after the death of Judas Maccabæus (B. C. 161), "the children of Jambri" are said to have made a predatory attack on a detachment of the Maccabæan forces and to have suffered reprisals (1 Macc. ix. 36–41). The name does not occur elsewhere, and the variety of readings is considerable: Ἰαμβρί, Cod. B; [a] [Ιαμβριν,] Ιαμβρειν, Cod. A; [Sin. Αμβρει, Ιαμβρι;] alii, Ἀμβρί, Ἀμβρί; Syr. *Ambrei*. Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 1, § 2) reads *οἱ Ἀμαραίου παῖδες*, and it seems almost certain that the true reading is Ἀμρί (-εί), a form which occurs elsewhere (1 K. xvi. 22; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 12, § 5, Ἀμαρῖνος; 1 Chr. xxvii. 18, Heb. עַמְרִי, Vulg. *Amri*; 1 Chr. ix. 4, Ἀμβραΐμ).

It has been conjectured (Drusius, Michaelis, Grimm, 1 Macc. ix. 36) that the original text was בְּנֵי אֱמֹרִי, "the sons of the Amorites," and that the reference is to a family of the Amorites who had in early times occupied the town Medeba (ver. 36) on the borders of Reuben (Num. xxi. 30, 31).
B. F. W.

JAMES (Ἰάκωβος: *Jacobus*),[b] the name of several persons mentioned in the N. T.

1. JAMES THE SON OF ZEBEDEE. This is the only one of the Apostles of whose life and death we can write with certainty. The little that we know of him we have on the authority of Scripture. All else that is reported is idle legend, with the possible exception of one tale, handed down by Clement of Alexandria to Eusebius, and by Eusebius to us. With this single exception the line of demarcation is drawn clear and sharp. There is

יָבִין לַאֲשֻׁרוֹ, which they probably read יָבֹא לְאֶשְׁתּוֹ, *Valeat quantum*.

[a] Here, as generally in the English edition of this work, Cod. B, or the Vatican manuscript 1209, is confounded with the Roman edition of 1587. The Vatican manuscript (B) does not contain the books of Maccabees. A.

[b] The name itself will perhaps repay a few moments' consideration. As borne by the Apostles and their contemporaries in the N. T., it was of course JACOB, and it is somewhat remarkable that in them it reappears for the first time since the patriarch himself. In the unchangeable East St. James is still St. Jacob — *Mar Yakoob*; but no sooner had the name left the shores of Palestine than it underwent a series of curious and interesting changes probably unparalleled in any other case. To the Greeks it became Ἰάκωβος, with the accent on the first syllable; to the Latins *Jacobus*, doubtless similarly accented, since in Italian it is *Giacomo* or *Giácomo* [also *Jácopo*]. In Spain it assumed two forms, apparently of different origins: *Iago* — in modern Spanish *Diego*, Portuguese, *Tiago* — and *Xayme* or *Jayme*, pronounced *Haume*, with a strong initial guttural. In France it became *Jacques*; but another form was *Jame*, which appears in the metrical life of St. Thomas à Becket by Garnier (A. D. 1170–74), quoted in Robertson's *Becket*, p. 139, *note*. From this last the transition to our James is easy. When it first appeared in English, or through what channel, the writer has not been able to trace. Possibly it came from Scotland, where the name was a favorite one. It exists in Wycliffe's Bible (1381). In Russia, and in Germany and the countries more immediately related thereto, the name has retained its original form, and accordingly there alone there would seem to be no distinction between Jacob and James; which was the case even in mediæval Latin, where Jacob and Jacobus were always discriminated. Its modern dress, however, sits very lightly on the name; and we see in "Jacobite" and "Jacobin" how ready it is to throw it off, and, like a true Oriental, reveal its original form

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no fear of confounding the St. James of the New Testament with the hero of Compostella.

Of St. James's early life we know nothing. We first hear of him A. D. 27, when he was called to be our Lord's disciple; and he disappears from view A. D. 44, when he suffered martyrdom at the hands of Herod Agrippa I. We proceed to thread together the several pieces of information which the inspired writers have given us respecting him during these seventeen years.

I. *His History.* — In the spring or summer of the year 27, Zebedee,[a] a fisherman, but possessed at least of competence (Mark i. 20), was out on the Sea of Galilee, with his two sons, James and John, and some boatmen, whom either he had hired for the occasion, or who more probably were his usual attendants. He was engaged in his customary occupation of fishing, and near him was another boat belonging to Simon and Andrew, with whom he and his sons were in partnership. Finding themselves unsuccessful, the occupants of both boats came ashore, and began to wash their nets. At this time the new Teacher, who had now been ministering about six months, and with whom Simon and Andrew, and in all probability John, were already well acquainted (John i. 41), appeared upon the beach. He requested leave of Simon and Andrew to address the crowds that flocked around him from their boat, which was lying at a convenient distance from the shore. The discourse being completed, and the crowds dispersing, JESUS desired Simon to put out into the deeper water, and to try another cast for fish. Though reluctant, Simon did as he was desired, through the awe which he already entertained for One who, he thought, might possibly be the promised Messiah (John i. 41, 42), and whom even now he addressed as "Rabbi" (*ἐπιστάτα*, Luke v. 5, the word used by this Evangelist for Ῥαββί). Astonished at the success of his draught, he beckoned to his partners in the other boat to come and help him and his brother in landing the fish caught. The same amazement communicated itself to the sons of Zebedee, and flashed conviction on the souls of all the four fishermen. They had doubted and mused before; now they believed. At His call they left all, and became, once and for ever, His disciples, hereafter to catch men.

This is the call of St. James to the discipleship. It will be seen that we have regarded the events narrated by St. Matthew and St. Mark (Matt. iv. 18–22; Mark i. 16–20) as identical with those related by St. Luke (Luke v. 1–11), in accordance with the opinion of Hammond, Lightfoot, Maldonatus, Lardner, Trench, Wordsworth, etc.; not as distinct from them, as supposed by Alford, Greswell, et al.

For a full year we lose sight of St. James. He is then, in the spring of 28, called to the apostleship with his eleven brethren (Matt. x. 2; Mark iii. 14; Luke vi. 13; Acts i. 13). In the list of the Apostles given us by St. Mark, and in the book of Acts, his name occurs next to that of Simon Peter: in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke it comes third. It is clear that in these lists the names are not placed at random. In all four, the names of Peter, Andrew, James, and John are placed first; and it is plain that these four Apostles were at the head of the twelve throughout. Thus we see that Peter, James, and John, alone were admitted to the miracle of the raising of Jairus's daughter (Mark v. 37; Luke viii. 51). The same three Apostles alone were permitted to be present at the Transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 1; Mark ix. 2 Luke ix. 28). The same three alone were allowed to witness the Agony (Matt. xxvi. 37; Mark xiv. 33). And it is Peter, James, John, and Andrew who ask our Lord for an explanation of his dark sayings with regard to the end of the world and his second coming (Mark xiii. 3). It is worthy of notice that in all these places, with one exception (Luke ix. 28), the name of James is put before that of John, and that John is twice described as "the brother of James" (Mark v. 37; Matt. xvii. 1). This would appear to imply that at this time James, either from age or character, took a higher position than his brother. On the last occasion on which St. James is mentioned we find this position reversed. That the prominence of these three Apostles was founded on personal character (as out of every twelve persons there must be two or three to take the lead), and that it was not an office held by them "quos Dominus, ordinis servandi causâ, cæteris præposuit," as King James I. has said (*Profut. Mon. in Apol. pro Jur. Fid.*), can scarcely be doubted (cf. Eusebius, ii. 14).

It would seem to have been at the time of the appointment of the twelve Apostles that the name of Boanerges [BOANERGES] was given to the sons of Zebedee. It might, however, like Simon's name of Peter, have been conferred before. This name plainly was not bestowed upon them because they heard the voice like thunder from the cloud (Jerome), nor because "divina eorum prædicatio magnum quendam et illustrem sonitum per terrarum orbem datura erat" (Vict. Antioch.), nor *ὅτι μεγαλοκήρυκας καὶ θεολογοτάτους* (Theoph.), but it was, like the name given to Simon, at once descriptive and prophetic. The "Rockman" had a natural strength, which was described by his title, and he was to have a divine strength, predicted by the same title. In the same way the "Sons of Thunder" had a burning and impetuous spirit, which twice exhibits itself in its unchastened form (Luke ix. 54; Mark x. 37), and which, when moulded by the Spirit of God, taking different shapes, led St. James to be the first apostolic martyr, and St. John to become in an especial manner the Apostle of Love.

The first occasion on which this natural character manifests itself in St. James and his brother is at the commencement of our Lord's last journey to Jerusalem in the year 30. He was passing through Samaria; and now courting rather than avoiding publicity, he "sent messengers before his face" into a certain village, "to make ready for him" (Luke ix. 52), *i. e.* in all probability to announce him as the Messiah. The Samaritans, with their old jealousy strong upon them, refused to receive him, because he was going to Jerusalem instead of to Gerizim; and in exasperation James and John entreated their Master to follow the example of Elijah, and call down fire to consume them. The rebuke of their Lord is testified to by all the New Testament MSS. The words of the rebuke, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of," rest on the authority of the *Codex Bezæ*

[a] An ecclesiastical tradition, of uncertain date, places the residence of Zebedee and the birth of St. James at Japhia, now *Yâfa*, near Nazareth. Hence that village is commonly known to the members of the Latin Church in that district as *San Giacomo* [JAPHIA.]

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and a few MSS. of minor value. The rest of the verse, "For the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them," is an insertion without authority of MSS. (see Alford, *in loc.*).[a]

At the end of the same journey a similar spirit appears again. As they went up to Jerusalem our Lord declared to his Apostles the circumstances of his coming Passion, and at the same time strengthened them by the promise that they should sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. These words seem to have made a great impression upon Salome, and she may have thought her two sons quite as fit as the sons of Jonas to be the chief ministers of their Lord in the mysterious kingdom which he was about to assume. She approached therefore, and besought, perhaps with a special reference in her mind to Peter and Andrew, that her two sons might sit on the right hand and on the left in his kingdom, *i. e.* according to a Jewish form of expression[b] (Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 11, § 9), that they might be next to the King in honor. The two brothers joined with her in the prayer (Mark x. 35). The Lord passed by their petition with a mild reproof, showing that the request had not arisen from an evil heart, but from a spirit which aimed too high. He told them that they should drink His cup and be baptized with His baptism of suffering, but turned their minds away at once from the thought of future preëminence: in His kingdom none of his Apostles were to be lords over the rest. The indignation felt by the ten would show that they regarded the petition of the two brothers as an attempt at infringing on their privileges as much as on those of Peter and Andrew.

From the time of the Agony in the Garden, A. D. 30, to the time of his martyrdom, A. D. 44, we know nothing of St. James, except that after the ascension he persevered in prayer with the other Apostles, and the women, and the Lord's brethren (Acts i. 13). In the year 44 Herod Agrippa I., son of Aristobulus, was ruler of all the dominions which at the death of his grandfather, Herod the Great, had been divided between Archelaus, Antipas, Philip, and Lysanias. He had received from Caligula, Trachonitis in the year 37, Galilee and Perea in the year 40. On the accession of Claudius, in the year 41, he received from him Idumæa, Samaria, and Judæa. This sovereign was at once a supple statesman and a stern Jew (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 6, § 7, xix. 5–8): a king with not a few grand and kingly qualities, at the same time eaten up with Jewish pride — the type of a lay Pharisee. "He was very ambitious to oblige the people with donations," and "he was exactly careful in the observance of the laws of his country, keeping himself entirely pure, and not allowing one day to pass over his head without its appointed sacrifice" (*Ant.* xix. 7, § 3). Policy and inclination would alike lead such a monarch "to lay hands" (*not* "stretch forth his hands," A. V. Acts xii. 1) "on certain of the church;" and accordingly, when the passover of the year 44 had brought St. James and St. Peter to Jerusalem, he seized them both, considering doubtless that if he cut off the "Son of Thunder" and the "Rockman" the new sect would be more tractable or more weak under the presidency of James the Just, for whose character he probably had a lingering and sincere respect. James was apprehended first — his natural impetuosity of temper would seem to have urged him on even beyond Peter. And "Herod the king," the historian simply tells us, "killed James the brother of John with the sword" (Acts xii. 2). This is all that we know for certain of his death.[c] We may notice two things respecting it — first, that James is now described as the brother of John, whereas previously John had been described as the brother of James showing that the reputation of John had increased, and that of James diminished, by the time that St. Luke wrote: and secondly, that he perished not by stoning, but by the sword. The Jewish law laid down that if seducers to strange worship were few, they should be stoned; if many, that they should be beheaded. Either therefore Herod intended that James's death should be the beginning of a sanguinary persecution, or he merely followed the Roman custom of putting to death from preference (see Lightfoot, *in loc.*).

The death of so prominent a champion left a huge gap in the ranks of the infant society, which was filled partly by St. James, the brother of our Lord, who now steps forth into greater prominence in Jerusalem, and partly by St. Paul, who had now been seven years a convert, and who shortly afterwards set out on his first apostolic journey.

II. *Chronological recapitulation.* — In the spring or summer of the year 27 James was called to be a disciple of Christ. In the spring of 28 he was appointed one of the Twelve Apostles, and at that time probably received, with his brother, the title of Boanerges. In the autumn of the same year he was admitted to the miraculous raising of Jairus's daughter. In the spring of the year 29 he witnessed the Transfiguration. Very early in the year 30 he urged his Lord to call down fire from heaven to consume the Samaritan village. About three months later in the same year, just before the final arrival in Jerusalem, he and his brother made their ambitious request through their mother Salome. On the night before the Crucifixion he was present at the Agony in the Garden. On the day of the Ascension he is mentioned as persevering with the rest of the Apostles and disciples in prayer. Shortly before the day of the Passover, in the year 44, he was put to death. Thus during fourteen out of the seventeen years that elapsed between his call and his death we do not even catch a glimpse of him.

III. *Tradition respecting him.* — Clement of Alexandria, in the seventh book of the *Hypotyposeis*, relates, concerning St. James's martyrdom, that the prosecutor was so moved by witnessing his bold confession that he declared himself a Christian on the spot: accused and accuser were therefore hurried off together, and on the road the latter begged St. James to grant him forgiveness; after a moment's

[a] * See note *d* under ELIJAH, vol. i. p. 707 f. A.

[b] The same form is common throughout the East. See Lane's *Arab. Nights*, vol. iii. p. 212, &c.

[c] The great Armenian convent at Jerusalem on the so-called Mount Zion is dedicated to "St. James the son of Zebedee." The church of the convent, or rather a small chapel on its northeast side, occupies the traditionary site of his martyrdom. This, however, can hardly be the actual site (Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 558). Its most interesting possession is the chair of the Apostle, a venerable relic, the age of which is perhaps traceable as far back as the 4th century (Williams, 560). But as it would seem that it is believed to have belonged to "the first Bishop of Jerusalem," it is doubtful to which of the two Jameses the tradition would attach it.

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hesitation, the Apostle kissed him, saying, "Peace be to thee!" and they were beheaded together. This tradition is preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* ii. 6). There is no internal evidence against it, and the external evidence is sufficient to make it credible, for Clement flourished as early as A. D. 195, and he states expressly that the account was given him by those who went before him.

For legends respecting his death and his connection with Spain, see the Roman Breviary (*in Fest. S. Jac. Ap.*), in which the healing of a paralytic and the conversion of Hermogenes are attributed to him, and where it is asserted that he preached the Gospel in Spain, and that his remains were translated to Compostella. See also the fourth book of the Apostolical History written by Abdias, the (pseudo) first bishop of Babylon (Abdiæ, *Babyloniæ primi Episcopi ab Apostolis constituti, de historia Certaminis Apostolici Libri decem*, Paris, 1566); Isidore, *De vitâ et obitu SS. utriusque Test.* No. LXXIII. (Hagenoæ, 1529); Pope Callixtus II.'s Four Sermons on St. James the Apostle (*Bibl. Patr. Magn.* xv. p. 324); Mariana, *De adventu Jacobi Apostoli Majoris in Hispaniam* (Col. Agripp. 1609); Baronius, *Martyrologium Romanum ad Jul.* 25, p. 325 (Antwerp, 1589): Bollandus, *Acta Sanctorum ad Jul.* 25, tom. vi. pp. 1–124 (Antwerp, 1729); Estius, *Comm. in Act. Ap.* c. xii.; *Annot. in difficiliora loca S. Script.* (Col. Agripp. 1622); Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, tom. i. p. 899 (Brussels, 1706). As there is no shadow of foundation for any of the legends here referred to we pass them by without further notice. Even Baronius shows himself ashamed of them; Estius gives them up as hopeless; and Tillemont rejects them with as much contempt as his position would allow him to show. Epiphanius, without giving or probably having any authority for or against his statement, reports that St. James died unmarried (S. Epiph. *Adv. Hær.* ii. 4, p. 491, Paris, 1622), and that, like his namesake, he lived the life of a Nazarite (*ibid.* iii. 2, 13, p. 1045).

2. JAMES THE SON OF ALPHÆUS. Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18; Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13.

3. JAMES THE BROTHER OF THE LORD. Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3; Gal. i. 19.

4. JAMES THE SON OF MARY, Matt. xxvii. 56; Luke xxiv. 10. Also called THE LITTLE, Mark xv. 40.

5. JAMES THE BROTHER OF JUDE. Jude 1.

6. JAMES THE BROTHER (?) OF JUDE. Luke vi. 16; Acts i. 13.

7. JAMES. Acts xii. 17, xv. 13, xxi. 18; 1 Cor. xv. 7; Gal. ii. 9, 12.

8. JAMES THE SERVANT OF GOD AND OF THE LORD JESUS CHRIST. James i. 1.

We reserve the question of the authorship of the epistle for the present.

St. Paul identifies for us Nos. 3 and 7 (see Gal. ii. 9 and 12 compared with i. 19).

If we may translate Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου, Judas *the brother*, rather than *the son* of James, we may conclude that 5 and 6 are identical. And that we may so translate it, is proved, if proof were needed, by Winer (*Grammar of the Idioms of the N. T.*, translated by Agnew and Ebbeke, New York, 1850, §§ lxvi. and xxx.), by Hänlein (*Handb. der Einl. in die Schriften des Neuen Test.*, Erlangen, 1809), by Arnaud (*Recherches critiques sur l'Épître de Jude*, Strasbourg, 1851).

We may identify 5 and 6 with 3 because we know that James the Lord's brother had a brother named Jude.

We may identify 4 with 3 because we know James the son of Mary had a brother named Joses, and so also had James the Lord's brother.

Thus there remain two only, James the son of Alphæus (2.), and James the brother of the Lord (3.). Can we, or can we not, identify them? This requires a longer consideration.

I. By comparing Matt. xxvii. 56 and Mark xv. 40, with John xix. 25, we find that the Virgin Mary had a sister named like herself, Mary, who was the wife of Clopas, and who had two sons, James the Little, and Joses. It has been suggested that "Mary the wife of Clopas" in John xix. 25 need not be the same person as "his mother's sister" (Kitto, Lange, Davidson), but the Greek will not admit of this construction without the addition or the omission of a καί. By referring to Matt. xiii 55 and Mark vi. 3 we find that a James and a Joses, with two other brethren called Jude and Simon, and at least three (πᾶσαι) sisters, were living with the Virgin Mary at Nazareth. By referring to Luke vi. 16 and Acts i. 13 we find that there were two brethren named James and Jude among the Apostles. It would certainly be natural to think that we had here but one family of four brothers and three or more sisters, the children of Clopas and Mary, nephews and nieces of the Virgin Mary. There are difficulties, however, in the way of this conclusion. For, (1) the four brethren in Matt. xiii. 55 are described as the brothers (ἀδελφοί) of JESUS, not as His cousins; (2) they are found living as at their home with the Virgin Mary, which seems unnatural if she were their aunt, their mother being, as we know, still alive; (3) the James of Luke vi. 15 is described as the son not of Clopas, but of Alphæus; (4) the "brethren of the Lord" (who are plainly James, Joses, Jude, and Simon) appear to be excluded from the Apostolic band by their declared unbelief in his Messiahship (John vii. 3–5) and by being formally distinguished from the disciples by the Gospel-writers (Matt. xii. 48; Mark iii. 33; John ii. 12; Acts i. 14); (5) James and Jude are not designated as the Lord's brethren in the lists of the Apostles; (6) Mary is designated as mother of James and Joses, whereas she would have been called mother of James and Jude, had James and Jude been Apostles, and Joses not an Apostle (Matt. xxvii. 56).

These are the six chief objections which may be made to the hypothesis of there being but one family of brethren named James, Joses, Jude, and Simon. The following answers may be given:—

Objection 1.—"They are called *brethren*." It is a sound rule of criticism that words are to be understood in their most simple and literal acceptation; but there is a limit to this rule. When greater difficulties are caused by adhering to the literal meaning of a word, than by interpreting it more liberally, it is the part of the critic to interpret more liberally, rather than to cling to the ordinary and literal meaning of a word. Now it is clearly not *necessary* to understand ἀδελφοί as "brothers" in the nearest sense of brotherhood. It need not mean more than relative (comp. LXX. Gen. xiii. 8, xiv. 14, xx. 12, xxix. 12, xxxi. 23; Lev. xxv. 48; Deut. ii. 8; Job xix. 13, xlii. 11. Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 5, § 47; Isocr. *Paneg.* 20; Plat. *Phæd.* 57, *Crit.* 16; see also Cic. *ad Att.* 15: Tac. *Ann.* iii. 38; Quint. Curt. vi. 10, § 34; comp. Suicer and Schleusner, *in voc.*). But perhaps the circum

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stances of the case would lead us to translate it brethren? On the contrary, such a translation appears to produce very grave difficulties. For, first, it introduces two sets of four first-cousins, bearing the same names of James, Joses, Jude, and Simon, who appear upon the stage without anything to show which is the son of Clopas, and which his cousin; and secondly, it drives us to take our choice between three doubtful and improbable hypotheses as to the parentage of this second set of James, Joses, Jude, and Simon. There are three such hypotheses: (*a.*) The Eastern hypothesis, that they were the children of Joseph by a former wife. This notion originated in the apocryphal Gospel of Peter (Orig. *in Matt.* xiii. 55. *Op.* tom. iii. p. 462, E. ed. Delarue), and was adopted by St. Epiphanius, St. Hilary, and St. Ambrose, and handed on to the later Greek Church (Epiph. *Hær.* xxvii. 1, *Op.* tom. i. p. 115; Hil. *in Matt.* i., St. Ambr. *Op.* tom. ii. p. 260, Ed. Bened.). (*b.*) The Helvidian hypothesis, put forward at first by Bonosus, Helvidius, and Jovinian, and revived by Strauss and Herder in Germany, and by Davidson and Alford in England, that James, Joses, Jude, Simon, and the three sisters, were children of Joseph and Mary. This notion is opposed, whether rightly or wrongly, to the general sentiment of the Christian body in all ages of the Church: like the other two hypotheses, it creates two sets of cousins with the same name: it seems to be scarcely compatible with our Lord's recommending His mother to the care of St. John at His own death (see Jerome, *Op.* tom. ii. p. 10); for if, as has been suggested, though with great improbability, her sons might at that time have been unbelievers (Blom. *Disp. Theol.* p. 67, Lugd. Bat.; Neander, *Planting*, etc., iv. 1), JESUS would have known that that unbelief was only to continue for a few days. That the πρωτότοκος υἱός of Luke ii. 7, and the ἕως οὗ ἔτεκε of Matt. i. 25, imply the birth of after children, is not now often urged (see Pearson, *On the Creed*, i. 304, ii. 220). (*c.*) The Levirate hypothesis may be passed by. It was a mere attempt made in the eleventh century to reconcile the Greek and Latin traditions by supposing that Joseph and Clopas were brothers, and that Joseph raised up seed to his dead brother (Theoph. *in Matt.* xiii. 55; *Op.* tom. i. p. 71, E. ed. Venet. 1764).

Objection 2. — "The four brothers and their sisters are always found living and moving about with the Virgin Mary." If they were the children of Clopas, the Virgin Mary was their aunt. Her own husband would appear without doubt to have died at some time between A. D. 8 and A. D. 26. Nor have we any reason for believing Clopas to have been alive during our Lord's ministry. (We need not pause here to prove that the Cleophas of Luke xxiv. is an entirely different person and name from Clopas.) What difficulty is there in supposing that the two widowed sisters should have lived together, the more so as one of them had but one son, and he was often taken from her by his ministerial duties? And would it not be most natural that two families of first cousins thus living together should be popularly looked upon as one family, and spoken of as brothers and sisters instead of cousins? It is noticeable that St. Mary is nowhere called the mother of the four brothers.

Objection 3. — "James the Apostle is said to be the son of Alphæus, not of Clopas." But Alphæus and Clopas are the same name rendered into the Greek language in two different but ordinary and recognized ways, from the Aramaic חַלְפָּא = حلفا. (See Mill, *Accounts of our Lord's Brethren vindicated*, etc. p. 236, who compares the two forms Clovis and Aloysius; Arnaud, *Recherches* etc.).

Objection 4. — Dean Alford considers John vii 5, compared with vi. 67–70, to decide that none of the brothers of the Lord were of the number of the Twelve (*Proleg. to Ep. of James*, Gr. Test. iv. 88, and *Comm. in loc.*). If this verse, as he states, makes "the crowning difficulty" to the hypothesis of the identity of James the son of Alphæus, the Apostle, with James the brother of the Lord, the difficulties are not too formidable to be overcome. Many of the disciples having left JESUS, St. Peter bursts out in the name of the Twelve with a warm expression of faith and love; and after that — very likely (see Greswell's *Harmony*) full six months afterwards — the Evangelist states that "neither did his brethren believe on Him." Does it follow from hence that all his brethren disbelieved? Let us compare other passages in Scripture. St. Matthew and St. Mark state that the thieves railed on our Lord upon the Cross. Are we therefore to disbelieve St. Luke, who says that one of the thieves was penitent, and did not rail? (Luke xxiii. 39, 40). St. Luke and St. John say that the soldiers offered vinegar. Are we to believe that all did so? or, as St. Matthew and St. Mark tell us, that only one did it? (Luke xxiii. 36; John xix. 29; Mark xv. 36; Matt. xxvii. 48). St. Matthew tells us that "his disciples" had indignation when Mary poured the ointment on the Lord's head. Are we to suppose this true of all? or of Judas Iscariot, and perhaps some others, according to John xii. 4 and Mark xiv. 4? It is not at all necessary to suppose that St. John is here speaking of all the brethren. If Joses, Simon, and the three sisters disbelieved, it would be quite sufficient ground for the statement of the Evangelist. The same may be said of Matt. xii. 47, Mark iii. 32, where it is reported to Him that his mother and his brethren, designated by St. Mark (iii. 21) as οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ, were standing without. Nor does it necessarily follow that the disbelief of the brethren was of such a nature that James and Jude, Apostles though they were, and vouched for half a year before by the warm-tempered Peter, could have had no share in it. It might have been similar to that feeling of unfaithful restlessness which perhaps moved St. John Baptist to send his disciples to make their inquiry of the Lord (see Grotius *in loc.*, and Lardner, vi. p. 497, Lond. 1788). With regard to John, ii. 12, Acts i. 14, we may say that "his brethren" are no more excluded from the disciples in the first passage, and from the Apostles in the second, by being mentioned parallel with them, than "the other Apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas" (1 Cor. ix. 5), excludes Peter from the Apostolic band.

Objection 5. — "If the title of brethren of the Lord had belonged to James and Jude, they would have been designated by it in the list of the Apostles." The omission of a title is so slight a ground for an argument that we may pass this by.

Objection 6. — That Mary the wife of Clopas should be designated by the title of Mary the mother of James and Joses, to the exclusion of Jude, if James and Jude were Apostles, appears to Dr. Davidson (*Introd. to N. T.*, iii. 295, London,

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1851) and to Dean Alford (*Prol. to Ep. of James*, G. T., iv. 90) extremely improbable. There is no improbability in it, if Joses was, as would seem likely, an elder brother of Jude, and next in order to James.

II. We have hitherto argued that the hypothesis which most naturally accounts for the facts of Holy Scripture is that of the identity of James the Little, the Apostle, with James the Lord's brother. We have also argued that the six main objections to this view are not valid, inasmuch as they may either be altogether met, or at best throw us back on other hypotheses which create greater difficulties than that under consideration. We proceed to point out some further confirmations of our original hypothesis.

1. It would be unnatural that St. Luke, in a list of twelve persons, in which the name of James twice occurred, with its distinguishing patronymic, should describe one of the last persons on his list as brother to "James," without any further designation to distinguish him, unless he meant the James whom he had just before named. The James whom he had just before named is the son of Alphæus; the person designated by his relationship to him is Jude. We have reason therefore for regarding Jude as the brother of the son of Alphæus; on other grounds (Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3) we have reason for regarding him as the brother of the Lord: therefore we have reason for regarding the son of Alphæus as the brother of the Lord.

2. It would be unnatural that St. Luke, after having recognized only two Jameses throughout his Gospel and down to the twelfth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, and having in that chapter narrated the death of one of them (James the son of Zebedee), should go on in the same and following chapters to speak of "James," meaning thereby not the other James, with whom alone his readers are acquainted, but a different James not yet mentioned by him. Alford's example of Philip the Evangelist (*Proleg. to the Ep. of James*, p. 89) is in no manner of way to the point, except as a contrast. St. Luke introduces Philip the Evangelist, Acts vi. 5, and after recounting the death of Stephen his colleague, continues the history of the same Philip.

3. James is represented throughout the Acts as exercising great authority among, or even over, Apostles (Acts xii. 17, xv. 13, xxi. 18); and in St. Paul's Epistles he is placed before even Cephas and John, and declared to be a pillar of the Church with them (Gal. ii. 9–12). It is more likely that an Apostle would hold such a position, than one who had not been a believer till after the Resurrection.

4. St. Paul says (Gal. i. 19), "Other of the Apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother" (*ἕτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Κυρίου*). This passage, though seeming to assert distinctly that James the Lord's brother was an Apostle, and therefore identical with the son of Alphæus, cannot be taken as a direct statement to that effect, for it is *possible* that *ἀποστόλων* may be used in the looser sense, though this is not agreeable with the line of defense which St. Paul is here maintaining, namely, that he had received his commission from God, and not from the Twelve (see Thorndike, i. p. 5, Oxf. 1844). And again, *εἰ μή* may qualify the whole sentence, and not only the word *ἀποστόλων* (Mayerhoff, *Hist. krit. Einleit. in die Petrin. Schr.* p. 52, Hamb. 1833; Neander, Michaelis, Winer, Alford). But this is not often, if ever, the case, when *εἰ μή* follows *ἕτερον* (Schneckenburger, *Advot. ad Epist Jac. perpet.* p. 144, Stuttg. 1832: see also Winer *Gramm.* 5th ed., p. 647, and Meyer, *Komm.* in loc.; and if St. Paul had not intended to include St James among the Apostles, we should rather have expected the singular *ἀπόστολον* than the plural *τῶν ἀποστόλων* (Arnaud, *Recherches*, etc.). The more natural interpretation of the verse would appear to be that which includes James among the Twelve, identifying him with the son of Alphæus. But, as we have said, such a conclusion does not necessarily follow. Compare, however, this verse with Acts ix. 27, and the probability is increased by several degrees. St. Luke there asserts that Barnabas brought Paul *to the Apostles*, *πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους*. St. Paul, as we have seen, asserts that during that visit to Jerusalem he saw Peter, and none other of the Apostles, save James the Lord's brother. Peter and James, then, were the two Apostles to whom Barnabas brought Paul. Of course, it *may* be said here also that *ἀπόστολοι* is used in its lax sense; but it appears to be a more natural conclusion that James the Lord's brother was one of the Twelve Apostles, being identical with James the son of Alphæus, or James the Little.

III. We must now turn for a short time from Scripture to the early testimony of uninspired writers. Here, as among modern writers, we find the same three hypotheses which we have already mentioned: —

For the identity of James the Lord's brother with James the Apostle, the son of Alphæus, we find Papias of Hierapolis, a contemporary of the Apostles[a] (see Routh, *Reliq. Sacr.* i. 16, 43, 230, Oxon, 1846), St. Clement of Alexandria (*Hypotyposeis*, bk. vii. apud Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 1), St. Chrysostom (*in Gal.* i. 19).

Parallel with this opinion there existed another in favor of the hypothesis that James was the son of Joseph by a former marriage, and therefore not identical with the son of Alphæus. This is first found in the apocryphal Gospel of Peter (see Origen, *in Matt.* xiii. 55), in the Protevangelium of James, and the Pseudo-Apostolical Constitutions of the third century (Thilo, *Cod. Apocr.* i. 228; *Const. Apost.* vi. 12). It is adopted by Eusebius (*Comm. in Esai.* xvii. 6; *H. E.* i. 12, ii. 1). Perhaps it is Origen's opinion (see *Comm. in Joh.* ii. 12). St. Epiphanius, St. Hilary, and St. Ambrose, we have already mentioned as being on the same side. So are Victorinus (Vict. Phil. *in Gal.* apud Maii *Script. vet. nov. Coll.* [tom. iii. pars ii.] Romæ, 1828) and Gregory Nyssen (*Opp.* tom. ii. p. 844, D, ed. Par. 1618), and it became the recognized belief of the Greek Church.

Meantime the hypothesis maintaining the identity of the two was maintained; and being warmly defended by St. Jerome (*in Matt.* xii. 49), and supported by St. Augustine (*Contra Faust.* xxii 35, &c.), it became the recognized belief of the Western Church.

The third hypothesis was unknown until it was put forward by Bonosus in Macedonia, and by Helvidius and Jovinian in Italy, as an opinion which seemed to them conformable with Scripture. Their followers were called Antidicomarianites. The fact

[a] * Here, too, the older Papias is confounded with his later namesake. See note, vol. i. p. 329 *.

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of their having a name given them shows that their numbers must have been considerable; they date from the latter part of the fourth century.

English theological writers have been divided between the first and second of these views, with, however, a preference on the whole for the first hypothesis. See, for example, Lardner, vi. 495, Lond. 1788; Pearson, *Minor Works*, i. 350, Oxf. 1844, and *On the Creed*, i. 308, ii. 224, Oxf. 1833; Thorndike, i. 5, Oxf. 1844; Horne's *Introd. to H. S.* iv. 427, Lond. 1834, &c. On the same side are Lightfoot, Witsius, Lampe, Baumgarten, Semler, Gabler, Eichhorn, Hug, Bertholdt, Guericke, Schneckenburger, Meier, Stelger, Gieseler, Theile, Lange. Taylor (*Opp.* tom. v. p. 20, Lond. 1849), Wilson (*Opp.* tom. vi. p. 673, Oxf. 1859), Cave (*Life of St. James*) maintain the second hypothesis, with Vossius, Basnage, Valesius, etc. The third is held by Dr. Davidson (*Intr. N. T.* vol. iii.) and by Dean Alford (*Greek Test.* iv. 87).[a]

The chief treatises on the subject are Dr. Mill's *Accounts of our Lord's brethren vindicated*, Cambridge, 1843; Alford, as above referred to; Lange's Article in Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, Stuttgart, 1856; Neander's *Pflanzung und Leitung*; Schneckenburger's *Annotatio ad Epist. Jac. perpetua*, Stuttgart, 1832; Arnaud's *Recherches critiques sur l'Épître de Jude*, Strasbourg, 1851; Schaff's *Das Verhältniss des Jacobus Bruders des Herrn und Jacobus Alphäi*, Berlin, 1842; Gabler's *De Jacobo, Epistolæ eidem ascriptæ Auctori*, Altorf, 1787.

Had we not identified James the son of Alphæus with the brother of the Lord we should have but little to write of him. When we had said that his name appears twice in the catalogue of the Twelve Apostles, our history of him would be complete. In like manner the early history of the Lord's brother would be confined to the fact that he lived and moved from place to place with his brothers and sisters, and with the Virgin Mary: and, except the appearance of the risen Lord to him, we should have nothing more to recount of him until after the death of James the son of Zebedee, in the year 44, or at least, till St. Paul's first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion, in the year 40. Of James the Little, who would probably be distinct from each of the above (for an argument against the identity of the Jameses is the doubt of the identity of Alphæus and Clopas), we should know nothing, except that he had a mother named Mary, who was the sister of the Virgin Mary and the wife of Clopas.

JAMES THE LITTLE, THE SON OF ALPHÆUS, THE BROTHER OF THE LORD. — Of James' father יַעֲקֹב, rendered by St. Matthew and St. Mark *Alphæus* (Ἁλφαῖος), and by St. John *Clopas* (Κλωπᾶς), we know nothing, except that he married Mary, the sister of the Virgin Mary, and had by her four sons and three or more daughters.[b] He appears to have died before the commencement of our Lord's ministry, and after his death it would seem that his wife and her sister, a widow like herself, and in poor circumstances, lived together in one house, generally at Nazareth (Matt. xiii. 55), but sometimes also at Capernaum (John ii. 12) and Jerusalem (Acts i. 14). It is probable that these cousins, or, as they were usually called, brothers and sisters, of the Lord were older than himself; as on one occasion we find them, with his mother, indignantly declaring that He was beside himself, and going out to "lay hold on Him" and compel Him to moderate his zeal in preaching, at least sufficiently "to eat bread" (Mark iii. 20, 21, 31). This looks like the conduct of elders towards one younger than themselves.

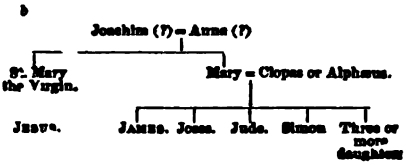
Of James individually we know nothing till the spring of the year 28, when we find him, together with his younger brother Jude, called to the Apostolate. It has been noticed that in all the four lists of the Apostles James holds the same place, heading perhaps the third class, consisting of himself, Jude, Simon, and Iscariot; as Philip heads the second class, consisting of himself, Bartholomew, Thomas, and Matthew; and Simon Peter the first, consisting of himself, Andrew, James, and John (Alford, *in Matt.* x. 2). The fact of Jude being described by reference to James (Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου) shows the name and reputation which he had, either at the time of the calling of the Apostles or at the time when St. Luke wrote.

It is not likely (though far from impossible) that James and Jude took part with their brothers and sisters, and the Virgin Mary, in trying "to lay hold on" JESUS in the autumn of the same year (Mark iii. 21); and it is likely, though not certain, that it is of the other brothers and sisters, without these two, that St. John says, "Neither did his brethren believe on Him" (John vii. 5), in the autumn of A. D. 29.

We hear no more of James till after the Crucifixion and the Resurrection. At some time in the forty days that intervened between the Resurrection and the Ascension the Lord appeared to him. This is not related by the Evangelists, but it is mentioned by St. Paul (1 Cor. xv. 7); and there never has been any doubt that it was to this James rather than to the son of Zebedee that the manifestation was vouchsafed. We may conjecture that it was for the purpose of strengthening him for the high position which he was soon to assume in Jerusalem, and of giving him the instructions on "the things pertaining to the kingdom of GOD" (Acts i. 3) which were necessary for his guidance, that the Lord thus showed himself to James. We cannot fix the date of this appearance. It was probably only a few days before the Ascension; after which we find James, Jude, and the rest of the Apostles, together with the Virgin Mary, Simon, and Joses, in Jerusalem, awaiting in faith and prayer the outpouring of the Pentecostal gift.

Again we lose sight of James for ten years, and when he appears once more it is in a far higher position than any that he has yet held. In the year 37 occurred the conversion of Saul. Three years after his conversion he paid his first visit to Jerusalem, but the Christians recollected what they had suffered at his hands, and feared to have anything to do with him. Barnabas, at this time of far higher reputation than himself, took him by the

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[a] The author of the article on the "Brethren of our Lord" takes a different view from the one given above. [ED.]

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sand, and introduced him to Peter and James (Acts ix. 27; Gal. i. 18, 19), and by their authority he was admitted into the society of the Christians, and allowed to associate freely with them during the fifteen days of his stay. Here we find James on a level with Peter, and with him deciding on the admission of St. Paul into fellowship with the Church at Jerusalem; and from henceforth we always find him equal, or in his own department superior, to the very chiefest Apostles, Peter, John, and Paul. For by this time he had been appointed (at what exact date we know not) to preside over the infant Church in its most important centre, in a position equivalent to that of Bishop. This pre-eminence is evident throughout the after history of the Apostles, whether we read it in the Acts, in the Epistles, or in ecclesiastical writers. Thus in the year 44, when Peter is released from prison, he desires that information of his escape may be given to "James, and to the brethren" (Acts xii. 17). In the year 49 he presides at the Apostolic Council, and delivers the judgment of the Assembly, with the expression διὸ ἐγὼ κρίνω (Acts xv. 13, 19; see St. Chrys. *in loc.*). In the same year (or perhaps in the year 51, on his fourth visit to Jerusalem) St. Paul recognizes James as one of the pillars of the Church, together with Cephas and John (Gal. ii. 9), and places his name before them both. Shortly afterwards it is "certain who came from James," that is, from the mother church of Jerusalem, designated by the name of its Bishop, who lead Peter into tergiversation at Antioch. And in the year 57 Paul pays a formal visit to James in the presence of all his presbyters, after having been previously welcomed with joy the day before by the brethren in an unofficial manner (Acts xxi. 18).

Entirely accordant with these notices of Scripture is the universal testimony of Christian antiquity to the high office held by James in the Church of Jerusalem. That he was formally appointed Bishop of Jerusalem by the Lord himself, as reported by Epiphanius (*Hæres.* lxxviii.); Chrysostom (*Hom. xi. in 1 Cor. vii.*); Proclus of Constantinople (*De Trad. Div. Liturg.*); and Photius (*Ep.* 157), is not likely. Eusebius follows this account in a passage of his history, but says elsewhere that he was appointed by the Apostles (*H. E.* ii. 23). Clement of Alexandria is the first author who speaks of his Episcopate (*Hypotyposeis*, bk. vi. ap. Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 1), and he alludes to it as a thing of which the chief Apostles, Peter, James, and John, might well have been ambitious. The same Clement reports that the Lord, after his resurrection, delivered the gift of knowledge to James the Just, to John, and Peter, who delivered it to the rest of the Apostles, and they to the Seventy. This at least shows the estimation in which James was held. But the author to whom we are chiefly indebted for an account of the life and death of James is Hegesippus (*i. e.* Joseph), a Christian of Jewish origin, who lived in the middle of the second century. His narrative gives us such an insight into the position of St. James in the Church of Jerusalem that it is best to let him relate it in his own words:—

Tradition respecting James, as given by Hegesippus.—"With the Apostles James, the brother of the Lord, succeeds to the charge of the Church—that James, who has been called Just from the time of the Lord to our own days, for there were many of the name of James. He was holy from his mother's womb, he drank not wine or strong drink, nor did he eat animal food: a razor came not upon his head; he did not anoint himself with oil; he did not use the bath. He alone might go into the holy place; for he wore no woollen clothes, but linen. And alone he used to go into the Temple, and there he was commonly found upon his knees, praying for forgiveness for the people, so that his knees grew dry and thin [generally translated *hard*] like a camel's, from his constantly bending them in prayer, and entreating forgiveness for the people. On account therefore of his exceeding righteousness he was called 'Just,' and 'Oblias,' which means in Greek 'the bulwark of the people,' and 'righteousness,' as the prophets declare of him. Some of the seven sects then that I have mentioned inquired of him, 'What is the door of Jesus?' And he said that this man was the Saviour, wherefore some believed that Jesus is the Christ. Now the forementioned sects did not believe in the Resurrection, nor in the coming of one who shall recompense every man according to his works; but all who became believers believed through James. When many therefore of the rulers believed, there was a disturbance among the Jews, and Scribes, and Pharisees, saying, 'There is a risk that the whole people will expect Jesus to be the Christ.' They came together therefore to James, and said, 'We pray thee, stop the people, for they have gone astray after Jesus as though he were the Christ. We pray thee to persuade all that come to the Passover concerning Jesus: for we all give heed to thee, for we and all the people testify to thee that thou art just, and acceptest not the person of man. Persuade the people therefore not to go astray about Jesus, for the whole people and all of us give heed to thee. Stand therefore on the gable of the Temple, that thou mayest be visible, and that thy words may be heard by all the people; for all the tribes and even the Gentiles are come together for the Passover.' Therefore the forementioned Scribes and Pharisees placed James upon the gable of the Temple, and cried out to him, and said, 'O Just one, to whom we ought all to give heed, seeing that the people are going astray after Jesus who was crucified, tell us what is the door of Jesus?' And he answered with a loud voice, 'Why ask ye me about Jesus the Son of Man? He sits in heaven on the right hand of great power, and will come on the clouds of heaven.' And many were convinced and gave glory on the testimony of James, crying Hosannah to the Son of David. Whereupon the same Scribes and Pharisees said to each other, 'We have done ill in bringing forward such a witness to Jesus; but let us go up, and throw him down, that they may be terrified, and not believe on him.' And they cried out, saying, 'Oh! oh! even the Just is gone astray.' And they fulfilled that which is written in Isaiah, 'Let us take away the just man, for he is displeasing to us; therefore shall they eat of the fruit of their deeds.' They went up therefore, and threw down the Just one, and said to one another, 'Let us stone James the Just.' And they began to stone him, for he was not killed by the fall; but he turned round, and knelt down, and cried, 'I beseech thee, Lord God Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' And whilst they were stoning him, one of the priests, of the sons of Rechab, a son of the Rechabites to whom Jeremiah the prophet bears testimony, cried out and said, 'Stop! What are you about? The Just one is praying for you!' Then one of them, who was a fuller, took the club with which he pressed the clothes, and brought it down on the head of the

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Just one. And so he bore his witness. And they buried him on the spot by the Temple, and the column still remains by the Temple. This man was a true witness to Jews and Greeks that JESUS is the Christ. And immediately Vespasian commenced the siege" (Euseb. ii. 23, and Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* p. 208, Oxf. 1846).

For the difficulties which occur in this extract, reference may be made to Routh's *Reliquiæ Sacræ* (vol. i. p. 228), and to Canon Stanley's *Apostolical Age* (p. 319, Oxf. 1847). It represents St. James to us in his life and in his death more vividly than any modern words could picture him. We see him, a married man perhaps (1 Cor. ix. 5), but in all other respects a rigid and ascetic follower after righteousness, keeping the Nazarite rule, like Anna the prophetess (Luke ii. 37), serving the Lord in the Temple "with fastings and prayers night and day," regarded by the Jews themselves as one who had attained to the sanctity of the priesthood, though not of the priestly family or tribe (unless indeed we argue from this that Clopas did belong to the tribe of Levi, and draw thence another argument for the identity of James the son of Clopas and James the Lord's brother), and as the very type of what a righteous or just man ought to be. If any man could have converted the Jews as a nation to Christianity, it would have been James.

Josephus' narrative of his death is apparently somewhat different. He says that in the interval between the death of Festus and the coming of Albinus, Ananus the high-priest assembled the Sanhedrim, and "brought before it James the brother of him who is called Christ, and some others, and having charged them with breaking the laws, delivered them over to be stoned." But if we are to reconcile this statement with that of Hegesippus, we must believe that they were not actually stoned on the right. The historian adds that the better part of the citizens disliked what was done, and complained of Ananus to Agrippa and Albinus, whereupon Albinus threatened to punish him for having assembled the Sanhedrim without his consent, and Agrippa deprived him of the high-priesthood (*Ant.* xx. 9). The words "brother of him who is called Christ," are judged by Le Clerc, Lardner, etc., to be spurious.

Epiphanius gives the same account that Hegesippus does in somewhat different words, having evidently copied it for the most part from him. He adds a few particulars which are probably mere assertions or conclusions of his own (*Hæres.* xxix. 4, and lxxviii. 13). He considers James to have been the son of Joseph by a former wife, and calculates that he must have been 96 years old at the time of his death; and adds, on the authority, as he says, of Eusebius, Clement, and others, that he wore the πέταλον on his forehead, in which he probably confounds him with St. John (Polycr. apud Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24. But see Cotta, *De loco pont. App. Joan. Jac. et Marci*, Tub. 1755).

Gregory of Tours reports that he was buried, not where he fell, but on the Mount of Olives,[a] in a tomb in which he had already buried Zacharias and Simeon (*De glor. Mart.* i. 27). Eusebius tells us that his chair was preserved down to his time; on which see Heinichen's Excursus (*Exc. xi. ad Euseb. H. E.* vii. 19, vol. iv. p. 957, ed. Burton).

We must add a strange Talmudic legend, which appears to relate to James. It is found in the Midrash Koheleth, or Commentary on Ecclesiastes, and also in the Tract Abodah Zarah of the Jerusalem Talmud. It is as follows: "R. Eliezer, the son of Dama, was bitten by a serpent; and there came to him Jacob, a man of Caphar Secama, to heal him by the name of Jesu the son of Pandera; but R. Ismael suffered him not, saying, 'That is not allowed thee, son of Dama.' He answered, 'Suffer me, and I will produce an authority against thee that it is lawful;' but he could not produce the authority before he expired. And what was the authority? — This: 'Which if a man do, he shall live in them' (Lev. xviii. 5). But it is not said that he shall die in them." The son of Pandera is the name that the Jews have always given to our Lord, when representing him as a magician. The same name is given in Epiphanius (*Hæres.* lxxviii.) to the grandfather of Joseph, and by John Damascene (*De Fide Orth.* iv. 15) to the grandfather of Joachim, the supposed father of the Virgin Mary. For the identification of James of Secama (a place in Upper Galilee) with James the Just, see Mill (*Historic. Criticism of the Gospel*, p. 318, Camb. 1840). The passage quoted by Origen and Eusebius from Josephus, in which the latter speaks of the death of James as being one of the causes of the destruction of Jerusalem, seems to be spurious (Orig. *in Matt.* xiii. 55; Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 23).

It is possible that there may be a reference to James in Heb. xiii. 7 (see Theodoret *in loc.*), which would fix his death at some time previous to the writing of that epistle. His apprehension by Ananus was probably about the year 62 or 63 (Lardner, Pearson, Mill, Whitby, Le Clerc, Tillemont). There is nothing to fix the date of his martyrdom as narrated by Hegesippus, except that it must have been shortly before the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem. We may conjecture that he was between 70 and 80 years old.[b] F. M.

JAMES, THE GENERAL EPISTLE OF. I. *Its Genuineness and Canonicity.* — In the third book of his Ecclesiastical History, Eusebius makes his well-known division of the books, or pretended books, of the New Testament into four classes. Under the head of ὁμολογούμενα he places the Gospels, the Acts, the Pauline Epistles, the First Epistle of St. John, and the First Epistle

[a] The monument — part excavation, part edifice — which is now commonly known as the "Tomb of St. James," is on the east side of the so-called Valley of Jehoshaphat, and therefore at a considerable distance from the spot on which the Apostle was killed, which the narrative of Hegesippus would seem to fix as somewhere under the southeast corner of the wall of the *Haram*, or perhaps further down the slope nearer the 'Fountain of the Virgin." [Ed-noesr.] It cannot at any rate be said to stand "by the Temple." The tradition about the monument in question is that St. James took refuge there after the capture of Christ, and remained, eating and drinking nothing, until our Lord appeared to him on the day of his resurrection (See Quaresmius, etc., quoted in Tobler, *Siloah*, etc 299.) The legend of his death there seems to be first mentioned by Maundeville (A. D. 1320: see *Early Trav.* 176). By the old travellers it is often called the "Church of St. James."

[b] It is almost unnecessary to say that the Jacobite churches of the East — consisting of the Armenians, the Copts, and other Monophysite or Eutychian bodies — do not derive their title from St. James, but from a later person of the same name. Jacob Baradæus was who died Bishop of Edessa in 469.

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of St. Peter. In the class of ἀντιλεγόμενα he places the Epistle of St. James, the Second and Third Epistles of St. John, and the Epistle of St. Jude. Amongst the νόθα he enumerates the Acts of St. Paul, the Shepherd, the Apocalypse of St. Peter, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Doctrine of the Apostles, the Gospel to the Hebrews. The αἱρετικά consist of the Gospels of Peter, Thomas, Matthias, and others, the Acts of Andrew, John, and others. The ἀντιλεγόμενα, amongst which he places the Epistle of St. James, are, he says, γνώριμα ὅμως τοῖς πολλοῖς, whether the expression means that they were acknowledged by, or merely that they were known to, the majority (*H. E.* iii. 25). Elsewhere he refers the epistle to the class of νόθα, for this is the meaning of νοθεύεται μέν, which was apparently misunderstood by St. Jerome (*De Vir. Illust.*); but he bears witness that it was publicly read in most churches as genuine (*H. E.* ii. 23), and as such accepts it himself. This then was the state of the question in the time of Eusebius; the epistle was accepted as canonical, and as the writing of James, the brother of the Lord, by the majority, but not universally. Origen bears the same testimony as Eusebius (tom. iv. p. 306), and probably, like him, himself accepted the epistle as genuine (tom. iv. p. 535, &c.). It is found in the Syriac version, and appears to be referred to by Clement of Rome (*ad Cor.* x.), Hermas (lib. ii. *Mand.* xii. 5), Irenæus (*Adv. Hæres.* [lib. iv. c.] 16, § 2), and is quoted by almost all the Fathers of the 4th century, e. g. Athanasius, Cyril, Gregory Nazianzen, Epiphanius, Chrysostom (see Davidson, *Introd. to N. T.*, iii. p. 338). In 397 the Council of Carthage accepted it as canonical, and from that time there has been no further question of its genuineness on the score of external testimony. But at the time of the Reformation the question of its authenticity was again raised, and now upon the ground of internal evidence. Erasmus and Cardinal Cajetan in the Church of Rome, Cyril Lucar in the Greek Church, Luther and the Magdeburg Centuriators among Protestants, all objected to it. Luther seems to have withdrawn his expression that it was "a right strawy epistle," compared with the Gospel of St. John and the Epistles of St. Paul and St. Peter, after that expression had been two years before the world. The chief objection on internal grounds is a supposed opposition between St. Paul and St. James, on the doctrine of Justification, concerning which we shall presently make some remarks. At present we need only say that it is easy to account for the non-universal reception of the epistle in the Early Church, by the fact that it was meant only for Jewish believers, and was not likely therefore to circulate widely among Gentile Christians, for whose spiritual necessities it was primarily not adapted; and that the objection on internal grounds proves nothing except against the objectors, for it really rests on a mistake.

II. *Its Author.* — The author of the epistle must be either James the son of Zebedee, according to the subscription of the Syriac version; or James the son of Alphæus, according to Dr. Davidson's view (*Introd. to N. T.*, iii. 312); or James the brother of the Lord, which is the general opinion (see Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 23; Alford, *G. T.* iv. p. 28); or an unknown James (Luther). The likelihood of this last hypothesis falls to the ground when the canonical character of the epistle is admitted. James the son of Zebedee could not have written it, because the date of his death, only seven years after the martyrdom of Stephen, does not give time for the growth of a sufficient number of Jewish Christians, ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ. Internal evidence (see Stanley, *Apost. Age*, p. 292) points unmistakably to James the Just as the writer, and we have already identified James the Just with the son of Alphæus.

The Jewish Christians, whether residing at Jerusalem or living scattered among the Gentiles, and only visiting that city from time to time, were the especial charge of James. To them he addressed this epistle; not to the unbelieving Jews (Lardner, Macknight, Hug, etc.), but only to believers in Christ, as is undoubtedly proved by i. 1, ii. 1, ii. 7. v. 7. The rich men of v. 1 may be the unbelieving Jews (Stanley, p 299), but it does not follow that the epistle was written to them. It is usual for an orator to denounce in the second person. It was written from Jerusalem, which St. James does not seem to have ever left. The time at which he wrote it has been fixed as late as 62, and as early as 45. Those who see in its writer a desire to counteract the effects of a misconstruction of St. Paul's doctrine of Justification by faith, in ii. 14–26 (Wiesinger), and those who see a reference to the immediate destruction of Jerusalem in v. 1 (Macknight), and an allusion to the name Christians in ii. 7 (De Wette), argue in favor of the later date. The earlier date is advocated by Schneckenburger, Neander, Thiersch, Davidson, Stanley, and Alford; chiefly on the ground that the epistle could not have been written by St. James after the Council in Jerusalem, without some allusion to what was there decided, and because the Gentile Christian does not yet appear to be recognized.

III. *Its Object.* — The main object of the epistle, is not to teach doctrine together to improve morality. St. James is the moral teacher of the N. T.; not in such sense a moral teacher as not to be at the same time a maintainer and teacher of Christian doctrine, but yet mainly in this epistle a moral teacher. There are two ways of explaining this characteristic of the epistle. Some commentators and writers see in St. James a man who had not realized the essential principles and peculiarities of Christianity, but was in a transition state, half-Jew and half-Christian. Schneckenburger thinks that Christianity had not penetrated his spiritual life. Neander is of much the same opinion (*Pflanzung und Leitung*, p. 579). And the same notion may perhaps be traced in Prof. Stanley and Dean Alford. But there is another and much more natural way of accounting for the fact. St. James was writing for a special class of persons, and knew what that class especially needed; and therefore, under the guidance of God's Spirit, he adapted his instructions to their capacities and wants. Those for whom he wrote were, as we have said, the Jewish Christians whether in Jerusalem or abroad. St. James, living in the centre of Judaism, saw what were the chief sins and vices of his countrymen; and, fearing that his flock might share in them, he lifted up his voice to warn them against the contagion from which they not only might, but did in part, suffer. This was his main object; but there is another closely connected with it. As Christians his readers were exposed to trials which they did not bear with the patience and faith that would have become them. Here then are the two objects of the Epistle — (1.) To warn against the sins to which as Jews they were most liable; (2.) To comfort

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and exhort them under the sufferings to which as Christians they were most exposed. The warnings and consolations are mixed together, for the writer does not seem to have set himself down to compose an essay or a letter of which he had previously arranged the heads; but, like one of the old prophets, to have poured out what was uppermost in his thoughts, or closest to his heart, without waiting to connect his matter, or to throw bridges across from subject to subject. While, in the purity of his Greek and the vigor of his thoughts, we mark a man of education, in the abruptness of his transitions and the unpolished roughness of his style we may trace one of the family of the Davideans, who disarmed Domitian by the simplicity of their minds and by exhibiting their hands hard with toil (Hegesipp. *apud Euseb.* iii. 20).

The Jewish vices against which he warns them are—Formalism, which made the service (θρησκεία) of God consist in washings and outward ceremonies, whereas he reminds them (i. 27) that it consists rather in active love and purity (see Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*, Aph. 23; note also Active Love = Bp. Butler's "Benevolence," and Purity = Bp. Butler's "Temperance"); fanaticism, which under the cloak of religious zeal was tearing Jerusalem to pieces (i. 20); fatalism, which threw its sins on God (i. 13); meanness, which crouched before the rich (ii. 2); falsehood, which had made words and oaths playthings (iii. 2–12); partizanship (iii. 14); evil-speaking (iv. 11); boasting (iv. 16); oppression (v. 4). The great lesson which he teaches them, as Christians, is patience — patience in trial (i. 2): patience in good works (i. 22–25); patience under provocations (iii. 17); patience under oppression (v. 7); patience under persecution (v. 10); and the ground of their patience is, that the coming of the Lord draweth nigh, which is to right all wrongs (v. 8).

IV. There are two points in the epistle which demand a somewhat more lengthened notice. These are (*a*) ii. 14–26, which has been represented as a formal opposition to St. Paul's doctrine of justification by faith, and (*b*) v. 14, 15, which is quoted as the authority for the sacrament of extreme unction.

(*a.*) Justification being an act not of man but of GOD, both the phrases "justification by faith" and "justification by works" are inexact. Justification must either be by grace, or of reward. Therefore our question is, Did or did not St. James hold justification by grace? If he did, there is no contradiction between the Apostles. Now there is not one word in St. James to the effect that a man can *earn* his justification by works; and this would be necessary in order to prove that he held justification of reward. Still St. Paul does use the expression "justified by faith" (Rom. v. 1), and St. James the expression, "justified by works, not by faith only." And here is an apparent opposition. But, if we consider the meaning of the two Apostles, we see at once that there is no contradiction either intended or possible. St. Paul was opposing the Judaizing party, which claimed to earn acceptance by good works, whether the works of the Mosaic law, or works of piety done by themselves. In opposition to these, St. Paul lays down the great truth that acceptance cannot be earned by man at all, but is the free gift of GOD to the Christian man, for the sake of the merits of Jesus Christ, appropriated by each individual, and made his own by the instrumentality of faith. — St. James, on the other hand, was opposing the old Jewish tenet that to be a child of Abraham was all in all; that godliness was not necessary, so that the belief was correct. This presumptuous confidence had transferred itself, with perhaps double force, to the Christianized Jews. They had said, "Lord, Lord," and that was enough, without doing His Father's will. They had recognized the Messiah: what more was wanted? They had *faith*: what more was required of them? It is plain that their "faith" was a totally different thing from the "faith" of St. Paul. St. Paul tells us again and again that his "faith" is a "faith that worketh by love;" but the very characteristic of the "faith" which St. James is attacking, and the very reason why he attacked it, was that it did not work by love, but was a bare assent of the head, not influencing the heart, a faith such as devils can have, and tremble. St. James tells us that "*fides informis*" is not sufficient on the part of man for justification; St. Paul tells us that "*fides formata*" is sufficient: and the reason why *fides informis* will not justify us is, according to St. James, because it lacks that special quality, the addition of which constitutes it *fides formata*. See on this subject Bull's *Harmonia Apostolica et Examen Censuræ*; Taylor's *Sermon on* "*Faith working by Love*," vol. viii. p. 284, Lond. 1850; and, as a corrective of Bull's view, Laurence's *Bampton Lectures*, iv., v., vi.

(*b.*) With respect to v. 14, 15, it is enough to say that the ceremony of extreme unction and the ceremony described by St. James differ both in their subject and in their object. The subject of extreme unction is a sick man who is about to die; and its object is not his cure. The subject of the ceremony described by St. James is a sick man who is not about to die; and its object is his cure, together with the spiritual benefit of absolution. St. James is plainly giving directions with respect to the manner of administering one of those extraordinary gifts of the Spirit with which the Church was endowed only in the Apostolic age and the age immediately succeeding the Apostles.

The following editions, etc., of St. James' Epistle may be mentioned as worthy of notice. The edition of Benson and Michaelis, Halæ Magdeburgicæ, 1746; Semler's *Paraphrasis*, Halæ, 1781; Mori *Prælectiones in Jacobi et Petri Epistolas*, Lipsiæ 1794; Schneckenburger's *Annotatio ad Epist. Jac perpetua*, Stuttg. 1832; Davidson's *Introduction to the New Test.* iii. 296 ff., Lond. 1851; Alford's *Greek Test.* vol. iv. p. 274, Lond. 1859 [4th ed., 1866].

The following spurious works have been attributed to St. James: (1.) The *Protevangelium*. (2.) *Historia de Nativitate Mariæ*. (3.) *De Miraculis Infantiæ Domini nostri*, etc. Of these, the *Protevangelium* is worth a passing notice, not for its contents, which are a mere parody on the early chapters of St. Luke, transferring the events which occurred at our Lord's birth to the birth of St. Mary his mother, but because it appears to have been known so early in the Church. It is possible that Justin Martyr (*Dial. cum Tryph.* c. 78), and Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* lib. viii.) refer to it. Origen speaks of it (*in Matt.* xiii. 55); Gregory Nyssen (*Opp.* p. 346, ed. Paris), Epiphanius (*Hær* lxxix.), John Damascene (*Orat.* i., ii. *in Nativ. Mariæ*), Photius (*Orat. in Nativ. Mariæ*), and others allude to it. It was first published in Latin in 1552, in Greek in 1564. The oldest MS of it now existing is of the 10th century. (See

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Philo's *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, tom. i. pp. 45, 108, 159, 337, Lips. 1832.) F. M.

* It deserves notice that this epistle of James, like that of Jude, but unlike that of the other apostolic writings, never alludes to the outward facts of the Saviour's life. Yet James speaks expressly of the Lord Jesus Christ (see i. 1, ii. 1, v. 7, 8, 14, 15); and the faith as shown by works on which he lays such emphasis is that which rests on Christ as the Saviour of men. At the same time the language of James "offers the most striking coincidences with the language of our Lord's discourses." Compare James i. 5, 6 with Matt. vii. 7, xxi. 22; i. 22 with Matt. vii. 21; ii. 13 with Matt v. 7; iii. 1 with Matt. xxiii. 8; iii. 12 with Matt vii. 16; and v. 12 with Matt. v. 34–37. See Westcott's *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, p. 186 (Amer. ed.).

In speaking of the sources from which the Apostle Paul derives his favorite metaphors, Dr. Howson points out in this respect a striking difference between him and the Apostle James. The figures of Paul are drawn almost exclusively from the practical relations or business of men, as military life, architecture, agriculture, and the contests of the gymnasium and race-course: while the figures of James are taken from some of the varied aspects or phenomena of nature. It is remarked that there is more imagery of this latter kind in the one short epistle of James than in all Paul's epistles put together. This trait of his style appears in his allusions to "'the waves of the sea driven with the wind and tossed' (i. 6), 'the flower of the grass' (ver. 10), 'the sun risen with a burning heat' (ver. 11), 'the fierce winds' (iii. 4), 'the kindling of the fire' (ver. 5), 'the beasts, birds, and serpents and things in the sea' (ver. 7), 'the fig, olive, and vine,' 'the salt water and fresh' (ver. 12), 'the vapor that appeareth for a little time and then vanisheth away' (iv. 14), 'the moth-eaten garments' (v. 2), 'the rust' (ver. 3), 'the early and latter rain' (ver. 7), 'and the earth bringing forth her fruit' (ver. 18)." (*Lectures on the Character of St. Paul*, pp. 6, 7, Lond. 1864.)

Among the commentaries on this epistle (see above) may be mentioned Gebser, *Der Brief Jacobi übersetzt u. erklärt*, in which special reference is made to the views of the ancient Greek and Latin interpreters (1828); Theile, *Comm. in Epist. Jacobi* (1833); Kern, *Der Brief Jacobi untersucht u. erklärt* (1838); Cellerier, *Étude et Commentaire sur l'Épître de St. Jacques* (1850); Wiesinger, Olshausen's *Bibl. Comm.* vi. pt. i. (2te Aufl., 1854): Huther, in Meyer's *Komm. über das N. T.* xv. (3te Aufl., 1863); De Wette, *Exeget. Handb.* vol. iii. pt. i. (3te Aufl., by Brückner, 1865); Lange and Oosterzee, Lange's *Bibelwerk*, xiii. (1862) and Amer. transl. with additions by Dr. J. I. Mombert, pp. 1–143 (1868); Neander, *Der Brief Jacobi, praktisch erläutert*, with Luther's version corrected by K. F. Th. Schneider, pp. 1–162; Webster and Wilkinson, *Greek N. Test., with notes grammatical and exegetical*, ii. 1–5 and 10–30 (Lond. 1861); Rev T. Trapp, *Commentary on the N. Testament* (pp. 693–705), quaint in style but terse and sententious (Webster's ed. Lond. 1865); and Bouman, *Comm. perpetuus in Jacobi Epistolam*, Traj. ad Rhen. 1865. For a list of some of the older works, see Reuss's *Geschichte des N. Test.* p. 131 (3te Ausg. 1860).

Valuable articles on the epistle of James will be found in Herzog's *Real-Encyk.* vi. 417 ff. by Lange; in Zeller's *Bibl. Wörterb.* i. 658 ff. by Zeller (the analysis specially good); and in Kitto's *Cycl. of Bibl. Literature*, by Dr. Eadie (3d ed. 1866). For a compendious view of the critical questions relating to the authorship, destination, and doctrines of the letter, see Bleek's *Einleitung in das N. Test.* pp 539–553 (1862). Rev. T. D. Maurice gives an outline of the apostle's thoughts in his *Unity of the New Testament*, pp. 316–331. See also Stanley's *Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age*, pp. 297–324. The monographic literature is somewhat extensive. The theologian, George Chr. Knapp, treats of "The Doctrine of Paul and James respecting Faith and Works, compared with the Teaching of our Lord," in his *Scripta Varii Argumenti*, i. 411–456. See a translation of the same by Prof. W. Thompson in the *Biblical Repository*, iii. 189–228. Neander has an essay in his *Gelegenheitsschriften* (3te Ausg. 1827) entitled *Paulus und Jacobus*, in which he illustrates the "Unity of the Evangelical Spirit in different Forms." Some extracts from this essay are appended to the above translation. Prof. E. P. Barrows has written on the "Alleged Disagreement between Paul and James" on the subject of justification, in the *Bibl. Sacra*, ix. 761–782. On this topic see also Neander's *Pflanzung u. Leitung*, ii. 858–873 (Robinson's transl. p. 498 ff.); Lechler's *Das apostol. und nachapost. Zeitalter*, pp. 252–263; and Schaff's *History of the Apostolic Church*, p. 625 ff. (N. Y. 1853). Stier has published *Der Brief des Jacobus in 32 Betrachtungen ausgelegt* (1845). For some other similar works or discussions, see Lange's *Bibelwerk* as above (p. 24 f.), or Dr. Schaff's transl. of Lange's *Commentary* (p. 33 f.) H.

JA'MIN (יָמִין [*right side* or *hand*]: Ἰαμείν, Ἰαμείς, Ἰαμίν; [Vat. Ιαμειν, and so Alex. exc. in Num.:] *Jamin*). 1. Second son of Simeon (Gen. xlvi. 10; Ex. vi. 15; 1 Chr. iv. 24), founder of the family (*mishpacah*) of the Jaminites (Num. xxvi. 12).

2. ([Ἰαμίν; Vat. Ιαμειν;] Alex. Ιαβειν.) A man of Judah, of the great house of Hezron; second son of Ram the Jerahmeelite (1 Chr. ii. 27).

3. [Comp. Ἰαμείν.] One of the Levites who under Ezra and Nehemiah read and expounded the law to the people (Neh. viii. 7). By the LXX. [Rom., Vat., Alex.] the greater part of the names in this passage are omitted.

JA'MINITES, THE (הַיָּמִינִי [patronym.]: ὁ Ἰαμινί [Vat. -νει]: *familia Jaminitarum*), the descendants of JAMIN the son of Simeon (Num. xxvi. 12).

JAM'LECH (יַמְלֵךְ [*He*, i. e. *God*, *makes king*]: Ἰεμολόχ; [Comp. Ald.] Alex. Ἀμαλήκ: *Jemlech*), one of the chief men (נְשִׂיאִים, A. V "princes") of the tribe of Simeon (1 Chr. iv. 34), probably in the time of Hezekiah (see ver. 41).

JAM'NIA (Ἰαμνία, Ἰάμνεια, and so Josephus [in 1 Macc. iv. 15, Alex. Ιαννεια, Sin. Ιαμνεια:] *Jamnia*), 1 Macc. iv. 15, v. 58, x. 69, xv. 40. [JABNEEL.]

JAM'NITES, THE (*οἱ ἐν* Ἰαμνεία, *οἱ* Ἰαμνίται: *Jamnitæ*), 2 Macc. xii. 8, 9, 40. [JABNEEL.]

* **JANGLING** in 1 Tim. i. 6 (A. V.), where "vain jangling" represents the Greek ματαιολογία does not signify "wrangling," but "babbling."

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"idle talk." This use of the word is well illustrated by a quotation from Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*, given in Eastwood and Wright's *Bible Word-Book*: "*Janglelyng* is whan a man spekith to moche biforn folk, and clappith as a mille, and taketh no keep what he saith." A.

JANNA ('Ιαννά [Lachm. and Tisch. 'Ιανναί]), son of Joseph, and father of Melchi, in the genealogy of Christ (Luke iii. 24). It is perhaps only a variation of Joannas or John. A. C. H.

JANNES and JAMBRES ('Ιαννῆς, 'Ιαμβρῆς), the names of two Egyptian magicians who opposed Moses. St. Paul alone of the sacred writers mentions them by name, and says no more than that they "withstood Moses," and that their folly in doing so became manifest (2 Tim. iii. 8, 9). It appears from the Jewish commentators that these names were held to be those of the magicians who opposed Moses and Aaron, spoken of in Exodus (or perhaps their leaders), of whom we there read that they first imitated the wonders wrought by Moses and Aaron, but, afterwards failing, confessed that the power of God was with those whom they had withstood (chap. vii. 11, where the Targum of Jonathan inserts these names, 22, viii. 18, 19). With this St. Paul's words perfectly agree.

Jambres is written in some codices Μαμβρῆς: both forms, the latter being slightly varied, are found in the Jewish commentaries (ממבריס, ימברים, ממרים): the former appears to be the earlier form. We have been unable to discover an Egyptian name resembling Jambres or Mambres. The termination is like that of many Egyptian compounds ending with RA "the sun;" as Men-kau-ra, Μενχέρης (Manetho, IVth Dyn.).

Jannes appears to be a transcription of the Egyptian name AAN, probably pronounced Ian. It was the nomen of two kings: one of the XIth Dynasty, the father or ancestor of Sesertesen I. of the XIIth; the other, according to our arrangement, fourth or fifth king of the XVth Dyn., called by Manetho 'Ιάννας or 'Ιανίας (Jos.) or Ἄπαδν (Afr.). (See *Horæ Ægyptiacæ*, pp. 174, 175.) There is also a king bearing the name Annu, whom we assign to the IId Dyn. (*Hor. Æg.* p. 101). The signification of Aän is doubtful: the cognate word Aänt means a valley or plain. The earlier king Aän may be assigned to the twenty-first century B. C.: the latter one we hold to be probably the second predecessor of Joseph's Pharaoh. This shows that a name which may be reasonably supposed to be the original of Jannes, was in use at or near the period of the sojourn in Egypt. The names of the ancient Egyptians were extremely numerous and very fluctuating in use: generally the most prevalent at any time were those of kings then reigning or not long dead.

Our result as to the name of Jannes throws light upon a curious question raised by the supposition that St. Paul took the names of the magicians from prevalent tradition of the Jews. This conjecture is as old as the time of Theodoret, who makes the supposed tradition oral. (Τὰ μέντοι τούτων ὀνόματα οὐκ ἐκ τῆς θείας γραφῆς μεμάθηκεν ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγράφου τῶν Ἰουδαίων παιδεύσεως: *ad loc.*). This opinion would be of little importance were it not for the circumstance that these names were known to the Greeks and Romans at too early a period for us to suppose that their information was derived from St. Paul's mention (see Plin. *H. N.* xxx. 1; Apul. *Apol.* p. 24 Bipont.; Numenius ap. Euseb. *Præp. Evan.* ix. 8). It has therefore been generally supposed that St. Paul took these names from Jewish tradition. It seems, however, inconsistent with the character of an inspired record for a baseless or incorrect current tradition to be cited; it is therefore satisfactory to find there is good reason for thinking these names to be authentic. Whether Jannes and Jambres were mentioned in some long-lost book relating to the early history of the Israelites, or whether there were a veritable oral tradition respecting them, cannot now be determined. The former is the more probable supposition — if, as we believe, the names are correct — since oral tradition is rarely exact in minute particulars.

The conjecture of Majus (*Observ. Sacr.* ii. 42 ff., ap. Winer, *Realwört.* s. v.), that Jannes and Jambres are merely meaningless words put for lost proper names, is scarcely worth refuting. The words are not sufficiently similar to give a color to the idea, and there is no known instance of the kind in the Bible.

The Rabbins state that Jannes and Jambres were sons of Balaam, and among various forms of their names give Johannes and Ambrosius. There was an apocryphal work called *Jannes and Mambres*, condemned by Pope Gelasius.

The Arabs mention the names of several magicians who opposed Moses; among them are none resembling Jannes and Jambres (D'Herbelot, art. *Moussa Ben Amran*).

There are several dissertations on this subject (J. Grotius, *Diss. de Janne et Jambre*, Hafn. 1707; J. G. Michaelis, *Id.* Hal. 1747; Zentgrav, *Id.* Argent. 1669; Lightfoot, *Sermon on Jannes and Jambres*, etc. [Fabricius, *Cod. pseudepigr. Vet. Test.* i. 813–825]).

There is a question of considerable interest as to these Egyptian magicians which we cannot here discuss: Is their temporary success attributable to pure imposture? The passages relating to them in the Bible would lead us to reply affirmatively, as we have already said in speaking of ancient Egyptian magic. [EGYPT.] R. S. P.

JANO'AH (יָנוֹחַ [*rest, quiet*]: ἡ Ἀνιώχ; Alex. Ιανωχ: *Janoë*), a place apparently in the north of Galilee, or the "land of Naphtali" — one of those taken by Tiglath-Pileser in his first incursion into Palestine (2 K. xv. 29). No trace of it appears elsewhere. By Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.* "Ianon"), and even by Reland (*Pal.* p 826), it is confounded with Janohah, in the centre of the country. G.

JANO'HAH (יָנוֹחָה, *i. e.* Yanochah [with ה— local, *unto rest*]: 'Ιανωκά, but in next verse Μαχά; Alex. Ιανω; [Comp. 'Ιανωχά:] *Janoe*), a place on the boundary of Ephraim (possibly that between it and Manasseh). It is named between Taanath-Shiloh and Ataroth, the enumeration proceeding from west to east (Josh. xvi. 6, 7). Eusebius (*Onomasticon*, "Iano") gives it as twelve miles east of Neapolis. A little less than that distance from *Nablûs*, and about S. E. in direction, two miles from *Akrabeh*, is the village of *Yanûn*, doubtless identical with the ancient Janohah. It seems to have been first visited in modern times by Van de Velde (ii. 303, May 8, 1852; see also Rob. iii. 297). It is in a valley descending sharply eastward towards the Jordan. The modern village is

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very small, but the ancient ruins "extensive and interesting." "I have not seen," says V., "any of Israel's ancient cities in such a condition: entire houses and walls exist, covered with immense heaps of earth." But there are also ruins on the hill N. E. of *Yanûn*, called *Khirbet Y.*, which may be the site of the original place (Rob. p. 297). G.

JA'NUM (יָנוּם, following the *Keri* of the Masorets, but in the original text, *Cetib*, it is יָנִים, Janim [*slumber*]: Ἰεμαίν [Vat. -εἰν]; Alex. Ἀνουμ: *Janum*), a town of Judah in the mountain district, apparently not far from Hebron, and named between Eshean and Beth-tappuah (Josh. xv. 53). It was not known to Eusebius and Jerome (see *Onomast.* "Ianun"), nor does it appear to have been yet met with by any modern investigator. G.

JA'PHETH (יֶפֶת: Ἰάφεθ: *Japheth*), one of the three sons of Noah. From the order in which their names invariably occur (Gen. v. 32, vi. 10) we should naturally infer that Japheth was the youngest, but we learn from ix. 24 that Ham held that position, and the precedence of Japheth before this one of the three is indicated in the order of the names in x. 2, 6. It has been generally supposed from x. 21 that Japheth was the eldest; but it should be observed that the word *gadôl* in that passage is better connected with "brother," as in the Vulg. "*fratre Japhet majore.*" Not only does the usage of the Hebrew language discountenance the other construction, but the sense of the passage requires that the age of Shem rather than of Japheth should be there specified. We infer therefore that Japheth was the second son of Noah. The origin of the name is referred by the sacred writer to the root *pathah* (פָּתָה), "to extend," as predictive of the wide spread of his descendants over the northern and western regions of the world (Gen. ix. 27). The name has also been referred to the root *yaphah* (יָפָה), "to be fair," as significant of the light complexion of the Japhetic races (Gesenius, *Thes.* p. 1138; Knobel, *Völkert.* p. 22). From the resemblance of the name to the mythological *Iapetus*, some writers have sought to establish a connection between them. Iapetus was regarded by the Greeks as the ancestor of the human race. The descendants of Japheth occupied the "isles of the Gentiles" (Gen. x. 5), *i. e.* the coast-lands of the Mediterranean Sea in Europe and Asia Minor, whence they spread northwards over the whole continent of Europe and a considerable portion of Asia. [JAVAN.] W. L. B.

JAPHI'A (יָפִיעַ [*fair, splendid*]: Φαγγαί; Alex. Ἰαφαγαι; [Comp. Ἰαφφιέ; Ald. Ἀφιέ:] *aphie*). The boundary of Zebulun ascended from Daberath to Japhia, and thence passed to Gath-hepher (Josh. xix. 12). Daberath appears to be on the slopes of Mount Tabor, and Gath-hepher may possibly be *el-Meshhad*, 2 miles N. of Nazareth. Six miles W. of the former, and 2 miles S. of Nazareth, is *Yâfa*,[a] which is not unlikely to be identical with Japhia (Rob. ii. 343–44): at least this is much more probable than Chuffa (Syncellus) nopolis) in the bay of Akka — the suggestion of Eusebius (*Onomast.* "Iapheth"), and endorsed by Reland (*Pal.* p. 826) — an identification which is neither etymologically nor topographically admissible. *Yâfa* may also be the same with the Ἰαφα which was occupied by Josephus during his struggle with the Romans — "a very large village of Lower Galilee, fortified with walls and full of people" (*Vita*, § 45; comp. 37, and *B. J.* ii. 20, § 6), of whom 15,000 were killed and 2,130 taken prisoners by the Romans (*B. J.* iii. 7, § 31); though if *Jefat* be Jotapata this can hardly be, as the two are more than ten miles apart, and he expressly says that they were neighbors to each other.

A tradition, which first appears in Sir John Maundeville, makes *Yâfa* the birthplace of Zebedee and of the Apostles James and John, his sons. Hence it is called by the Latin monks of Nazareth "San Giacomo." See Quaresmius, *Elucidatio*, ii. 843; and *Early Trav.*, p. 186; Maundeville calls it the "Castle of Saffra." So too Von Harff, A. D. 1498: "Saffra, eyn casteel van wylcheme Alpheus und Sebedeus geboren waren" (*Pilgerfuhrt*, p. 195). G.

JAPHI'A (יָפִיעַ [*shining, splendid*]: Ἰεφθᾶ; Alex. Ἰαφιε: *Japhia*). 1. King of Lachish at the time of the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites (Josh. x. 3); one of the five "kings of the Amorites" who entered into a confederacy against Joshua, and who were defeated at Beth-horon, and lost their lives at Makkedah. The king of Lachish is mentioned more than once in this narrative (ver. 5, 23), but his name occurs only as above.

2. (Ἰεφιές, Ἰαφιέ; [Vat. in 1 Chr. Ιαννε, Ιανουν (so FA.);] Alex. Αφιε, [Ιαφιε:] *Japhia.*) One of the sons of David, tenth of the fourteen born to him by his wives after his establishment in Jerusalem (2 Sam. v. 15; 1 Chr. iii. 7, xiv. 6). In the Hebrew form of this name there are no variations. The Peshito has Nephia, and, in 1 Chr. iii., Nepheg. In the list given by Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 3, § 3) it is not recognizable: it may be Ἡναφήν, or it may be Ἰεναέ. There do not appear to be any traditions concerning Japhia. The genealogy is given under DAVID, vol. i. p. 560. G.

JAPH'LET (יַפְלֵט [*whom God delivers*]: Ἰαφλήτ; [Vat. Φαληχ, Ιαφαληλ:] Alex. Ιαφαλητ: *Jephlat*), a descendant of Asher through Beriah, his youngest son; named as the father of three Bene-Japhlet (1 Chr. vii. 32, 33).

JAPH'LETI (הַיַּפְלֵטִי = the Japhletite; [patron., see above:] Ἀπταλίμ [Vat. -λειμ]; Alex. του Ιεφαλθι: *Jephleti*). The "boundary of the Japhletite" is one of the landmarks on the south boundary-line of Ephraim (Josh. xvi. 3), west of Beth-horon the lower, and between it and Ataroth. Who "the Japhletite" was who is thus perpetuated we cannot ascertain. Possibly the name preserves the memory of some ancient tribe who at a remote age dwelt on these hills, just as the future presence of other tribes in the neighborhood may be inferred from the names of Zemaraim, Ophni (the Ophnite), Cephar ha-Ammonai, and others [BENJAMIN, p. 277, note *b*.] We can hardly suppose any connection with JAPHLET of the remote Asher. No trace of the name has yet been discovered in the district. G.

JA'PHO (יָפוֹ [*beauty*]: Ἰοππη. *Joppa*,

[a] It should be remarked that *Yâfa*, يافا, is the modern representative of both יפו, *i. e.* Joppa, and יפיע, Japhia, two names originally very distinct.

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This word occurs in the A. V. but once, Josh. xix. 46. It is the accurate representation of the Hebrew word which on its other occurrences is rendered in the better known form of JOPPA (2 Chr. ii. 16; Ezr. iii. 7; Jon. i. 3). In its modern garb it is *Yáfa* (يافا), which is also the Arabic name of JAPHIA, a very different word in Hebrew. [JOPPA; JOPPE.]

JA'RAH (יְעָרָה, and in some MSS. יְעָדָה [*honey*]: Ἰαδδί: *Jara*), a man among the descendants of Saul; son of Micah, and great-grandson of Meribbaal, or Mephi-bosheth (1 Chr. ix. 42, comp. 40). In the parallel list of ch. viii. the name is materially altered to JEHOADAH.

JA'REB (יָרֵב [*an adversary, hostile*]: Ἰαρείμ, as if יָרִם, in both Hos. v. 13 and x. 6;[a] though Theodoret gives Ἰαρείβ in the former passage, and Ἰαρείμ in the latter [and Comp. in x. 6 has Ἰαρίβ]; and Jerome has *Jarib* for the Greek equivalent of the LXX.) is either to be explained as the proper name of a country or person, as a noun in apposition, or as a verb from a root רִיב, *rúb*, "to contend, plead." All these senses are represented in the A. V. and the marginal readings, and, as has been not unfrequently the case, the least preferable has been inserted in the text. Had Jareb been the proper name of the king of Assyria, as it would be if this rendering were correct, the word preceding (מֶלֶךְ, *melec*, "king") would have required the article. R. D. Kimchi saw this difficulty, and therefore explained Jareb as the name of some city of Assyria, or as another name of the country itself. The Syriac gives ܝܪܒ, *yárób*, as the name of a country, which is applied by Ephrem Syrus to Egypt, reference being made to Hoshea king of Israel, who had sent to So the king of Egypt for assistance in his conspiracy against Shalmanezer (2 K. xvii. 4). So also the Ἰαρείβ or Ἰαρείμ of Theodoret is Egypt. The clause in which it occurs is supposed by many to refer to Judah, in order to make the parallelism complete; and with this in view Jarchi interprets it of Ahaz, who sent to Tiglath-Pileser (2 K. xvi. 8) to aid him against the combined forces of Syria and Israel. But there is no reason to suppose that the two clauses do not both refer to Ephraim, and the allusion would then be, as explained by Jerome, to Pul, who was subsidized by Menahem (2 K. xv. 19), and Judah would be indirectly included. The rendering of the Vulgate, "avenger" ("ad regem ultorem"), which follows Symmachus, as well as those of Aquila (δικαζόμενον) and Theodotion, "judge," are justified by Jerome by a reference to Jerubbaal, the name of Gideon, which he renders "ulciscatur se Baal," or "judicet eum Baal," "let Baal avenge himself," or "let Baal judge him."[b] The Targumist evidently looked upon it as a verb, the apocopated future Hiphil of רִיב, *rúb*, and translated the clause, "and sent to the king that he might come to avenge them." If it be a Hebrew word, it is most probably a noun formed from the above-mentioned root, like יָרִיב, *yárib* (Is. xlix. 25; Ps. xxxv. 1), and is applied to the land of Assyria, or to its king, not in the sense in which it is understood in the Targum, but as indicating their determined hostility to Israel, and their generally aggressive character. Coccejus had this idea before him when he translated "rex adversarius." Michaelis (*Suppl. ad Lex. Heb.*), dissatisfied with the usual explanations, looked for the true meaning of Jareb in the Syriac root ܪܒ, *treb*, "to be great," and for "king Jareb" substituted "the great king," a title frequently applied to the kings of Assyria. If it were the proper name of a place, he says it would denote that of a castle or palace in which the kings of Assyria resided. But of this there can be no proof, the name has not descended to us, and it is better to take it in a symbolical sense as indicating the hostile character of Assyria. That it is rather to be applied to the country than to the king may be inferred from its standing in parallelism with Asshur. Such is the opinion of Fürst (*Handw.* s. v.), who illustrates the symbolical usage by a comparison with Rahab as applied to Egypt. At the same time he hazards a conjecture that it may have been an old Assyrian word, adopted into the Hebrew language, and so modified as to express an intelligible idea, while retaining something of its original form. Hitzig (*die 12 kl. Proph.*) goes further, and finds in a mixed dialect, akin to the Assyrian, a verb *jarbam*, which denotes "to struggle or fight," and *jarbech*, the Æthiopic for "a hero or bold warrior;" but it would be desirable to have more evidence on the point.

Two mystical interpretations, alluded to by Jerome as current among commentators in his time are remarkable for the singularly opposite conclusions at which they arrived; the one referring the word to the Devil, the other to Christ. Rivetus (quoted by Glassius, *Philol. Sacr.* iv. tr. 3) was of opinion that the title Jareb or "avenger" was assumed by the powerful king of Assyria, as that of "Defender of the Faith" by our own monarchs.

W. A. W

JA'RED (יֶרֶד [*descent, low ground*], *i. e.* Jered, as the name is given in A. V. of Chr., but in pause יָרֶד, from which the present form may have been derived, though more probably from the Vulgate: Ἰάρεδ, Alex. also Ἰαρέτ; N. T. Ἰάρεδ and [Lachm.] Ἰάρεθ [Tisch. Ἰάρετ]; Joseph. Ἰαρέδης: *Jared*), one of the antediluvian patriarchs, the fifth from Adam; son of Mahalaleel, and father of Enoch (Gen. v. 15, 16, 18, 19, 20; Luke iii 37). In the lists of Chronicles the name is given in the A. V. [as] JERED.

JARESI'AH (יַעְרֶשְׁיָה [*whom Jehovah nourishes*]: Ἰαφασία; [Vat. Ἰασαφασια:] *Jersia*) a Benjamite, one of the Bene-Jeroham [sons of J.], a chief man of his tribe, but of whom nothing is recorded (1 Chr. viii. 27).

JAR'HA (יַרְחָע [see at end of the art.]: Ἰαχχήλ; [Comp. Ἰερεέ; Ald. Ἰεραδ:] *Jara*), the Egyptian servant of Sheshan, about the time of Eli, to whom his master gave his daughter and heir in marriage, and who thus became the founder of a chief house of the Jerahmeelites, which continued at least to the time of king Hezekiah, and

[a] As an instance of the contrar, see Νεβρώδ for Nimrod.

[b] In another place he gives "Jarib; ultionem vel ultorem" (*de Nom. Hebr.*).

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from which sprung several illustrious persons[a] such as Zabad in the reign of David, and Azariah in the reign of Joash (1 Chr. ii. 31 ff.). [AZARIAH 5: ZABAD.] It is a matter of somewhat curious inquiry what was the name of Jarha's wife. In ver. 31 we read "the children of Sheshan, Ahlai," and in ver. 34, "Sheshan had no sons, but daughters." In ver. 35, Sheshan's daughter "bare him Attai," whose grandson was Zabad; and in ch. xi. 41, "Zabad the son of Ahlai." Hence some have imagined that Jarha on his marriage with Sheshan's daughter had the name of Ahlai (interpreted a "brother-to-me") given him by Sheshan, to signify his adoption into Israel. Others, that Ahlai and Attai are merely clerical variations of the same name. Others, that Ahlai was a son of Sheshan, born after the marriage of his daughter. But the view which the A. V. adopts, as appears by their rendering בְּנֵי שֵׁ in ver. 31, the *children* of Sheshan, instead of *sons*, is undoubtedly the right one,[b] namely, that Ahlai is the name of Sheshan's daughter. Her descendants were called after her, just as Joab, and Abishai, and Asahel, were always called "the sons of Zeruiah," and as Abigail stands at the head of Amasa's pedigree, 1 Chr. ii. 17. It may be noticed as an undesigned coincidence that Jarha the Egyptian was living with Sheshan, a Jerahmeelite, and that the Jerahmeelites had their possessions on the side of Judah nearest to Egypt, 1 Sam. xxvii. 10; comp. 2 Sam. xxiii. 20, 21; Josh. xv. 21; 1 Chr. iv. 18. [JERAHMEEL; JEHUDIJAH.] The etymology of Jarha's name is quite unknown (Ges. *Thes.*; Fürst, *Concord.*, etc. [in his *Wörterb.*, Egyptian]; Burrington's *Geneal.*; Beeston, *Geneal.*; Hervey's *Geneal.*, p. 34; Bertheau, on 1 Chr. ii. 24, &c.). A. C. H.

JA'RIB (יָרִיב [*adhering*]: Ἰαρείβ; [Vat. Ἰαρειν;] Alex. Ἰαρείβ: *Jarib*). 1. Named in the list of 1 Chr. iv. 24 only, as a son of Simeon. He occupies the same place as JACHIN in the parallel lists of Gen. xlvi., Ex. vi., and Num. xxvi., and the name is possibly a corruption from that (see Burrington, i. 55).

2. [Ἰαρίβ; Vat. Ἀρεβ.] One of the "chief men" (רָאשִׁים, "heads") who accompanied Ezra on his journey from Babylon to Jerusalem (Ezr. viii. 16), whether Levite or layman is not clear. In 1 Esdras the name is given as JORIBAS.

3. [Ἰαρίβ; Vat. Ald. Ἰαρείμ; FA. Ἰωρειμ.] A priest of the house of Jeshua the son of Jozadak, who had married a foreign wife, and was compelled by Ezra to put her away (Ezr. x. 18). In 1 Esdras the name is JORIBUS.

4. (Ἰαρίβ; Alex. Ἰωαριβ; [Sin. Ἰωαρειβ:] 1 Macc. xiv. 29.) A contraction or corruption of the name JOARIB, which occurs correctly in ch. ii. 1.

JARIMOTH (Ἰαριμόθ [Vat. -ρει-]: *Larimûth*), 1 Esdr. ix. 28. [JEREMOTH.]

JAR'MUTH (יַרְמוּת [*height, hill*]). 1. [Ἰερμούθ, [Ἰερμούθ; Vat. in Josh. x. and xii. -ρει-: Alex. in Josh. xii. 11, Ἰερίμου; in Neh., Vat. Alex. FA.[1] omit, FA.[2] Ἰρμουθ: *Jerimoth, Jerimuth.*]) A town in the *Shefelah* or low country of Judah, named with Adullam, Socoh, and others (Josh. xv. 35). Its king, PIRAM, was one of the five who conspired to punish Gibeon for having made alliance with Israel (Josh. x. 3, 5), and who were routed at Beth-horon and put to death by Joshua at Makkedah (ver. 23). In this narrative, and also in the catalogue of the "royal cities" destroyed by Joshua, Jarmuth is named next to Hebron, which, however, was quite in the mountains. In Neh. xi. 29 it is named as having been the residence of some of the children of Judah after the return from captivity. Eusebius and Jerome either knew two places of this name, or an error has crept into the text of the *Onomasticon*; for under "Jarimuth" they state it to be near Eshtaol, 4 miles from Eleutheropolis; while under "Jirmus" they give it as 10 miles from Eleutheropolis, on the road going up to Jerusalem. A site named *Yarmûk*, with a contiguous eminence called *Tell-Ermâd*, was visited by Robinson (ii. 17), and Van de Velde (ii. 193; *Memoir*, p. 324). It is about 1½ miles from *Beit-netif*, which again is some 8 miles from *Beit-gibrin*, on the left of the road to Jerusalem. *Shuweikeh* (the ancient Socoh) lies on a neighboring hill. We have yet to discover the principles on which the topographical divisions of the ancient Hebrews were made. Was the *Shefelah* — the "low country" — a district which took its designation from the plain which formed its major portion, but which extended over some of the hill-country? In the hill-country Jarmuth is undoubtedly situated, though specified as in the plain. *Yarmûk* has been last visited by Tobler (*3te Wanderung*, pp. 120, 462, 463).

2. (ἡ Ῥεμμάθ; Alex. [Ald.] Ἰερμάθ: [*Jarmoth.*]) A city of Issachar, allotted with its suburbs to the Gershonite Levites (Josh. xxi. 29). In the specification of the boundaries of Issachar, no mention is made of Jarmuth (see Josh. xix. 17–23), but a REMETH is mentioned there (ver. 21); and in the duplicate list of Levitical cities (1 Chr. vi. 73) RAMOTH occupies the place of Jarmuth. The two names are modifications of the same root, and might without difficulty be interchanged. This Jarmuth does not appear to have been yet identified. [RAMOTH.] G.

JARO'AH (יָרוֹחָ [*moon*]: Ἰδαΐ; Alex. Ἀδαΐ; [Comp. Ἰαρουέ:] *Jara*), a chief man of the tribe of Gad (1 Chr. v. 14).

JAS'AEL (Ἰασαήλος; [Vat.] Alex. Ἀσαηλος: *Azabus*), 1 Esdr. ix. 30. [SHEAL.]

JA'SHEN (יָשֵׁן [*sleeping*]): Ἀσάν; [Comp. Ἰασέν:] *Jassen*). Bene-Jashen — "sons of Jashen" — are named in the catalogue of the heroes of David's guard in 2 Sam. xxiii. 32. In the Hebrew, as accented by the Masorets, the words have no necessary connection with the names preceding or following them; but in the A. V. they are attached to the latter — "of the sons of Jashen, Jonathan." The passage has every appearance of being imperfect, and accordingly, in the parallel list in Chronicles, it stands, "the sons of Hashem the Gizonite" (1 Chr. xi. 34). Kennicott has examined it at length (*Dissertation*, pp. 198–203), and, on grounds which cannot here be stated, has shown good cause for believing that a name has escaped, and that the genuine text was, "of the Bene-Hashem, Gouni; Jonathan ben-Shamha."

[a] Bertheau's remark, that none of the persons named in this long genealogy recur elsewhere, is singularly misplaced.

[b] This design of the translators is not certain; for the A. V. often renders בָּנִים "children," where it should be "sons." H

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in the list given by Jerome in his *Quæstiones Hebraicæ*, Jashen and Jonathan are both omitted.

JA'SHER, BOOK OF (סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר), or, as the margin of the A. V. gives it, *the book of the upright*, a record alluded to in two passages only of the O. T. (Josh. x. 13, and 2 Sam. i. 18), and consequently the subject of much dispute. The former passage is omitted in the LXX., while in the latter the expression is rendered βιβλίον τοῦ εὐθοῦς: the Vulgate has *liber justorum* in both instances. The Peshito Syriac in Josh. has "the book of *praises* or *hymns*," reading דַּיְשָׁיר for דַּיָּשָׁר, and a similar transposition will account for the rendering of the same version in Sam., "the book of *Ashir*." The Targum interprets it "the book of the law," and this is followed by Jarchi, who gives, as the passage alluded to in Joshua, the prophecy of Jacob with regard to the future greatness of Ephraim (Gen. xlviii. 19), which was fulfilled when the sun stood still at Joshua's bidding. The same Rabbi, in his commentary on Samuel, refers to Genesis "the book of the upright, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," to explain the allusion to the book of Jasher; and Jerome, while discussing the etymology of "Israel," which he interprets as "rectus Dei," [a] incidentally mentions the fact that Genesis was called "the book of the just" (liber Genesis appellatur εὐθέων, id est, justorum), from its containing the histories of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel (*Comm. in Jes.* xliv. 2). The Talmudists attribute this tradition to R. Johanan. R. Eliezer thought that by the book of Jasher was signified the book of Deuteronomy, from the expressions in Deut. vi. 18, xxxiii. 7, the latter being quoted in proof of the skill of the Hebrews in archery. In the opinion of R. Samuel ben Nachman, the book of Judges was alluded to as the book of Jasher (*Aboda Zara*, c. ii.); and that it was the book of the twelve minor prophets was held by some Hebrew writers, quoted without name by Sixtus Senensis (*Bibl. Sanct.* lib. ii.). R. Levi ben Gershom recognizes, though he does not follow, the tradition given by Jarchi, while Kimchi and Abarbanel adopt the rendering of the Targum. This diversity of opinions proves, if it prove nothing more, that no book was known to have survived which could lay claim to the title of the book of Jasher.

Josephus, in relating the miracle narrated in Joshua x., appeals for confirmation of his account to certain documents deposited in the Temple (*Ant.* v. 1, § 17), and his words are supposed to contain a covert allusion to the book of Jasher as the source of his authority. But in his treatise against Apion (lib. i.) he says the Jews did not possess myriads of books, discordant and contradictory, but twenty-two only; from which Abicht concludes that the books of Scripture were the sacred books hinted at in the former passage, while Masius understood by the same the Annals which were written by the prophets or by the royal scribes. Theodoret (*Quæst.* xiv. *in Jesum Nave*) explains the words in Josh. x. 13, which he quotes as τὸ βιβλίον τὸ εὐρεθέν (prob. an error for εὐθές, as he has in *Quæst.* iv. in 2 *Reg.*), as referring to the ancient record from which the compiler of the book of Joshua derived the materials of his history, and applies the passage to 2 Sam. ii. 18 to prove that other documents, written by the prophets, were made use of in the composition of the historical books. Jerome, or rather the author of the *Quæstiones Hebraicæ*, understood by the book of Jasher the books of Samuel themselves, inasmuch as they contained the history of the just prophets, Samuel, Gad, and Nathan. Another opinion, quoted by Sixtus Senensis, but on no authority, that it was the book of eternal predestination, is scarcely worth more than the bare mention.

That the book of Jasher was one of the writings which perished in the Captivity was held by R. Levi ben Gershom, though he gives the traditional explanation above mentioned. His opinion has been adopted by Junius, Hottinger (*Thes. Phil.* ii. 2, § 2), and many other modern writers (Wolfii *Bibl. Heb.* ii. 223). What the nature of the book may have been can only be inferred from the two passages in which it is mentioned and their context, and, this being the case, there is clearly wide room for conjecture. The theory of Masius (quoted by Abicht) was, that in ancient times whatever was worthy of being recorded for the instruction of posterity, was written in the form of Annals by learned men, and that among these Annals or records was the book of Jasher, so called from the trustworthiness and methodical arrangement of the narrative, or because it contained the relation of the deeds of the people of Israel, who are elsewhere spoken of under the symbolical name Jeshurun. Of the later hypothesis Fürst approves (*Handw.* s. v.). Sanctius (*Comm. ad* 2 *Reg.* i.) conjectured that it was a collection of pious hymns written by different authors and sung on various occasions, and that from this collection the Psalter was compiled. That it was written in verse may reasonably be inferred from the only specimens extant, which exhibit unmistakable signs of metrical rhythm, but that it took its name from this circumstance is not supported by etymology. Lowth, indeed (*Præl.* pp. 306, 307), imagined that it was a collection of national songs, so called because it probably commenced with אָז יָשִׁיר, *âz yâshir*, "then sang," etc., like the song of Moses in Ex. xv. 1; his view of the question was that of the Syriac and Arabic translators, and was adopted by Herder. But, granting that the form of the book was poetical, a difficulty still remains as to its subject. That the book of Jasher contained the deeds of national heroes of all ages embalmed in verse, among which David's lament over Saul and Jonathan had an appropriate place, was the opinion of Calovius. A fragment of a similar kind is thought to appear in Num. xxi. 14. Gesenius conjectured that it was an anthology of ancient songs, which acquired its name, "the book of the just or upright," from being written in praise of upright men. He quotes but does not approve, the theory of Illgen that like the Hamasa of the Arabs, it celebrated the achievements of illustrious warriors, and from this derived the title of "the book of valor." But the idea of warlike valor is entirely foreign to the root *yâshar*. Dupin contended from 2 Sam. i. 18, that the contents of the book were of a military nature; but Montanus, regarding rather the etymology, considered it a collection of political and moral precepts. Abicht, taking the lament of David as a sample of the whole, maintained that the fragment had hitherto escaped the notice of all commentators (*Jashar*, p. 29).

[a] Dr. Donaldson has overlooked this passage when he asserted that his own analysis of the word "Israel" [illegible]

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quoted in the book of Joshua was part of a funeral ode composed upon the death of that hero, and narrating his achievements. At the same time he does not conceive it necessary to suppose that one book only is alluded to in both instances. It must be admitted, however, that there is very slight ground for any conclusion beyond that which affects the form, and that nothing can be confidently asserted with regard to the contents.

But, though conjecture might almost be thought to have exhausted itself on a subject so barren of premises, a scholar of our own day has not despaired of being able, not only to decide what the book of Jasher was in itself, but to reconstruct it from the fragments which, according to his theory, he traces throughout the several books of the O. T. In the preface to his *Jashar*, or *Fragmenta Archetypa Carminum Hebraicorum in Masorethico Veteris Testamenti textu passim teeselata*, Dr. Donaldson advances a scheme for the restoration of this ancient record, in accordance with his own idea of its scope and contents. Assuming that, during the tranquil and prosperous reign of Solomon, an unwonted impulse was given to Hebrew literature, and that the worshippers of Jehovah were desirous of possessing something on which their faith might rest, the book of "Jashar," or "uprightness," he asserts, was written, or rather compiled, to meet this want. Its object was to show that in the beginning man was upright, but had by carnal wisdom forsaken the spiritual law; that the Israelites had been chosen to preserve and transmit this law of uprightness; that David had been made king for his religious integrity, leaving the kingdom to his son Solomon, in whose reign, after the dedication of the Temple, the prosperity of the chosen people reached its culminating point. The compiler of the book was probably Nathan the prophet, assisted perhaps by Gad the seer. It was thus "the first offspring of the prophetic schools, and ministered spiritual food to the greater prophets." Rejecting, therefore, the authority of the Masoretic text, as founded entirely on tradition, and adhering to his own theory of the origin and subject of the book of Jasher, Dr. Donaldson proceeds to show that it contains the religious marrow of Holy Scripture. In such a case, of course, absolute proof is not to be looked for, and it would be impossible here to discuss what measure of probability should be assigned to a scheme elaborated with considerable ingenuity. Whatever ancient fragments in the sacred books of the Hebrews exhibit the nature of uprightness, celebrate the victories of the true Israelites, predict their prosperity, or promise future blessedness, have, according to this theory, a claim to be considered among the relics of the book of Jasher. Following such a principle of selection, the fragments fall into seven groups. The first part, the object of which is to show that man was created upright (יָשָׁר, *yâshâr*), but fell into sin by carnal wisdom, contains two fragments, an Elohistic and a Jehovistic, both poetical, the latter being the more full. The first of these includes Gen. i. 27, 28, vi. 1, 2, 4, 5, viii 21, vi. 6, 3; the other is made up of Gen. ii. 7–9, 15–18, 25, iii. 1–19, 21, 23, 24. The second part, consisting of four fragments, shows how the descendants of Abraham, as being upright (יְשָׁרִים, *yeshârim*), were adopted by God, while the neighboring nations were rejected. Fragment (1) Gen. ix. 18–27; fragment (2) Gen. iv. 2–8 8–16; fragment (3) Gen. xvi. 1–4, 15, 16, xvii 9–16, 18–26, xxi. 1–14, 20, 21; fragment (4) Gen xxv. 20–34, xxvii. 1–10, 14, 18–20, 25–40, iv. 18 19, xxvi. 34, xxxvi. 2, iv. 23, 24, xxxvi. 8, xxviii 9, xxvi. 35, xxvii. 46, xxviii. 1–4, 11–19, xxix. 1 &c., 24, 29, xxxv. 22–26, xxxiv. 25–29, xxxv. 9–14 15, xxxii. 31. In the third part is related under the figure of the deluge how the Israelites escaped from Egypt, wandered forty years in the wilderness, and finally, in the reign of Solomon, built a temple to Jehovah. The passages in which this is found are Gen vi. 5–14, vii. 6, 11, 12, viii. 6, 7, viii. 8, 12, v. 29, viii. 4; 1 K. vi., viii. 43; Deut. vi. 18; Ps. v. 8. The three fragments of the fourth part contain the divine laws to be observed by the upright people, and are found (1) Deut. v. 1–22; (2) vi. 1–5; Lev. xix. 18; Deut. x. 12–21, xi. 1–5, 7–9; (3) viii. 1–3, vi. 6–18, 20–25. The blessings of the upright and their admonitions are the subject of the fifth part, which contains the songs of Jacob (Gen. xlix.), Balaam (Num. xxiii., xxiv.), and Moses (Deut. xxxii., xxxiii.). The wonderful victories and deliverances of Israel are celebrated in the sixth part, in the triumphal songs of Moses and Miriam (Ex. xv. 1–19), of Joshua (Josh. x. 12–13), and of Deborah (Judg. v. 1–20). The seventh is a collection of various hymns composed in the reigns of David and Solomon, and contains David's song of triumph over Goliath (1 Sam. ii. 1–10);[a] his lament for Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i. 19–27), and for Abner (2 Sam. iii. 33, 34); his psalm of thanksgiving (Ps. xviii., 2 Sam. xxii.); his triumphal ode on the conquest of the Edomites (Ps. lx.), and his prophecy of Messiah's kingdom (2 Sam. xxiii. 1–7), together with Solomon's epithalamium (Ps. xlv.), and the hymn sung at the dedication of the Temple (Ps. lxviii.).

Among the many strange results of this arrangement, Shem, Ham, and Japhet are no longer the sons of Noah, who is Israel under a figure, but of Adam; and the circumstances of Noah's life related in Gen. ix. 18–27 are transferred to the latter. Cain and Abel are the sons of Shem, Abraham is the son of Abel, and Esau becomes Lamech the son of Methuselah.

There are also extant, under the title of "the Book of Jasher," two Rabbinical works, one a moral treatise, written in A. D. 1394 by R. Shabbatai Carmuz Levita, of which a copy in MS. exists in the Vatican Library; the other, by R. Tham, treats of the laws of the Jews in eighteen chapters, and was printed in Italy in 1544, and at Cracow in 1586. An anonymous work, printed at Venice and Prague in 1625, and said to have made its first appearance at Naples, was believed by some Jews to be the record alluded to in Joshua. It contains the historical narratives of the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Judges, with many fabulous additions. R. Jacob translated it into German, and printed his version at Frankfort on the Maine in 1674. It is said in the preface to the 1st ed. to have been discovered at the destruction of Jerusalem, by Sidrus, one of the officers of Titus, who, while searching a house for the purpose of plunder, found in a secret chamber a vessel containing the books of the Law, the Prophets, and Hagiographa, with many others, which a venerable man was reading. Sidrus took the old man under his protection and built for him

[a] * The song in 1 Sam. ii. 1–10 is not David's, but Hannah's thanksgiving song for the birth of Samuel.

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a house at Seville, where the books were safely deposited. The book in question is probably the production of a Spanish Jew of the 13th century (Abicht, *De Libr. Recti*, in *Thes. Vov. Theol.-Phil.* i. 525–534). A clumsy forgery in English, which first appeared in 1751 under the title of "the Book of Jasher," deserves notice solely for the unmerited success with which it was palmed off upon the public. It professed to be a translation from the Hebrew into English by Alcuin of Britain, who discovered it in Persia during his pilgrimage. It was reprinted at Bristol in 1827, and was again published in 1833, in each case accompanied by a fictitious commendatory note by Wickliffe. [On this forgery, see Horne's *Introduction*, iv. 741 ff., 10th ed. — A.] W. A. W.

JASHO'BEAM (יָשָׁבְעָם [*the people return*]: Ἰεσεβαάδ, [Ἰωβοκάμ, Ἰσβοάζ (Vat. Ἰωβαλ); Alex. Ἰσβααμ, Ἰεσβααμ, Ἰσβοαμ:] *Jesbaam*, [*Jesboam*]). Possibly one and the same follower of David, bearing this name, is described as a Hachmonite (1 Chr. xi. 11), a Korhite (1 Chr. xii. 6), and son of Zabdiel (1 Chr. xxvii. 2). He came to David at Ziklag. His distinguishing exploit was that he slew 300 (or 800, 2 Sam. xxiii. 8) men at one time. He is named first among the chief of the mighty men of David (1 Chr. xi. 11); and he was set over the first of the twelve monthly courses of 24,000 men who served the king (xxvii. 2). In 2 Sam. xxiii. 8, his name seems to be erroneously transcribed, יָשֹׁב בַּשֶּׁבֶת (A. V. "that sat in the seat"), instead of יָשָׁבְעָם; and in the same place "Adino the Eznite" is possibly a corruption either of עוֹרֵר אֶת־חֲנִיתוֹ, "he lift up his spear" (1 Chr. xi. 11), or, as Gesenius conjectures, of יְעָדֵנוֹ הֶעָצֵנוֹ, which he translates, "he shook it, even his spear." [EZNITE.] W. T. B.

JA'SHUB (יָשׁוּב [*he who returns*]: in the *Cetib* of 1 Chr. vii. 1 it is יָשִׁיב; in the Samaritan Cod. of Num. xxvi. יושב: Ἰασούβ; [Vat. in 1 Chr., Ἰασσουρ:] *Jasub*). 1. The third son of Issachar, and founder of the family of the Jashubites (Num. xxvi. 24; 1 Chr. vii. 1). In the list of Gen. xlvi. the name is given (possibly in a contracted or erroneous form, Ges. *Thes.* p. 583) as JOB; but in one Samaritan Codex — followed by the LXX. — Jashub.

2. [Vat. Ἀβιασουδ, FA. Δαασουδ, by union with the preceding word.] One of the sons of Bani, a layman in the time of Ezra, who had to put away his foreign wife (Ezr. x. 29). In Esdras the name is JASUBUS.

JASH'UBI-LE'HEM (יָשׁוּבִי לָחֶם, in some copies יָשְׁבִי לְ [see below]: καὶ ἀνέστρεψεν *ubrobs*, in both MSS.: *et qui reversi sunt in Lahem*), a person or a place named among the descendants of Shelah, the son of Judah by Bathshua the Canaanitess (1 Chr. iv. 22). The name does not occur again. It is probably a place, and we should infer from its connection with Mareshah and Chozeba — if Chozeba be Chezib or Achzib — that it lay on the western side of the tribe, in or near the *Shefelah*. The Jewish explanations of this and the following verse are very curious. They may be seen in Jerome's *Quaest. Hebr.* on this passage, and, in a slightly different form, in the Targum on the Chronicles (ed. Wilkins, 29, 30). The mention of Moab gives the key to the whole. Chozeba is Elimelech; Joash and Saraph are Mahlon and Chilion, who "had the dominion in Moab" from marrying the two Moabite damsels: Jashubi-Lehem is Naomi and Ruth, who returned (Jashubi, from שׁוּב, "to return") to bread, or to Beth-*lehem*, after the famine: and the "ancient words" point to the book of Ruth as the source of the whole. G.

JA'SHUBITES, THE (הַיָּשְׁבִי [patronym.]; Samaritan, היישבי: ὁ Ἰασουβί [Vat. -βει]: *familia Jasubitarum*). The family founded by Jashub the son of Issachar (Num. xxvi. 24). [JASHUB, 1.]

JA'SIEL (יַעֲשִׂיאֵל [*God creates*]: Ἰεσσιήλ; [Vat. Εσσειηλ; FA. Εσειηλ;] Alex. Εσσιηλ: *Jasiel*), the last named on the increased list of David's heroes in 1 Chr. xi. 47. He is described as the MESOBAITE. Nothing more is known of him.

JA'SON (Ἰάσων), a common Greek name which was frequently adopted by Hellenizing Jews as the equivalent of *Jesus*, *Joshua* (Ἰησοῦς; comp. Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5, § 1),[a] probably with some reference to its supposed connection with ἰᾶσθαι (*i. e.* the *Healer*). A parallel change occurs in *Alcimus* (Eliakim); while *Nicolaus*, *Dositheus*, *Menelaus*, etc., were direct translations of Hebrew names.

1. JASON THE SON OF ELEAZAR (cf. Ecclus. l. 27, Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Σιρὰχ Ἐλεάζαρ, Cod. A.) was one of the commissioners sent by Judas Maccabeus to conclude a treaty with the Romans B. C. 161 (1 Macc. viii. 17; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 10, § 6).

2. JASON THE FATHER OF ANTIPATER, who was an envoy to Rome at a later period (1 Macc. xii. 16, xiv. 22), is probably the same person as No. 1.

3. JASON OF CYRENE, a Jewish historian who wrote "in five books" a history of the Jewish war of liberation, which supplied the chief materials for the second book of the Maccabees. [2 MACCABEES.] His name and the place of his residence seem to mark Jason as a Hellenistic Jew, and it is probable on internal grounds that his history was written in Greek. This narrative included the wars under Antiochus Eupator, and he must therefore have written after B. C. 162; but nothing more is known of him than can be gathered from 2 Macc. ii. 19–23.

4. [In 2 Macc. iv. 13, Alex. Ειασων.] JASON THE HIGH-PRIEST, the second son of Simon II., and brother of Onias III., who succeeded in obtaining the high-priesthood from Antiochus Epiphanes (c. 175 B. C.) to the exclusion of his elder brother (2 Macc. iv. 7–26; 4 Macc. iv. 17; Joseph. *Ant* xii. 5, § 1). He labored in every way to introduce Greek customs among the people, and that with great success (2 Macc. iv.; Joseph. *l. c.*). In order to give permanence to the changes which he designed, he established a gymnasium at Jerusalem, and even the priests neglected their sacred functions to take part in the games (2 Macc. iv. 9, 14), and at

[a] Jason and Jesus occur together as Jewish names in the history of Aristeas (Hody, *De Text.* p. vii.)

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ast he went so far as to send a deputation to the Tyrian games in honor of Hercules. [HERCULES.] After three years (cir. B. C. 172) he was in turn supplanted in the king's favor by his own emissary Menelaus [MENELAUS], who obtained the office of high-priest from Antiochus by the offer of a larger bribe, and was forced to take refuge among the Ammonites (2 Macc. iv. 26). On a report of the death of Antiochus (c. 170 B. C.) he made a violent attempt to recover his power (2 Macc. v. 5–7), but was repulsed, and again fled to the Ammonites. Afterwards he was compelled to retire to Egypt, and thence to Sparta, whither he went in the hope of receiving protection "in virtue of his being connected with them by race" (2 Macc. v. 9; comp. 1 Macc. xii. 7; Frankel, *Monatsschrift*, 1853, p. 456), and there "perished in a strange land" (2 Macc. *l. c.*; cf. Dan. xii. 30 ff.; 1 Macc. i. 12 ff.).

B. F. W.

5. JASON THE THESSALONIAN, who entertained Paul and Silas, and was in consequence attacked by the Jewish mob (Acts xvii. 5, 6, 7, 9). He is probably the same as the Jason mentioned in Rom. xvi. 21, as a companion of the Apostle, and one of his kinsmen or fellow-tribesmen. Lightfoot conjectured that Jason and Secundus (Acts xx. 4) were the same.

W. A. W.

JASPER (יָשְׁפֵה: ἴασπις: *jaspis*), a precious stone frequently noticed in Scripture. It was the last of the twelve inserted in the high-priest's breastplate (Ex. xxviii. 20, xxxix. 13), and the first of the twelve used in the foundations of the new Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 19): the difference in the *order* seems to show that no emblematical importance was attached to that feature. It was the stone employed in the superstructure (ἐνδόμησις) of the wall of the new Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 18). It further appears among the stones which adorned the king of Tyre (Ez. xxviii. 13). Lastly, it is the emblematical image of the glory of the Divine Being (Rev. iv. 3). The characteristics of the stone, as far as they are specified in Scripture (Rev. xxi. 11), are that it was "most precious," and "like crystal" (κρυσταλλίζων); not exactly "clear as crystal," as in A. V., but of a crystal hue; the term is applied to it in this sense by Dioscorides (v. 160; λίθος ἰάσπις, ὁ μὲν τίς ἐστι σμαραγδίζων, ὁ δὲ κρυσταλλώδης): we may also infer from Rev. iv. 3, that it was a stone of brilliant and transparent light. The stone which we name "jasper" does not accord with this description: it is an opaque species of quartz, of a red, yellow, green, or mixed brownish-yellow hue, sometimes striped and sometimes spotted, in no respect presenting the characteristics of the crystal. The only feature in the stone which at all accords with the Scriptural account is that it admits of a high polish, and this appears to be indicated in the Hebrew name. With regard to the Hebrew term, the LXX. and Vulg. render it by the "onyx" and "beryl" respectively, and represent the jasper by the term *yahalom* (A. V. "emerald"). There can be no doubt that the *diamond* would more adequately answer to the description in the book of Revelation, and unless that beautiful and valuable stone is represented by the Hebrew *yashpheh* and the Greek ἴασπις, it does not appear at all in the passages quoted; for the term rendered "diamond" in Ex. xxviii. 18 really refers to the emerald. We are disposed to think, therefore, that though the names *yashpheh*, ἴασπις, and *jasper* are identical, the stones may have been different and that the *diamond* is meant. [See CHALCEDONY.]

W. L. B.

JASU'BUS (Ἰασοῦβος: *Jasub*), 1 Esdr. ix 30. [JASHUB, 2.]

JA'TAL (Ἀτάρ, both MSS.; [rather, Rom Alex.; Vat. is corrupt; Ald. Ἰατλά:] *Azer*), 1 Esdr. v. 28; but whence was the form in A. V. adopted? [From the Aldine edition, after the Genevan version and the Bishops' Bible. A.] [ATER, 1.]

JATH'NIEL (יְתַנְיֵאל [*whom God bestows*]: Ἰεννηλ: Alex. Ναθανα; [Comp. Ἰαθαναήλ, Ald. Ναθαναήλ:] *Jathanaël*), a Korhite Levite, and a doorkeeper (A. V. "porter") to the house of Jehovah, *i. e.* the tabernacle; the fourth of the family of Meshelemiah (1 Chr. xxvi. 2).

JATTIR (יַתִּיר, in Josh. xv. 48; elsewhere יֶתֶר [*eminent, extraordinary*]: Ἰεθήρ, Αἰλάμ, Γεθόν, Ἰεθάρ [Vat. Ἰεθθαρ]; Alex. Ἰεθερ, Ειεθερ: *Jether*), a town of Judah in the mountain district (Josh. xv. 48), one of the group containing Socho, Eshtemoa, etc.; it was among the nine cities which with their suburbs were allotted out of Judah to the priests (xxi. 14; 1 Chr. vi. 57), and was one of the places in the south in which David used to haunt in his freebooting days, and to his friends in which, he sent gifts from the spoil of the enemies of Jehovah (1 Sam. xxx. 27). By Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomasticon*, Jether) it is spoken of as a very large place in the middle of Daroma, near Malatha, and 20 miles from Eleutheropolis. It is named by hap-Parchi, the Jewish traveller; but the passage is defective, and little can be gathered from it (Zunz in Asher's *Benj. of Tudela*, ii. 442) By Robinson (i. 494–95) it is identified with *'Attîr*, 6 miles N. of Molada, and 10 miles S. of Hebron, and having the probable sites of Socho, Eshtemoa, and other southern towns within short distances. This identification may be accepted, notwithstanding the discrepancy in the distance of *'Attîr* from Eleutheropolis (if *Beit-Jibrîn* be Eleutheropolis) — which is by road nearer 30 than 20 Roman miles. We may suspect an error in the text of the Onomast., often very corrupt; or Eusebius may have confounded *'Attîr* with *Jutta*, which does lie exactly 20 miles from *B. Jibrîn*. And it is by no means absolutely proved that *B. Jibrîn* is Eleutheropolis. Robinson notices that it is not usual for the *Jod* with which Jattir commences to change into the *Ain* of *'Attîr* (*Bibl. Res.* i. 494, *note*).

The two Ithrite heroes of David's guard were probably from Jattir, living memorials to him of his early difficulties.

G.

* Ruins still exist on the ancient site. "It is situated on a green knoll, in an amphitheatre of brown rocky hills, studded with natural caves. . . . We counted upwards of thirty arched crypts . . . some larger and some shorter; but most of them without end walls, and having perhaps been merely passages or streets with houses over them. The arches are round, slightly domed, or sometimes a little pointed built of well-dressed stones, generally two or three feet square. Those which had the gable ends intact had square beveled doorways, at one end flat-headed, about 6 feet high, and 3½ feet wide. The tunnels are generally 18 or 20 feet long, though measured one upwards of 40 feet. Some ancient carvings remain on the doorways. . . . On the

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side of the hill lay the under stone of a very large oil press — an undeniable evidence of the existence of olive-trees of old, where neither trace of tree or shrub remains. In several places we could perceive the ancient terracing in the hills, and there were many wells, all run dry, and partially choked with rubbish. The eastern face of the knoll consisted chiefly of natural caves once used as dwellings, enlarged, and with outside extensions of arched crypts in front. . . . The only modern building in sight was a little *Wely*, or tomb of a Moslem saint, on the crest of the hill" (Tristram, *Land of Israel*, p. 388 f., 2d ed.). H.

JA'VAN (יָוָן: Ἰωβάν; [in Is. and Ez., Ἑλλάς; in Dan. and Zech. Ἕλληνες: *Græcia*, *Græci*] *Javan*). 1. A son of Japheth, and the father of Elishah and Tarshish, Kittim and Dodanim (Gen. x. 2, 4). The name appears in Is. lxvi. 19, where it is coupled with Tarshish, Pul, and Lud, and more particularly with Tubal and the "isles afar off," as representatives of the Gentile world: again in Ez. xxvii. 13, where it is coupled with Tubal and Meshech, as carrying on considerable commerce with the Tyrians, who imported from these countries slaves and brazen vessels: in Dan. viii. 21, x. 20, xi. 2, in reference to the Macedonian empire; and lastly in Zech. ix. 13, in reference to the Græco-Syrian empire.[a] From a comparison of these various passages there can be no doubt that Javan was regarded as the representative of the Greek race: the similarity of the name to that branch of the Hellenic family with which the Orientals were best acquainted, namely, the Ionians, particularly in the older form in which their name appears (Ἰάων), is too close to be regarded as accidental: and the occurrence of the name in the cuneiform inscriptions of the time of Sargon (about B. C. 709), in the form of *Yavan* or *Yunan*, as descriptive of the isle of Cyprus, where the Assyrians first came in contact with the power of the Greeks, further shows that its use was not confined to the Hebrews, but was widely spread throughout the East. The name was probably introduced into Asia by the Phœnicians, to whom the Ionians were naturally better known than any other of the Hellenic races, on account of their commercial activity and the high prosperity of their towns on the western coast of Asia Minor. The extension of the name westward to the general body of the Greeks, as they became known to the Hebrews through the Phœnicians, was but a natural process, analogous to that which we have already had to notice in the case of Chittim. It can hardly be imagined that the early Hebrews themselves had any actual acquaintance with the Greeks: it is, however, worth mentioning as illustrative of the communication which existed between the Greeks and the East, that among the artists who contributed to the ornamentation of Esarhaddon's palaces the names of several Greek artists appear in one of the inscriptions (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 483). At a later period the Hebrews must have gained considerable knowledge of the Greeks through the Egyptians. Psammetichus (B. C. 664–610) employed Ionians and Carians as mercenaries, and showed them so much favor that the war-caste of Egypt forsook him in a body: the Greeks were settled near Bubastis, in a part of the country with which the Jews were familiar (*Herod.* ii. 154). The same policy was followed by the succeeding monarchs, especially Amasis (571–525), who gave the Greeks Naucratis as a commercial emporium. It is tolerably certain that any information which the Hebrews acquired in relation to the Greeks must have been through the indirect means to which we have adverted: the Greeks themselves were very slightly acquainted with the southern coast of Syria until the invasion of Alexander the Great. The earliest notices of Palestine occur in the works of Hecatæus (B. C. 549–486), who mentions only the two towns Canytis and Cardytus; the next are in Herodotus, who describes the country as Syria Palæstina, and notices incidentally the towns Ascalon, Azotus, Ecbatana (Batanæa?), and Cadytis, the same as the Canytis of Hecatæus, probably Gaza. These towns were on the border of Egypt, with the exception of the uncertain Ecbatana; and it is therefore highly probable that no Greek had, down to this late period, travelled through Palestine.

2. [Rom. Vat. Alex. omit; Comp. Ἰαουάν; Ald. Ἰωυάν: *Græcia*.] A town in the southern part of Arabia (*Yemen*), whither the Phœnicians traded (Ez. xxvii. 19): the connection with Uzal decides in favor of this place rather than Greece, as in the Vulg. The same place may be noticed in Joel iii. 6: the parallelism to the Sabæans in ver. 8, and the fact that the Phœnicians *bought* instead of selling slaves to the Greeks (Ex. xxvii. 13), are in favor of this view. W. L. B.

* JA'VAN, SONS OF (בְּנֵי הַיָּוָנִים: υἱοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων: *filii Græcorum*), in the A. V., "the Grecians," and in the margin, "sons of the Grecians," Joel iii. 6 (iv. 6 Hebr.). That the Ionians or Greeks are meant in this passage of Joel, and not a place or tribe in Arabia (see JAVAN, 2), is the generally adopted view of scholars (Hitzig, Hävernick, Rüetschi, Delitzsch). According to this supposition, it is true, the Sidonians and Tyrians are said by Joel to sell their Jewish captives to the Greeks, and by Ezekiel (xxvii. 13), to purchase slaves, probably among them Greek slaves, from the Greeks themselves. The one statement, however, does not exclude the other. The traffic of the Phœnician slave-dealers, like that of modern slave-dealers, would consist almost inevitably of both the buying and selling of slaves. Greek female slaves were in great request among the oriental nations, especially the Persians (see Herod. iii. 134), and Tyre and Sidon were the ports to which they would naturally be brought in the prosecution of this trade. The Greeks loved liberty for themselves, but, especially in the ante-historic times to which Joel belonged, were not above enslaving and selling those of their own race for the sake of gain. On the other hand, it is notorious that the Greeks at all periods were accustomed to capture or buy men of other nations as slaves, either for their own use, or to sell them to foreigners. On the slave-traffic of the Phœnicians and the Greeks, see the statements of Dr. Pusey, *Joel*, p. 134 f.

The name of the Arabian Javan (Ez. xxvii. 19) had no doubt the same origin as the Ionian or Greek Javan. But what that origin was is not certain. Some conjecture that Javan in Arabia was originally a Greek colony which had gone

[a] * The A. V. has "Javan" in all the passages returned to except those in Daniel, where it is "Grecia," and Zech. ix. 13, where it is "Greece," while in Amos iii. 6 (which also belongs here) it is "Grecians." M

thither by the way of Egypt at an early period, and hence were known from the country whence they emigrated (Tuch, *Genesis*, p. 210 f., and Hävernick, *Ezechiel*, p. 469). Some think that Javan (as an Indo-Germanic word, Sansk. *juvan*, comp. *juvenis*) meant "new" or "young," and was applied to the later or new branches of this Indo-Germanic stock in the west as distinguished from the old parent-stock in the remoter east. (See Rüetschi in Herzog's *Real-Encyk.* vi. 432, and Pott, *Etymol. Forschungen*, i. xli.) Javan in the ethnographic table (Gen. x. 4) may be taken, if necessary, as the name of the race, and not of its founder, and thus, consistently both with the view last stated, and with history, the Ionians or Greeks are said to spring from the Japheth branch of Noah's family. All the modern researches in ethnography and geography, as Ritter has remarked, tend more and more to confirm this "table of the nations" in the 10th ch. of Genesis. H.

JAVELIN. [ARMS.]

JA'ZAR (ἡ Ἰαζήρ; [so Sin.; Comp. Γαζήρ; Alex. Ἰαζηνν: *Gazer*), 1 Macc. v. 8. [JAAZER.]

JA'ZER ['Ἰαζήρ; 2 Sam., Ἐλιέζερ; Alex. in 2 Sam. Ελιαζης; in 1 Chr., Vat. Γαζερ, Ριαζηρ (Alex. Γαζηρ): *Jazer, Jaser, Jezer*], Num. xxxii. 1, 3; Josh. xxi. 39; 2 Sam. xxiv. 5; 1 Chr. vi. 81, xxvi. 31; Is. xvi. 8, 9; Jer. xlviii. 32. [JAAZER.]

JA'ZIZ (יַעְזִיז [*shining, brilliant*]: Ἰαζίζ; [Vat. Ἰαζειζ;] Alex. Ἰωζιζ: *Jaziz*), a Hagarite who had charge of the "flocks," i. e. the sheep and goats (הַצֹּאן), of king David (1 Chr. xxvii. 31), which were probably pastured on the east of Jordan, in the nomad country where the forefathers of Jaziz had for ages roamed (comp. ver. 19–22).

JE'ARIM, MOUNT (הַר־יְעָרִים: πόλις Ἰαρίν; [Vat. Ιαρειν;] Alex. Ἰαριμ: *Mons Jarim*), a place named in specifying the northern boundary of Judah (Josh. xv. 10). The boundary ran from Mount Seir to "the shoulder of Mount Jearim, which is Cesalon" — that is, Cesalon was the landmark on the mountain. *Kesla* stands, 7 miles due west of Jerusalem, "on a high point on the north slope of the lofty ridge between *Wady Ghurâb* and *W. Ismail*. The latter of these is the south-western continuation of *W. Beit Hanina*, and the former runs parallel to and northward of it, and they are separated by this ridge, which is probably Mount Jearim" (Rob. iii. 154). If Jearim be taken as Hebrew it signifies "forests." Forests in our sense of the word there are none: but we have the testimony of the latest traveller that "such thorough woods, both for loneliness and obscurity, he had not seen since he left Germany" (Tobler, *Wanderung*, 1857, p. 178). Kirjath-Jearim (if that be *Kuriet el-Enab*) is only 2½ miles off to the northward, separated by the deep and wide hollow of *Wady Ghurab*. [CHESALON.] G.

JEATERAI [3 syl.] (יְעַתְרַי, [*whom Jehovah leads*]: Ἰεθρί [Vat. -ρει]: *Jethrai*), a Gershonite Levite, son of Zerah (1 Chr. vi. 21); apparently the head of his family at the time that the service of the Tabernacle was instituted by David (comp. ver. 31). In the reversed genealogy of the descendants of Gershom, Zerah's son is stated as Ethni (אֶתְנִי, ver. 41). The two names have quite similarity enough to allow of the one being a corruption of the other, though the fact is not ascertainable.

JEBERECHI'AH (יְבַרֶכְיָהוּ, with the final ו [*whom Jehovah blesses*]: Βαραχίας: *Barachias*), father of a certain Zechariah, in the reign of Ahaz, mentioned Is. viii. 2. As this form occurs nowhere else, and both the LXX. and Vulgate have *Berechiah*, it is probably only an accidental corruption. Possibly a י was in some copy by mistake attached to the preceding בן, so as to make it plural, and thence was transferred to the following word, Berechiah. Berechiah and Zechariah are both common names among the priests (Zech. i. 1). These are not the Zacharias and Barachias mentioned as father and son, Matt. xxiii. 35, as it is certain that Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, in the reign of Joash, is there meant. They may, however, be of the same family; and if Berechiah was the father of the house, not of the individuals, the same person might be meant in Is. viii. 2 and Matt. xxiii. 35. It is singular that Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 5, § 4) mentions another Zacharias, son of Baruch, who was slain by the Jews in the Temple shortly before the last siege of Jerusalem began. (See Whiston's note, *ad loc.*) A. C. H.

JE'BUS (יְבוּס [see *infra*]: Ἰεβούς: *Jebus*), one of the names of Jerusalem, the city of the Jebusites, also called JEBUSI. It occurs only twice: first in connection with the journey of the Levite and his unhappy concubine from Bethlehem to Gibeah (Judg. xix. 10, 11); and secondly, in the narrative of the capture of the place by David in 1 Chr. xi. 4, 5. In 2 Sam. v. 6–9 the name Jerusalem is employed. By Gesenius (*Thes.* 189, יבוּס) and Fürst (*Handwb.* 477) Jebus is interpreted to mean a place dry or down-trodden like a threshing-floor; an interpretation which by Ewald (iii. 155) and Stanley (*S. & P.* p. 177) is taken to prove that Jebus must have been the southwestern hill, the "dry rock" of the modern Zion, and "not the Mount Moriah, the city of Solomon, in whose centre arose the perennial spring." But in the great uncertainty which attends these ancient names, this is, to say the least, very doubtful. Jebus was the city of the Jebusites. Either the name of the town is derived from the name of the tribe, or the reverse. If the former, then the interpretation just quoted falls to the ground. If the latter, then the origin of the name of Jebus is thrown back to the very beginning of the Canaanite race — so far at any rate as to make its connection with a Hebrew root extremely uncertain. G.

* Jebus and Jerusalem need not be understood as interchangeable or coextensive names in 2 Sam. v. 6, but differing only as a part from the whole, like Zion and Jerusalem in Joel ii. 32 (iii. 5, Hebr.). For evidence that Jebus was the southwest hill, afterward called Mount Zion or the City of David, see Dr. Wolcott's addition to JERUSALEM (Amer. ed.). It has seemed hitherto almost incredible that the Jebusites could have kept this acropolis for so long a time, while the Hebrews dwelt almost under its shadow (Judg. i. 21). Recent excavations have thrown light on this singular fact. Jebus was a place of extraordinary strength; for though Zion appears at present almost on a level with some parts of the city, it is now proved beyond a ques-

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less least it was originally an isolated summit, precisely as implied in the account of its capture by David. It was protected not only by the deep ravine of Hinnom on the south and west, and the Tyropœon on the east, but by a valley which ran from the *Joffa* gate to the Tyropœon on the north side of the mount. This last valley has been laid bare, showing at different points a depth of 26 and 33 feet below the present surface, and in one instance a depth of nearly 80 feet below the brow of Zion. At one spot a fragment of the ancient northern rampart of Zion was brought to light. "It was built close against the cliff, and though only rising to the top of the rock behind, it was yet 39 feet high toward the ravine in front" (*Recent Researches in Jerusalem*, reprinted from the *British Quarterly Review*, October, 1867, in the *Theol. Eclectic*, v. 393; and *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, p. 61, Lond. 1865). It is not surprising, therefore, that the subjugation of this stronghold should be reserved for the prowess of David, and be recorded as one of his greatest exploits (2 Sam. v. 6–8).

The occurrence of this name in the account of the Levite's homeward journey (Judg. xix. 10 ff.) suggests a remark or two on the local allusions which occur in the narrative. Jebus or Jerusalem is a short 2 hours from Bethlehem, and hence, the party leaving the latter place somewhat late in the afternoon (as appears more clearly from the Hebrew than in the A. V., see Judg. xix. 9, 11), they would be off against Jebus near the close of the day, as stated in ver. 11. Their journey lay along the west side of that city: and this may be a reason why it is spoken of as Jebus rather than Jerusalem. The servant proposed that they should remain here over night, as the time now left was barely sufficient to enable them to reach the next halting-place. But the Levite objected to this, and insisted that they should proceed further and lodge either in Gibeah or in Ramah, an association of the places which implies that they were near each other and on the route of the travellers. One of these exists still under its ancient name *Er-Ram*, and the other, such explorers as Robinson, Van de Velde, Porter, identify with *Tuleil el-Fûl*: both of them on heights which overlook the road, nearly opposite each other, 2½ or 3 hours further north from Jebus. Accordingly we read that as the Levite and his company drew near Gibeah "the sun went down upon them," in precise accordance with the time and the distance. Here occurred the horrible crime which stands almost without a parallel in Jewish history. Shiloh was the Levite's destination, and on the morrow, pursuing still further this northern road, he would come in a few hours to that seat of the Tabernacle, or "house of the Lord," as it is called, ver. 18. H.

JEBUSI (יְבוּסִי = *the Jebusite*: Ἰεβουσαί, Ἰεβοῦς, [so Tisch.; Ἰηβοῦς, Holmes, Bos; Alex. Ἰεβους:] *Jebusæus*, [*Jebus*]), the name employed for the city of JEBUS, only in the ancient document describing the landmarks and the towns of the allotment of Judah and Benjamin (Josh. xv. 8, xviii. 16, 28). In the first and last place the explanatory words, "which is Jerusalem," are added In the first, however, our translators have given it as "the Jebusite."

A parallel to this mode of designating the town by its inhabitants is found in this very list in Zemaraim (xviii. 22), Avim (23), Ophni (24), and Japhletite (xvi. 3), &c. G.

JEBUSITE, JEBUSITES, THE. Although these two forms are indiscriminately employed in the A. V., yet in the original the name, whether applied to individuals or to the nation, is never found in the plural; always singular. The usual form is הַיְבוּסִי; but in a few places — namely, 2 Sam. v. 6, xxiv. 16, 18; 1 Chr. xxi. 18 only — it is הַיְבֻסִי. Without the article, יְבוּסִי, it occurs in 2 Sam. v. 8; 1 Chr. xi. 6; Zech. ix. 7. In the two first of these the force is much increased by removing the article introduced in the A. V., and reading "and amiteth a Jebusite." We do not hear of a progenitor to the tribe, but the name which would have been his, had he existed, has attached itself to the city in which we meet with the Jebusites in historic times. [JEBUS.] The LXX. give the name Ἰεβουσαῖος; [in Judg. xix. 11, Ἰεβουσί, Vat. -σειν; in Ezr. ix. 1, Ἰεβουσί, Vat. Alex. -σει:] Vulg. *Jebusæus*.

1. According to the table in Genesis x. "the Jebusite" is the third son of Canaan. His place in the list is between Heth and the Amorites (Gen. x. 16; 1 Chr. i. 14), a position which the tribe maintained long after (Num. xiii. 29; Josh. xi. 3); and the same connection is traceable in the words of Ezekiel (xvi. 3, 45), who addresses Jerusalem as the fruit of the union of an Amorite with a Hittite. But in the formula by which the Promised Land is so often designated, the Jebusites are uniformly placed last, which may have arisen from their small number, or their quiet disposition. See Gen. xv. 21; Ex. iii. 8, 17, xiii. 5, xxiii. 23, xxxiii. 2, xxxiv. 11; Deut. vii. 1, xx. 17; Josh. iii. 10, ix. 1, xii. 8, xxiv. 11; 1 K. ix. 20; 2 Chr. viii. 7; Ezr. ix. 1; Neh. ix. 8.

2. Our first glimpse of the actual people is in the invaluable report of the spies — "the Hittite, and the Jebusite, and the Amorite dwell in the mountain" (Num. xiii. 29). This was forty years before the entrance into Palestine, but no change in their *habitat* had been made in the interval; for when Jabin organized his rising against Joshua he sent amongst others "to the Amorite, the Hittite, the Perizzite, and the Jebusite in the mountain" (Josh. xi. 3). A mountain-tribe they were, and a mountain-tribe they remained. "Jebus, which is Jerusalem," lost its king in the slaughter of Beth-horon (Josh. x. 1, 5, 26; comp. xii. 10) — was sacked and burnt by the men of Judah (Judg. i. 21), and its citadel finally scaled and occupied by David (2 Sam. v. 6); but still the Jebusites who inhabited Jerusalem, the "inhabitants of the land," could not be expelled from their mountain-seat, but continued to dwell with the children of Judah and Benjamin to a very late date (Josh. xv. 8, 63; Judg. i. 21, xix. 11). This obstinacy is characteristic of mountaineers, and the few traits we possess of the Jebusites show them as a warlike people. Before the expedition under Jabin, Adoni-Zedek, the king of Jerusalem, had himself headed the attack on the Gibeonites, which ended in the slaughter of Beth-horon, and cost him his life on that eventful evening under the trees at Makkedah.[a] That they were established in the strongest natural

[a] In ver. 5 the king of Jerusalem is styled one of the five kings of the Amorites." But the LXX (both MSS.) have τῶν Ἰεβουσαίων "of the Jebusites."

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fortress of the country in itself says much for their courage and power, and when they lost it, it was through bravado rather than from any cowardice on their part. [JERUSALEM.]

After this they emerge from the darkness but once, in the person of Araunah[a] the Jebusite, "Araunah the king" (אַרַוְנָה הַמֶּלֶךְ), who appears before us in true kingly dignity in his well-known transaction with David (2 Sam. xxiv. 23; 1 Chr. xxi. 23). The picture presented us in these well-known passages is a very interesting one. We see the fallen Jebusite king and his four sons on their threshing-floor on the bald top of Moriah, treading out their wheat (דָּישׁ: A. V. "threshing") by driving the oxen with the heavy sledges (מֹרָגִים, A. V. "threshing instruments") over the corn, round the central heap. We see Araunah on the approach of David fall on his face on the ground, and we hear him ask, "Why is my lord the king come to his slave?" followed by his willing surrender of all his property. But this reveals no traits peculiar to the Jebusites, or characteristic of them more than of their contemporaries in Israel, or in the other nations of Canaan. The early judges and kings of Israel threshed wheat in the wine-press (Judg. vi. 11), followed the herd out of the field (1 Sam. xi. 5), and were taken from the sheep-cotes (2 Sam. vii. 8), and the pressing courtesy of Araunah is closely paralleled by that of Ephron the Hittite in his negotiation with Abraham.

We are not favored with further traits of the Jebusites, nor with any clew to their religion or rites.

Two names of individual Jebusites are preserved. In ADONI-ZEDEK the only remarkable thing is its Hebrew form, in which it means "Lord of justice."

That of ARAUNAH is much more uncertain — so much so as to lead to the belief that we possess it more nearly in its original shape. In the short narrative of Samuel alone it is given in three forms — "the Avarnah" (ver. 16); Araneah (18); Aravnah, or Araunah (20, 21). In Chronicles it is Arnan, while by the LXX. it is Ὀρνά, and by Josephus Ὀρόννα. [ARAUNAH; ORNAN.]

In the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles the ashes of Barnabas, after his martyrdom in Cyprus, are said to have been buried in a cave, "where the race of the Jebusites formerly dwelt;" and previously to this is mentioned the arrival in the island of a "pious Jebusite, a kinsman of Nero" (*Act. Apost. Apocr.* pp. 72, 73, ed. Tisch.). G.

JECAMI'AH (יְקַמְיָה), *i. e.* Jekamiah, as the name is elsewhere given [*he who assembles the people*]: Ἰεκεμία, [Vat.] Alex. Ἰεκενια: *Jecemia*), one of a batch of seven, including Salathiel and Pedaiah, who were introduced into the royal line, on the failure of it in the person of Jehoiachim (1 Chr. iii. 18). They were all apparently sons of Neri, of the line of Nathan, since Salathiel certainly was so (Luke iii. 27). [GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST, p. 885 *b*.] A. C. H.

JECHOLI'AH (יְכָלְיָהוּ [*Jehovah is mighty*], with the final ו: Ἰεχελία, [Vat. Χαλεια,] Alex. Ἰεχεμα: Joseph. Ἀχιάλας: *Jechelia*), wife of Amaziah king of Judah, and mother of Azariah or Uzziah his successor (2 K. xv. 2). Both this queen and Jehoaddan, the mother of her husband are specified as "of Jerusalem." In the A. V. of Chronicles her name is given as JECOLIAH.

JECHONI'AS (Ἰεχονίας: *Jechonias*). 1. The Greek form of the name of king JECHONIAH, followed by our translators in the books rendered from the Greek, namely, Esth. xi. 4; Bar. i. 3, 9. Matt. i. 11, 12.

2. 1 Esdr. viii. 92. [SHECHANIAH.]

* 3. 1 Esdr. i. 9. So A. V. ed. 1611, etc., correctly. Later editions read JECONIAS. The same as CONANIAH, q. v. A.

JECOLI'AH (יְכָלְיָה [see above]: Ἰεχελία; [Vat. Χαλια:] *Jechelia*), 2 Chr. xxvi. 3. In the original the name differs from its form in the parallel passage in Kings, only in not having the final ה. [JECHOLIAH.]

JECONI'AH (יְכָנְיָה; excepting once, יְכָנְיָהוּ, with the final ו, Jer. xxiv. 1; and once in *Cetib*, יְכוֹנְיָה, Jer. xxvii. 20 [*Jehovah establishes*]: Ἰεχονίας: *Jechonias*), an altered form of the name of JEHOIACHIN, last but one of the kings of Judah, which is found in the following passages: 1 Chr. iii. 16, 17; Jer. xxiv. 1, xxvii. 20, xxviii. 4, xxix. 2; Esth. ii. 6. It is still further abbreviated to CONIAH. See also JECHONIAS and JOACIM.

JECONI'AS (Ἰεχονίας: *Jechonias*), 1 Esdr. i. 9. [JECHONIAS, 3.]

JEDA'IAH [3 syl.] (יְדַעְיָה [*Jehovah knows*]: [Ἰεδία,] Ἰωδαέ, Ἰεδουά, Ἰαδιά, [etc.:] *Jedei, Jadaia, [Idaia, Jodaia]*). 1. Head of the second course of priests, as they were divided in the time of David (1 Chr. xxiv. 7). Some of them survived to return to Jerusalem after the Babylonish Captivity, as appears from Ezr. ii. 36, Neh. vii. 39 — "the children of Jedaiah, of the house of Jeshua, 973." The addition "of the house of Jeshua" indicates that there were two priestly families of the name of Jedaiah, which, it appears from Neh. xii. 6, 7, 19, 21, was actually the case. If these sons of Jedaiah had for their head JESHUA, the high-priest in the time of Zerubbabel, as the Jewish tradition says they had (Lewis's *Orig. Heb.* bk. ii. ch. vii.), this may be the reason why, in 1 Chr. ix 10, and Neh. xi. 10, the course of Jedaiah is named before that of Joiarib, though Joiarib's was the first course. But perhaps Jeshua was another priest descended from Jedaiah, from whom this branch sprung. It is certainly a corrupt reading in Neh. xi. 10 which makes Jedaiah son of Joiarib. 1 Chr. ix. 10 preserves the true text. In Esdras the name is JEDDU.

2. [*οἱ ἐγγυκότες αὐτήν*: *Idaia.*] A priest in the time of Jeshua the high-priest (Zech. vi. 10, 14). A. C. H.

JEDA'IAH [3 syl.] (יְדָיָה [*praise of Jehovah*, Ges.]). This is a different name from the last, though the two are identical in the A. V.

1. (Ἰεδιά: [Vat. Ιδια:] Alex. Εδια: *Idaia.*) A man named in the genealogies of Simeon as a forefather of Ziza, one of the chiefs of the tribe,

[a] By Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 13, § 9) Araunah is said to have been one of David's chief friends (*ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Δαυΐδου*), and to have been expressly spared by him when the citadel was taken. If there is any truth in this, David no doubt made his friendship during his wanderings, when he also acquired that of Uriah the Hittite, Ahimelech, Sibbechai, and others of his associates who belonged to the old nations.

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apparently in the time of king Hezekiah (1 Chr. v. 37).

2. ('Ιεδαΐα; [FA. Ιεδδεια:] *Jedaia.*) Son of Harumaph; a man who did his part in the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 10).

JED'DU ('Ιεδδού: *Jeddus*), 1 Esdr v. 24. [JEDAIAH, 1.]

JEDE'US ('Ιεδαΐος: *Jeddeus*), 1 Esdr. ix. 30. [ADAIAH, 5.]

JEDI'AEL (יְדִיעֲאֵל [*known of God*]: 'Ιεδιήλ; [Vat. Αδειηλ, Αριηλ; Alex. Ιαδιηλ, Αδιηλ, *Αδιηρ:] *Jadiel*, [*Jadihel*]). 1. A chief patriarch of the tribe of Benjamin, from whom sprung many Benjamite houses of fathers, numbering 17,200 mighty men of valor, in the days of David (1 Chr. vii. 6, 11). It is usually assumed that Jediael is the same as Ashbel (Gen. xlvi. 21; Num. xxvi. 38; 1 Chr. viii. 1). But though this may be so, it cannot be affirmed with certainty. [BECHER; BELA.] Jediael might be a later descendant of Benjamin not mentioned in the l'entateuch, but who, from the fruitfulness of his house and the decadence of elder branches, rose to the first rank.

2. ['Ιαδιήλ; Vat. Ιδερηλ: *Jadihel.*] Second son of Meshelemiah, a Levite, of the sons of Ebiasaph the son of Korah. One of the doorkeepers of the Temple in the time of David (1 Chr. xxvi. 1, 2). A. C. H.

3. ['Ιεδιήλ; Vat. FA. Ελθεηλ: *Jedihel.*] Son of Shimri; one of the heroes of David's guard in the enlarged catalogue of Chronicles (1 Chr. xi. 45). In the absence of further information, we cannot decide whether or not he is the same person as —

4. ('Ρωδιήλ; Alex. [Ald.] 'Ιεδιήλ: [*Jedihel*]). One of the chiefs (lit. "heads") of the thousands of Manasseh who joined David on his march from Aphek to Ziklag when he left the Philistine army on the eve of Gilboa, and helped him in his revenge on the marauding Amalekites (1 Chr. xii. 20; comp. 1 Sam. xxix., xxx.).

JEDI'DAH (יְדִידָה, *darling* [*or only one*]: 'Ιεδία; [Vat. Ιεδεια;] Alex. Εδιδα; [Comp. 'Ιεδδίδα:] *Idida*), queen of Amon, and mother of the good king Josiah (2 K. xxii. 1). She was a native of Boskath near Lachish, the daughter of a certain Adaiah. By Josephus (*Ant.* x. 4, § 1) her name is given as 'Ιεδίτ.

JEDIDI'AH (יְדִידְיָה [*darling of Jehovah*]: Ιεδδεδί; [Vat. Ιδεδει;] Alex. Ειεδιδια: *Amabilis Domino*), the name bestowed, through Nathan the prophet, on David's son Solomon (2 Sam. xii. 25).

Bath-sheba's first child had died — "Jehovah struck it" (ver. 15). A second son was born, and David — whether in allusion to the state of his external affairs, or to his own restored peace of mind — called his name Shelômôh ("Peaceful"); and Jehovah loved the child, *i. e.* allowed him to live. And David sent by the hand of Nathan, to obtain through him some oracle or token of the Divine favor on the babe, and the babe's name was called JEDID-JAH. It is then added that this was done "because of Jehovah." The clew to the meaning of these last words, and indeed of the whole circumstance, seems to reside in the fact that "Jedid" and "David" are both derived from the same root, or from two very closely related (see Gesen. *Thes.* 565 *a* — "יָדַד, idem quod דּוּד"). To us these plays on words have little or no significance; but to the old Hebrews, as to the modern Orientals, they were full of meaning. To David himself, the "darling" of his family and his people, no more happy omen, no more precious seal of his restoration to the Divine favor after his late fall, could have been afforded, than this announcement by the prophet, that the name of his child was to combine his own name with that of Jehovah — JEDID-JAH, "darling of Jehovah."

The practice of bestowing a second name on children, in addition to that given immediately on birth — such second name having a religious bearing, as Noor-ed-Din, Saleh-ed-Din (Saladin), etc. — still exists in the East. G.

* JEDI'THUN. [JEDUTHUN.]

JEDU'THUN (יְדוּתוּן, except in 1 Chr. xvi. 38; Neh. xi. 17; Ps. xxxix. title; and lxxvii. title, where it is יְדִיתוּן, *i. e.* Jedithun [*praising*, or *he who praises*]: 'Ιδουθών and 'Ιδιθούν, or -ούμ; [Vat. Ιδειθων, -θομ, θουμ, etc.:] *Idithun*; [1 Esdr. i. 15, Εδδινούς, Vat. Εδδειτους: *Jeddinus*]), a Levite of the family of Merari, who was associated with Heman the Kohathite, and Asaph the Gershonite, in the conduct of the musical service of the tabernacle, in the time of David; according to what is said 1 Chr. xxiii. 6, that David divided the Levites "into courses among the sons of Levi, namely, Gershon, Kohath, and Merari." The proof of his being a Merarite depends upon his identification with Ethan in 1 Chr. xv. 17, who, we learn from that passage as well as from the genealogy in vi. 44 (A. V.), was a Merarite [HEMAN]. But it may be added that the very circumstance of Ethan being a Merarite, which Jeduthun must have been (since the only reason of there being three musical chiefs was to have one for each division of the Levites), is a strong additional proof of this identity. Another proof may be found in the mention of Hosah (xvi. 38, 42), as a son of Jeduthun[a] and a gatekeeper, compared with xxvi. 10, where we read that Hosah was of the children of Merari. Assuming then that, as regards 1 Chr. vi. 44, xv. 17, 19, אֵיתָן is a mere clerical variation for יְדִיתוּן — which a comparison of xv. 17, 19 with xvi. 41, 42, xxv. 1, 3, 6, 2 Chr. xxxv. 15, makes almost certain — we have Jeduthun's descent as son of Kishi, or Kushaiah, from Mahli, the son of Mushi, the son of Merari, the son of Levi, being the fourteenth generation from Levi inclusive. His office was generally to preside over the music of the temple service, consisting of the *nebel*, or nablium, the *cinnor*, or harp, and the cymbals, together with the human voice (the trumpets being confined to the priests). But his peculiar part, as well as that of his two colleagues Heman and Asaph, was "to sound with cymbals of brass," while the others played on the nablium and the harp. This appointment to the office was by election of the chiefs of the Levites (שָׂרִים

[a] The reason why "son of Jeduthun" is especially attached to the name of Obed-Edom in this verse, is to distinguish him from the other Obed-Edom the Gittite (2 Sam. vi. 10) mentioned in the same verse who was probably a Kohathite (Josh. xxi. 24).

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at David's command, each of the three divisions probably choosing one. The first occasion of Jeduthun's ministering was when David brought up the ark to Jerusalem. He then took his place in the procession, and played on the cymbals. But when the division of the Levitical services took place, owing to the tabernacle being at Gibeon and the ark at Jerusalem, while Asaph and his brethren were appointed to minister before the ark, it fell to Jeduthun and Heman to be located with Zadok the priest, to give thanks "before the tabernacle of the Lord in the high place that was at Gibeon," still by playing the cymbals in accompaniment to the other musical instruments (comp. Ps. cl. 5). In the account of Josiah's Passover in 2 Chr. xxxv. reference is made to the singing as conducted in accordance with the arrangements made by David, and by Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun *the king's seer* (חוֹזֵה הַמֶּלֶךְ). [HEMAN.] Perhaps the phrase rather means the king's adviser in matters connected with the musical service. The sons of Jeduthun were employed (1 Chr. xxv.) partly in music, namely, six of them, who prophesied with the harp — Gedaliah, head of the 2d ward, Zeri, or Izri, of the 4th, Jeshaiah of the 8th, Shimei of the 10th,[a] Hashabiah of the 12th, and Mattithiah of the 14th; and partly as gatekeepers (A. V. "porters") (xvi. 42), namely, Obed-Edom and Hosah (v. 38), which last had thirteen sons and brothers (xxvi. 11). The triple division of the Levitical musicians seems to have lasted as long as the Temple, and each to have been called after their respective leaders. At the dedication of Solomon's temple "the Levites which were the singers, all of them of Asaph, of Heman, of Jeduthun" performed their proper part. In the reign of Hezekiah, again, we find the sons of Asaph, the sons of Heman, and the sons of Jeduthun, taking their part in purifying the Temple (2 Chr. xxix. 13, 14); they are mentioned, we have seen, in Josiah's reign, and so late as in Nehemiah's time we still find descendants of Jeduthun employed about the singing (Neh xi. 17: 1 Chr. ix. 16). His name stands at the head of the 39th, 62d, and 77th Psalms, indicating probably that they were to be sung by his choir. A. C. H.

* In the title of Ps. xxxix. Jeduthun no doubt appears as the precentor or choir-master under whose lead the psalm was to be sung. But in the titles of Ps. lxii. and lxxvii. (where the preposition is עַל, and not לְ, as in the other case) Jeduthun probably denotes a body of singers named after this chorister, and consisting in part, at least, of his sons or descendants (see 2 Chr. xxix. 14), though not excluding others. The A. V. does not recognize this difference of the prepositions. Of all the conjectures, that is least satisfactory, says Hupfeld, which makes Jeduthun the name of a musical instrument, or of a particular melody. The ready interchange of י and ה accounts for the two-fold orthography of the name. H.

JEE'LI ('Ιεηλί [Vat. -λει]; Alex. Ιεηλι: *Jeli*), 1 Esdr. v. 33. [JAALAH.]

JEE'LUS ('Ιεῆλος; Alex. Ιεηλ: *Jeliolus*), 1 Esdr. viii. 92. [JEHIEL.]

JEE'ZER (אִיעֶזֶר [*father*, or *author of help*] Ἀχιέζερ: *Hiezer*), the form assumed in the list in Numbers (xxvi. 30) by the name of a descendant of Manasseh, eldest son of Gilead, and founder of one of the chief families of the tribe. [JEEZERITES.] In parallel lists the name is given as ABI-EZER, and the family as the ABIEZERITES — the house of Gideon. Whether this change has arisen from the accidental addition or omission of a letter, or is an intentional variation, akin to that in the case of Abiel and Jehiel, cannot be ascertained. The LXX. perhaps read אֲבִיעֶזֶר.

JEE'ZERITES, THE (הָאִיעֶזְרִי [patronym.]: Ἀχιεζερί; [Vat. M. Αχιεζειρει:] *familia Hiezeritarum*), the family of the foregoing (Num. xxvi. 30).

JE'GAR SAHADU'THA (יְגַר שָׂהֲדוּתָא, *heap of testimony*: βουνὸς τῆς μαρτυρίας [see below]: *tumulus testis*), the Aramæan name given by Laban the Syrian to the heap of stones which he erected as a memorial of the compact between Jacob and himself, while Jacob commemorated the same by setting up a pillar (Gen. xxxi. 47), as was his custom on several other occasions. Galeed, a "witness heap," which is given as the Hebrew equivalent, does not exactly represent Jegar-sahadutha. The LXX. have preserved the distinction accurately in rendering the latter by βουνὸς τῆς μαρτυρίας [Alex. μαρτυς], and the former by β. μαρτύς [Alex. μαρτυρει]. The Vulgate, oddly enough, has transposed the two, and translated Galeed by "acervus testimonii," and Jegar Sahadutha by "tumulus testis." But in the mind of the writer they were evidently all but identical, and the manner in which he has adapted the name to the circumstances narrated, and to the locality which was the scene of the transaction, is a curious instance of a tendency on the part of the Hebrews, of which there are many examples in the O. T.,[b] so to modify an already existing name that it might convey to a Hebrew an intelligible idea, and at the same time preserve essentially its original form. There is every reason to believe that the name Gilead is derived from a root which points to the natural features of the region to which it is applied and to which it was in all probability attached before the meeting of Jacob and Laban, or at any rate before the time at which the historian was writing. In fact it is so used in verses 23 and 25 of this chapter. The memorial heap erected by Laban marked a crisis in Jacob's life which severed him from all further intercourse with his Syrian kindred, and henceforth his wanderings were mainly confined to the land which his descendants were to inherit. Such a crisis, so commemorated, was thought by the historian of sufficient importance to have left its impress upon the whole region, and in Galeed "the witness heap" was found the original name of the mountainous district Gilead.

A similar etymology is given for MIZPEH in the parenthetical clause consisting of the latter part of

[a] Omitted in ver. 8, but necessary to make up the sons.

[b] The double account of the origin of Beer-sheba (Gen. xxi. 31, xxvi. 33), the explanation of Zoar (Gen. xix. 20, 22) and of the name of Moses (Ex. ii. 10), are illustrations of this; and there are many such. This tendency is not peculiar to the Hebrews. It exists in every language, but has not yet been recognised in the case of Hebrew.

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xv. 48 and 49, which is not unlikely to have been suggested, though it is not so stated, by the similarity between מַצֵּבָה, *mitspeh*, and מַצֵּבֶת, *matstsébâh*, the "standing stone" or "statue" which Jacob set up to be *his* memorial of the transaction, as the heap of stones was Laban's. On this pillar or standing stone he swore by Jehovah, the "fear of his father Isaac," as Laban over his heap invoked the God of Abraham, and Nahor, the God of their father Terah; each marking, by the most solemn form of adjuration he could employ, his own sense of the grave nature of the compact. W. A. W.

JEHALE'LEËL (יְהַלְלְאֵל [*he who praises God*]: Ἀλεήλ; [Vat. Γεσεηλα;] Alex. Ιαλλελεηλ: *Jaleleel*). Four men of the Bene-Jehaleleël are introduced abruptly into the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 16). The name is identical with that rendered in the A. V. JEHALELEL. Neither form is, however, quite correct.

JEHAL'ELEL (יְהַלְלְאֵל [as above]: Ἰλαελήλ; [Ελλη;] Alex. Ιαλληλ: *Jalaleel*), a Merarite Levite, whose son Azariah took part in the restoration of the Temple in Hezekiah's time (2 Chr. xxix. 12).

JEHDE'IAH [3 syl.] (יְחַדְיָהוּ, *i. e.* Yechdeya'hu [*whom Jehovah makes joyous*]). 1. (Ἰεδία; [Vat. Ιαδεια;] Alex. Ιαδαια, Αραδεια: *Jehedeia.*) The representative of the Bene-Shubael, — descendants of Gershom, son of Moses — in the time of David (1 Chr. xxiv. 20). But in xxvi. 24, a man of the name of Shebuel or Shubael, is recorded as the head of the house; unless in this passage the family itself, and not an individual, be intended.

2. (Ἰαδίας: *Jadias.*) A Meronothite who had charge of the she-asses — the riding and breeding stock — of David (1 Chr. xxvii. 30).

JEHEZ'EKEL (יְחֶזְקֵאל [*whom God makes strong*]: ὁ Ἐζεκήλ: *Hezechiel*), a priest to whom was given by David the charge of the twentieth of the twenty-four courses in the service of the house of Jehovah (1 Chr. xxiv. 16).

The name in the original is almost exactly similar to EZEKIEL.

JEHI'AH (יְחִיָּה [perh. = יְחִיאֵל, see below, Ges.]: Ἰεΐα; Alex. Ιεαΐα: *Jehias*). He and Obed-edom were "doorkeepers for the ark" (שֹׁעֲרִים, the word elsewhere expressed by "porters") at the time of its establishment in Jerusalem (1 Chr. xv. 24). The name does not recur, but it is possible it may be exchanged for the similar JEHIEL or JEIEL in xvi. 5.

JEHI'EL (יְחִיאֵל [*God lives*]: *Jahiel*). 1. (Ἰεήλ [Vat. FA. in xv. 20 corrupt; Vat. xvi. 5, Ελεηλ.]) One of the Levites appointed by David to assist in the service of the house of God (1 Chr. xv. 18, 20; xvi. 5).

2. [Vat. Ιηλ.] One of the sons of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, who was put to death by his brother Jehoram shortly after his becoming king (2 Chr. xxi. 2).

3. (Ἰεήλ.) One of the rulers of the house of God at the time of the reforms of Josiah (2 Chr. xxxv. 8). [STELUS.]

4. (Ἰεήλ; [Vat. Ιηλ, Βεσηλ.]) A Gershonite Levite, head of the Bene-Laadan in the time of David (1 Chr. xxiii. 8), who had charge of the treasures (xxix. 8). His family — JEHIELI, *i. e.* Jehielite, or as we should say now Jehielites — is mentioned, xxvi. 21.

5. (Ἰεήλ, Alex. Ιερηλ.) Son of Hachmoni, or of a Hachmonite, named in the list of David's officers (1 Chr. xxvii. 32) as "with (עִם) the king's sons," whatever that may mean. The mention of Ahithophel (33) seems to fix the date of this list as before the revolt. In Jerome's *Quæstiones Hebraicæ* on this passage, Jehiel is said to be David's son Chileab or Daniel; and "Achamoni," interpreted as *Sapientissimus*, is taken as an *alias* of David himself.

6. (In the original text, יְחוּאֵל, Jehuel — the A. V. follows the alteration of the Keri: Ἰεήλ; [Vat. Ειηλ.]) A Levite of the Bene-Heman, who took part in the restorations of king Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxix. 14).

7. [Vat. Ειηλ.] Another Levite at the same period (2 Chr. xxxi. 13), one of the "overseers" (פְּקִידִים) of the articles offered to Jehovah. His parentage is not mentioned.

8. (Ἰεΐήλ; [Vat. Ιεμα;] Alex. Ιεειηλ.) Father of Obadiah, who headed 218 men of the Bene-Joab in the return from Babylon with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 9). In Esdras the name is JEZELUS, and the number of his clan is stated at 212.

9. (Ἰεήλ, Alex. Ιεειηλ: *Jehiel.*) One of the Bene-Elam, father of Shechaniah, who encouraged Ezra to put away the foreign wives of the people (Ezr. x. 2). In Esdras it is JEELUS.

10. (Ἰαΐήλ; [Vat. Ιαιηλ;] Alex. Αιειηλ: *Jehiel.*) A member of the same family, who had himself to part with his wife (Ezr. x. 26) [HIERIELUS.]

11. (Ἰεήλ, Alex. Ιειηλ: *Jehiel.*) A priest, one of the Bene-Harim, who also had to put away his foreign wife (Ezr. x. 21). [HIERKEL.]

JEHI EL,[a] a perfectly distinct name from the last, though the same in the A. V. 1. (יְעִיאֵל; so the *Keri*, but the *Cetib* has יעואל, *i. e.* Jeuel; Ἰεήλ; [Vat. Ειηλ;] Alex. Ιεειηλ: *Jehiel*), a man described as Abi-Gibeon — father of Gibeon; a forefather of king Saul (1 Chr. ix. 35). In viii. 29 the name is omitted. The presence of the stubborn letter *Ain* in Jehiel forbids our identifying it with Abiel in 1 Sam. ix. 1, as some have been tempted to do.

2. (Here the name is as given in No. 1; [Vat. FA. Ιεια.]) One of the sons of Hotham the Aroerite; a member of the guard of David, included in the extended list of 1 Chr. xi. 44.

JEHIE'LI (יְחִיאֵלִי: Ἰεήλ; Alex. [ver. 22, Ιεηλ:] *Jehieli*), according to the A. V. a Gershonite Levite of the family of LAADAN. The Bene-Jehieli had charge of the treasures of the house of Jehovah (1 Chr. xxvi. 21, 22). In other lists it is given as JEHIEL. The name appears to be strictly a patronymic — Jehielite.

JEHIZKI'AH (יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ, *i. e.* Yechizkiya'hu; same name as Hezekiah [*whom Jehovah*

[a] Here our translators represent *Ain* by H, unless they simply follow the Vulgate. Comp. JEHOVAH-MESSIAH.

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strengthens]: Ἐζεκίας: *Esechias*), son of Shallum, one of the heads of the tribe of Ephraim in the time of Ahaz, who, at the instance of Oded the prophet, nobly withstood the attempt to bring into Samaria a large number of captives and much booty, which the Israelite army under king Pekah had taken in the campaign against Judah. By the exertions of Jehizkiahu and his fellows the captives were clothed, fed, and tended, and returned to Jericho *en route* for Judah (2 Chr. xxviii. 12; comp. 8, 13, 15).

JEHO'ADAH (יְהוֹעַדָּה, *i. e.* Jehoaddah [*whom Jehovah adorns*, Ges.; *J. unveils*, Fürst]: Ἰαδά; Alex. Ιωαδα: *Joada*), one of the descendants of Saul (1 Chr. viii. 36); great grandson to Merib-baal, *i. e.* Mephi-bosheth. In the duplicate genealogy (ix. 42) the name is changed to JARAH.

JEHOAD'DAN (יְהוֹעַדָּן; but in Kings the original text has יְהוֹעַדִּין: and so the LXX. Ἰωαδίμ, [Vat. Ιωαδειμ, Ald.] Alex. Ἰωαδείν; [in 2 Chr., Ἰωαδάν, [Vat. Ιωαα, Alex. Ιωαδ εν:] *Joadan, Joadam*). "Jehoaddan of Jerusalem" was queen to king Joash, and mother of Amaziah of Judah (2 K. xiv. 2; 2 Chr. xxv. 1).

JEHO'AHAZ (יְהוֹאָחָז [*whom Jehovah holds or preserves*]: Ἰωάχαζ; [Vat. in 2 K., Ιωαχας: *Joachaz*]). 1. The son and successor of Jehu, reigned 17 years B. C. 856–840 over Israel in Samaria. His inglorious history is given in 2 K. xiii. 1–9. Throughout his reign (ver. 22) he was kept in subjection by Hazael king of Damascus, who, following up the successes which he had previously achieved against Jehu, compelled Jehoahaz to reduce his army to 50 horsemen, 10 chariots, and 10,000 infantry. Jehoahaz maintained the idolatry of Jeroboam; but in the extremity of his humiliation he besought Jehovah; and Jehovah gave Israel a deliverer — probably either Jehoash (vv. 23 and 25), or Jeroboam II. (2 K. xiv. 24, 25) (see Keil, *Commentary on Kings*). The prophet Elisha survived Jehoahaz; and Ewald (*Gesch. Isr.* iii. 557) is disposed to place in his reign the incursions of the Syrians mentioned in 2 K. v. 2, vi. 8, and of the Ammonites mentioned in Amos i. 13.

2. [Vat. in 2 K., Ιωαχας, and so Alex. 2 K. xxiii. 34.] Jehoahaz, otherwise called SHALLUM, the fourth (acc. to 1 Chr. iii. 15), or third, if Zedekiah's age be correctly stated (2 Chr. xxxvi. 11), son of Josiah, whom he succeeded as king of Judah. He was chosen by the people in preference to his elder (comp. 2 K. xxiii. 31 and 36) brother, B. C. 610, and he reigned three months in Jerusalem. His anointing (ver. 30) was probably some additional ceremony, or it is mentioned with peculiar emphasis, as if to make up for his want of the ordinary title to the throne. He is described by his contemporaries as an evil-doer (2 K. xxiii. 32) and an oppressor (Ez. xix. 3), and such is his traditional character in Josephus (*Ant.* x. 5, § 2); but his deposition seems to have been lamented by the people (Jer. xxii. 10, and Ez. xix. 1). Pharaoh-necho on his return from Carchemish, perhaps resenting the election of Jehoahaz, sent to Jerusalem to depose him, and to fetch him to Riblah. There he was cast into chains, and from thence he was taken into Egypt, where he died (see Prideaux, *Connection*, anno 610; Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* iii. 719; Rosenmüller, *Schol. in Jerem.* xxii. 11).

* The history of Jehoahaz appears to intimate more than it records. "Something there had been in his character," says Stanley, "or in the popular mode of his election, which endeared him to the country. A lamentation, as for his father, went up from the princes and prophets of the land for the lion's cub, that was learning to catch his prey, caught in the pitfall, and led off in chains — by a destiny even sadder than death in battle. 'Weep not for the dead, nor bemoan him, but weep sore for him that goeth away' (Jer. xxii. 10). He was the first king of Judah that died in exile." (*Jewish Church*, ii. 382 f.) H. ›

3. The name given (2 Chr. xxi. 17, where, however, the LXX. have Ὀχοζίας [Vat. Οχοζειας, but Comp. Ald. Ἰωάχαζ]) during his father's lifetime (Bertheau) to the youngest son of Jehoram king of Judah. As king he is known by the name of AHAZIAH, which is written AZARIAH in the present Hebrew text of 2 Chr. xxii. 6, perhaps through a transcriber's error. W. T. B.

JEHO'ASH (יְהוֹאָשׁ [*gift of Jehovah*]: Ἰωάς: *Joas*), the original uncontracted form of the name which is more commonly found compressed into JOASH. The two forms appear to be used quite indiscriminately; sometimes both occur in one verse (*e. g.* 2 K. xiii. 10, xiv. 17).

1. The eighth king of Judah; son of AHAZIAH (2 K. xi. 21, xii. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 18, xiv. 13). [JOASH, 1.]

2. The twelfth king of Israel; son of JEHOAHAZ (2 K. xiii. 10, 25, xiv. 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17). [JOASH, 2.]

JEHOHA'NAN (יְהוֹחָנָן = *Jehovah's gift*, answering to Theodore: Ἰωάνδν: *Johanan*), a name much in use, both in this form and in the contracted shape of JOHANAN, in the later periods of Jewish history. It has come down to us as JOHN, and indeed is rendered by Josephus Ἰωάννης (*Ant.* viii. 15, § 2).

1. (Ἰωνδθαν; [Vat. Ιωνας;] Alex. Ιωναν.) A Levite, one of the doorkeepers (A. V. "porters") to the house of Jehovah, *i. e.* the Tabernacle, according to the appointment of David (1 Chr. xxvi. 3; comp. xxv. 1). He was the sixth of the seven sons of Meshelemiah; a Korhite, that is descended from Korah, the founder of that great Kohathite house. He is also said (ver. 1) to have been of the Bene-Asaph; but Asaph is a contraction for Ebiasaph, as is seen from the genealogy in ix. 19. The well-known Asaph too was not a Kohathite but a Gershonite.

2. [Ἰωανδν.] One of the principal men of Judah, under king Jehoshaphat; he commanded 280,000 men, apparently in and about Jerusalem (2 Chr. xvii. 15; comp. 13 and 19). He is named second on the list, and is entitled הַשָּׂר, "the captain," a title also given to Adnah in the preceding verse, though there rendered "the chief." He is probably the same person as —

3. Father of Ishmael, one of the "captains (שָׂרֵי, as before) of hundreds" — evidently residing in or near Jerusalem — whom Jehoiada the priest took into his confidence about the restoration of the line of Judah (2 Chr. xxiii. 1).

4. [Ἰωανδν; FA. Ιωναν.] One of the Bene-Bebai [sons of B.], a lay Israelite who was forced by Ezra to put away his foreign wife (Ezr. x. 28). In Esdras the name is JOHANNES.

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8. [Ἰωαρίβ.] A priest (Neh. xii. 19 · the representative of the house of Amariah (comp. 2), during the high-priesthood of Joiakim (ver. 12), that is to say in the generation after the first return from Captivity.

9. (Vat. LXX. omits [so Alex. FA.[1]; Comp. FA.[2] Ἰωαρίβ].) A priest who took part in the musical service of thanksgiving, at the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem by Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 42). In two other cases this name is given in the A. V. as JOHANAN.

JEHOI'ACHIN (יְהוֹיָכִין = *appointed of Jehovah*; once only, Ez. i. 2, contracted to יוֹיָכִין: in Kings Ἰωαχίμ, Chron. Ἰεχονίας, Jer. and Ez. Ἰωακείμ; [Vat.] Alex. Ἰωακειη throughout [except in Chron.]; Joseph. Ἰωάχιμος: *Joachin*). Elsewhere the name is altered to JECONIAH, and CONIAH. See also JECHONIAS, JOIAKIM, and JOACIM.

Son of Jehoiakim and Nehushta, and for three months and ten days king of Judah, after the death of his father, being the nineteenth king from David, or twentieth, counting Jehoahaz. According to 2 K. xxiv. 8, Jehoiachin was eighteen years old at his accession; but 2 Chr. xxxvi. 9, as well as 1 Esdr. i. 43, has the far more probable reading eight years,[a] which fixes his birth to the time of his father's captivity, according to Matt. i. 11.

Jehoiachin came to the throne at a time when Egypt was still prostrate in consequence of the victory at Carchemish, and when the Jews had been for three or four years harassed and distressed by the inroads of the armed bands of Chaldæans, Ammonites, and Moabites, sent against them by Nebuchadnezzar in consequence of Jehoiakim's rebellion. [JEHOIAKIM.] Jerusalem at this time, therefore, was quite defenseless, and unable to offer any resistance to the regular army which Nebuchadnezzar sent to besiege it in the 8th year of his reign, and which he seems to have joined in person after the siege was commenced (2 K. xxiv. 10, 11). In a very short time, apparently, and without any losses from famine or fighting which would indicate a serious resistance, Jehoiachin surrendered at discretion; and he, and the queen-mother, and all his servants, captains, and officers, came out and gave themselves up to Nebuchadnezzar, who carried them, with the harem and the eunuchs, to Babylon (Jer. xxix. 2; Ez. xvii. 12, xix. 9). All the king's treasures, and all the treasure of the Temple, were seized, and the golden vessels of the Temple, which the king of Babylon had left when he pillaged it in the fourth of Jehoiakim, were now either cut up or carried away to Babylon, with all the nobles, and men of war, and skilled artizans, none but the poorest and weakest being left behind (2 K. xxiv. 13; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 19). According to 2 K. xxiv. 14, 16, the number taken at this time into captivity was 10,000, namely, 7,000 soldiers, 1,000 craftsmen and smiths, and 2,000 whose calling is not specified. But, according to Jer. lii. 28 (a passage which is omitted in the LXX.), the number carried away captive at this time (called the seventh of Nebuchadnezzar, instead of the eighth, as in 2 K. xxiv. 12) was 3,023. Whether this difference arises from any corruption of the numerals, or whether only a portion of those originally taken captive were actually carried to Babylon, the others being left with Zedekiah, upon his swearing allegiance to Nebuchadnezzar, cannot perhaps be decided. The numbers in Jeremiah are certainly very small, only 4,600 in all, whereas the numbers who returned from captivity, as given in Ezr. ii. and Neh. vii. were 42,360. However, Jehoiachin was himself led away captive to Babylon, and there he remained a prisoner, actually in prison (בֵּית הָאֲסִירִים), and wearing prison garments, for thirty-six years, namely, till the death of Nebuchadnezzar, when Evil-Merodach, succeeding to the throne of Babylon, treated him with much kindness, brought him out of prison, changed his garments, raised him above the other subject or captive kings, and made him sit at his own table. Whether Jehoiachin outlived the two years of Evil-Merodach's reign or not does not appear, nor have we any particulars of his life at Babylon. The general description of him in 2 K. xxiv. 9, "He did evil in the sight of Jehovah, according to all that his father had done," seems to apply to his character at the time he was king, and but a child: and so does the prophecy of Jeremiah (xxii. 24–30: Ez. xix. 5–9). We also learn from Jer. xxviii. 4, that four years after Jehoiachin had gone to Babylon, there was a great expectation at Jerusalem of his return, but it does not appear whether Jehoiachin himself shared this hope at Babylon. [HANANIAH, 4.] The tenor of Jeremiah's letter to the elders of the Captivity (xxix.) would, however, indicate that there was a party among the Captivity, encouraged by false prophets, who were at this time looking forward to Nebuchadnezzar's overthrow and Jehoiachin's return; and perhaps the fearful death of Ahab the son of Kolaiah (*ib.* v. 22), and the close confinement of Jehoiachin through Nebuchadnezzar's reign, may have been the result of some disposition to conspire against Nebuchadnezzar on the part of a portion of the Captivity. But neither Daniel nor Ezekiel, who were Jehoiachin's fellow-captives, make any further allusion to him, except that Ezekiel dates his prophecies by the year "of King Jehoiachin's captivity" (i. 2, viii. 1, xxiv. 1, &c.); the latest date being "the twenty-seventh year" (xxix. 17, xl. 1). We also learn from Esth. ii. 6, that Kish, the ancestor of Mordecai, was Jehoiachin's fellow-captive. But the apocryphal books are more communicative. Thus the author of the book of Baruch (i. 3) introduces "Jechonias the son of Jehoiakim king of Judah" into his narrative, and represents Baruch as reading his prophecy in his ears, and in the ears of the king's sons, and the nobles, and elders, and people, at Babylon. At the hearing of Baruch's words, it is added, they wept, and fasted, and prayed, and sent a collection of silver to Jerusalem, to Joiakim, the son of Hilkiah, the son of Shallum the high-priest, with which to purchase burnt-offerings, and sacrifice, and incense, bidding them pray for the prosperity of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar his son. The history of Susanna and the Elders also apparently makes Jehoiachin an important personage; for, according to the author, the husband of Susanna was Joiakim, a man of great wealth, and the chief person among the captives, to whose house all the people resorted for judgment, a description

[a] Such is the text of the Vat. LXX. shows the Alex. and Vulgate in reading the A. V. eighteen."

The words אֵיתָן and נָעַר, applied to Jehoiakim in Jer. xxii. 25, 30, imply sex rather than age, and are both actually used of infants. See Ges. *Thes.* s. vv

which suits Jehoiachin. Africanus (*Ep. ad Orig.*; Routh, *Rel. Sac.* ii. 113) expressly calls Susanna's husband "king," and says that the king of Babylon had made him his royal companion (*σύνθρονος*). He is also mentioned 1 Esdr. v. 5, but the text seems to be corrupt. It probably should be "Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, the son of Joacim," *i. e.* Jehoiachin. It does not appear certainly from Scripture, whether Jehoiachin was married or had any children. That Zedekiah, who in 1 Chr. iii. 16 is called "his son," is the same as Zedekiah his uncle (called "his brother," 2 Chr. xxxvi. 10), who was his successor on the throne, seems certain. But it is not impossible that Assir (אַסִּיר = captive), who is reckoned among the "sons of Jeconiah" in 1 Chr. iii. 17, may have been so really, and either have died young or been made an eunuch (Is. xxxix. 7). This is quite in accordance with the term "childless," עֲרִירִי, applied to Jeconiah by Jeremiah (xxii. 30). [GENEALOGY OF CHRIST, vol. i. p. 886 *b*.]

Jehoiachin was the last of Solomon's line, and on its failure in his person, the right to the succession passed to the line of Nathan, whose descendant, Shealtiel, or Salathiel, the son of Neri, was consequently inscribed in the genealogy as of "the sons of Jehoiachin." Hence his place in the genealogy of Christ (Matt. i. 11, 12). For the variations in the Hebrew forms of Jeconiah's name see HANANIAH, 8; and for the confusion in Greek and Latin writers between Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin, Ἰωακείμ and Ἰωαχείμ, see GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST, and Hervey's *Genealogy*, pp. 71–73.

N. B. The compiler of 1 Esdr. gives the name of Jechonias to Jehoahaz the son of Josiah, who reigned three months after Josiah's death, and was deposed and carried to Egypt by Pharaoh-Necho (1 Esdr. i. 34; 2 K. xxiii. 30). He is followed in this blunder by Epiphanius (vol. i. p. 21), who says "Josiah begat Jechoniah, who is also called Shallum. This Jechoniah begat Jechoniah who is called Zedekiah and Joakim." It has its origin doubtless in the confusion of the names when written in Greek by writers ignorant of Hebrew. A. C. H.

JEHOI'ADA (יְהוֹיָדָע = *known of Jehovah*: Ἰωδαέ; Alex. Ἰωδαε, Ἰωιαδα, Ἰωιαδαε, and also as Vat.; Joseph. Ἰώδαος: *Joiadas*). In the later books the name is contracted to JOIADA.

1. Father of BENAIAH, David's well known warrior (2 Sam. viii. 18; 1 K. i. and ii. *passim*; 1 Chr. xviii. 17, &c.). From 1 Chr. xxvii. 5, we learn that Benaiah's father was the chief priest, and he is therefore doubtless identical with —

2. (Ἰωιαδάς; [Vat. Τωαδας; FA. Τωαδαε; Alex. Ἰωδαε.]) Leader (נָגִיד) of the Aaronites (accurately "of Aaron") *i. e.* the priests; who joined David at Hebron, bringing with him 3,700 priests (1 Chr. xii. 27).

3. According to 1 Chr. xxvii. 34, son of Benaiah, and one of David's chief counsellors, apparently having succeeded Ahithophel in that office. But in all probability Benaiah the son of Jehoiada is meant, by a confusion similar to that which has arisen with regard to Ahimelech and Abiathar (1 Chr. xviii. 16; 2 Sam. viii. 17).

4. High-priest at the time of Athaliah's usurpation of the throne of Judah (B. C. 884–878), and during the greater portion of the 40 years' reign of Joash. It does not appear when he first became high-priest, but it may have been as early as the latter part of Jehoshaphat's reign. Anyhow, he probably succeeded Amariah. [HIGH-PRIEST.] He married JEHOSHEBA, or Jehoshabeath, daughter of king Jehoram, and sister of king Ahaziah (2 Chr. xxii. 11); and when Athaliah slew all the seed royal of Judah after Ahaziah had been put to death by Jehu, he and his wife stole Joash from among the king's sons, and hid him for six years in the Temple, and eventually replaced him on the throne of his ancestors. [JOASH; ATHALIAH.] In effecting this happy revolution, by which both the throne of David and the worship of the true God according to the law of Moses were rescued from imminent danger of destruction, Jehoiada displayed great ability and prudence. Waiting patiently till the tyranny of Athaliah, and, we may presume, her foreign practices and preferences, had produced disgust in the land, he at length, in the 7th year of her reign, entered into secret alliance with all the chief partisans of the house of David and of the true religion. He also collected at Jerusalem the Levites from the different cities of Judah and Israel, probably under cover of providing for the Temple services, and then concentrated a large and concealed force in the Temple, by the expedient of not dismissing the old courses of priests and Levites when their successors came to relieve them on the Sabbath. By means of the consecrated shields and spears which David had taken in his wars, and which were preserved in the treasury of the Temple (comp. 1 Chr. xviii. 7–11, xxvi. 20–28; 1 K. xiv. 26, 27), he supplied the captains of hundreds with arms for their men. Having then divided the priests and Levites into three bands, which were posted at the principal entrances, and filled the courts with people favorable to the cause, he produced the young king before the whole assembly, and crowned and anointed him, and presented to him a copy of the Law, according to Deut. xvii. 18–20. [HILKIAH.] The excitement of the moment did not make him forget the sanctity of God's house. None but the priests and ministering Levites were permitted by him to enter the Temple; and he gave strict orders that Athaliah should be carried without its precincts before she was put to death. In the same spirit he inaugurated the new reign by a solemn covenant between himself, as high-priest, and the people and the king, to renounce the Baal-worship which had been introduced by the house of Ahab, and to serve Jehovah. This was followed up by the immediate destruction of the altar and temple of Baal, and the death of Mattan his priest. He then took order for the due celebration of the Temple service, and at the same time for the perfect reëstablishment of the monarchy; all which seems to have been effected with great vigor and success, and without any cruelty or violence. The young king himself, under this wise and virtuous counsellor, ruled his kingdom well and prosperously, and was forward in works of piety during the lifetime of Jehoiada. The reparation of the Temple in the 23d year of his reign, of which a full and interesting account is given 2 K. xii. and 2 Chr. xxiv., was one of the most important works at this period. At length, however, Jehoiada died, B. C. 834, and though far advanced in years, too soon for the welfare of his country, and the weak, unstable character of Joash. The text of 2 Chr. xxiv. 15, supported by the LXX. and Josephus, makes him 130 years old when he died. But supposing him to

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save lived to the 35th year of Joash (which only leaves 5 years for all the subsequent events of the reign), he would in that case have been 95 at the time of the insurrection against Athaliah; and 15 years before, when Jehoram, whose daughter was his wife, was only 32 years old, he would have been 80: than which nothing can be more improbable. There must therefore be some early corruption of the numeral. Perhaps we ought to read שְׁמֹנִים (83), instead of מֵאָה וּשְׁלֹשָׁה. Even 103 (as suggested, *Geneal. of our Lord*, p. 304) would leave an improbable age at the two above-named epochs. If 83 at his death, he would have been 33 years old at Joram's accession. For his signal services to his God, his king and his country, which have earned him a place among the very foremost well-doers in Israel, he had the unique honor of burial among the kings of Judah in the city of David. He was probably succeeded by his son Zechariah. In Josephus's list (*Ant.* xviii. § 6), the name of ΙΩΑΕΑΖ by an easy corruption is transformed into ΦΙΑΕΑΖ, and in the *Seder Olam* into I'hadea.

In Matt. xxiii. 35, Zechariah the son of Jehoiada is mentioned as the "son of Barachias," *i. e.* Berechiah.[a] This is omitted in Luke (xi. 51), and has probably been inserted from a confusion between this Zechariah and 2, the prophet, who was son of Berechiah; or with the son of Jeberechiah (Is. viii. 2).

5. [Vulg. *pro Joiade.*] Second priest, or sagan, to Seraiah the high-priest. He was deposed at the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah, probably for adhering to the prophet Jeremiah; when Zephaniah was appointed sagan in his room[b] (Jer. xxix. 25–29; 2 K. xxv. 18). This is a clear instance of the title "the priest" being applied to the second priest. The passage in Jeremiah shows the nature of the sagan's authority at this time, when he was doubtless "ruler of the house of Jehovah" (נְגִיד בֵּית יְהוָה). [HIGH-PRIEST.] Winer (*Realw.*) has quite misunderstood the passage, and makes Jehoiada the same as the high-priest in the reign of Joash.

6. (יְהוֹיָדָע, *i. e.* Joiada: Ἰωιδά; [Vat. Ἰωειαα;] Alex. Ἰοειδα: *Jojada*), son of Paseach, who assisted to repair the "old gate" of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 6). A. C. H.

JEHOI'AKIM (יְהוֹיָקִים; [*Jehovah sets up* or *appoints*]: Ἰωακίμ, or -είμ; Joseph. Ἰωάκιμος: *Joakim*), 18th (or, counting Jehoahaz, 19th) king of Judah from David inclusive — 25 years old at his accession, and originally called ELIAKIM. He was the son of Josiah and Zebudah, daughter of Pedaiah of Rumah, possibly identical with Arumah of Judg. ix. 41 (where the Vulg. has *Rumah*), and in that case in the tribe of Manasseh. His younger brother Jehoahaz, or Shallum, as he is called (Jer. xxii. 11), was in the first instance made king by the people of the land on the death of his father Josiah, probably with the intention of following up Josiah's policy, which was to side with Nebuchadnezzar against Egypt, being, as Prideaux thinks, bound by oath to the kings of Babylon (i. 50). Pharaoh-Necho, therefore, having borne down all resistance with his victorious army, immediately deposed Jehoahaz, and had him brought in chains to Riblah, where, it seems, he was on his way to Carchemish (2 K. xxiii. 33, 34; Jer. xxii. 10–12). He then set Eliakim, his elder brother, upon the throne, changed his name to Jehoiakim, and having charged him with the task of collecting a tribute of 100 talents of silver, and 1 talent of gold = nearly 40,000*l.*, in which he mulcted the land for the part Josiah had taken in the war with Babylon, he eventually returned to Egypt taking Jehoahaz with him, who died there in captivity (2 K. xxiii. 34; Jer. xxii. 10–12; Ez. xix. 4).[c] Pharaoh-Necho also himself returned no more to Jerusalem, for after his great defeat at Carchemish in the fourth year of Jehoiakim he lost all his Syrian possessions (2 K. xxiv. 7; Jer. xlvi. 2), and his successor Psammis (Herod. ii. clxi.) made no attempt to recover them. Egypt, therefore, played no part in Jewish politics during the seven or eight years of Jehoiakim's reign. After the battle of Carchemish Nebuchadnezzar came into Palestine as one of the Egyptian tributary kingdoms, the capture of which was the natural fruit of his victory over Necho. He found Jehoiakim quite defenseless. After a short siege he entered Jerusalem, took the king prisoner, bound him in fetters to carry him to Babylon, and took also some of the precious vessels of the Temple and carried them to the land of Shinar to the temple of Bel his god. It was at this time, in the fourth, or, as Daniel reckons, in the third year of his reign,[d] that Daniel, and Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, were taken captives to Babylon; but Nebuchadnezzar seems to have changed his purpose as regarded Jehoiakim, and to have accepted his submission, and reinstated him on the throne, perhaps in remembrance of the fidelity of his father Josiah. What is certain is, that Jehoiakim became tributary to Nebuchadnezzar after his invasion of Judah, and continued so for three years, but at the end of that time broke his oath of allegiance and rebelled against him (2 K. xxiv. 1). What moved or encouraged Jehoiakim to this rebellion it is difficult to say, unless it were the restless turbulence of his own bad disposition and the dislike of paying tribute to the king of Babylon, which he would have rather lavished upon his own luxury and pride (Jer. xxii. 13–17), for there is nothing to bear out Winer's conjecture, or Josephus's assertion, that there was anything in the attitude of Egypt at this time to account for such a step. It seems more probable that, seeing Egypt entirely severed from the affairs of Syria since the battle of Carchemish, and the king of Babylon wholly occupied with distant wars, he hoped to make himself independent. But whatever was the motive of this foolish and wicked proceeding, which was contrary to the repeated warnings of the prophet Jeremiah, it is certain that it brought

[a] The words corresponding to "son of Barachias" Matt. xxiii. 35 are omitted in the Sinaitic manuscript *a prima manu*, and a few other authorities, but they are retained in the text by Tischendorf (8th ed.), and are in all probability genuine. A.

[b] It is, however, possible that Jehoiada vacated the office by death

[c] It does not appear from the narrative in 2 K. xxiii. (which is the fullest) whether Necho went straight to Egypt from Jerusalem, or whether the calamitous campaign on the Euphrates intervened.

[d] It is possible that this diversity of reckoning may be caused by some reckoning a year for Jehoahaz' reign, while some omitted it.

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misery and ruin upon the king and his country. Though Nebuchadnezzar was not able at that time to come in person to chastise his rebellious vassal, he sent against him numerous bands of Chaldeans, with Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites, who were all now subject to Babylon (2 K. xxiv. 7), and who cruelly harassed the whole country. It was perhaps at this time that the great drought occurred described in Jer. xiv. (comp. Jer. xv. 4 with 2 K. xxiv. 2, 3). The closing years of this reign must have been a time of extreme misery. The Ammonites appear to have overrun the land of Gad (Jer. xlix. 1), and the other neighboring nations to have taken advantage of the helplessness of Israel to ravage their land to the utmost (Ez. xxv.). There was no rest or safety out of the walled cities. We are not acquainted with the details of the close of the reign. Probably as the time approached for Nebuchadnezzar himself to come against Judæa the desultory attacks and invasions of his troops became more concentrated. Either in an engagement with some of these forces, or else by the hand of his own oppressed subjects, who thought to conciliate the Babylonians by the murder of their king, Jehoiakim came to a violent end in the 11th year of his reign. His body was cast out ignominiously on the ground; perhaps thrown over the walls to convince the enemy that he was dead; and then, after being left exposed for some time, was dragged away and buried "with the burial of an ass," without pomp or lamentation, "beyond the gates of Jerusalem" (Jer. xxii. 18, 19, xxxvi. 30). Within three months of his death Nebuchadnezzar arrived, and put an end to his dynasty by carrying Jehoiachin off to Babylon. [JEHOIACHIN.] All the accounts we have of Jehoiakim concur in ascribing to him a vicious and irreligious character. The writer of 2 K. xxiii. 37 tells us that "he did that which was evil in the sight of Jehovah," a statement which is repeated xxiv. 9, and 2 Chr. xxxvi. 5. The latter writer uses the yet stronger expression, "the acts of Jehoiakim, and the abominations which he did" (ver. 8). But it is in the writings of Jeremiah that we have the fullest portraiture of him. If, as is probable, the 19th chapter of Jeremiah belongs to this reign, we have a detail of the abominations of idolatry practiced at Jerusalem under the king's sanction, with which Ezekiel's vision of what was going on six years later, within the very precincts of the Temple, exactly agrees; incense offered up to "abominable beasts;" "women weeping for Thammuz;" and men in the inner court of the Temple "with their backs towards the temple of the Lord" worshipping "the sun towards the east" (Ez. viii.). The vindictive pursuit and murder of Urijah the son of Shemaiah, and the indignities offered to his corpse by the king's command, in revenge for his faithful prophesying of evil against Jerusalem and Judah, are samples of his irreligion and tyranny combined. Jeremiah only narrowly escaped the same fate (Jer xxvi. 20–24). The curious notice of him in 1 Esdr. i. 38, that he put his nobles in chains, and caught Zaraces his brother in Egypt[a] and brought him up thence (to Jerusalem), also points to his cruelty. His daring impiety in cutting up and burning the roll containing Jeremiah's prophecy, at the very moment when the national fast was being celebrated, is another specimen of his character, and drew down upon him the sentence, "He shall have none to sit upon the throne of David" (Jer. xxxvi.). His oppression, injustice, covetousness, luxury, and tyranny, are most severely rebuked (xxii. 13–17), and it has been frequently observed, as indicating his thorough selfishness and indifference to the sufferings of his people, that, at a time when the land was so impoverished by the heavy tributes laid upon it by Egypt and Babylon in turn, he should have squandered large sums in building luxurious palaces for himself (xxii. 14, 15). Josephus's history of Jehoiakim's reign is consistent neither with Scripture nor with itself. His account of Jehoiakim's death and Jehoiachin's accession appears to be only his own inference from the Scripture narrative. According to Josephus (*Ant.* x. 6) Nebuchadnezzar came against Judæa in the 8th year of Jehoiakim's reign, and compelled him to pay tribute, which he did for three years, and then revolted in the 11th year, on hearing that the king of Babylon was gone to invade Egypt.[b] He then inserts the account of Jehoiakim's burning Jeremiah's prophecy in his 5th year, and concludes by saying, that a little time afterwards the king of Babylon made an expedition against Jehoiakim, who admitted Nebuchadnezzar into the city upon certain conditions, which Nebuchadnezzar immediately broke; that he slew Jehoiakim and the flower of the citizens, and sent 3,000 captives to Babylon, and set up Jehoiachin for king, but almost immediately afterwards was seized with fear lest the young king should avenge his father's death, and so sent back his army to besiege Jerusalem; that Jehoiachin, being a man of just and gentle disposition, did not like to expose the city to danger on his own account, and therefore surrendered himself, his mother, and kindred, to the king of Babylon's officers on condition of the city suffering no harm; but that Nebuchadnezzar, in direct violation of the conditions, took 10,832 prisoners, and made Zedekiah king in the room of Jehoiachin, whom he kept in custody — a statement the principal portion of which seems to have no foundation whatever in facts. The account given above is derived from the various statements in Scripture, and seems to agree perfectly with the probabilities of Nebuchadnezzar's movements and with what the most recent discoveries have brought to light concerning him. [NEBUCHADNEZZAR.] The reign

[a] The passage seems to be corrupt. The words τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ seem to be repeated from the preceding line but one, and Ζαράκην is a corruption of Οὐρίαν. Ἁλλαβὼν ἀνήγαγεν is a paraphrase of the Alexandrian Codex of Jer. xxxiii. 28 (xxvi. 28, A. V.), συνελάβοσαν αὐτόν, καὶ ἤχθησαν.

[b] Nothing can be more improbable than an invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar at this time. All the Syrian possessions of Egypt fell into the power of Babylon soon after the victory at Carchemish, and the king of Egypt retired thenceforth into his own country. His Asiatic wars seem to have engrossed Nebuchadnezzar's attention for the next 7 years; and in like manner the king of Egypt seems to have confined himself to Ethiopian wars. The first hint we have of Egypt aiming at recovering her lost influence in Syria is at the accession of Pharaoh-Hophra, in the 4th of Zedekiah. [HANANIAH, 4.] He made several abortive attempts against Nebuchadnezzar in Zedekiah's reign, and detached the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, Tyrians and Zidonians from the Babylonish alliance (Jer. xxvii.). In consequence, Nebuchadnezzar, after thoroughly subduing these nations, and devoting 13 years to the siege of Tyre, at length invaded and subdued Egypt in the 37th year of his reign (Ez. xxix. 17).

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of Jehoiakim extends from B. C. 609 to B. C. 598, or as some reckon, 599.

The name of Jehoiakim appears in a contracted form in JOIAKIM, a high-priest. A. C. H.

* Hardly any single act of Jehoiakim reveals so much of his own character and that of his times as his burning of Jeremiah's "roll." It was the "roll," on which Baruch, the prophet's amanuensis and the sharer of his dungeon, had written the warnings uttered by Jeremiah, to arouse the king and nobles to a sense of their danger. An attempt was made to read these warnings to the people, on one of the public fasts. "On that day," as Stanley describes the scene, "a wintry day in December, Baruch appeared in the chamber of a friendly noble, Gemariah, the son of Shaphan, which was apparently over the new gateway already mentioned. There, from the window or balcony of the chamber, or from the platform or pillar on which the kings had stood on solemn occasions, he recited the long alternation of lament and invective to the vast congregation assembled for the national fast. Micaiah, the son of his host, alarmed by what he heard, descended the Temple hill, and communicated it to the princes who, as usual through these disturbed reigns, were seated in council in the palace in the apartments of the chief secretary. One of them, Jehudi, the descendant of a noble house, acted apparently as an agent or spokesman of the rest, and was sent to summon Baruch to their presence. He sat down in the attitude of an eastern teacher (Jer. xxxvi. 15, comp. Luke iv. 20), and as he went on his recital struck terror into the hearts of his hearers. They saw his danger; they charged him and his master to conceal themselves, and deposited the sacred scroll in the chamber where they had heard it, whilst they announced to the fierce and lawless king its fearful contents. A third time it was recited — this time not by Baruch, but by the courtier Jehudi — to the king as he sat warming himself over the charcoal brazier, with his princes standing round him. Three or four columns exhausted the royal patience. He seized a knife, such as eastern scribes wear for the sake of erasures, cut the parchment into strips, and threw it into the brazier till it was burnt to ashes. Those who had heard from their fathers of the effect produced on Josiah by the recital of the warnings of Deuteronomy, might well be startled at the contrast. None of those well-known signs of astonishment and grief were seen; neither king nor attendants rent their clothes. It was an outrage long remembered. Baruch, in his hiding-place, was overwhelmed with despair (Jer. xlv. 3) at this failure of his mission. But Jeremiah had now ceased to waver. He bade his timid disciple take up the pen, and record once more the terrible messages. The country was doomed. It was only individuals who could be saved.

"But the Divine oracle could not be destroyed in the destruction of its outward framework. It was the new form of the vision of the 'Bush burning, but not consumed'; a sacred book, the form in which Divine truths were now first beginning to be known, burnt as sacred books have been burnt again and again, in the persecutions of the fourth or of the sixteenth century, yet multiplied by that very cause; springing from the flames to do their work, living in the voice and life of men, even when their outward letter seemed to be lost. 'Then took Jeremiah another roll, and gave it to Baruch the scribe, the son of Neriah, who wrote therein from the mouth of Jeremiah all the words of the book which Jehoiakim, the king of Judah, had burned in the fire, and there were added besides unto them many like words' (Jer. xxxvi. 32). In this record of the prophet's feeling, thus emphasized by his own repetition, is contained the germ of the 'Liberty of Unlicensed Printing,' the inexhaustible vitality of the written word." (*History of the Jewish Church*, ii. 591 ff.) H.

JEHOI'ARIB (יְהוֹיָרִיב; [1] Chr. ix. 10, xxiv. 7, only; elsewhere, both in Hebrew and A. V., the name is abbreviated to JOIARIB [*Jehovah a defender*]: Ἰωαρίμ; [Vat. Ἰωαρειμ, Ιαρειμ;] Alex. Ἰωαρείβ and Ἰαρείβ: *Joiarib*), head of the first of the 24 courses of priests, according to the arrangement of king David (1 Chr. xxiv. 7). Some of his descendants returned from the Babylonish Captivity, as we learn from 1 Chr. ix. 10, Neh. xi. 10. [JEDAIAH.] Their chief in the days of Joiakim the son of Jeshua was Mattenai (Neh. xii. 6, 19). They were probably of the house of Eleazar To the course of Jehoiarib belonged the Asmonean family (1 Macc. ii. 1), and Josephus, as he informs us (*Ant.* xii. 6, § 1, and *Life*, § 1). [HIGH-PRIEST.] Prideaux indeed (*Connection*, i. 129), following the Jewish tradition, affirms that only 4 of the courses returned from Babylon, Jedaiah, Immer, Pashur, and Harim — for which last, however, the Babylonian Talmud has Joiarib — because these 4 only are enumerated in Ezr. ii. 36–39, Neh. vii. 39–42. And he accounts for the mention of other courses, as of Joiarib (1 Macc. ii. 1), and Abiah (Luke i. 5), by saying that those 4 courses were subdivided into 6 each, so as to keep up the old number of 24, which took the names of the original courses, though not really descended from them. But this is probably an invention of the Jews, to account for the mention of only these 4 families of priests in the list of Ezr. ii. and Neh. vii. And however difficult it may be to say with certainty why only those 4 courses are mentioned in that particular list, we have the positive authority of 1 Chr. ix. 10, and Neh. xi. 10, for asserting that Joiarib did return; and we have two other lists of courses, one of the time of Nehemiah (Neh. x. 2–8), the other of Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 1–7); the former enumerating 21, the latter 22 courses; and the latter naming Joiarib as one of them,[a] and adding, at ver. 19, the name of the chief of the course of Joiarib in the days of Joiakim. So that there can be no reasonable doubt that Joiarib did return. The notion of the Jews does not receive any confirmation from the statement in the Latin version of Josephus (*Cont. Apion.* ii. § 8), that there were 4 courses of priests, as it is a manifest corruption of the text for 24, as Whiston and others have shown (note to *Life of Josephus*, § 1). The subjoined table gives the three lists of courses which

[a] It is, however, very singular that the names after Shemaiah in Neh. xii. 6, including Joiarib and Jedaiah, have the appearance of being added on to the previously existing list, which ended with Shemaiah, as does that in Neh. x. 2–8. For Joiarib's is introduced with the copula "and;" it is quite out of its right order as the first course; and, moreover, these names are entirely omitted in the LXX. till we come to the times of Joiakim at ver 12–21. Still the utmost that could be concluded from this is, that Joiarib returned later than the time of Zerubbabel.

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returned, with the original list in David's time to compare them by: —

COURSES OF PRIESTS.

In David's reign, 1 Chr. xxiv.	In list in Ezr. ii., Neh. vii.	In Nehemiah's time, Neh. x.	In Zerubbabel's time, Neh. xii.
1. Jehoiarib, 1 Chr. ix. 10, Neh. xi. 10.	—	—	Joiarib.
2. Jedaiah.	Children of Jedaiah.	—	Jedaiah.
3. Harim.	Children of Harim.	Harim.	Rehum (Harim, v. 15).
4. Seorim.	—	—	—
5. Malchijah.	Children of Pashur, 1 Chr. ix. 12.	Malchijah.	—
6. Mijamin.	—	Mijamin.	Miamin (Miniamin, v. 17).
7. Hakkoz.	—	Meremoth, son of Hakkoz, Neh. iii. 4.	Meremoth.
8. Abijah.	—	Abijah.	Abijah.
9. Jeshuah.	House of Jeshua (?) Ezr. ii. 36, Neh. vii. 39.	—	—
10. Shecaniah.	—	Shebaniah.	Shechaniah (Shebaniah, ver. 14).
11. Eliashib.	—	—	—
12. Jakim.	—	—	—
13. Huppah.	—	—	—
14. Jeshebeab.	—	—	—
15. Bilgah.	—	Bilgai.	Bilgah.
16. Immer.	Children of Immer.	Amariah.	Amariah.
17. Hezir.	—	—	—
18. Aphses.	—	—	—
19. Pethahiah.	—	—	—
20. Jehezekel.	—	—	—
21. Jachin.	—	—	—
Neh. xi. 10. 1 Chr. ix. 10.			
22. Gamul.	—	—	—
23. Delaiah.	—	—	—
24. Maaziah.	—	Maaziah.	Maadiah (Moadiah, v. 17).

The courses which cannot be identified with the original ones, but which are enumerated as existing after the return, are as follows: —

Neh. x.	Neh. xii.	Neh. xi., 1 Chr. ix.
Seraiah.	Seraiah.	Seraiah (?)
Azariah.	Ezra.	Amariah.
Jeremiah.	Jeremiah.	—
Pashur.	—	—
Hattush.	Hattush.	—
Malluch.	Malluch.	—
Obadiah.	Iddo.	Adaiah (?)
Daniel.	—	—
Ginnethon.	Ginnetho.	—
Baruch.	—	—
Meshullam.	—	—
Shemaiah.	Shemaiah.	—
	Sallu.	
	Amok.	
	Hilkiah.	
	Jedaiah (2).	

For some account of the courses, see Lewis's *Orig. Hebr.* bk. ii. ch. vii.

In Esdras the name is given JOARIB.

A. C. H.

JEHON'ADAB, and JON'ADAB (the longer form, יְהוֹנָדָב, is employed in 2 K. x. and Jer. xxxv. 8, 14, 16, 18; the shorter one, יוֹנָדָב, in Jer. xxxv. 6, 10, 19 [*Jehovah incites*, Ges.]: Ἰωναδάβ: [*Jonadab*]), the son of Rechab, founder of the Rechabites. It appears from 1 Chr. ii. 55, that his father or ancestor Rechab ("the rider") belonged to a branch of the Kenites; the Arabian tribe which entered Palestine with the Israelites. One settlement of them was to be found in the extreme north, under the chieftainship of Heber (Judg. iv. 11), retaining their Bedouin customs under the oak which derived its name from their nomadic habits. The main settlement was in the south. Of these, one branch had nestled in the cliffs of Engedi (Judg. i. 16; Num. xxiv. 21). Another had returned to the frontier of their native wilderness on the south of Judah (Judg. i. 16). A third was established, under a fourfold division, at or near the town of Jabez in Judah (1 Chr. ii. 55). To these last belonged Rechab and his son Jehonadab. The Bedouin habits, which were kept up by the other branches of the Kenite tribe, were inculcated by Jehonadab with the utmost minuteness on his descendants; the more so, perhaps, from their being brought into closer connection with the inhabitants of the settled districts. The vow or rule which he prescribed to them is preserved to us: "Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye nor your sons for ever. Neither shall ye build houses, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard, nor have any: but all your days ye shall dwell in tents; that ye may live many days in the land where ye be strangers" (Jer. xxxv. 6, 7). This life, partly monastic, partly Bedouin, was observed with the tenacity with which from generation to generation such customs are continued in Arab tribes; and when, many years after the death of Jehonadab, the Rechabites (as they were called from his father) were forced to take refuge from the Chaldæan invasion within the walls of Jerusalem, nothing would induce them to transgress the rule of their ancestor; and in consequence a blessing was pronounced upon him and them by the prophet Jeremiah (xxxv. 19): "Jonadab the son of Rechab shall not want a man to stand before me for ever." [RECHABITES.]

Bearing in mind this general character of Jehonadab as an Arab chief, and the founder of a half-religious sect, perhaps in connection with the austere Elijah, and the Nazarites mentioned in Amos ii. 11 (see Ewald, *Alterthümer*, pp. 92, 93), we are the better able to understand the single occasion on which he appears before us in the historical narrative.

Jehu was advancing, after the slaughter of Bethe-ked, on the city of Samaria, when he suddenly met the austere Bedouin coming towards him (2 K. x. 15). It seems that they were already known to each other (Jos. *Ant.* ix. 6, § 6). The king was in his chariot; the Arab was on foot. It is not clear, from the present state of the text, which was the first to speak. The Hebrew text — followed by the A. V. — implies that the king blessed (A. V. "saluted") Jehonadab. The LXX. and Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 6, § 6) imply that Jehonadab blessed the king. Each would have its peculiar appropriateness. The king then proposed their close union "Is thy heart right, as my heart is with thy heart?" The answer of Jehonadab is slightly varied. In the Hebrew text he vehemently replies, "It is, it is: give me thine hand." In the LXX., and in the A. V., he replies simply, "It is;" and Jehu then rejoins, "If it is, give me thine hand." The hand, whether of Jehonadab or Jehu, was offered and grasped. The king lifted him up to the edge of the chariot, apparently that he might whisper his secret into his ear, and said, "Come with me, and see my zeal for Jehovah." It was the first indication of Jehu's design upon the wor

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ship of Baal, for which he perceived that the stern zealot would be a fit coadjutor. Having intrusted him with the secret, he (LXX.) or his attendants (Heb. and A. V.) caused Jehonadab to proceed with him to Samaria in the royal chariot.

So completely had the worship of Baal become the national religion, that even Jehonadab was able to conceal his purpose under the mask of conformity. No doubt he acted in concert with Jehu throughout; but the only occasion on which he is expressly mentioned is when (probably from his previous knowledge of the secret worshippers of Jehovah) he went with Jehu through the temple of Baal to turn out any that there might happen to be in the mass of Pagan worshippers (2 K. x. 23). [JEHU.] This is the last we hear of him. A. P. S.

JEHON'ATHAN (יְהוֹנָתָן [*whom Jehovah gave = his gift*]: Ἰωνάθαν: *Jonathan*), the more accurate rendering of the Hebrew name, which is most frequently given in the A. V. as JONATHAN. It is ascribed to three persons: —

1. Son of Uzziah; superintendent of certain of king David's storehouses (אֹצָרוֹת: the word rendered "treasures" earlier in the verse, and in 27, 28 "cellars"); 1 Chr. xxvii. 25.

2. One of the Levites who were sent by Jehoshaphat through the cities of Judah, with a book of the Law, to teach the people (2 Chr. xvii. 8).

3. [Vat. Alex. FA.[1] omit.] A priest (Neh. xii. 18); the representative of the family of Shemaiah (ver. 6), when Joiakim was high-priest, that is in the next generation after the return from Babylon under Zerubbabel and Jeshua.

JEHO'RAM (יְהוֹרָם = *exalted by Jehovah*: Ἰωράμ; Joseph. Ἰόραμος: *Jorum*). The name is more often found in the contracted form of JORAM. 1. Son of Ahab king of Israel, who succeeded his brother Ahaziah (who had no son) upon the throne at Samaria, B. C. 896, and died B. C. 884. During the first four years of his reign his contemporary on the throne of Judah was Jehoshaphat, and for the next seven years and upwards Joram the son of Jehoshaphat, and for the last year, or portion of a year, Ahaziah the son of Joram, who was killed the same day that he was (2 K. ix. 27). The alliance between the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, commenced by his father and Jehoshaphat, was very close throughout his reign. We first find him associated with Jehoshaphat and the king of Edom, at that time a tributary of the kingdom of Judah, in a war against the Moabites. Mesha, their king, on the death of Ahab, had revolted from Israel, and refused to pay the customary tribute of 100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams. Joram asked and obtained Jehoshaphat's help to reduce him to his obedience, and accordingly the three kings, of Israel, Judah, and Edom, marched through the wilderness of Edom to attack him. The three armies were in the utmost danger of perishing for want of water. The piety of Jehoshaphat suggested an inquiry of some prophet of Jehovah, and Elisha the son of Shaphat, at that time and since the latter part of Ahab's reign Elijah's attendant (2 K. iii. 11; 1 K. xix. 19–21), was found with the host. [ELISHA 3, vol. i. p. 717.] From him Jehoram received a severe rebuke, and was bid to inquire of the prophets of his father and mother, the prophets of Baal. Nevertheless for Jehoshaphat's sake Elisha inquired of Jehovah, and received the promise of an abundant supply of water, and of a great victory over the Moabites: promise which was immediately fulfilled. The same water which, filling the valley, and the trenches dug by the Israelites, supplied the whole army and all their cattle with drink, appeared to the Moabites, who were advancing, like blood, when the morning sun shone upon it. Concluding that the allies had fallen out and slain each other, they marched incautiously to the attack, and were put to the rout. The allies pursued them with great slaughter into their own land, which they utterly ravaged and destroyed with all its cities. Kirharaseth alone remained, and there the king of Moab made his last stand. An attempt to break through the besieging army having failed, he resorted to the desperate expedient of offering up his eldest son, the heir to his throne, as a burnt-offering, upon the wall of the city, in the sight of the enemy. Upon this the Israelites retired and returned to their own land (2 K. iii.). It was perhaps in consequence of Elisha's rebuke, and of the above remarkable deliverance granted to the allied armies according to his word, that Jehoram, on his return to Samaria, put away the image of Baal which Ahab his father had made (2 K. iii. 2). For in 2 K. iv. we have an evidence of Elisha's being on friendly terms with Jehoram, in the offer made by him to speak to the king in favor of the Shunammite. The impression on the king's mind was probably strengthened by the subsequent incident of Naaman's cure, and the temporary cessation of the inroads of the Syrians, which doubtless resulted from it (2 K. v.). Accordingly when, a little later war broke out between Syria and Israel, we find Elisha befriending Jehoram. The king was made acquainted by the prophet with the secret counsels of the king of Syria, and was thus enabled to defeat them; and on the other hand, when Elisha had led a large band of Syrian soldiers whom God had blinded, into the midst of Samaria, Jehoram reverentially asked him, "My father, shall I smite them?" and, at the prophet's bidding, not only forbore to kill them, but made a feast for them, and then sent them home unhurt. This procured another cessation from the Syrian invasions for the Israelites (2 K. vi. 23). What happened after this to change the relations between the king and the prophet, we can only conjecture. But putting together the general bad character given of Jehoram (2 K. iii. 2, 3) with the fact of the prevalence of Baal-worship at the end of his reign (2 K. x. 21 28), it seems probable that when the Syrian inroads ceased, and he felt less dependent upon the aid of the prophet, he relapsed into idolatry, and was rebuked by Elisha, and threatened with a return of the calamities from which he had escaped. Refusing to repent, a fresh invasion by the Syrians, and a close siege of Samaria, actually came to pass, according probably to the word of the prophet. Hence, when the terrible incident arose, in consequence of the famine, of a woman boiling and eating her own child, the king immediately attributed the evil to Elisha the son of Shaphat, and determined to take away his life. The message which he sent by the messenger whom he commissioned to cut off the prophet's head, "Behold this evil is from Jehovah, why should I wait for Jehovah any longer?" coupled with the fact of his having on sackcloth at the time (2 K. vi. 30, 33), also indicates that many remonstrances and warnings, similar to those given by Jeremiah to the kings of his day, had passed between the prophet and the weak

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and unstable son of Ahab. The providential interposition by which both Elisha's life was saved and the city delivered, is narrated 2 K. vii, and Jehoram appears to have returned to friendly feelings towards Elisha (2 K. viii. 4). His life, however, was now drawing near to its close. It was very soon after the above events that Elisha went to Damascus, and predicted the revolt of Hazael, and his accession to the throne of Syria in the room of Benhadad; and it was during Elisha's absence, probably, that the conversation between Jehoram and Gehazi, and the return of the Shunammite from the land of the Philistines, recorded in 2 K. viii., took place. Jehoram seems to have thought the revolution in Syria, which immediately followed Elisha's prediction, a good opportunity to pursue his father's favorite project of recovering Ramoth-Gilead from the Syrians. He accordingly made an alliance with his nephew Ahaziah, who had just succeeded Joram on the throne of Judah, and the two kings proceeded to occupy Ramoth-Gilead by force. The expedition was an unfortunate one. Jehoram was wounded in battle, and obliged to return to Jezreel to be healed of his wounds (2 K. viii. 29, ix. 14, 15), leaving his army under Jehu to hold Ramoth-Gilead against Hazael. Jehu, however, and the army under his command, revolted from their allegiance to Jehoram (2 K. ix.), and, hastily marching to Jezreel, surprised Jehoram, wounded and defenseless as he was. Jehoram, going out to meet him, fell pierced by an arrow from Jehu's bow on the very plat of ground which Ahab had wrested from Naboth the Jezreelite; thus fulfilling to the letter the prophecy of Elijah (1 K. xxi. 21–29). With the life of Jehoram ended the dynasty of Omri.

Jehoram's reign was rendered very remarkable by the two eminent prophets who lived in it, Elijah and Elisha. The former seems to have survived till the sixth year of his reign; the latter to have begun to be conspicuous quite in the beginning of it. For the famine which Elisha foretold to the Shunammite [a] (2 K. viii. 1), and which seems to be the same as that alluded to iv. 38, must have begun in the sixth year of Jehoram's reign, since it lasted seven years, and ended in the twelfth year. In that case his acquaintance with the Shunammite must have begun not less than five or at least four years sooner, as the child must have been as much as three years old when it died; which brings us back at latest to the beginning of the second year of Jehoram's reign. Elisha's appearance in the camp of the three kings (2 K. iii.) was probably as early as the first year of Jehoram. With reference to the very entangled chronology of this reign, it is important to remark that there is no evidence whatever to show that Elijah the prophet was translated at the time of Elisha's first prophetic ministrations. The history in 2 K., at this part of it, having much the nature of memoirs of Elisha, and the active ministrations of Elijah having closed with the death of Ahaziah, it was very natural to complete Elijah's personal history with the narrative of his translation in ch. ii. before beginning the series of Elisha's miracles. But it by no means follows that ch. ii. is really prior in order of time to ch. iii., or that, though the raising from the dead of the Shunammite's son was subsequent, as it probably was, to Elijah's translation therefore all the preliminary circumstances related in ch. iv. were so likewise. Neither again does the expression (2 K. iii. 11), "Here is Elisha, which poured water on the hands of Elijah," [b] imply that this ministration had at that time ceased, and still less that Elijah was removed from the earth. We learn, on the contrary, from 2 Cor. xxi. 12, that he was still on earth in the reign of Joram son of Jehoshaphat, who did not begin to reign till the fifth of Jehoram (2 K. viii. 16); and it seems highly probable that the note of time in 2 K. i. 17, "in the second year of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat," which is obviously and certainly out of its place where it now is, properly belongs to the narrative in ch. ii. With regard to the other discordant dates at this epoch, it must suffice to remark that all attempts to reconcile them are vain. That which is based upon the supposition of Joram having been associated with his father in the kingdom for three or seven years, is of all perhaps the most unfortunate, as being utterly inconsistent with the history, annihilating his independent reign, and after all failing to produce even a verbal consistency. The table given below is framed on the supposition that Jehoshaphat's reign really lasted only 22 years, and Ahab's only 19, as appears from the texts cited; that the statement that Jehoshaphat reigned 25 years is caused by the probable circumstance of his having taken part in the government during the three last years of Asa's reign, when his father was incapacitated by the disease in his feet (2 Chr. xvi. 12); and that three years were then added to Ahab's reign, to make the whole number of the years of the kings of Israel agree with the whole number of those of the kings of Judah, thus unduly lengthened by an addition of three years to Jehoshaphat's reign. This arrangement, it is believed, reconciles the greatest number of existing texts, agrees best with history, and especially coincides with what is the most certain of all the elements of the chronology of this time, namely, that the twelve years' reign of Jehoram son of Ahab, and the few months' reign of Ahaziah, the successor of Joram son of Jehoshaphat, ended simultaneously at the accession of Jehu.

KINGS OF ISRAEL.	KINGS OF JUDAH.
Ahab (r'gn'd 19 yrs.) 1st yr. =	Asa (reigned 41 yrs.) 38th, 1 K. xvi. 29.
Ahab 4th yr. =	Jehoshaphat (reigned 22 yrs.) 1st, 1 K. xxii. 41.
Ahab . . last and 19th yr. =	Jehoshaphat . . 16th, ib. 51.
Ahaziah (r'gn'd 2 yrs.) 1st yr. =	Jehoshaphat, 17th, 1 K. xxii.
Ahaziah 2d yr. and =	ib. Jehoshaphat, 18th, 2 K. iii. 1.
Jehoram (r'gn'd 12 yrs.) 1st yr. =	Jehoshaphat last and 22d, and [viii. 16.
Jehoram 5th yr. =	Joram (r'gn'd 8 yrs.) 1st, 2 K.
Jehoram 6th Elijah carried up to heaven =	Joram, 2d, 2 K. i. 17, ii.; 2 Chr. xxi. 12.
Jehoram 12 =	Joram, 5th, viii. 17, 2 K. and [viii. 25. Ahaziah (reigned 1 yr.) 1st.

2. [In 2 Chr. xxi. 1, Rom. Ἰωράν, but Vat Alex. Ἰωραμ as elsewhere.] Eldest son of Jehoshaphat, succeeded his father on the throne of Judah

[a] The "then" of the A. V. of 2 K. viii. 1 is a thorough misrepresentation of the order of the events. The narrative goes back seven years, merely to introduce the woman's return at this time. The king's conversation with Gehazi was doubtless caused by the providential deliverance related in ch. vii.

[b] The use of the perfect tense in Hebrew often implies the habit or the repetition of an action, as 1 S. 6 Ps. i. 1, ii. 1, &c.

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at the age of 32, and reigned eight years, from B. C. 893–92 to 885–84. [JEHORAM, 1.] Jehosheba his daughter was wife to the high-priest Jehoiada. The ill effects of his marriage with Athaliah the daughter of Ahab, and the influence of that second Jezebel upon him, were immediately apparent. As soon as he was fixed on the throne, he put his six brothers to death, with many of the chief nobles of the land. He then proceeded to establish the worship of Baal and other abominations, and to enforce the practice of idolatry by persecution. A prophetic writing from the aged prophet Elijah (2 Chr. xxi. 12), the last recorded act of his life, reproving him for his crimes and his impiety, and foretelling the most grievous judgments upon his person and his kingdom, failed to produce any good effect upon him. This was in the first or second year of his reign. The remainder of it was a series of calamities. First the Edomites, who had been tributary to Jehoshaphat, revolted from his dominion, and established their permanent independence. It was as much as Jehoram could do by a night-attack with all his forces, to extricate himself from their army, which had surrounded him. Next Libnah, one of the strongest fortified cities in Judah (2 K. xix. 8), and perhaps one of those "fenced cities" (2 Chr. xxi. 3) which Jehoshaphat had given to his other sons, indignant at his cruelties, and abhorring his apostasy, rebelled against him. Then followed invasions of armed bands of Philistines and of Arabians (the same who paid tribute to Jehoshaphat, 2 Chr. xvii. 11), who burst into Judæa, stormed the king's palace, put his wives and all his children, except his youngest son Ahaziah, to death (2 Chr. xxii. 1), or carried them into captivity, and plundered all his treasures. And, to crown all, a terrible and incurable disease in his bowels fell upon him, of which he died, after two years of misery, unregretted; and went down to a dishonored grave in the prime of life, without either private or public mourning, and without even a resting-place in the sepulchres of his fathers (2 Chr. xxi. 19, 20). He died early in the twelfth year of his brother-in-law Jehoram's reign over Israel.

A. C. H.

JEHOSHABE'ATH (יְהוֹשַׁבְעָת [perh. *swearer by Jehovah*, i. e. *his worshipper*]: Ἰωσαβεέθ; [Vat. Ἰωσαβεε;] Alex. Ἰωσαβεθ: *Josabeth*), the form in which the name of JEHOSHEBA is given in 2 Chr. xxii. 11. We are here informed, what is not told us in Kings, that she was the wife of Jehoiada the high-priest.

JEHOSH'APHAT (יְהוֹשָׁפָט [*Jehovah is judge*]: Ἰωσαφάτ: *Josaphat*). 1. The son of Asa and Azubah, succeeded to the throne B. C. 914, when he was 35 years old, and reigned 25 years. His history is to be found among the events recorded in 1 K. xv. 24; 2 K. viii. 16, or in a continuous narrative in 2 Chr. xvii. 1–xxi. 3. He was contemporary with Ahab, Ahaziah, and Jehoram. At first he strengthened himself against Israel by fortifying and garrisoning the cities of Judah and the Ephraimite conquests of Asa. But soon afterwards the two Hebrew kings, perhaps appreciating their common danger from Damascus and the tribes on their eastern frontier, came to an understanding. Israel and Judah drew together for the first time since they parted at Shechem sixty years previously. Jehoshaphat's eldest son Jehoram married Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel. It does not appear how far Jehoshaphat encouraged that ill-starred union. The closeness of the alliance between the two kings is shown by many circumstances: Elijah's reluctance when in exile to set foot within the territory of Judah (Blunt, *Undes. Coinc.* ii. § 19, p. 199); the identity of names given to the children of the two royal families; the admission of names compounded with the name of Jehovah into the family of Jezebel, the zealous worshipper of Baal; and the extreme alacrity with which Jehoshaphat afterwards accompanied Ahab to the field of battle.

But in his own kingdom Jehoshaphat ever showed himself a zealous follower of the commandments of God: he tried, it would seem not quite successfully, to put down the high places and the groves in which the people of Judah burnt incense. In his third year, apprehending perhaps the evil example of Israelitish idolatry, and considering that the Levites were not fulfilling satisfactorily their function of teaching the people, Jehoshaphat sent out a commission of certain princes, priests, and Levites, to go through the cities of Judah, teaching the people out of the Book of the Law. He made separate provision for each of his sons as they grew up, perhaps with a foreboding of their melancholy end (2 Chr. xxi. 4). Riches and honors increased around him. He received tribute from the Philistines and Arabians; and kept up a large standing army in Jerusalem.

It was probably about the 16th year of his reign (B. C. 898) when he went to Samaria to visit Ahab and to become his ally in the great battle of Ramoth-Gilead — not very decisive in its result though fatal to Ahab. From thence Jehoshaphat returned to Jerusalem in peace; and, after receiving a rebuke from the prophet Jehu, went himself through the people "from Beer-sheba to Mount Ephraim," reclaiming them to the law of God. He also took measures for the better administration of justice throughout his dominions; on which see Selden, *De Synedriis*, ii. cap. 8, § 4. Turning his attention to foreign commerce, he built at Ezion-geber, with the help of Ahaziah, a navy designed to go to Tarshish: but, in accordance with a prediction of a prophet, Eliezer, it was wrecked at Ezion-geber; and Jehoshaphat resisted Ahaziah's proposal to renew their joint attempt.

Before the close of his reign he was engaged in two[a] additional wars. He was miraculously delivered from a threatened attack of the people of Ammon, Moab, and Seir; the result of which is thought by some critics to be celebrated in Ps. 48 and 92, and to be alluded to by the prophet Joel, iii. 2, 12. After this, perhaps, must be dated the war which Jehoshaphat, in conjunction with Jehoram king of Israel and the king of Edom, carried on against the rebellious king of Moab (2 K. iii.). After this the realm of Jehoshaphat was quiet. In his declining years the administration of affairs was placed (probably B. C. 891) in the hands of his son Jehoram; to whom, as Usher conjectures, the same charge had been temporarily committed during Jehoshaphat's absence at Ramoth-gilead.

Like the prophets with whom he was brought in

[a] Gesenius and Professor Newman are of opinion that the two narratives in 2 K. iii. and 2 Chr. xx. refer to one event. Their view has been successfully opposed by Keil and Movers in Germany, and by the Rev. H. Browne, *Ordo Saeclorum*, p. 235.

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sentence, we cannot describe the character of this good king without a mixture of blame. Eminently pious, gentle, just, devoted to the spiritual and temporal welfare of his subjects, active in mind and body, he was wanting in firmness and consistency. His character has been carefully sketched in a sermon by the Rev. Dr. Hessey, *Biographies of the Kings of Judah*, ii.

2. [Ἰωσαφάτ, -φάθ; Alex. in 2 Sam. viii. 16, Ἰωσαφ.] Son of Ahilud, who filled the office of recorder or annalist in the court of David (2 Sam. viii. 16, &c.), and afterwards of Solomon (1 K. iv. 3). Such officers are found not only in the courts of the Hebrew kings, but also in those of ancient and modern Persia, of the Eastern Roman Empire (Gesenius), of China, etc. (Keil). An instance of the use made of their writings is given in Esth. vi. 1.

3. One of the priests who, in the time of David (1 Chr. xv. 24), were appointed to blow trumpets before the ark in its transit from the house of Obed-Edom to Jerusalem.

4. [Rom. Vat. omit; Alex. Ἰωσαφατ.] Son of Paruah; one of the twelve purveyors of King Solomon (1 K. iv. 17). His district was Issachar, from whence, at a stated season of the year, he collected such taxes as were paid in kind, and sent them to the king's court.

5. [Ἰωσαφάτ, Vat. -φαθ.] Son of Nimshi, and father of king Jehu (2 K. ix. 2, 14). W. T. B.

JEHOSH'APHAT, VALLEY OF (יְהוֹשָׁפָט עֵמֶק)

יְהוֹשָׁפָט: [*valley where Jehovah judges*]: Κοιλάς Ἰωσαφάτ: *Vallis Josaphat*), a valley mentioned by the prophet Joel only, as the spot in which, after the return of Judah and Jerusalem from captivity, Jehovah would gather all the heathen (Joel iii. 2; Heb. iv. 2), and would there sit to judge them for their misdeeds to Israel (iii. 12; Heb. v. 4). The passage is one of great boldness, abounding in the verbal turns in which Hebrew poetry so much delights, and in particular there is a play between the name given to the spot — Jehoshaphat, *i. e.* "Jehovah's judgment," and the "judgment" there to be pronounced. The Hebrew prophets often refer to the ancient glories of their nation: thus Isaiah speaks of the "day of Midian," and of the triumphs of David and of Joshua in "Mount Perazim," and in the "Valley of Gibeon;" and in like manner Joel, in announcing the vengeance to be taken on the strangers who were annoying his country (iii. 14), seems to have glanced back to that triumphant day when king Jehoshaphat, the greatest king the nation had seen since Solomon, and the greatest champion of Jehovah, led out his people to a valley in the wilderness of Tekoah, and was there blessed with such a victory over the hordes of his enemies as was without a parallel in the national records (2 Chr. xx.).

But though such a reference to Jehoshaphat is both natural and characteristic, it is not certain that it is intended. The name may be only an imaginary one conferred on a spot which existed nowhere but in the vision of the prophet. Such was the view of some of the ancient translators. Thus Theodotion renders it χάρα κρίσεως; and so the Targum of Jonathan — "the plain of the division of judgment." Michaelis (*Bibel für Ungelehrten*, Remarks on Joel) takes a similar view, and considers the passage to be a prediction of the Maccabean victories. By others, however, the prophet has been supposed to have had the end of the world in view. And not only this, but the scene of "Jehovah's judgment" has been localised, and the name has come down to us attached to the deep ravine which separates Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, through which at one time the Kedron forced its stream. At what period the name was first applied to this spot is not known. There is no trace of it in the Bible or in Josephus. In both the only name used for this gorge is KIDRON (N. T. CEDRON). We first encounter its new title in the middle of the 4th century in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius and Jerome (art. *Cedar*), and in the Commentary of the latter father on Joel. Since that time the name has been recognized and adopted by travellers of all ages and all faiths. It is used by Christians — as Arculf in 700 (*Early Trav.* i. 4), the author of the *Cites de Jherusalem*, in 1187 (Rob. ii. 562), and Maundrell in 1697 (*Ear. Trav.* p. 469); and by Jews — as Benjamin of Tudela about 1170 (Asher, i. 71; and see Reland, *Pal.* p. 356). By the Moslems it is still said to be called *Wady Jûshafat* (Seetzen, ii. 23, 26), or *Shafat*, though the name usually given to the valley is *Wady Sitti-Maryam*. Both Moslems and Jews believe that the last judgment is to take place there. To find a grave there is the dearest wish of the latter (Briggs, *Heathen and Holy Lands*, p. 290), and the former show — as they have shown for certainly two centuries — the place on which Mohammed is to be seated at the Last Judgment, a stone jutting out from the east wall of the Haram area near the south corner, one of the pillars [a] which once adorned the churches of Helena or Justinian, and of which multitudes are now imbedded in the rude masonry of the more modern walls of Jerusalem. The steep sides of the ravine, wherever a level strip affords the opportunity, are crowded — in places almost paved — by the sepulchres of the Moslems, or the simpler slabs of the Jewish tombs, alike awaiting the assembly of the Last Judgment.

So narrow and precipitous [b] a glen is quite unsuited for such an event; but this inconsistency does not appear to have disturbed those who framed or those who hold the tradition. It is however implied in the Hebrew terms employed in the two cases. That by Joel is *Emek* (עֵמֶק), a word applied to spacious valleys, such as those of Esdraelon or Gibeon (Stanley, *S. & P.* App. § 1). On the other hand the ravine of the Kidron is invariably designated by *Nachal* (נַחַל) answering to the modern Arabic *Wady*. There is no instance in the O. T. of these two terms being convertible,

[a] This pillar is said to be called *el-Turik*, "the road" (De Saulcy, *Voyage*, ii. 199). From it will spring the Bridge of *As-Sirat*, the crossing of which is to test the true believers. Those who cannot stand the test will drop off into the abyss of Gehenna in the depths of the valley (Ali Bey, 224, 225; Mejr ed-Din, in Rob. i. 269; [Alger's *Hist. of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, pp. 202, 203]).

[b] St. Cyril (of Alexandria) either did not know the spot, or has another valley in his eye; probably the former. He describes it as not many stadia from Jerusalem; and says he is told (φασί) that it is "bare and apt for horses" (ψιλὸν καὶ ἱππήλατον *Comment. on Joel*, quoted by Reland, p. 355). Perhaps this indicates that the tradition was not at that time quite fixed.

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and this fact alone would warrant the inference that the tradition of the identity of the Emek of Jehoshaphat and the Nachal Kedron, did not arise until Hebrew had begun to become a dead language.[a] The grounds on which it did arise were probably two: (1.) The frequent mention throughout this passage of Joel of Mount Zion, Jerusalem, and the Temple (ii. 32; iii. 1, 6, 16, 17, 18), may have led to the belief that the locality of the great judgment would be in their immediate neighborhood. This would be assisted by the mention of the Mount of Olives in the somewhat similar passage in Zechariah (xiv. 3, 4).

(2.) The belief that Christ would reappear in judgment on the Mount of Olives, from which He had ascended. This was at one time a received article of Christian belief, and was grounded on the words of the Angels, "He shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven."[b] (Adrichomius, *Theatr. Ter. Sancta*, Jerusalem, § 192; Corn. a Lapide, on Acts i.)

(3.) There is the alternative that the Valley of Jehoshaphat was really an ancient name of the Valley of the Kedron, and that from the name, the connection with Joel's prophecy, and the belief in its being the scene of Jehovah's last judgment have followed. This may be so; but then we should expect to find some trace of the existence of the name before the 4th century after Christ. It was certainly used as a burying-place as early as the reign of Josiah (2 K. xxiii. 6), but no inference can fairly be drawn from this.

But whatever originated the tradition, it has held its ground most firmly. (*a.*) In the valley itself, one of the four remarkable monuments which exist at the foot of Olivet was at a very early date connected with Jehoshaphat. At Arculf's visit (about 700) the name appears to have been borne by that now called "Absalom's tomb," but then the "tower of Jehoshaphat" (*Ear. Trav.* p. 4). In the time of Maundrell the "tomb of Jehoshaphat" was, what it still is, an excavation, with an architectural front, in the face of the rock behind "Absalom's tomb." A tolerable view of this is given in plate 33 of Munk's *Palestine;* and a photograph by Salzmann, with a description in the *Texte* (p. 31) to the same. The name may, as already observed, really point to Jehoshaphat himself, though not to his *tomb*, as he was buried like the other kings in the city of David (2 Chr. xxi. 1). (*b.*) One of the gates of the city in the east wall, opening on the valley, bore the same name. This is plain from the *Cités de Jherusalem*, where the *Porte de Iosafas* is said to have been a "postern" close to the golden gateway (*Portes Oiris*), and *to the south* of that gate (*pars devers midi;* § iv., near the end, Rob. ii. 559). It was therefore at or near the small walled-up doorway, to which M. de Saulcy has restored the name of the *Pôterne de Josaphat*, and which is but a few feet to the south of the golden gateway. However this may be, this "postern" is evidently of later date than the wall in which it occurs, as some of the enormous stones of the wall have been cut through to admit it:[c] and in so far, therefore, it is a witness to the date of the tradition being subsequent to the time of Herod, by whom this wall was built. It is probably the "little gate[d] leading down by steps to the valley," of which Arculf speaks (*Early Trav.*). Benjamin of Tudela (1163) also mentions the gate of Jehoshaphat, but without any nearer indication of its position than that it led to the valley and the monuments (Asher, i. 71). (*c.*) Lastly, leading to this gate was a street called the street of Jehoshaphat (*Cités de J.* § vii., Rob. ii. 561).

The name would seem to be generally confined by travellers to the upper part of the glen, from about the "Tomb of the Virgin" to the southeast corner of the wall of Jerusalem. [Tombs.]

G.

[a] It appears in the Targum on Cant. viii. 1.

[b] In Sir John Maundeville a different reason is given for the same. "Very near this" — the place where Christ wept over Jerusalem — "is the stone on high our Lord sat when He preached; and on that same stone shall He sit on the day of doom, right as He said himself." Bernard the Wise, in the 8th century, speaks of the church of St. Leon, in the valley "where our Lord will come to judgment" (*Early Trav.* p. 28).

[c] To this fact the writer can testify from recent observation. It is evident enough in Salzmann's photograph, though not in De Saulcy's sketch (*Atlas*, pl 24).

[d] Next to the above "little gate," Arculf names the gate "Thecuitis." Can this strange name contain an allusion to *Tekoa*, the valley in which Jehoshaphat's great victory was gained?

* Fürst speaks of the present Valley of Jehoshaphat as on the south of Jerusalem (*Handw.* i. 497) That must be an oversight. He thinks that the valley was so named from a victory or victories achieved there by Jehoshaphat over heathen enemies, but that the name was not actually given to the place till after the time of Joel.

The correct view, no doubt, is that the valley to which Joel refers is not one to be sought on any terrestrial map, of one period of Jerusalem's history or another, but is a name formed to localize an idealized scene. It is an instance of a bold, but truthful figure, to set forth the idea that God's persecuted, suffering people have always in Him an Almighty defender, and that all opposition to his kingdom and his servants must in the end prove unavailing. To convey this teaching the more impressively the prophet represents Jehovah as appointing a time and a place for meeting his enemies; they are commanded to assemble all their forces, to concentrate, as it were, both their enmity and their power in one single effort of resistance to his purposes and will. They accept the challenge. Jehovah meets them thus united, and making trial of their strength against his omnipotence. The conflict then follows. The irresistible One scatters the adversaries at a single blow; he overwhelms their hosts with confusion and ruin (iii. 2–17, A. V., and iv. 12–17, Heb.). The prophet calls the scene of this encounter "the Valley of Jehoshaphat" (*i. e.* where "Jehovah judges"), on account of this display of God's power and justice, and the pledge thus given to his people of the final issue of all their labors and sufferings for his name's sake. With the same import Joel interchanges this expression in ver. 14 with "valley of decision," (חָרוּץ), *i. e.* of a case decided, judgment declared.

H.

JEHOSHE'BEA (יְהוֹשַׁבְעַ [*Jehovah the oath*, by whom one swears]: LXX. Ἰωσαβέε; Joseph. Ἰωσαβέθη), daughter of Joram king of Israel, and wife of Jehoiada the high-priest (2 K. xi. 2). Her name in the Chronicles is given Jeho-

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SHABEATH. It thus exactly resembles the name of the only two other wives of Jewish priests who are known to us, namely, ELISHEBA (LXX. and N. T. Ἐλισαβέτ, whence our Elisabeth), the wife of Aaron, Ex. vi. 23, and the wife of Zechariah, Luke i. 7. In the former case the word signifies "Jehovah's oath;" in the second "God's oath."

As she is called, 2 K. xi. 2, "the daughter of *Joram*, sister of Ahaziah," it has been conjectured that she was the daughter, not of Athaliah, but of Joram, by another wife; and Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 7, § 1) calls her Ὀχοζίᾳ ὁμοπάτριος ἀδελφή. This may be; but it is also possible that the omission of Athaliah's name may have been occasioned by the detestation in which it was held — in the same way as modern commentators have, for the same reason, eagerly embraced this hypothesis. That it is not absolutely needed is shown by the fact that the worship of Jehovah was tolerated under the reigns both of Joram and Athaliah — and that the name of Jehovah was incorporated into both of their names.

She is the only recorded instance of the marriage of a princess of the royal house with a high-priest. On this occasion it was a providential circumstance ("for she was the sister of Ahaziah," 2 Chr. xxi. 11), as inducing and probably enabling her to rescue the infant Joash from the massacre of his brothers. By her, he and his nurse were concealed in the palace, and afterwards in the Temple (2 K. xi. 2, 3; 2 Chr. xxii. 11), where he was brought up probably with her sons (2 Chr. xxiii. 11), who assisted at his coronation. One of these was Zechariah, who succeeded her husband in his office, and was afterwards murdered (2 Chr. xxiv. 20). A. P. S.

JEHOSHU'A (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ [*Jehovah a helper*]: Ἰησοῦς: *Josue*). In this form — contracted in the Hebrew, but fuller than usual in the A. V. — is given the name of Joshua in Num. xiii. 16, on the occasion of its bestowal by Moses. The addition of the name of Jehovah probably marks the recognition by Moses of the important part taken in the affair of the spies by him, who till this time had been Hoshea, "help," but was henceforward to be Je-hoshua, "help of Jehovah" (Ewald, ii. 306). Once more only the name appears in its full form in the A. V. — this time with a redundant letter — as —

JEHOSHU'AH (the Hebrew is as above: Ἰησουέ, in both MSS.: *Josue*), in the genealogy of Ephraim (1 Chr. vii. 27). We should be thankful to the translators of the A. V. for giving the first syllables of this great name their full form, if only in these two cases; though why in these only it is difficult to understand. Nor is it easier to see whence they got the final *h* in the latter of the two. [The final *h* is not found in the original edition of the A. V., 1611. — A.] G.

JEHO'VAH (יְהוָה, usually with the vowel points of אֲדֹנָי; but when the two occur together the former is pointed יְהוִה, that is, with the vowels of אֱלֹהִים as in Obad. i. 1, Hab. iii. 19: the LXX. generally render it by Κύριος, the Vulgate by *Dominus;* and in this respect they have been followed by the A. V., where it is translated "The Lord"). The true pronunciation of this name, by which God was known to the Hebrews, has been entirely lost, the Jews themselves scrupulously avoiding every mention of it, and substituting in its stead one or other of the words with whose proper vowel-points it may happen to be written. This custom, which had its origin in reverence, and has almost degenerated into a superstition, was founded upon an erroneous rendering of Lev. xxiv. 16, from which it was inferred that the mere utterance of the name constituted a capital offense. In the rabbinical writings it is distinguished by various euphemistic expressions; as simply "the name," or "the name of four letters" (the Greek *tetragrammaton*); "the great and terrible name;" "the peculiar name," *i. e.* appropriated to God alone; "the separate name," *i. e.* either the name which is separated or removed from human knowledge, or, as some render, "the name which has been interpreted or revealed" (שֵׁם הַמְפֹרָשׁ, *shém hammephórásh*). The Samaritans followed the same custom, and in reading the Pentateuch substituted for Jehovah (שְׁמָא, *shémá*) "the name," at the same time perpetuating the practice in their alphabetical poems and later writings (Geiger, *Urschrift*, etc. p. 262). According to Jewish tradition, it was pronounced but once a year by the high-priest on the day of Atonement when he entered the Holy of Holies; but on this point there is some doubt, Maimonides (*Mor. Neb.* i. 61) asserting that the use of the word was confined to the blessings of the priests, and restricted to the sanctuary, without limiting it still further to the high-priest alone. On the same authority we learn that it ceased with Simeon the Just (*Yad Chaz.* c. 14, § 10), having lasted through two generations, that of the men of the Great Synagogue and the age of Shemed, while others include the generation of Zedekiah among those who possessed the use of the *shém hammephórásh* (*Midrash* on Ps. xxxvi. 11, quoted by Buxtorf in Reland's *Decas Exercit.*). But even after the destruction of the second temple we meet with instances of individuals who were in possession of the mysterious secret. A certain Bar Kamzar is mentioned in the Mishna (*Yoma*, iii. § 11) who was able to write this name of God; but even on such evidence we may conclude that after the siege of Jerusalem the true pronunciation almost if not entirely disappeared, the probability being that it had been lost long before. Josephus, himself a priest, confesses that on this point he was not permitted to speak (*Ant.* ii. 12, § 4); and Philo states (*de Vit. Mos.* iii. 519) that for those alone whose ears and tongue were purged by wisdom was it lawful to hear or utter this awful name. It is evident, therefore, that no reference to ancient writers can be expected to throw any light upon the question, and any quotation of them will only render the darkness in which it is involved more palpable. At the same time the discussion, though barren of actual results, may on other accounts be interesting; and as it is one in which great names are ranged on both sides, it would for this reason alone be impertinent to dismiss it with a cursory notice. In the decade of dissertations collected by Reland, Fuller, Gataker, and Leusden do battle for the pronunciation Jehovah, against such formidable antagonists as Drusius, Amama, Cappellus, Buxtorf, and Altingius, who, it is scarcely necessary to say, fairly beat their opponents out of the field; the only argument, in fact, of any weight, which is employed by the advocates of the pronunciation of the

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word as it is written being that derived from the form in which it appears in proper names, such as Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, etc. Their antagonists make a strong point of the fact that, as has been noticed above, two different sets of vowels are applied to the same consonants under certain circumstances. To this Leusden, of all the champions on his side, but feebly replies. The same may be said of the argument derived from the fact that the letters מוכלב, when prefixed to יהוה, take, not the vowels which they would regularly receive were the present punctuation true, but those with which they would be written if יֲאֲדֹנָי, *ádónái*, were the reading; and that the letters ordinarily taking *dagesh lene* when following יהוה would, according to the rules of the Hebrew points, be written without dagesh, whereas it is uniformly inserted. Whatever, therefore, be the true pronunciation of the word, there can be little doubt that it is not *Jehovah*.

In Greek writers it appears under the several forms of Ἰαῶ (Diod. Sic. i. 94; Irenæus, i. 4, § 1), Ἰευώ (Porphyry in Eusebius, *Præp. Evan.* i. 9, § 21), Ἰαού (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. p. 666), and in a catena to the Pentateuch in a MS. at Turin Ἰὰ οβέ; both Theodoret (*Quæst.* 15 *in Exod.*) and Epiphanius (*Hær.* xx.) give Ἰαβέ, the former distinguishing it as the pronunciation of the Samaritans, while Ἀϊά represented that of the Jews. But even if these writers were entitled to speak with authority, their evidence only tends to show in how many different ways the four letters of the word יהוה could be represented in Greek characters, and throws no light either upon its real pronunciation or its punctuation. In like manner Jerome (on Ps. viii.), who acknowledges that the Jews considered it an ineffable name, at the same time says it may be read *Jaho*, — of course, supposing the passage in question to be genuine, which is open to doubt. In the absence, therefore, of anything satisfactory from these sources, there is plainly left a wide field for conjecture. What has been done in this field the following pages will show. It will be better perhaps to ascend from the most improbable hypotheses to those which carry with them more show of reason, and thus prepare the way for the considerations which will follow.

I. Von Bohlen, at once most skeptical and most credulous, whose hasty conclusions are only paralleled by the rashness of his assumptions, unhesitatingly asserts that beyond all doubt the word Jehovah is not Semitic in its origin. Pinning his faith upon the Abraxas gems, in which he finds it in the form *Jao*, he connects it with the Sanskrit *Ieova*, *devo*, the Greek Διός, and Latin *Jovis* or *Diovis*. But, apart from the consideration that his authority is at least questionable, he omits to explain the striking phenomenon that the older form which has the *d* should be preserved in the younger languages, the Greek and ancient Latin, while not a trace of it appears in the Hebrew. It would be desirable also that, before a philological argument of this nature can be admitted, the relation between the Semitic and Indo-Germanic languages should be more clearly established. In the absence of this, any inferences which may be drawn from apparent resemblances (the resemblance in the present case not being even apparent) will lead to certain error. That the Hebrews learned the word from the Egyptians is a theory which has found some advocates. The foundations for this theory are sufficiently slight. As has been mentioned above, Diodorus (i. 94) gives the Greek from Ἰαῶ; and from this it has been inferred that Ἰαῶ was a deity of the Egyptians, whereas nothing can be clearer from the context than that the historian is speaking especially of the God of the Jews. Again, in Macrobius (*Sat.* i. c. 18), a line is quoted from an oracular response of Apollo Clarius —

Φράζεο τὸν πάντων ὕπατον θεὸν ἔμμεν' Ἰαῶ,

which has been made use of for the same purpose. But Jablonsky (*Panth. Æg.* ii. § 5) has proved incontestably that the author of the verses from which the above is quoted, was one of the Judaising Gnostics, who were in the habit of making the names Ἰαῶ and Σεβαάθ the subjects of mystical speculations. The Ophites, who were Egyptians, are known to have given the name Ἰαώ to the Moon (Neander, *Gnost.* 252), but this, as Tholuck suggests, may have arisen from the fact that in Coptic the Moon is called *ioh* (*Verm. Schriften*, i. 385). Movers (*Phön.* i. 540), while defending the genuineness of the passage of Macrobius, connects Ἰαῶ, which denotes the Sun or Dionysus, with the root חוה, so that it signifies "the life-giver." In any case, the fact that the name Ἰαῶ is found among the Greeks and Egyptians, or among the Orientals of Further Asia, in the 2d or 3d century, cannot be made use of as an argument that the Hebrews derived their knowledge of the word from any one of these nations. On the contrary, there can be but little doubt that the process in reality was reversed, and that in this case the Hebrews were, not the borrowers, but the lenders. We have indisputable evidence that it existed among them, whatever may have been its origin, many centuries before it is found in other records; of the contrary we have no evidence whatever. Of the singular manner in which the word has been introduced into other languages, we have a remarkable instance in a passage quoted by M. Rémusat, from one of the works of the Chinese philosopher Lao-tseu, who flourished, according to Chinese chronology, about the 6th or 7th century B. C., and held the opinions commonly attributed to Pythagoras, Plato, and others of the Greeks. This passage M. Rémusat translates as follows: "Celui que vous regardez et que vous ne voyez pas, se nomme *j*; celui que vous écoutez et que vous n'entendez pas, se nomme *Hi*; celui que votre main cherche et qu'elle ne peut pas saisir, se nomme *Wei*. Ce sont trois êtres qu'on ne peut comprendre, et qui, confondus, n'en font qu'un." In these three letters J H V Rémusat thinks that he recognizes the name Jehovah of the Hebrews, which might have been learnt by the philosopher himself or some of his pupils in the course of his travels; or it might have been brought into China by some exiled Jews or Gnostics. The Chinese interpreter of the passage maintains that these mystical letters signify "the void," so that in his time every trace of the origin of the word had in all probability been lost. And not only does it appear, though perhaps in a questionable form, in the literature of the Chinese. In a letter from the missionary Plaisant to the Vicar Apostolic Boucho, dated 18th Feb. 1847, there is mention made of a tradition which existed among a tribe in the jungles of Burmah, that the divine being was called *Jova* or *Kara-Jova*, and that the peculiarities

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of the Jehovah of the Old Testament were attributed to him (Reinke, *Beitrdge*, iii. 65). But all this is very vague and more curious than convincing. The inscription in front of the temple of Isis at Sais quoted by Plutarch (*de Is. et Os.* § 9), "I am all that hath been, and that is, and that shall be," which has been employed as an argument to prove that the name Jehovah was known among the Egyptians, is mentioned neither by Herodotus, Diodorus; nor Strabo; and Proclus, who does allude to it, says it was in the adytum of the temple. But, even if it be genuine, its authority is worthless for the purpose for which it is adduced. For, supposing that Jehovah is the name to which such meaning is attached, it follows rather that the Egyptians borrowed it and learned its significance from the Jews, unless it can be proved that both ... Egyptian and Hebrew the same combination of letters conveyed the same idea. Without, however, having recourse to any hypothesis of this kind, the peculiarity of the inscription is sufficiently explained by the place which, as is well known, Isis holds in the Egyptian mythology as the universal mother. The advocates of the Egyptian origin of the word have shown no lack of ingenuity in summoning to their aid authorities the most unpromising. A passage from a treatise on interpretation (*περὶ ἑρμηνείας*, § 71), written by one Demetrius, in which it is said that the Egyptians hymned their gods by means of the seven vowels, has been tortured to give evidence on the point. Scaliger was in doubt whether it referred to Serapis, called by Hesychius "Serapis of seven letters" (*τὸ ἑπτάγραμματον Σαράπις*), or to the exclamation יהואה יְהוָה, *hû yehôvâh*, "He is Jehovah." Of the latter there can be but little doubt. Gesner took the seven Greek vowels, and arranging them in the order ΙΕΗΩΟΥΑ, found therein Jehovah. But he was triumphantly refuted by Didymus, who maintained that the vowels were merely used for musical notes, and in this very probable conjecture he is supported by the Milesian inscription elucidated by Barthelemy and others. In this the invocation of God is denoted by the seven vowels five times repeated in different arrangements, Αεηιουω, Εηιουωα, Ηιουωαε, Ιουωαεη, Ουωαεηι: each group of vowels precedes a "holy" (*ἅγιε*), and the whole concludes with the following: "the city of the Milesians and all the inhabitants are guarded by archangels." Müller, with much probability, concludes that the seven vowels represented the seven notes of the octave. One more argument for the Egyptian origin of Jehovah remains to be noticed. It is found in the circumstance that Pharaoh changed the name of Eliakim to Jehoiakim (2 K. xxiii. 34), which it is asserted is not in accordance with the practice of conquerors towards the conquered, unless the Egyptian king imposed upon the king of Judah the name of one of his own gods. But the same reasoning would prove that the origin of the word was Babylonian, for the king of Babylon changed the name of Mattaniah to Zedekiah (2 K. xxiv. 17).

But many, abandoning as untenable the theory of an Egyptian origin, have sought to trace the name among the Phœnicians and Canaanitish tribes. In support of this, Hartmann brings forward a passage from a pretended fragment of Sanchoniatho quoted by Philo Byblius, a writer of the age of Nero. But it is now generally admitted that the so-called fragments of Sanchoniatho, the ancient Phœnician chronicler, are most impudent forgeries concocted by Philo Byblius himself. Besides, the passage to which Hartmann refers is not found in Philo Byblius, but is quoted from Porphyry by Eusebius (*Præp. Evan.* i. 9, § 21), and, genuine or not, evidently alludes to the Jehovah of the Jews. It is there stated that the most trustworthy authority in matters connected with the Jews was Sanchoniatho of Beyrout, who received his information from Hierombalos (*Jerubbaal*) the priest of the god Ἰευώ. From the occurrence of Jehovah as a compound in the proper names of many who were not Hebrews, Hamaker (*Misc. Phœn.* p. 174, &c.) contends that it must have been known among heathen people. But such knowledge, if it existed, was no more than might have been obtained by their necessary contact with the Hebrews. The names of *Uriah* the Hittite, of Araunah or *Aranjah* the Jebusite, of *Tobiah* the Ammonite, and of the Canaanitish town Bizjothjah, may be all explained without having recourse to Hamaker's hypothesis. Of as little value is his appeal to 1 K. v. 7, where we find the name Jehovah in the mouth of Hiram, king of Tyre. Apart from the consideration that Hiram would necessarily be acquainted with the name as that of the Hebrews' national god, its occurrence is sufficiently explained by the tenor of Solomon's message (1 K. v. 3–5). Another point on which Hamaker relies for support is the name Ἀββαῖος, which occurs as that of a Tyrian suffete in Menander (Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. 21), and which he identifies with Obadiah (עֹבַדְיָה). But both Fürst and Hengstenberg represent it in Hebrew characters by עַבְדַּי, *'abdai*, which even Hamaker thinks more probable.

II. Such are the principal hypotheses which have been constructed in order to account for a non-Hebraic origin of Jehovah. To attribute much value to them requires a large share of faith. It remains now to examine the theories on the opposite side; for on this point authorities are by no means agreed, and have frequently gone to the contrary extreme. S. D. Luzzatto (*Anim. in Jes. Vat.* in Rosenmüller's *Compend.* xxiv.) advances with singular naïveté the extraordinary statement that Jehovah, or rather יהוה divested of points, is compounded of two interjections, הָהּ, *vâh*, of pain, and יְהוֹ, *yâhô*, of joy, and denotes the author of good and evil. Such an etymology, from one who is unquestionably among the first of modern Jewish scholars, is a remarkable phenomenon. Ewald, referring to Gen. xix. 24, suggests as the origin of Jehovah, the Arab. هَوَا, which signifies "height, heaven;" a conjecture, of the honor of which no one will desire to rob him. But most have taken for the basis of their explanations, and the different methods of punctuation which they propose, the passage in Ex. iii. 14, to which we must naturally look for a solution of the question. When Moses received his commission to be the deliverer of Israel, the Almighty, who appeared in the burning bush, communicated to him the name which he should give as the credentials of his mission: 'And God said unto Moses, I AM THAT I AM (אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה, *ehyeh 'asher ehyeh*); and he said, Thus

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that, thus say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you." That this passage is intended to indicate the etymology of Jehovah, as understood by the Hebrews, no one has ventured to doubt: it is in fact the key to the whole mystery. But, though it certainly supplies the etymology, the interpretation must be determined from other considerations. According to this view then, יְהוָה must be the 3d sing. masc. fut. of the substantive verb הָיָה, the older form of which was חָוָה, still found in the Chaldee הֲוָה, and Syriac ܗܘܐ, a fact which will be referred to hereafter in discussing the antiquity of the name. If this etymology be correct, and there seems little reason to call it in question, one step towards the true punctuation and pronunciation is already gained. Many learned men, and among them Grotius, Galatinus, Crusius, and Leusden, in an age when such fancies were rife, imagined that, reading the name with the vowel points usually attached to it, they discovered an indication of the eternity of God in the fact that the name by which He revealed himself to the Hebrews was compounded of the present participle, and the future and preterite tenses of the substantive verb. The idea may have been suggested by the expression in Rev. iv. 8 (*ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος*), and received apparent confirmation from the Targ. Jon. on Deut. xxxii. 39, and Targ. Jer. on Ex. iii. 14. These passages, however, throw no light upon the composition of the name, and merely assert that in its significance it embraces past, present, and future. But having agreed to reject the present punctuation, it is useless to discuss any theories which may be based upon it, had they even greater probability in their favor than the one just mentioned. As one of the forms in which Jehovah appears in Greek characters is Ἰαώ, it has been proposed by Cappellus to punctuate it יָהוֹהּ, *yahvóh*, which is clearly contrary to the analogy of ל״ה verbs. Gussetius suggested יַהֲוֶה, *yehéveh*, or יַהֲוֵה, *yihveh*, in the former of which he is supported by the authority of Fürst; and Mercer and Corn. a Lapide read it יַהֲוֶה, *yehveh*: but on all these suppositions we should have יְהוֹ for יָהּ in the terminations of compound proper names. The suffrages of others are divided between יַהֲוָה, or יְהֲוָה, supposed to be represented by the Ἰαβέ of Epiphanius above mentioned, and יַהֲוָה or יַהֲוָה, which Fürst holds to be the Ἰευώ of Porphyry, or the Ἰαού of Clemens Alexandrinus. Caspari (*Micha*, p. 5, &c.) decides in favor of the former on the ground that this form only would give rise to the contraction יָהוּ in proper names, and opposes both Fürst's punctuation יְהֲוָה or יַהֲוָה, as well as that of יְהֲוָה or יַהֲוָה, which would be contracted into יָהּ. Gesenius punctuates the word יַהֲוָה, from which, or from יַהֲוֶה, are derived the abbreviated form יָהּ, *yáh*, used in poetry, and the form יְהוֹ = יַהֲוֶה (so יְהִי becomes יְהִי) which occurs at the commencement of compound proper names (Hitzig, *Jesaja*, p. 4). Delitzsch maintains that, whichever punctuation be adopted, the quiescent sheva under ה is ungrammatical, and Chatepl Pathach is the proper vowel. He therefore writes it יַהֲוָה, *yahávah*, to which he says the Ἀιά of Theodoret corresponds; the last vowel being Kametz instead of Segol, according to the analogy of proper names derived from ל״ה verbs (*e. g* יִמְרָה, יִסְכָּה, יִמְלָךְ, and others). In his opinion the form יָהּ is not an abbreviation, but a concentration of the Tetragrammaton (*Comm. über den Psalter*, Einl.). There remains to be noticed the suggestion of Gesenius that the form יְהֻוָּה, which he adopted, might be the Hiph. fut. of the substantive verb. Of the same opinion was Reuss. Others again would make it Piel, and read יְהַוֶּה. Fürst (*Handw.* s. v.) mentions some other etymologies which affect the meaning rather than the punctuation of the name; such, for instance, as that it is derived from a root חוּה, "to overthrow," and signifies "the destroyer or storm-sender;" or that it denotes "the light or heaven," from a root חוּה = יפה, "to be bright," or "the life-giver," from the same root = חוּה, "to live." We have therefore to decide between יְהוָה or יַהֲוָה, and accept the former, i. e. *Yahveh*, as the more probable punctuation, continuing at the same time for the sake of convenience to adopt the form "Jehovah" in what follows, on account of its familiarity to English readers.

III. The next point for consideration is of vastly more importance: what is the meaning of Jehovah, and what does it express of the being and nature of God, more than or in distinction from the other names applied to the deity in the O. T.? That there was some distinction in these different appellations was early perceived, and various explanations were employed to account for it. Tertullian (*adv. Hermog.* c. 3) observed that God was not called Lord (*κύριος*) till after the Creation, and in consequence of it; while Augustine found in it an indication of the absolute dependence of man upon God (*de Gen. ad Lit.* viii. 2). Chrysostom (*Hom.* xiv. *in Gen.*) considered the two names, Lord and God, as equivalent, and the alternate use of them arbitrary. But all their arguments proceed upon the supposition that the *κύριος* of the LXX. is the true rendering of the original, whereas it is merely the translation of אֲדֹנָי, *ádhónái*, whose points it bears. With regard to אֱלֹהִים, *élóhim*, the other chief name by which the Deity is designated in the O. T., it has been held by many, and the opinion does not even now want supporters, that in the plural form of the word was shadowed forth the plurality of persons in the godhead, and the mystery of the Trinity was inferred therefrom. Such, according to Peter Lombard, was the true significance of Elohim. But Calvin, Mercer, Drusius and Bellarmine have given the weight of their authority against an explanation so fanciful and arbitrary. Among the Jewish writers of the Middle Ages the question much more nearly approached its solution. R. Jehuda Hallevi (12th cent.), the author of the

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took *Cosri*, found in the usage of Elohim a protest against idolaters, who call each personified power אֱלֹהַּ, *ĕlôăh*, and all collectively Elohim. He interpreted it as the most general name of the Deity, distinguishing Him as manifested in the exhibition of his power, without reference to his personality or moral qualities, or to any special relation which He bears to man. Jehovah, on the contrary, is the revealed and known God. While the meaning of the former could be evolved by reasoning, the true significance of the latter could only be apprehended "by that prophetic vision by which a man is, as it were, separated and withdrawn from his own kind, and approaches to the angelic, and another spirit enters into him." In like manner Maimonides (*Mor. Neb.* i. 61, Buxt.) saw in Jehovah the name which teaches of the substance of the Creator, and Abarbanel (quoted by Buxtorf, *de Nom. Dei*, § 39) distinguishes Jehovah, as denoting God according to what He is in himself, from Elohim which conveys the idea of the impression made by his power. In the opinion of Astruc, a Belgian physician, with whom the documentary hypothesis originated, the alternate use of the two names was arbitrary, and determined by no essential difference. Hasse (*Entdeckungen*) considered them as historical names, and Sack (*de Usu Nom. Dei*, etc.) regarded Elohim as a vague term denoting "a certain infinite, omnipotent, incomprehensible existence, from which things finite and visible have derived their origin," while to God, as revealing himself, the more definite title of Jehovah was applied. Ewald, in his tract on the composition of Genesis (written when he was nineteen), maintained that Elohim denoted the Deity in general, and is the common or lower name, while Jehovah was the national god of the Israelites. But in order to carry out his theory he was compelled in many places to alter the text, and was afterwards induced to modify his statements, which were opposed by Gramberg and Stähelin. Doubtless Elohim is used in many cases of the gods of the heathen, who included in the same title the God of the Hebrews, and denoted generally the Deity when spoken of as a supernatural being, and when no national feeling influenced the speaker. It was Elohim who, in the eyes of the heathen, delivered the Israelites from Egypt (1 Sam. iv. 8), and the Egyptian lad adjured David by Elohim, rather than by Jehovah, of whom he would have no knowledge (1 Sam. xxx. 15). So Ehud announces to the Moabitish king a message from Elohim (Judg. iii. 20); to the Syrians the Jehovah of the Hebrews was only their national God, one of the Elohim (1 K. xx. 23, 28), and in the mouth of a heathen the name Jehovah would convey no more intelligible meaning than this. It is to be observed also that when a Hebrew speaks with a heathen he uses the more general term Elohim. Joseph, in addressing Pharaoh (Gen. xli. 16), and David, in appealing to the king of Moab to protect his family (1 Sam. xxii. 3), designate the Deity by the less specific title; and on the other hand the same rule is generally followed when the heathen are the speakers, as in the case of Abimelech (Gen. xxi. 23), the Hittites (Gen. xxiii. 6), the Midianite (Judg. vii. 14), and Joseph in his assumed character as an Egyptian (Gen. xlii. 18). But, although this distinction between Elohim, as the general appellation of Deity, and Jehovah, the national God of the Israelities, contains some superficial truth, the real nature of their difference must be sought for far deeper, and as a foundation for the arguments which will be adduced recourse must again be had to etymology.

IV. With regard to the derivation of אֱלֹהִים *ĕlôhîm*, the pl. of אֱלֹהַּ, etymologists are divided in their opinions; some connecting it with אֵל, *ēl*, and the unused root אוּל, *ûl*, "to be strong," while others refer it to the Arabic ألِهَ, *alîha*, "to be astonished," and hence أَلَهَ, *alaha*, "to worship, adore," Elohim thus denoting the Supreme Being who was worthy of all worship and adoration, the dread and awful One. But Fürst, with much greater probability, takes the noun in this case as the primitive from which is derived the idea of worship contained in the verb, and gives as the true root אָלַהּ = אוּל, "to be strong." Delitzsch would prefer a root, אָלַהּ = אוּל = אוּל (*Symb. ad Psalm. illustr.* p. 29). From whatever root, however, the word may be derived, most are of opinion that the primary idea contained in it is that of strength, power; so that Elohim is the proper appellation of the Deity, as manifested in his creative and universally sustaining agency, and in the general divine guidance and government of the world. Hengstenberg, who adheres to the derivation above mentioned from the Arab., *alîha* and *alaha*, deduces from this etymology his theory that Elohim indicates a lower, and Jehovah a higher stage of the knowledge of God, on the ground that "the feeling of fear is the lowest which can exist in reference to God, and merely in respect of this feeling is God marked by this designation." But the same inference might also be drawn on the supposition that the idea of simple power or strength is the most prominent in the word: and it is more natural that the Divine Being should be conceived of as strong before He became the object of fear and adoration. To this view Gesenius accedes, when he says that the notion of worshipping and fearing is rather derived from the power of the Deity which is expressed in his name. The question now arises, What is the meaning to be attached to the plural form of the word? As has been already mentioned, some have discovered therein the mystery of the Trinity, while others maintain that it points to polytheism. The Rabbis generally explain it as the plural of majesty; Rabbi Bechai, as signifying the lord of all powers. Abarbanel and Kimchi consider it a title of honor, in accordance with the Hebrew idiom, of which examples will be found in Is. liv. 5, Job xxxv. 10, Gen. xxxix. 20, xlii. 30. In Prov. ix. 1, the plural חָכְמוֹת, *chocmôth*, "wisdoms," is used for wisdom in the abstract, as including all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. Hence it is probable that the plural form Elohim, instead of pointing to polytheism, is applied to God as comprehending in himself the fullness of all power, and uniting in a perfect degree all that which the name signifies and all the attributes which the heathen ascribe to the several divinities of their pantheon. The singular אֱלוֹהַּ, *ĕlôăh*, with few exceptions (Neh. ix. 17; 2 Chr. xxxii. 15), occurs only in poetry.

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will be found, upon examination of the passages in which Elohim occurs, that it is chiefly in places where God is exhibited only in the plenitude of his power, and where no especial reference is made to his unity, personality, or holiness, or to his relation to Israel and the theocracy. (See Ps. xvi. 1, xix. 1, 7, 8.) Hengstenberg's etymology of the word is disputed by Delitzsch (*Symb. ad Pss. illustr.* p. 29 s.), who refers it, as has been mentioned above, to a root indicating power or might, and sees in it an expression not of what men think of God, but of what He is in Himself, in so far as He has life omnipotent in Himself, and according as He is the beginning and end of all life. For the true explanation of the name he refers to the revelation of the mystery of the Trinity. But it is at least extremely doubtful whether to the ancient Israelites any idea of this nature was conveyed by Elohim; and in making use of the more advanced knowledge supplied by the New Testament, there is some danger of discovering more meaning and a more subtle significance than was ever intended to be expressed.

V. But while Elohim exhibits God displayed in his power as the creator and governor of the physical universe, the name Jehovah designates his nature as He stands in relation to man, as the only, almighty, true, personal, holy Being, a spirit, and "the father of spirits" (Num. xvi. 22; comp. John iv. 24), who revealed himself to his people, made a covenant with them, and became their lawgiver, and to whom all honor and worship are due. If the etymology above given be accepted, and the name be derived from the future tense of the substantive verb, it would denote, in accordance with the general analogy of proper names of a similar form, "He that is," "the Being," whose chief attribute is eternal existence. Jehovah is represented as eternal (Gen. xxi. 33; comp. 1 Tim. vi. 16), unchangeable (Ex. iii. 14; Mal. iii. 6), the only being (Josh. xxii. 22; Ps. l. 1), creator and lord of all things (Ex. xx. 11; comp. Num. xvi. 22 with xxvii. 16; Is. xlii. 5). It is Jehovah who made the covenant with his people (Gen. xv. 18; Num. x. 33, &c.). In this connection Elohim occurs but once (Ps. lxxviii. 10), and even with the article, ha-Elohim, which expresses more personality than Elohim alone, is found but seldom (Judg. xx. 27; 1 Sam. iv. 4). The Israelites were enjoined to observe the commandments of Jehovah (Lev. iv. 27, &c.), to keep his law, and to worship Him alone. Hence the phrase "to serve Jehovah" (Ex. x. 7, 8, &c.) is applied to denote true worship, whereas "to serve ha-Elohim" is used but once in this sense (Ex. iii. 12), and Elohim occurs in the same association only when the worship of idols is spoken of (Deut. iv. 28; Judg. iii. 6). As Jehovah, the only true God, is the only object of true worship, to Him belong the sabbaths and festivals, and all the ordinances connected with the religious services of the Israelites (Ex. x. 9, xii. 11; Lev. xxiii. 2). His are the altars on which offerings are made to the true God; the priests and ministers are his (1 Sam. ii. 11, xiv. 3), and so exclusively that a priest of Elohim is always associated with idolatrous worship. To Jehovah alone are offerings made (Ex. viii. 8), and if Elohim is ever used in this connection, it is always qualified by pronominal suffixes, or some word in construction with it, so as to indicate the true God; in all other cases it refers to idols (Ex. xxii. 20. xxxiv. 15). It follows naturally that the Temple and Tabernacle are Jehovah's, and if they are attributed to Elohim, the latter is in some manner restricted as before. The prophets are the prophets of Jehovah, and their announcements proceed from him, seldom from Elohim. The Israelites are the people of Jehovah (Ex. xxxvi. 20), the congregation of Jehovah (Num. xvi. 3), as the Moabites are the people of Chemosh (Jer. xlviii. 46). Their king is the anointed of Jehovah; their wars are the wars of Jehovah (Ex. xiv. 25; 1 Sam. xviii. 17); their enemies are the enemies of Jehovah (2 Sam. xii. 14); it is the hand of Jehovah that delivers them up to their foes (Judg. vi. 1, xiii. 1, &c.), and he it is who raises up for them deliverers and judges, and on whom they call in times of peril (Judg. ii. 18, iii. 9, 15; Josh. xxiv. 7; 1 Sam. xvii. 37). In fine, Jehovah is the theocratic king of his people (Judg. viii. 23), by him their kings reign and achieve success against the national enemies (1 Sam. xi. 13, xiv. 23). Their heroes are inspired by his Spirit (Judg. iii. 10, vi. 34), and their hand steeled against their foes (2 Sam. vii. 23); the watchword of Gideon was "The Sword of Jehovah, and of Gideon!"[a] (Judg. vii. 20). The day on which God executes judgment on the wicked is the day of Jehovah (Is. ii. 12, xxxiv. 8; comp. Rev. xvi. 14). As the Israelites were in a remarkable manner distinguished as the people of Jehovah, who became their lawgiver and supreme ruler, it is not strange that He should be put in strong contrast with Chemosh (Judg. xi. 24), Ashtaroth (Judg. x. 6), and the Baalim (Judg. iii. 7), the national deities of the surrounding nations, and thus be preëminently distinguished as the tutelary deity of the Hebrews in one aspect of his character. Such and no more was He to the heathen (1 K. xx. 23); but all this and much more to the Israelites, to whom Jehovah was a distinct personal subsistence, — the living God, who reveals himself to man by word and deed, helps, guides, saves, and delivers, and is to the Old what Christ is to the New Testament. Jehovah was no abstract name, but thoroughly practical and stood in intimate connection with the religious life of the people. While Elohim represents God only in his most outward relation to man, and distinguishes him as recognized in his omnipotence, Jehovah describes him according to his innermost being. In Jehovah the moral attributes are presented as constituting the essence of his nature, whereas in Elohim there is no reference to personality or moral character. The relation of Elohim to Jehovah has been variously explained. The former, in Hengstenberg's opinion, indicates a lower, and the latter a higher, stage of consciousness of God; Elohim becoming Jehovah by an historical process, and to show how he became so being the main object of the sacred history. Kurtz considers the two names as related to each other as power and evolution; Elohim the God of the beginning, Jehovah of the development; Elohim the creator, Jehovah the mediator. Elohim is God of the beginning and end, the creator and the judge; Jehovah the God of the middle, of the development which lies between the beginning and end (*Die Einheit der Gen.*). That Jehovah is identical with Elohim, and not a separate being, is indicated by the joint use of the names Jehovah-Elohim.

VI. The antiquity of the name Jehovah among

[a] "For Jehovah and for Gideon" is the exact translation. The A. V interpolates "the sword of."

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the Hebrews has formed the subject of much discussion. That it was not known before the age of Moses has been inferred from Ex. vi. 3; while Von Bohlen assigns to it a much more recent date, and contends that we have "no conclusive proof of the worship of Jehovah anterior to the ancient hymns of David" (*Int. to Gen.* i. 150, Eng. tr.). But, on the other hand, we should be inclined to infer from the etymology of the word that it originated in an age long prior to that of Moses, in whose time the root חָוָה = הָיָה was already antiquated. From the Aramaic form in which it appears (comp. Chald. יְהֲוָה, Syr. ܝܗܘܐ), Jahn refers to the earliest times of Abraham for its date, and to Mesopotamia or Ur of the Chaldees for its birthplace. Its usage in Genesis cannot be explained, as Le Clerc suggests, by supposing it to be employed by anticipation, for it is introduced where the persons to whom the history relates are speaking, and not only where the narrator adopts terms familiar to himself; and the same difficulty remains whatever hypothesis be assumed with regard to the original documents which formed the basis of the history. At the same time it is distinctly stated in Ex. vi. 3, that to the patriarchs God was not known by the name Jehovah. If, therefore, this passage has reference to the first revelation of Jehovah simply as a name and title of God, there is clearly a discrepancy which requires to be explained. In renewing his promise of deliverance from Egypt, "God spake unto Moses and said unto him, I am Jehovah; and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by (the name of) God Almighty (*El Shaddai*, אֵל שַׁדָּי), but by my name Jehovah was I not known to them." It follows then that, if the reference were merely to the name as a name, the passage in question would prove equally that before this time Elohim was unknown as an appellation of the Deity, and God would appear uniformly as El Shaddai in the patriarchal history. But although it was held by Theodoret (*Quæst.* xv. *in Ex.*) and many of the Fathers, who have been followed by a long list of moderns, that the name was first made known by God to Moses, and then introduced by him among the Israelites, the contrary was maintained by Cajetan, Lyranus, Calvin, Rosenmüller, Hengstenberg, and others, who deny that the passage in Ex. vi. alludes to the introduction of the name. Calvin saw at once that the knowledge there spoken of could not refer to the syllables and letters, but to the recognition of God's glory and majesty. It was not the name, but the true depth of its significance which was unknown to and uncomprehended by the patriarchs. They had known God as the omnipotent, *El Shaddai* (Gen. xvii. 1, xxviii. 3), the ruler of the physical universe, and of man as one of his creatures; as a God eternal, immutable, and true to his promises he was yet to be revealed. In the character expressed by the name Jehovah he had not hitherto been fully known; his true attributes had not been recognized (comp. Jarchi on Ex. vi. 3) in his working and acts for Israel. Aben Ezra explained the occurrence of the name in Genesis as simply indicating the knowledge of it as a proper name, not as a qualificative expressing the attributes and qualities of God. Referring to other passages in which the phrase "the name of God" occurs, it is clear that something more is intended by it than a mere appellation, and that the proclamation of the name of God is a revelation of his moral attributes, and of his true character as Jehovah (Ex. xxviii. 19 xxxiv. 6, 7) the God of the covenant. Maimonides (*Mor. Neb.* i. 64, ed. Buxtorf) explains the name of God as signifying his essence and his truth, and Olshausen (on Matt. xviii. 20) interprets "name" (*ὄνομα*) as denoting "personality and essential being, and that not as it is incomprehensible or unknown, but in its manifestation." The name of a thing represents the thing itself, so far as it can be expressed in words. That Jehovah was not a new name Hävernick concludes from Ex. iii. 14, where "the name of God Jehovah is evidently presupposed as already in use, and is only explained, interpreted, and applied. . . . It is certainly not a new name that is introduced; on the contrary, the אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה (I am that I am) would be unintelligible, if the name itself were not presupposed as already known. The old name of antiquity, whose precious significance had been forgotten and neglected by the children of Israel, here as it were rises again to life, and is again brought home to the consciousness of the people" (*Introd. to the Pent.* p. 61). The same passage supplies an argument to prove that by "name" we are not to understand merely letters and syllables, for Jehovah appears at first in another form, *ehyeh* (אֶהְיֶה). The correct collective view of Ex. vi. 3, Hengstenberg conceives to be the following — "Hitherto that Being, who in one aspect was Jehovah, in another had always been Elohim. The great crisis now drew nigh in which Jehovah Elohim would be changed into Jehovah. In prospect of this event God solemnly announced himself as Jehovah."

Great stress has been laid, by those who deny the antiquity of the name Jehovah, upon the fact that proper names compounded with it occur but seldom before the age of Samuel and David. It is undoubtedly true that, after the revival of the true faith among the Israelites, proper names so compounded did become more frequent, but if it can be shown that prior to the time of Moses any such names existed, it will be sufficient to prove that the name Jehovah was not entirely unknown. Among those which have been quoted for this purpose are Jochebed the mother of Moses, and daughter of Levi, and Moriah, the mountain on which Abraham was commanded to offer up Isaac. Against the former it is urged that Moses might have changed her name to Jochebed after the name Jehovah had been communicated by God; but this is very improbable, as he was at this time eighty years old, and his mother in all probability dead. If this only be admitted as a genuine instance of a name compounded with Jehovah, it takes us at once back into the patriarchal age, and proves that a word which was employed in forming the proper name of Jacob's grand-daughter could not have been unknown to that patriarch himself. The name Moriah (מוֹרִיָּה) is of more importance, for in one passage in which it occurs it is accompanied by an etymology intended to indicate what was then understood by it (2 Chr. iii. 1). Hengstenberg regards it as a compound of מָרְאֵה, the Hoph. Part. of רָאָה, and יָהּ, the abbreviated form of יְהוָה: so that, according to this etymology, it would signify "shown by Jehovah." Gesenius, adopting the meaning of רָאָה in Gen. xxii. 8, renders it "the

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am by Jehovah," but suggests at the same time what he considers a more probable derivation, according to which Jehovah does not form a part of the compound word. But there is reason to believe from various allusions in Gen. xxii. that the former was regarded as the true etymology.

Having thus considered the origin, significance, and antiquity of the name Jehovah, the reader will be in a position to judge how much of truth there is in the assertion of Schwind (quoted by Reinke, *Beitr.* iii. 135, n. 10) that the terms *Elohim*, *Jehovah Elohim*, and then *Jehovah* alone applied to God, show "to the philosophic inquirer the progress of the human mind from a plurality of gods to a superior god, and from this to a single Almighty Creator and ruler of the world."

The principal authorities which have been made use of in this article are Hengstenberg, *On the Authenticity of the Pentateuch*, i. 213–307, Eng. trans.; Reinke, *Phil. histor. Abhandlung über den Gottesnamen Jehova*, *Beiträge*, vol. iii.; Tholuck, *Vermischte Schriften*, th. i. 377–405; Kurtz, *Die Einheit der Genesis* xliii.–liii.; Keil, *Ueber die Gottesnamen im Pentateuche*, in Rudelbach and Guericke's *Zeitschrift*; Ewald, *Die Composition der Genesis*; Gesenius, *Thesaurus*; Bunsen, *Bibelwerk*, and Reland, *Decas exercitationum philologicarum de vera pronuntiatione nominis Jehova*, besides those already quoted. W. A. W.

• In regard to the use of יְהוָה in the O. T., especially in the Pentateuch and the Psalms, considered as a mark of antiquity and authorship, the reader is referred to the articles on those books. The article by Dr. Tholuck (see above) first published in his *Litterarischer Anzeiger* (1832, May, ff.), was translated by Dr. Robinson in the *Bibl. Repository*, iv. 89–108. It examines "the hypothesis of the Egyptian and Indian origin of the name Jehovah," and shows that it has no proper foundation. It is held that "the true derivation of the word is that which the earliest Hebrew records present, namely, from the verb הָיָה." Prof. E. Ballantine discusses the significancy of the name in the same periodical (iii. 730–744), under the head of "Interpretation of Ex. vi. 2, 3." Of the eleven different explanations which he reviews, he adopts the one which supposes Jehovah "to imply simply *real existence*, that which *is*, as distinguished from that which is not." Hence, when it is said that God appeared to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as *El Shaddai* (the Almighty), but was not known to them as Jehovah, it is "a formal declaration by God himself of the commencement of a new dispensation of religion and providence, the grand design of which was to make known God as Jehovah, the only true and living God," in opposition to idols and all other false gods. It is not meant that the name itself of Jehovah was unknown to the patriarchs; but that the object of God's dealing with them was different from that of the Mosaic dispensation, namely, to vindicate the truth concerning Him (expressed by יְהוָה), that *He alone is the living God*. Dr. Wordsworth's view of the introduction of the name is very similar to this. There is not a contrast in the passage (Ex. vi. 2, 3) between the *two names* (Shaddai and Jehovah); but a comparison of *attributes*, and of the degrees of clearness with which they were revealed. Hence the assertion is not that "the name Jehovah was not known before, but that its full meaning had not been made known" (*Holy Bible, with Notes*, ii. 216).[a]

The more common view (stated in the preceding article), restricts the idea of this fuller revelation to God's immutability as the one ever faithful to his promises. This explanation is preferred by Rev J. Quarry, in his able work on *Genesis and its Authorship* (Lond., 1868). "The Patriarchs had only the promises unfulfilled; in respect to the *fulfillment* of them they received not the promises." God is now about to fulfill the great promise to give the land of Canaan to their seed, and so He announces himself to Moses in the words, 'I am Jehovah,' and tells him that while the Patriarchs had manifestations of God in his character as El-Shaddai, they had no experience of him as regards this name, which implied the continuousness and unchangeableness of his gracious purpose toward them (p. 296). Ebrard (*Historische Theol. Zeitschrift*, 1849, iv.) agrees with those who infer the later origin of the name from Ex. vi. 2, 3. He maintains that "Jehovah" occurs in Genesis only as proleptic, and on that ground denies that its use there affords any argument against the unity of the authorship of that book. Recent discussions have rendered this latter branch of the subject specially important. (For the fuller literature which belongs here, see under PENTATEUCH, Amer. ed.) In regard to the representation of יְהוָה by *κύριος* in the Septuagint, we refer the reader to Prof. Stuart's article on Κύριος in the *Bibl. Repository*, i. 736 ff. It is shown that this Greek title is employed in the great majority of instances to designate that most sacred of all the Divine appellations. H.

JEHOVAH-JI'REH (יְהוָה יִרְאֶה: Κύριος εἶδεν: *Dominus videt*), i. e. *Jehovah will see*, or *provide*, the name given by Abraham to the place on which he had been commanded to offer Isaac, to commemorate the interposition of the angel of Jehovah, who appeared to prevent the sacrifice (Gen. xxii. 14) and provided another victim. The immediate allusion is to the expression in the 8th verse, "God will look out for Himself a lamb for a burnt offering," but it is not unlikely that there is at the same time a covert reference to Moriah, the scene of the whole occurrence. The play upon words is followed up in the latter clause of ver. 14, which appears in the form of a popular proverb: "as it is said this day, In the mount of Jehovah, He will be seen," or "provision shall be made." Such must be the rendering if the received punctuation be accepted, but on this point there is a division of opinion. The text from which the LXX. made their translation must have been בָּהָר יְהוָה יֵרָאֶה, ἐν τῷ ὄρει Κύριος ὤφθη, "on the mountain Jehovah appeared," and the same, with the exception of יֵרָאֶה for the last

[a] "It is justly urged that a more exact translation of the Hebrew (Ex. vi. 3) guides us more directly to this sense than does that of the A. V.: "I appeared to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob in El Shaddai" (*i. e.* in my character as God Almighty); "and my name Jehovah" (*i. e.* as regards my name Jehovah) "was I not known to them." The A. V. interpolates "the name of" in the first part of the verse, and then, as it for the sake of correspondence, says "by my name" in the second part. M.

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word, must have been the reading of the Vulgate and Syriac. The Targum of Onkelos is obscure. W. A. W.

JEHO'VAH-NIS'SI (יְהוָה נִסִּי: Κύριος καταφυγή μου: *Dominus exaltatio mea*), i. e. *Jehovah my banner*, the name given by Moses to the altar which he built in commemoration of the discomfiture of the Amalekites by Joshua and his chosen warriors at Rephidim (Ex. xvii. 15). It was erected either upon the hill overlooking the battle-field, upon which Moses sat with the staff of God in his hand, or upon the battle-field itself. According to Aben Ezra it was on the Horeb. The Targum of Onkelos paraphrases the verse thus: "Moses built an altar and worshipped upon it before Jehovah, who had wrought for him miracles (נִיסִין, *nisin*)." Such too is Jarchi's explanation of the name, referring to the miraculous interposition of God in the defeat of the Amalekites. The LXX. in their translation, "the Lord my refuge," evidently supposed *nissi* to be derived from the root נוּס, *nûs*, "to flee," and the Vulgate traced it to נָשָׂא, "to lift up." The significance of the name is probably contained in the allusion to the staff which Moses held in his hand as a banner during the engagement, and the raising or lowering of which turned the fortune of battle in favor of the Israelites or their enemies. God is thus recognized in the memorial altar as the deliverer of his people, who leads them to victory, and is their rallying point in time of peril. On the figurative use of "banner," see Ps. lx. 4; Is. xi. 10. W. A. W.

JEHO'VAH-SHA'LOM (יְהוָה שָׁלוֹם: εἰρήνη Κυρίου: *Domini pax*), i. e. *Jehovah* (is) *peace*, or, with the ellipsis of אֵל יְיָ, "Jehovah, the God of peace." The altar erected by Gideon in Ophrah was so called in memory of the salutation addressed to him by the angel of Jehovah, "Peace be unto thee" (Judg. vi. 24). Piscator, however, following the Hebrew accentuation, which he says requires a different translation, renders the whole passage without introducing the proper name, "when Jehovah had proclaimed peace to him;" but his alteration is harsh and unnecessary. The LXX. and Vulg. appear to have inserted the words as they stand in the present Hebrew text, and to have read יְהוָה יִשְׁלוֹם, but they are supported by no MS. authority. W. A. W.

* **JEHO'VAH-SHAM'MAH** (יְהוָה שָׁמָּה: Κύριος ἐκεῖ: *Dominus ibidem*), i. e. *Jehovah there*, or lit. *thither*, is the marginal reading (A. V.) of Ezek. xlviii. 35. In the text the translators have put "The Lord is there." In both respects the A. V. has followed the Bishops' Bible. It is the name that was to be given to the new city which Ezekiel saw in his Vision, and has so gorgeously described (chap. xl.–xlviii.). Compare Rev. xxii. 3, 4. H.

* **JEHO'VAH-TSID'KENU** (יְיָ צִדְקֵנוּ, *Jehovah our righteousness:* in Jer. xxiii. 6, κύριος Ἰωσεδέκ, FA. κ. Ἰωσεικειμ; in xxxiii. 16, Rom. Vat. Alex. FA. Ald. omit, Comp. κύριος δικαιοσύνη ἡμῶν: *Dominus justus noster*) = the marginal reading of the A. V. in Jer. xxiii. 6 and xxxiii. 10, where the text has "The Lord our Righteousness." It will be seen that the LXX. makes a proper name of צִדְקֵנוּ (*our righteousness*) in the first of the above passages. The hesitation of our translators whether they should render or transfer the expression may have been the greater from their supposing it to be one of the Messianic titles. The long exegetical *note* in the margin of the Bishops' Bible (Jer. xxxiii. 16) is curious and deserves to be read. H.

JEHOZ'ABAD (יְהוֹזָבָד [*whom Jehovah gave*]: Ἰωζαβάθ; [Alex. Ἰωζαβαδ:] *Jozabad*). 1. A Korahite Levite, second son of Obed-edom, and one of the porters of the south gate of the temple, and of the storehouse there (בֵּית אֲסָפִים) in the time of David (1 Chr. xxvi. 4, 15, compared with Neh. xii. 25).

2. (['Ιωζαβάδ:] *Joseph.* Ὀχόβαρος.) A Benjamite, captain of 180,000 armed men, in the days of king Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xvii. 18).

3. [In 2 K., Ἰωζαβέδ; in 2 Chr., Ἰωζαβέθ; Vat. Ζωζαβεδ; Alex. Ζαβεθ.] Son of Shomer or Shimrith, a Moabitish woman, and possibly a descendant of the preceding, who with another conspired against king Joash and slew him in his bed (2 K. xii. 21; 2 Chr. xxiv. 26). [JOASH.] The similarity in the names of both conspirators and their parents is worth notice.

This name is commonly abbreviated in the Hebrew to JOZABAD. A. C. H.

JEHOZ'ADAK (יְהוֹצָדָק [*whom Jehovah makes just*]: Ἰωσαδάκ; Alex. Ἰωσεδεκ: *Josedec*), son of the high-priest SERAIAH (1 Chr. vi. 14, 15) in the reign of Zedekiah. When his father was slain at Riblah by order of Nebuchadnezzar, in the 11th of Zedekiah (2 K. xxv. 18, 21), Jehozadak was led away captive to Babylon (1 Chr. vi. 15), where he doubtless spent the remainder of his days. He himself never attained the high-priesthood, the Temple being burnt to the ground, and so continuing, and he himself being a captive all his life. But he was the father of JESHUA the high-priest — who with Zerubbabel headed the Return from Captivity — and of all his successors till the pontificate of Alcimus (Ezr. iii. 2; Neh. xii. 26, &c.). [HIGH-PRIEST.] Nothing more is known about him. It is perhaps worth remarking that his name is compounded of the same elements, and has exactly the same meaning, as that of the contemporary king Zedekiah — "God is righteous;" and that the righteousness of God was signally displayed in the simultaneous suspension of the throne of David and the priesthood of Aaron, on account of the sins of Judah. This remark perhaps acquires weight from the fact of his successor Jeshua, who restored the priesthood and rebuilt the Temple, having the same name as Joshua, who brought the nation into the land of promise, and JESUS, a name significative of salvation.

In Haggai and Zechariah, though the name in the original is exactly as above, yet our translators have chosen to follow the Greek form, and present it as JOSEDECH.

In Ezra and Nehemiah it is abbreviated, both in Hebrew and A. V., to JOZADAK. A. C. Σ.

JE'HU. 1. (יֵהוּא = JEHOVAH *is He;* [In 1 K., 2 K.,] Ἰού, [Vat. Ειου; in 2 Chr., Ἰηού Vat. Ιου; in Hos., Ἰουδά;] Alex. [commonly]

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(Josephus. Ἰηοῦς.) The founder of the fifth dynasty of the kingdom of Israel. His history was told in the lost "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" (2 K. x. 34). His father's name was Jehoshaphat (2 K. ix. 2); his grandfather's (which, as being better known, was sometimes affixed to his own — 1 K. ix.) was Nimshi. In his youth he had been one of the guards of Ahab. His first appearance in history is when, with a comrade in arms, Bidkar, or Bar-Dakar (Ephrem. Syr. *Opp.* iv. 540), he rode[a] behind Ahab on the fatal journey from Samaria to Jezreel, and heard, and laid up in his heart, the warning of Elijah against the murderer of Naboth (2 K. ix. 25). But he had already, as it would seem, been known to Elijah as a youth of promise, and, accordingly, in the vision at Horeb he is mentioned as the future king of Israel, whom Elijah is to anoint as the minister of vengeance on Israel (1 K. xix. 16, 17). This injunction, for reasons unknown to us, Elijah never fulfilled. It was reserved long afterwards for his successor Elisha.

Jehu meantime, in the reigns of Ahaziah and Jehoram, had risen to importance. The same activity and vehemence which had fitted him for his earlier distinctions still continued, and he was known far and wide as a charioteer whose rapid driving, as if of a madman[b] (2 K. ix. 20), could be distinguished even from a distance. He was, under the last-named king, captain of the host in the siege of Ramoth-Gilead. According to Ephraim Syrus (who omits the words "saith the Lord" in 2 K. ix. 26, and makes "I" refer to Jehu) he had, in a dream the night before, seen the blood of Naboth and his sons (Ephrem. Syr. *Opp.* iv. 540). Whilst in the midst of the officers of the besieging army a youth suddenly entered, of wild appearance (2 K. ix. 11), and insisted on a private interview with Jehu. They retired into a secret chamber. The youth uncovered a vial of the sacred oil (Jos. *Ant.* ix. 6, 1) which he had brought with him, poured it over Jehu's head, and after announcing to him the message from Elisha, that he was appointed to be king of Israel and destroyer of the house of Ahab, rushed out of the house and disappeared.

Jehu's countenance, as he reëntered the assembly of officers, showed that some strange tidings had reached him. He tried at first to evade their questions, but then revealed the situation in which he found himself placed by the prophetic call. In a moment the enthusiasm of the army took fire. They threw their garments — the large square *beged*, similar to a wrapper or plaid — under his feet, so as to form a rough carpet of state, placed him on the top of the stairs,[c] as on an extempore throne, blew the royal salute on their trumpets, and thus ordained him king. He then cut off all communication between Ramoth-Gilead and Jezreel, and set off, full speed, with his ancient comrade Bidkar, whom he had made captain of the host in his place, and a band of horsemen. From the tower of Jezreel a watchman saw the cloud of dust (שְׁפַעַת, κονίορτον; A. V. "company") and announced his coming (2 K. ix. 17). The messengers that were sent out to him he detained, on the same principle of secrecy which had guided all his movements. It was not till he had almost reached the city, and was identified by the watchman, that alarm was taken. But even then it seems as if the two kings in Jezreel anticipated news from the Syrian war rather than a revolution at home. It was not till, in answer to Jehoram's question, "Is it peace, Jehu?" that Jehu's fierce denunciation of Jezebel at once revealed the danger. Jehu seized his opportunity, and taking full aim at Jehoram, with the bow which, as captain of the host, was always with him, shot him through the heart (ix. 24). The body was thrown out on the fatal field, and whilst his soldiers pursued and killed the king of Judah at Beth-gan (A. V. "the garden-house"), probably Enganim, Jehu himself advanced to the gates of Jezreel and fulfilled the divine warning on Jezebel as already on Jehoram. [JEZEBEL.] He then entered on a work of extermination hitherto unparalleled in the history of the Jewish monarchy. All the descendants of Ahab that remained in Jezreel, together with the officers of the court, and hierarchy of Astarte, were swept away. His next step was to secure Samaria. Every stage of his progress was marked with blood. At the gates of Jezreel he found the heads of seventy princes of the house of Ahab, ranged in two heaps, sent to him as a propitiation by their guardians in Samaria, whom he had defied to withstand him, and on whom he thus threw the responsibility of destroying their own royal charge. Next, at "the shearing-house" (or Beth-eked) between Jezreel and Samaria he encountered forty-two sons or nephews (2 Chr. xxii. 8) of the late king of Judah, and therefore connected by marriage with Ahab, on a visit of compliment to their relatives, of whose fall, seemingly, they had not heard. These also were put to the sword at the fatal well, as, in the later history, of Mizpah, and, in our own days, of Cawnpore (2 K. x. 14). [ISHMAEL, 6.] As he drove on he encountered a strange figure, such as might have reminded him of the great Elijah. It was Jehonadab, the austere Arabian sectary, the son of Rechab. In him his keen eye discovered a ready ally. He took him into his chariot, and they concocted their schemes as they entered Samaria (x. 15, 16). [JEHONADAB.]

Some stragglers of the house of Ahab in that city still remained to be destroyed. But the great stroke was yet to come; and it was conceived and

[a] The Hebrew word is צָמָדִים; usually employed for the coupling together of oxen. This the LXX understand as though the two soldiers rode in separate chariots — ἀναβησάντες ἀνὰ ζεύγη (2 K. ix. 25); Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 6, § 3) as though they sat in the same chariot with the king (*καθεζομένους ὄπισθεν τοῦ ἅρματος τοῦ Ἀχάβου*).

[b] This is the force of the Hebrew word, which, as in 2 K. ix. 11, the LXX. translate *ἐν παραλλαγῇ*. Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 6, § 3) says *σχολαίτερον τε καὶ μετ' ὀργῆς ἐλαύνει ἅρμα*.

[c] The expression translated "on the *top* of the stairs" is one the clew to which is lost. The word is *gerem*, גֶּרֶם, *i. e.* a bone, and the meaning appears to be that they placed Jehu on the very stairs themselves — if מַעֲלוֹת be stairs — without any seat or chair below him. The stairs doubtless ran round the inside of the quadrangle of the house, as they do still, for instance, in the ruin called the house of Zacchæus at Jericho, and Jehu sat where they joined the flat platform which formed the top or roof of the house. Thus he was conspicuous against the sky, while the captains were below him in the open quadrangle. The old Versions throw little or no light on the passage: the LXX. simply repeat the Hebrew word, *ἐπὶ τὰ γερὲμ τῶν διαβαθμῶν*. By Josephus it is evidently

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executed with that union of intrepid daring and profound secrecy which marks the whole career of Jehu. Up to this moment there was nothing which showed anything beyond a determination to exterminate in all its branches the personal adherents of Ahab. He might still have been at heart, as he seems up to this time to have been in name, disposed to tolerate, if not to join in, the Phœnician worship. "Ahab served Baal a little, but Jehu shall serve him much." There was to be a new inauguration of the worship of Baal. A solemn assembly, sacred vestments, innumerable victims, were ready. The vast temple at Samaria raised by Ahab (1 K. xvi. 32; Jos. *Ant.* x. 7, § 6) was crowded from end to end. The chief sacrifice was offered, as if in the excess of his zeal, by Jehu himself. Jehonadab joined in the deception. There was some apprehension lest worshippers of Jehovah might be found in the temple; such, it seems, had been the intermixture of the two religions. As soon, however, as it was ascertained that "[illegible], and none but the idolaters were there, the signal was given to eighty trusted guards, and a sweeping massacre removed at one blow the whole heathen population of the kingdom of Israel. The innermost sanctuary of the temple (translated in the A. V. "the city of the house of Baal") was stormed, the great stone statue of Baal was demolished, the wooden figures of the inferior divinities sitting round him were torn from their places and burnt (Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 526), and the site of the sanctuary itself became the public resort of the inhabitants of the city for the basest uses. This is the last public act recorded of Jehu. The remaining twenty-seven years of his long reign are passed over in a few words, in which two points only are material: He did not destroy the calf-worship of Jeroboam: The trans-Jordanic tribes suffered much from the ravages of Hazael (2 K. x. 29–33). He was buried in state in Samaria, and was succeeded by his son JEHOAHAZ (2 K. x. 35). His name is the first of the Israelite kings which appears in the Assyrian monuments.[a] It is found on the black obelisk discovered at Nimroud (Layard, *Nineveh*, i. 396), and now in the British Museum, amongst the names of kings who are bringing tribute (in this case gold and silver, and articles manufactured in gold) to Shalmaneser I. His name is given as "Jehu" (or "Yahua") "the son of Khumri" (Omri). This substitution of the name of Omri for that of his own father may be accounted for, either by the importance which Omri had assumed as the second founder of the northern kingdom, or by the name of "Beth-Khumri," only given to Samaria in these monuments as "the House or Capital of Omri" (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.*, 643; Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 465), [and *Ancient Monarchies*, ii. 365.]

The character of Jehu is not difficult to understand, if we take it as a whole, and judge it from a general point of view.

He must be regarded, like many others in history, as an instrument for accomplishing great purposes rather than as great or good in himself. In the long period during which his destiny though known to others and perhaps to himself lay dormant; in the suddenness of his rise to power; in the ruthlessness with which he carried out his purposes; in the union of profound silence and dissimulation with a stern, fanatic, wayward zeal, — he has not been without his likenesses in modern times. The Scripture narrative, although it fixes our attention on the services which he rendered to the cause of religion by the extermination of a worthless dynasty and a degrading worship, yet on the whole leaves the sense that it was a reign barren in great results. His dynasty, indeed, was firmly seated on the throne longer than any other royal house of Israel (2 K. x.), and under Jeroboam II. it acquired a high name amongst the oriental nations. But Elisha, who had raised him to power, as far as we know, never saw him. In other respects it was a failure; the original sin of Jeroboam's worship continued; and in the Prophet Hosea there seems to be a retribution exacted for the bloodshed by which he had mounted the throne: "I will avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu" (Hos. i. 4), as in the similar condemnation of Baasha (1 K. xvi. 2). See a striking poem to this effect on the character of Jehu in the *Lyra Apostolica*.

2. [In 1 K., Ἰού, Vat. Ἰιου, Alex. Ἰιηου; 2 Chr., Ἰηού, Vat. Ιου, Ιησου.] Jehu, son of Hanani: a prophet of Judah, but whose ministrations were chiefly directed to Israel. His father was probably the seer who attacked Asa (2 Chr. xvi. 7). He must have begun his career as a prophet when very young. He first denounced Baasha, both for his imitation of the dynasty of Jeroboam, and also (as it would seem) for his cruelty in destroying it (1 K. xvi. 1, 7), and then, after an interval of thirty years, reappears to denounce Jehoshaphat for his alliance with Ahab (2 Chr. xix. 2, 3). He survived Jehoshaphat and wrote his life (xx. 34). From an obscurity in the text of 1 K. xvi. 7 the Vulgate has represented him as killed by Baasha. But this is not required by the words, and (except on the improbable hypothesis of two Jehus, both sons of Hanani) is contradicted by the later appearance of this prophet.

3. (Ἰηού; [Vat. Ιησους:] *Jehu.*) A man of Judah of the house of Hezron (1 Chr. ii. 38). He was the son of a certain Obed, descended from the union of an Egyptian, JARHA, with the daughter of Sheshan, whose slave Jarha was (comp. 34).

4. (Ἰηού; [Vat. ουτος.]) A Simeonite, son of Josibiah (1 Chr. iv. 35). He was one of the chief men of the tribe, apparently in the reign of Hezekiah (comp. 41).

5. (Ἰηούλ.) Jehu the Antothite, *i. e.* native of Anathoth, was one of the chief of the heroes of Benjamin, who forsook the cause of Saul for

a "This statement respecting Jehu is to be canceled as incorrect. It is founded on an error of Prof. Rawlinson in deciphering an Assyrian inscription (*Ancient Monarchies*, ii. 365, *note* 8) which he corrects, vol. iv. p. 576. The true reading "gives the interesting information that among Benhadad's allies, when he was attacked by the Assyrians in B. C. 858, was 'Ahab of Jezreel.' It appears that the common danger of subjection by the Assyrian arms, united in one, not only the Hittites, Hamathites, Syrians of Damascus, Phœnicians, and Egyptians, but the people of Israel also. Ahab, king of Samaria, seeing the importance of the crisis, sent a contingent of 10,000 men, and 2,000 chariots to the confederate force, a contingent which took part in the first great battle between the armies of Syria and Assyria. Thus the first known contact between the Assyrians and the Israelites is advanced from the accession of Jehu (ab. B. C. 841) to the last year, or last year but one, of Ahab (B. C. 858), and Ahab — not Jehu — is the first Israelite monarch of whom we have mention in the Assyrian records" H.

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that of David when the latter was at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 3). He does not reappear in any of the later lists. A. P. S.

JEHUB'BAH (יְחֻבָּה [*he will be hidden*]: Ἰαβδί; [Vat. corrupt;] Alex. Οβα: *Haba*), a man of Asher; son of Shamer or Shomer, of the house of Beriah (1 Chr. vii. 34).

JEHU'CAL (יְהוּכָל [*potent*, Ges.]: ὁ Ἰεδχελ; Alex. Ιεαχαζ; [FA. Ιεαχαχ:] *Juchal*), son of Shelemiah; one of two persons sent by king Zedekiah to Jeremiah, to entreat his prayers and advice (Jer. xxxvii. 3). His name is also given as JUCAL, and he appears to have been one of the "princes of the king" (comp. xxxviii. 1, 4).

JE'HUD (יְהוּד [*praise*]: Ἀζάρ; Alex. Ιουθ: *Jud*), one of the towns of the tribe of Dan (Josh. xix. 45), named between Baalath and Bene-berak. Neither of these two places, however, has been identified. By Eusebius and Jerome Jehud is not named. Dr. Robinson (ii. 242) mentions that a place called *el-Yehûdiyeh* exists in the neighborhood of *Lydd*, but he did not visit it. It is, however, inserted on Van de Velde's map at 7 miles east of *Jaffa* and 5 north of *Lydd*. This agrees with the statement of Schwarz (141) that "Jehud is the village Jehudie, 7½ miles S. E. of Jaffa," except as to the direction, which is nearer E. than S. E. G.

JEHU'DI (יְהוּדִי = *Jew*: ὁ Ἰουδίν; Alex. Ιουδει: *Judi*), son of Nethaniah, a man employed by the princes of Jehoiakim's court to fetch Baruch to read Jeremiah's denunciation (Jer. xxxvi. 14), and then by the king to fetch the volume itself and read it to him (21, 23).

JEHUDI'JAH (הַיְהוּדִיָּה [*the Jewess*]: Ἀδία; [Vat. Αδεια;] Alex. Ιδια: *Judaia*). There is really no such name in the Heb. Bible as that which our A. V. exhibits at 1 Chr. iv. 18. If it is a proper name at all it is Ha-jehudijah, like Hum-melech, Hak-koz, etc.; and it seems to be rather an appellative, "the Jewess." As far as an opinion can be formed of so obscure and apparently corrupt a passage, Mered, a descendant of Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and whose towns, Gedor, Socho, and Eshtemoa, lay in the south of Judah, married two wives — one a Jewess, the other an Egyptian, a daughter of Pharaoh. The Jewess was sister of Naham, the father of the cities of Keilah and Eshtemoa. The descendants of Mered by his two wives are given in vv. 18, 19, and perhaps in the latter part of ver. 17. Hodijah in ver. 19 is doubtless a corruption of Ha-jehudijah, "the Jewess," the letters יהדי having fallen out from the end of אשת and the beginning of the following word; and the full stop at the end of ver. 18 should be removed, so as to read as a recapitulation of what precedes: "These are the sons of Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh, which Mered took (for his wife), and the sons of his wife, the Jewess, the sister of Naham (which Naham was) the father of Keilah, whose inhabitants are Garmites, and of Eshtemoa, whose inhabitants are Maachathites;" the last being named possibly from Maachah, Caleb's concubine, as the Ephrathites were from Ephrata. Bertheau (*Chronik*) arrives at the same general result, by proposing to place the closing words of ver. 18 before the words "And she bare Miriam," etc., in ver. 17. See also Vatablus. A. C. H.

JE'HUSH (יְעוּשׁ [*collecting, bringing together*, Fürst, Dietr.]: Ἰώς; [Vat. Γαγ;] Alex. Ιαΐας: *Us*), son of Eshek, a remote descendant of Saul (1 Chr. viii. 39). The parallel genealogy in ch. ix. stops short of this man.

For the representation of *Ain* by H, see JEHIEL, MEHUNIM, etc.

JEI'EL (יְעִיאֵל [perh. *treasure of God*, Ges.]: *Jehiel*). 1. (Ἰεηλ.) A chief man among the Reubenites, one of the house of Joel (1 Chr. v 7).

2. (Ἰεϊήλ; Alex. once Ιθιηλ; [Vat. FA. in xvi. 5, Ειειηλ.]) A Merarite Levite, one of the gate-keepers (שֹׁעֲרִים; A. V. "porters," and "door-keepers") to the sacred tent, at the first establishment of the Ark in Jerusalem (1 Chr. xv. 18). His duty was also to play the harp (ver. 21), or the psaltery and harp (xvi. 5), in the service before the Ark.

3. (Ἐλεϊήλ, [Vat. Ελεαηλ,] Alex. Ελεηλ.) A Gershonite Levite, one of the Bene-Asaph [sons of A.], forefather of JAHAZIEL in the time of king Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xxi. 14).

4. (יְעוּאֵל, *i. e.* Jeuel, but the A. V. follows the correction of the *Keri*: Ἰεϊήλ.) The Scribe (הַסּוֹפֵר) who kept the account of the numbers of king Uzziah's irregular predatory warriors (גְּדוּדִים, A. V. "bands," 2 Chr. xxvi. 11).

5. (Jeuel, as in the preceding; but the A. V. again follows the *Keri*: Ἰεϊήλ: *Jahiel*.) A Gershonite Levite, one of the Bene-Elizaphan, who assisted in the restoration of the house of Jehovah under king Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxix. 13).

6. (Ἰεϊήλ, [Vat. Ειϊηλ,] Alex. Ιεϊηλ.) One of the chiefs (שָׂרֵי) of the Levites in the time of Josiah, and an assistant in the rites at his great Passover (2 Chr. xxxv. 9).

7. (Jeuel as above, but in *Keri* and A. V. Jeiel: Ἰεήλ, [Vat. Ενειι,] Alex. Ειηλ.) One of the Bene-Adonikam who formed part of the caravan of Ezra from Babylon to Jerusalem (Ez. viii. 13). In Esdras the name is JEUEL.

8. (Ἰαήλ, Alex. Ιεειηλ.) A layman, of the Bene Nebo, who had taken a foreign wife and had to relinquish her (Ezr. x. 43). In Esdras it is omitted from the Greek and A. V., though the Vulgate has *Idelus*.

JEKAB'ZEËL (יְקַבְצְאֵל [*God who assembles, brings together*]: Vat. [Alex. FA.[1] omit; FA.[2] Comp.] Καβεηλ: *Cabseel*), a fuller form of the name of KABZEEL, the most remote city of Judah on the southern frontier. This form occurs only in the list of the places reoccupied after the Captivity (Neh. xi. 25). G.

JEKA'MEAM (יְקַמְעָם [*who assembles the people*]: Ἰεκεμίας, Ἰεκμοάμ; Alex. [in xxiv. 23,] Ιεκεμια: *Jecmaam, Jecmaan*), a Levite in the time of King David: fourth of the sons of Hebron, the son of Kohath (1 Chr. xxiii. 19, xxiv. 23).

JEKAMI'AH (יְקַמְיָה [*Jehovah collects*, or *endures*]: Ἰεχεμίας [Vat. -μει-]; Alex. Ιεκομιας: *Icamias*), son of Shallum, in the line of Ahlai, apparently contemporary with king Ahaz. [Another

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passage the same name, borne by a different person, is given JECAMIAH (1 Chr. ii. 41). [JARHA.]
A. C. H.

JEKU'THIEL (יְקוּתִיאֵל [perh. *fear of God, piety*, Dictr. Ges.]: ὁ Χετιήλ; Alex. Ιεκθιηλ; [Comp. Ἰεχουτιήλ:] *Icuthiel*), a man recorded in the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 18) as the son of a certain Ezrah by his Jewish wife (A. V. Jehudijah), and in his turn the father, or founder, of the town of Zanoah. This passage in the Targum is not without a certain interest. Jered is interpreted to mean Moses, and each of the names following are taken as titles borne by him. Jekuthiel — "trust in God" — is so applied "because in his days the Israelites trusted in the God of heaven for forty years in the wilderness."

In a remarkable prayer used by the Spanish and Portuguese Jews in the concluding service of the Sabbath, Elijah is invoked as having had "tidings of peace delivered to him by the hand of Jekuthiel." This is explained to refer to some transaction in the life of Phinees, with whom Elijah is, in the traditions of the Jews, believed to be identical (see the quotations in *Modern Judaism*, p. 229).

JEMI'MA (יְמִימָה [*dove*]: Ἡμέρα: *Dies*, as if from יוֹם, "a day"), the eldest of the three daughters born to Job after the restoration of his prosperity (Job xlii. 14). Rosenmüller compares the name to the classical Diana; but Gesenius identifies it with an Arabic word signifying "dove." The Rev. C. Forster (*Historical Geography of Arabia*, ii. 67), in tracing the posterity of Job in Arabia, considers that the name of Jemima survives in Jemama, the name of the central province of the Arabian peninsula, which, according to an Arabian tradition (see Bochart, *Phaleg*, ii. § 26), was called after Jemama, an ancient queen of the Arabians.
W. T. B.

JEM'NAAN (Ἰεμναάν; [Sin.[1] Αμμαν, Sin.[ca] Ἰεμναα:] Vulg. omits), mentioned among the places on the sea-coast of Palestine to which the panic of the incursion of Holofernes extended (Jud. ii. 28). No doubt JABNEEL — generally called Jamnia by the Greek writers — is intended. The omission of Joppa however is remarkable.
G.

JEMU'EL (יְמוּאֵל [*God is light*, Fürst; *wink, assenting*, Dietr.; but uncertain]: Ἰεμουήλ; [Vat. in Ex., Ιεμιηλ:] *Jamuel*), the eldest son of Simeon (Gen. xlvi. 10; Ex. vi. 15). In the lists of Num. xxvi. and 1 Chr. iv. the name is given as NEMUEL, which Gesenius decides to be the corrupted form.

JEPHTHAË (Ἰεφθάε: *Jephte*), Heb. xi. 32. The Greek form of the name JEPHTHAH.

JEPH'THAH (יִפְתָּח, i. e. *Yiphtah* [*he*, i. e. *God, will open, free*]: Ἰεφθάε: *Jephte*), a judge, about B. C. 1143–1137. His history is contained in Judg. xi. 1–xii. 7. He was a Gileadite, the son of Gilead[a] and a concubine. Driven by the legitimate sons from his father's inheritance, he went to Tob, and became the head of a company of freebooters in a debatable land probably belonging to Ammon (2 Sam. x. 6). The idolatrous Israelites in Gilead were at that time smarting under the oppression of an Ammonitish king; and Jephthah was led, as well by the unsettled character of the age as by his own family circumstances, to adopt a kind of life unrestrained, adventurous, and insecure as that of a Scottish border-chieftain in the middle ages. It was not unlike the life which David afterwards led at Ziklag, with this exception, that Jephthah had no friend among the heathen in whose land he lived. His fame as a bold and successful captain was carried back to his native Gilead; and when the time was ripe for throwing off the yoke of Ammon, the Gileadite elders sought in vain for any leader, who in an equal degree with the base-born outcast could command the confidence of his countrymen. Jephthah consented to become their captain, on the condition — solemnly ratified before the Lord in Mizpeh — that in the event of his success against Ammon he should still remain as their acknowledged head. Messages, urging their respective claims to occupy the trans-Jordanic region, were exchanged between the Ammonitish king and Jephthah. Then the Spirit of the Lord (*i. e.* "force of mind for great undertakings, and bodily strength," Tanchum: comp. Judg. iii. 10, vi. 34, xi. 29, xiv. 6, xv. 14) came upon Jephthah. He collected warriors throughout Gilead and Manasseh, the provinces which acknowledged his authority. And then he vowed his vow unto the Lord, "whatsoever cometh forth [*i. e.* first] of the doors of my house to meet me, when I return in peace from the children of Ammon, shall surely be Jehovah's, and I will offer it up for a burnt-offering." The Ammonites were routed with great slaughter. Twenty cities, from Aroer on the Arnon to Minnith and to Abel Keramim, were taken from them. But as the conqueror returned to Mizpeh there came out to meet him a procession of damsels with dances and timbrels, and among them — the first person from his own house — his daughter and only child. "Alas! my daughter, thou hast brought me very low," was the greeting of the heart-stricken father. But the high-minded maiden is ready for any personal suffering in the hour of her father's triumph. Only she asks for a respite of two months to withdraw to her native mountains, and in their recesses to weep with her virgin-friends over the early disappointment of her life. When that time was ended she returned to her father; and "he did unto her his vow."

But Jephthah had not long leisure, even if he were disposed, for the indulgence of domestic grief. The proud tribe of Ephraim challenged his right to go to war, as he had done without their concurrence, against Ammon; and they proceeded to vindicate the absurd claim by invading Jephthah in Gilead. They did but add to his triumph which they envied. He first defeated them, then intercepted the fugitives at the fords of Jordan, and there, having insultingly identified them as Ephraimites by their peculiar pronunciation, he put forty-two thousand men to the sword.

The eminent office for which Jephthah had stipulated as the reward of his exertions, and the glory which he had won, did not long abide with him. He judged Israel six years and died.

It is generally conjectured that his jurisdiction was limited to the trans-Jordanic region.

The peculiar expression, xi. 34, faithfully translated in the margin of the A. V., has been interpreted as signifying that Jephthah had step-children.

That the daughter of Jephthah was really offered up to God in sacrifice, slain by the hand of her

[a] * Probably a patronymic there = a native of that country; see GILEAD, 4, *note* (Amer. ed.). H.

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father and then burned — is a horrible conclusion; but one which it seems impossible to avoid. This was understood to be the meaning of the text by Jonathan the paraphrast, and Rashi, by Josephus, *Ant.* v. 7, § 10, and by perhaps all the early Christian Fathers, as Origen, *in Joannem*, tom. vi. cap. 36; Chrysostom, *Hom. ad pop. Antioch.* xiv. 3, *Opp.* ii. 145: Theodoret, *Quæst. in Jud.* xx.; Jerome, *Ep. ad Jul.* 118, *Opp.* i. 791, &c.; Augustine, *Quæst. in Jud.* viii. § 49, *Opp.* iii. 1, p. 610. For the first eleven centuries of the Christian era this was the current, perhaps the universal opinion of Jews and Christians. Yet none of them extenuates the act of Jephthah. Josephus calls it neither lawful nor pleasing to God. Jewish writers say that he ought to have referred it to the high-priest; but either he failed to do so, or the high-priest culpably omitted to prevent the rash act. Origen strictly confines his praise to the heroism of Jephthah's daughter.

Another interpretation was suggested by Joseph Kimchi. He supposed that, instead of being sacrificed, she was shut up in a house which her father built for the purpose, and that she was there visited by the daughters of Israel four days in each year so long as she lived. This interpretation has been adopted by many eminent men, as by Levi ben Gersom and Bechai among the Jews, and by Drusius, Grotius, Estius, de Dieu, Bishop Hall, Waterland, Dr. Hales, and others. More names of the same period, and of not less authority, might however be adduced on the other side. Lightfoot once thought (*Erubhin*, § 16) that Jephthah did not slay his daughter; but upon more mature reflection he came to the opposite conclusion (*Harmony*, etc.; Judg. xi., *Works*, i. 51).

Each of these two opinions is supported by arguments grounded on the original text and on the customs of the Jews. (1.) In Judg. xi. 31, the word translated in the A. V. "whatsoever" knows no distinction of gender, and may as correctly be translated "whosoever;" and in favor of the latter version it is urged that Jephthah could not have expected to be met by an ox or other animal fit for sacrifice, coming forth from the door of his house; and that it was obviously his intention to signalize his thanksgiving for victory by devoting some human being to destruction, to that end perverting the statute, Lev. xxvii. 28, 29 (given with another purpose, on which see Jahn, *Archæologia*, § 294, or Ewald, *Alterthümer*, 89), to the taking of a life which was not forfeit to the law. (2.) To J. Kimchi's proposal to translate "*and* I will offer," verse 31, "*or* I will offer," it has been replied that this sense of the conjunction is rare, that it is not intended in two vows couched in parallel phraseology, Gen. xxviii. 21, 22, and 1 Sam. i. 11, and that it creates two alternatives between which there is no opposition. (3.) The word rendered in A. V. "to lament," or "to talk with," verse 40, is translated by later scholars, as in Judg. v. 11, "to celebrate." (4.) It has been said that if Jephthah put his daughter to death, according to verse 39, it is unmeaning to add that she "knew no man;" but on the other hand it is urged that this circumstance is added as setting in a stronger light the rashness of Jephthah and the heroism of his daughter. (5.) It has been argued that human sacrifices were opposed to the principles of the Jewish law, and therefore a Jew could not have intended to make a thank-offering of that sort; but it is replied that a Gileadite born in a lawless age, living as a freebooter in the midst of rude and idolatrous people who practiced such sacrifices, was not likely to be unusually acquainted with or to pay unusual respect to the pure and humane laws of Israel. (6.) Lastly, it has been argued that a life of religious celibacy is without injunction or example to favor it in the O. T.

Some persons, mindful of the enrollment of Jephthah among the heroes of faith in Heb. xi. 32, as well as of the expression "the Spirit of the Lord came upon him," Judg. xi. 29, have therefore scrupled to believe that he could be guilty of such a sin as the murder of his child. But it must be remembered also that deep sins of several other faithful men are recorded in Scripture, sometimes without comment; and as Jephthah had time afterwards, so he may have had grace to repent of his vow and his fulfillment of it. At least we know that he felt remorse, which is often the foreshadow of retribution or the harbinger of repentance.

Doubtless theological opinions have sometimes had the effect of leading men to prefer one view of Jephthah's vow to the other. Selden mentions that Genebrard was told by a Jew that Kimchi's interpretation was devised in order to prevent Christians quoting the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter as a type of the sacrifice of the Son of God. And Christians, who desire or fear an example alleged in favor of celibate vows or of the fallibility of inspired men, may become partial judges of the question.

The subject is discussed at length in Augustine, *l. c. Opp.* iii. 1, p. 610; a Treatise by L. Capellus inserted in *Crit. Sacr.* on Judg. xi.; Bp. Hall's *Contemplations on O. T.*, bk. x.; Selden, *De jure naturali et gentium*, iv. § 11; Lightfoot, *Sermon* on Judg. xi. 39, in *Works*, ii. 1215; Pfeiffer, *De voto Jephtæ*, Opp. 591; Dr. Hales' *Analysis of Chronology*, ii. 288; and in Rosenmüller's *Scholia*.

W. T. B.

* It may be well to remind the reader that Kimchi's suggestion (mentioned above) appears as a marginal reading of the A. V.: It "shall surely be the Lord's, or I will offer it up for a burnt-offering." This disjunctive construction makes the vow of Jephthah not absolute, but conditional: it left him at liberty to pursue one course or another, according to the nature of the offering which he might be called to make, on ascertaining who or what should come forth to meet him from his house. But this solution does violence to the Hebrew sentence. Prof. Cassel, in his elaborate article on this subject (Herzog's *Real-Encyk.* vi. 466–478), maintains that Jephthah, when he made his vow, was not thinking of the possibility of a human sacrifice, or of an animal sacrifice of any sort, but employed the term "burnt-offering" in a spiritual sense; that is, using the expressive word to denote completeness of consecration, he meant that he would devote to God's special and perpetual service the first person of his household whom he should meet. The event showed that among all the contingencies he had no thought that this person would be his own child; but so it proved, and he fulfilled the vow in consigning her to a life of celibacy, and thus destroying his own last hope of posterity. The first clause of the vow, it is argued, defines the second: a literal burnt-offering cannot be meant, but one which consists in being the Lord's. It must be admitted that no exact parallel can be found to justify this peculiar meaning of the word

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(עוּלָה). This author presents the same view in his *Richter und Ruth*, pp. 106–114. Keil and Delitzsch discuss the question (*Bibl. Commentary on the O. T.*, iv. 386–395), and decide, in like manner, against the idea of a literal sacrifice.

Wordsworth (*Holy Bible, with Notes*, ii. pt. i. 128 ff.) sums up his review of the different explanations with the remark, that the predominance of argument and authority favors the opinion "that Jephthah did actually offer his daughter, not against her will, but with her consent, a burnt-offering to the Lord. . . . But we may not pause here. There is a beautiful light shed upon the gloom of this dark history, reflected from the youthful form of the maiden of Gilead, Jephthah's daughter. . . . She is not like the Iphigenia of the Greek story. She offers her own life a willing sacrifice; and in her love for her father's name, and in calm resolve that all should know that she is a willing sacrifice, and with tender and delicate consideration for her father, and in order that no one may charge him with having sacrificed her against her own free will, she craves respite and liberty for two months, that she may range freely on the mountains, apart from the world, and prepare herself for the day of suffering, and for another life. In full foresight of death, she comes down from her mountain liberty at the appointed time to offer her virgin soul for the fulfillment of her father's vow. Her name was held in honor in Israel. The daughters of Israel went yearly to lament her — or rather to celebrate her — for four days."

Finally, let it be said, this is one of those acts which the Scripture history simply relates, but leaves the judgment of them to the reader. We cannot, without being unjust to the morality of the Bible, insist too much on this distinction. In itself considered, it is immaterial to the correctness or incorrectness of our interpretation of Jephthah's vow, whether this interpretation exalts or lowers our estimate of his character. The commendation of his faith (Heb. xi. 32) does not extend to all his actions. The same allowance is due to him for frailty and aberrations that we make in behalf of others associated with him in the same catalogue of examples of heroic faith. H.

JEPHUN'NE ('Ιεφοννῆ: *Jephone*), Ecclus. xlvi. 7. [JEPHUNNEH.]

JEPHUN'NEH (יְפֻנֶּה [perh. *for whom a way is prepared*]: *Jephone*). 1. ('Ιεφοννῆ.) Father of Caleb the spy, who is usually designated as "Caleb the son of Jephunneh." He appears to have belonged to an Edomitish tribe called Kenezites, from Kenaz their founder; but his father or other ancestors are not named. [CALEB, 2; KENAZ.] (See Num. xiii. 6, &c., xxxii. 12, &c.; Josh. xiv. 14, &c.; 1 Chr. iv. 15.)

2. ('Ιεφυνά in both MSS. [rather, Rom. Alex.; Vat. Ιφινα].) A descendant of Asher, eldest of the three sons of Jether (1 Chr. vii. 38).

A. C. H.

JERAH (יֶרַח [*new moon*]: [in Gen.,] 'Ιαράχ [Alex. Ιαραβ, Comp. 'Ιεράχ; in 1 Chr., Rom. Vat. Alex. omit, Ald. 'Ιαβέρ, Comp. 'Ιάρε:] *Jare*), the fourth in order of the sons of Joktan (Gen. x. 26; 1 Chr. i. 20) and the progenitor of a tribe of southern Arabia. He has not been satisfactorily identified with the name of any Arabian place or tribe, though a fortress (and probably an old town, like the numerous fortified places in the Yemen of the old Himyerite kingdom) named Yerákh (يَرَاخ = יֶרַח) is mentioned as belonging to the district of the Nijjád (*Marásid*, s. v. Yerákh), which is in Mahreh, at the extremity of the Yemen (*Kámoos*, in article نجد; cf. ARABIA). The similarity of name, however, and the other indications, we are not disposed to lay much stress on.

A very different identification has been proposed by Bochart (*Phaleg*, ii. 19). He translates Jerah = "the moon" into Arabic, and finds the descendants of Jerah in the Alilæi, a people dwelling near the Red Sea (Agatharch. ap. Diod. Sic. iii. 45), on the strength of a passage in Herodotus (iii. 8), in which he says of the Arabs, "Bacchus they call in their language Orotal; and Urania, Alilat." He further suggests that these Alilæi are the Benee-Hilál of more modern times, Hilál (هِلَال) meaning, in Arabic, "the moon when, being near the sun, it shows a narrow rim of light." Gesenius does not object to this theory, which he quotes; but says that the opinion of Michaelis (*Spicileg.* ii. 60) is more probable; the latter scholar finding Jerah in the "coast of the moon" (correctly, "low land of the moon," غُبُّ الْقَمَرِ), or in the "mountain of the moon" (جَبَلُ الْقَمَرِ) — in each case the moon being "kamar," not "hilál." The former is "a place between Zafári and Eah-Shihr" (*Kámoos*); the latter in the same part, but more inland; both being, as Gesenius remarks, near to Hadramáwt, next to which, in the order of the names, is Jerah in the record in Genesis; and the same argument may be adduced in favor of our own possible identification with the fortress of Yerákh, named at the commencement of this article. Whatever may be said in support of translating Jerah, as both Bochart and Michaelis have done, the former's theory involves some grave difficulties, which must be stated.

The statement of Herodotus above quoted (cf. i. 131, "the Arabians call Venus Alitta"), that Alilat signifies Urania, cannot be accepted without further evidence than we at present possess. Alilat was almost doubtless the same as the object of worship called by the Arabs "El-Látt," and any new information respecting the latter is therefore important. It would require too much space in this work to state the various opinions of the Arabs respecting El-Látt, its etymology, etc., as collected in the great MS. Lexicon entitled the "Mohkam," a work little known in Europe; from which (articles لت and لوى) we give the following particulars. "El-Látt" is [generally] said to be originally "El-Láth," the name of an object of worship, so called by the appellation of a man who used to moisten meal of parched barley (aseek) with clarified butter or the like, at the place thereof, for the pilgrims: "El-Látt" signifying "the person who performs that operation." The object of worship itself is said to have been a mass of rock [upon which he moistened the meal; and which was more properly

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called "the Rock of El-Látt"]: after the death of the man above mentioned this rock was worshipped. But some say that "El-Látt" is originally "El-Iláheh" (الْإِلَهَة), meaning [not "the Goddess," but] "the Serpent." To this we may add from El-Beydáwee (*Kur-án*, liii. 19 and 20), El-Látt was an idol of Thakeef, at Et-Tá'if, or of Kureysh, at Nakhleh; and was so called from لَوَى, because they used to go round about it: or it was called "El-Látt," because it was the image of a man who used to moisten meal of parched barley with clarified butter, and to feed the pilgrims. — Our own opinion is that it may be a contraction of "El-Iláhet" ("the Serpent," or perhaps "the Goddess"), pronounced according to the dialect of Himyer, with "t" instead of "h" in the case of a pause. (See the *Sihák*, MS., art. وقب.) It is said in the Lexicon entitled the *Tahdheeb* (MS., art. لت), that El-Kisá-ee used to pronounce it, in the case of a pause, "El-Láh;" and that those who worshipped it compared its name with that of "Allah."

Pococke has some remarks on the subject of El-Látt, which the reader may consult (*Spec. Hist. Arab.* p. 90); and also Sir G. Wilkinson, in his notes to Herodotus (ed. Rawlinson, ii. 402, footnote, and Essay i. to bk. iii.): he seems to be wrong, however, in saying that the Arabic "'awel,' 'first'" [correctly, "awwal"] is "related to" אֵל, or Allah, etc.; and that Alitta and Mylitta are Semitic names derived from "*weled*," "*walada*," 'to bear children'" (*Essay* i. 537). The comparison of Alitta and Mylitta is also extremely doubtful; and probably Herodotus assimilated the former name to the latter.

It is necessary to observe, in endeavoring to elucidate the ancient religion of the Ishmaelite Arabs, that fetishism was largely developed among them; and that their idols were generally absurdly rude and primitive. Beyond that relic of primeval revelation which is found in most beliefs — a recognition of one universal and supreme God — the practices of fetishism obtained more or less throughout Arabia: on the north giving place to the faith of the patriarchs; on the south merging into the cosmic worship of the Himyerites.

That the Alilæi were worshippers of Alilat is an assumption unsupported by facts; but, whatever may be said in its favor, the people in question are not the Benee-Hilál, who take their name from a kinsman of Mohammed, in the fifth generation before him, of the well-known stock of Keys. (Caussin, *Essai*, Tab. X A; Abu-l-Fidà, *Hist. anteisl.*, ed. Fleischer, p. 194.) E. S. P.

JERAH'MEËL (יְרַחְמְאֵל) [*object of God's mercy*]: Ἰερασμεήλ; [Vat. Ιραμεηλ, Ιερεμεηλ, -εηλ, Ραμεηλ; Alex. Ιραμεηλ, Ιερεμεηλ, -ηλ:] *Jerameel*). 1. First-born son of Hezron, the son of Pharez, the son of Judah (1 Chr. ii. 9, 25–27, 33, 42). His descendants are given at length in the same chap. [AZARIAH, 5; ZIZAD.] They inhabited the southern border of Judah (1 Sam. xxvii. 10, comp. 8; xxx. 29).

2. [Vat. Alex. Ιραμαηλ.] A Merarite Levite; the representative, at the time of the organization of the Divine service by king David, of the family of Kish, the son of Mahli (1 Chr. xxiv. 29; comp. xxiii. 21).

3. [Ἰερασμεήλ, Alex. -ιηλ, FA. -ιαηλ: *Jeremiel.*] Son of Hammelech, or, as the LXX. render it, "the king," who was employed by Jehoiakim to make Jeremiah and Baruch prisoners, after he had burnt the roll of Jeremiah's prophecy (Jer. xxxvi. 26). A. C. H.

JERAH'MEËLITES, THE (הַיִּרַחְמְאֵלִי) [patronym. from the above]: Ἰεσμεγά, ὁ Ἰερασμεήλ; [Vat. in xxx. 29, Ισραηλ;] Alex. Ισραμηλει. Ιερασμηλει: *Jerameel*). The tribe descended from the first of the foregoing persons (1 Sam. xxvii. 10). Their cities are also named amongst those to which David sent presents from his Amalekite booty (xxx. 29), although to Achish he had represented that he had attacked them.

JER'ECHUS (Ἰέρεχος [or -χού; Vat. Ιερειχον:] *Ericus*), 1 Esdr. v. 22. [JERICHO.]

JE'RED (יֶרֶד) [*descent, going down*]: Ἰάρεδ: *Jared*). 1. One of the patriarchs before the flood, son of Mahalaleel and father of Enoch (1 Chr. i. 2). In Genesis the name is given as JARED.

2. [*Jaret.*] One of the descendants of Judah signalized as the "father — *i. e.* the founder — of Gedor" (1 Chr. iv. 18). He was one of the sons of Ezrah by his wife Ha-Jehudijah, *i. e.* the Jewess. The Jews, however, give an allegorical interpretation to the passage, and treat this and other names therein as titles of Moses — Jered, because he caused the manna to descend. Here — as noticed under Jabez — the pun, though obvious in Biblical Hebrew, where *Jarad* (the root of Jordan) means "to descend," is concealed in the rabbinical paraphrase, which has אוֹרְחִית, a word with the same meaning, but without any relation to *Jered*, either for eye or ear. G.

JER'EMAI [3 syl.] (יְרֵמַי) [*dwellers on heights*]: Ἰερασμί; Alex. Ιερεμι; [Vat. Ιερεμειμ, FA. -μει:] *Jermai*), a layman; one of the Bene-Hashum, who was compelled by Ezra to put away his foreign wife (Ezr. x. 33). In the lists of Esdras it is omitted.

JEREMI'AH (יִרְמְיָהוּ, as the more usual form, or יִרְמְיָה, ch. xxxvi.–xxxviii.: Ἰερεμίας: *Jeremias*, Vulg.; *Hieremias*, Hieron. et al.). The name has been variously explained: by Jerome and Simonis (*Onomast.* p. 535), as "the exalted of the Lord;" by Gesenius (*s. v.*), as "appointed of the Lord;" by Carpzov (*Introd. ad lib. V. T.* p. iii. c. 3), followed by Hengstenberg (*Christologie des A. B.* vol. i.), as "the Lord throws" — the latter seeing in the name a prophetic reference to the work described in i. 10; [by Dietrich, "whom Jehovah founds," *i. e.* establishes.]

I. *Life.* — It will be convenient to arrange what is known as to the life and work of this prophet in sections corresponding to its chief periods. The materials for such an account are to be found almost exclusively in the book which bears his name. Whatever interest may attach to Jewish or Christian traditions connected with his name, they have no claim to be regarded as historical, and we are left to form what picture we can of the man and of his times from the narratives and prophecies which he himself has left. Fortunately, these have

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come down to us, though in some disorder, with unusual fullness; and there is no one in the "goodly fellowship of the prophets" of whom, in his work, feelings, sufferings, we have so distinct a knowledge. He is for us the great example of the prophetic life, the representative of the prophetic order. It is not to be wondered at that he should have seemed to the Christian feeling of the Early Church a type of Him in whom that life received its highest completion (Hieron. *Comm. in Jerem.* xxiii. 9; Origen. *Hom. in Jerem.* i. and viii.; Aug. *de Præs. Dei*, c. xxxvii.), or that recent writers should have identified him with the "Servant of the Lord" in the later chapters of Isaiah (Bunsen, *Gott in der Geschichte*, i. 425–447; Nägelsbach, art. "Jerem." in Herzog's *Real-Encyklop.*).

(1.) Under Josiah, B. C. 638–608. — In the 13th year of the reign of Josiah, the prophet speaks of himself as still "a child" (נַעַר, i. 6). We cannot rely indeed on this word as a chronological datum. It may have been used simply as the expression of conscious weakness, and as a word of age it extends from merest infancy (Ex. ii. 6; 1 Sam. iv. 21) to adult manhood (1 Sam. xxx. 17; 1 K. iii. 7). We may at least infer, however, as we can trace his life in full activity for upwards of forty years from this period, that at the commencement of that reign he could not have passed out of actual childhood. He is described as "the son of Hilkiah of the priests that were in Anathoth" (i. 1). Were we able, with some earlier (Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. p. 142; Jerome, *Opp.* tom. iv. § 116, D.) and some later writers (Eichhorn, Calovius, Maldonatus, von Bohlen, Umbreit), to identify this Hilkiah with the high-priest who bore so large a share in Josiah's work of reformation, it would be interesting to think of the king and the prophet, so nearly of the same age (2 Chr. xxxiv. 1), as growing up together under the same training, subject to the same influences. Against this hypothesis, however, there have been urged the facts (Carpzov, Keil, Ewald, and others) — (1.) that the name is too common to be a ground of identification; (2.) that the manner in which this Hilkiah is mentioned is inconsistent with the notion of his having been the High-priest of Israel; (3.) that neither Jeremiah himself, nor his opponents, allude to this parentage; (4.) that the priests who lived at Anathoth were of the House of Ithamar (1 K. ii. 26; 1 Chr. xxiv. 3), while the high-priests from Zadok downwards were of the line of Eleazar (Carpzov, *Introd. in lib. V. T. Jerem.*). The occurrence of the same name may be looked on, however, in this as in many other instances in the O. T., as a probable indication of affinity or friendship; and this, together with the coincidences — (1.) that the uncle of Jeremiah (xxxii. 7) bears the same name as the husband of Huldah the prophetess (2 K. xxii. 14), and (2.) that Ahikam the son of Shaphan, the great supporter of Hilkiah and Huldah in their work (2 Chr. xxxiv. 20) was also, throughout, the great protector of the prophet (Jer. xxvi. 24), may help to throw some light on the education by which he was prepared for that work to which he was taught he had been "sanctified from his mother's womb." The strange Rabbinic tradition (Carpzov, *l. c.*), that eight of the persons most conspicuous in the religious history of this period (Jeremiah, Baruch, Seraiah, Maaseiah, Hilkiah, Hanameel, Huldah, Shallum) were all descended from the harlot Rahab, may possibly have been a distortion of the fact that they were connected, in some way or other, as members of a family. If this were so, we can form a tolerably distinct notion of the influences that were at work on Jeremiah's youth. The boy would hear among the priests of his native town, not three miles distant from Jerusalem [ANATHOTH], of the idolatries and cruelties of Manasseh and his son Amon. He would be trained in the traditional precepts and ordinances of the Law. He would become acquainted with the names and writings of older prophets, such as Micah and Isaiah. As he grew up towards manhood, he would hear also of the work which the king and his counsellors were carrying on, and of the teaching of the woman, who alone, or nearly so, in the midst of that religious revival, was looked upon as speaking from direct prophetic inspiration. In all likelihood, as we have seen, he came into actual contact with them. Possibly, too, to this period of his life we may trace the commencement of that friendship with the family of Neriah which was afterwards so fruitful in results. The two brothers Baruch and Seraiah both appear as the disciples of the prophet (xxxvi. 4, li. 59); both were the sons of Neriah, the son of Maaseiah (*l. c.*); and Maaseiah (2 Chr. xxxiv. 8) was governor of Jerusalem, acting with Hilkiah and Shaphan in the religious reforms of Josiah. As the result of all these influences we find in him all the conspicuous features of the devout ascetic character: intense consciousness of his own weakness, great susceptibility to varying emotions, a spirit easily bowed down. But there were also, we may believe (assuming only that the prophetic character is the development, purified and exalted, of the natural, not its contradiction), the strong national feelings of an Israelite, the desire to see his nation becoming in reality what it had been called to be, anxious doubts whether this were possible, for a people that had sunk so low (cf. Maurice, *Prophets and Kings of the O. T.*, Serm. xxii.–xxiv.; Ewald, *Propheten*, ii. p. 6–8). Left to himself, he might have borne his part among the reforming priests of Josiah's reign, free from their formalism and hypocrisy. But "the word of Jehovah came to him" (i. 2); and by that divine voice the secret of his future life was revealed to him, at the very time when the work of reformation was going on with fresh vigor (2 Chr. xxxiv. 3), when he himself was beginning to have the thoughts and feelings of a man.[a] He was to lay aside all self-distrust, all natural fear and trembling (i. 7, 8), and to accept his calling as a prophet of Jehovah "set over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, and to destroy and to throw down, to build and to plant" (i. 10). A life-long martyrdom was set before him, a struggle against kings and priests and people (i. 18). When was this wonderful mission developed into action? What effect did it have on the inward and outward life of the man who received it? For a time, it would seem, he held aloof from the work which was going on throughout the nation. His name is nowhere mentioned in the history of the memorable eighteenth year of Josiah. Though five years had passed since he had entered on the work of a prophet, it is from Huldah, not from him, that the king and his princes seek for counsel. The discovery of the Book of the Law, however (we need not now inquire whether it were the Pentateuch as

[a] Carpzov (*l. c.*) fixes twenty as the probable age of Jeremiah at the time of his call.

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whole, or a lost portion of it, or a compilation altogether new), could not fail to exercise an influence on a mind like Jeremiah's: his later writings show abundant traces of it (cf. *inf.*); and the result apparently was, that he could not share the hopes which others cherished. To them the reformation seemed more thorough than that accomplished by Hezekiah. They might think that fasts, and sacrifices, and the punishment of idolaters, might avert the penalties of which they heard in the book so strangely found (Deut. xxvii., xxviii., xxxii.), and might look forward to a time of prosperity and peace, of godliness and security (vii. 4). He saw that the reformation was but a surface one. Israel had gone into captivity, and Judah was worse than Israel (iii. 11). It was as hard for him as it had been for Isaiah, to find among the princes and people who worshipped in the Temple, one just, truth-seeking man (v. 1, 28). His own work, as a priest and prophet, led him to discern the falsehood and lust of rule which were at work under the form of zeal (v. 31). The spoken or written prophecies of his contemporaries, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Urijah, Huldah, may have served to deepen his convictions, that the sentence of condemnation was already passed, and that there was no escape from it. The strange visions which had followed upon his call (i. 11–16) taught him that Jehovah would "hasten" the performance of His word; and if the Scythian inroads of the later years of Josiah's reign seemed in part to correspond to the "destruction coming from the North" (Ewald, *Propheten in loc.*), they could hardly be looked upon as exhausting the words that spoke of it. Hence, though we have hardly any mention of special incidents in the life of Jeremiah during the eighteen years between his call and Josiah's death, the main features of his life come distinctly enough before us. He had even then his experience of the bitterness of the lot to which God had called him. The duties of the priest, even if he continued to discharge them, were merged in those of the new and special office. Strange as it was for a priest to remain unmarried, his lot was to be one of solitude (xvi. 2).[a] It was not for him to enter into the house of feasting, or even into that of mourning (xvi. 5, 8). From time to time he appeared, clad probably in the "rough garment" of a prophet (Zech. xiii. 4), in Anathoth and Jerusalem. He was heard warning and protesting, "rising early and speaking" (xxv. 3), and as the result of this there came "reproach and derision daily" (xx. 8). He was betrayed by his own kindred (xii. 6), persecuted with murderous hate by his own townsmen (xi. 21), mocked with the taunting question, Where is the word of Jehovah? (xvii. 15). And there were inner spiritual trials as well as these outward ones. He too, like the writers of Job and Ps. xxiii., was haunted by perplexities rising out of the disorders of the world (xii. 1, 2); on him there came the bitter feeling, that he was "a man of contention to the whole earth" (xv. 10); the doubt whether his whole work was not a delusion and a lie (xx. 7) tempting him at times to fall back into silence, until the fire again burnt within him, and he was weary of forbearing (xx. 9). Whether the passages that have been referred to belong, all of them, to this period or a later one, they represent that which was inseparable from the prophet's life at all times, and which, in a character like Jeremiah's, was developed in its strongest form. Towards the close of the reign, however, he appears to have taken some part in the great national questions then at issue. The overthrow of the Assyrian monarchy to which Manasseh had become tributary led the old Egyptian party among the princes of Judah to revive their plans, and to urge an alliance with Pharaoh-Necho as the only means of safety. Jeremiah, following in the footsteps of Isaiah (Is. xxx. 1–7), warned them that it would lead only to confusion (ii. 18, 36). The policy of Josiah was determined, probably, by this counsel. He chose to attach himself to the new Chaldæan kingdom, and lost his life in the vain attempt to stop the progress of the Egyptian king. We may think of this as one of the first great sorrows of Jeremiah's life. His lamentations for the king (2 Chr. xxxv. 25)[b] may have been those of personal friendship They were certainly those of a man who, with nothing before him but the prospect of confusion and wrong, looks back upon a reign of righteousness and truth (xxii. 3, 16).

(2.) Under Jehoahaz (= Shallum), B. C. 608. — The short reign of this prince — chosen by the people on hearing of Josiah's death, and after three months deposed by Pharaoh-Necho — gave little scope for direct prophetic action. The fact of his deposition, however, shows that he had been set up against Egypt, and therefore as representing the policy of which Jeremiah had been the advocate; and this may account for the tenderness and pity with which he speaks of him in his Egyptian exile (xxii. 11, 12).

(3.) Under Jehoiakim, B. C. 607–597. — In the weakness and disorder which characterized this reign, the work of Jeremiah became daily more prominent. The king had come to the throne as the vassal of Egypt, and for a time the Egyptian party was dominant in Jerusalem. It numbered among its members many of the princes of Judah, many priests and prophets, the Pashurs and the Hananiahs. Others, however, remained faithful to the policy of Josiah, and held that the only way of safety lay in accepting the supremacy of the Chaldæans. Jeremiah appeared as the chief representative of this party. He had learnt to discern the signs of the times; the evils of the nation were not to be cured by any half-measures of reform, or by foreign alliances. The king of Babylon was God's servant (xxv. 9, xxvii. 6), doing his work and was for a time to prevail over all resistance. Hard as it was for one who sympathized so deeply with all the sufferings of his country, this was the conviction to which he had to bring himself. He had to expose himself to the suspicion of treachery by declaring it. Men claiming to be prophets had their "word of Jehovah" to set against his (xiv. 13, xxiii. 17), and all that he could do was to commit his cause to God, and wait for the result. Some of the most striking scenes in this conflict are brought before us with great vividness. Soon after the accession of Jehoiakim, on one of the sol-

[a] This is clearly the natural inference from the words, and patristic writers take the fact for granted In later times it has been supposed to have some bearing on the question of the celibacy of the clergy, and has been denied by Protestant and reasserted by Romish critics accordingly (cf. Carpzov, *l. c.*).

[b] The hypothesis which ascribes these lamentations to Jeremiah of Libnah, Josiah's father-in-law, is hardly worth refuting.

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man fast-days — when the courts of the Temple were filled with worshippers from all the cities of Judah — the prophet appeared, to utter the message that Jerusalem should become a curse, that the Temple should share the fate of the tabernacle of Shiloh (xxvi. 6). Then it was that the great struggle of his life began: priests and prophets and people joined in the demand for his death (xxvi. 8). The princes of Judah, among whom were still many of the counsellors of Josiah, or their sons, endeavored to protect him (xxvi. 16). His friends appealed to the precedent of Micah the Morasthite, who in the reign of Hezekiah had uttered a like prophecy with impunity, and so for a time he escaped. The fate of one who was stirred up to prophesy in the same strain showed, however, what he might expect from the weak and cruel king. If Jeremiah was not at once hunted to death, like Urijah (xxvi. 23), it was only because his friend Ahikam was powerful enough to protect him. The fourth year of Jehoiakim was yet more memorable. The battle of Carchemish overthrew the hopes of the Egyptian party (xlvi. 2), and the armies of Nebuchadnezzar drove those who had no defenced cities to take refuge in Jerusalem (xxxv. 11). As one of the consequences of this, we have the interesting episode of the Rechabites. The mind of the prophet, ascetic in his habits, shrinking from the common forms of social life, was naturally enough drawn towards the tribe which was at once conspicuous for its abstinence from wine and its traditional hatred of idolatry (2 K. x. 15). The occurrence of the name of Jeremiah among them, and their ready reception into the Temple, may point, perhaps, to a previous intimacy with him and his brother priests. Now they and their mode of life had a new significance for him. They, with their reverence for the precepts of the founder of their tribe, were as a living protest against the disobedience of the men of Judah to a higher law (xxxv. 18). In this year too came another solemn message to the king: prophecies which had been uttered, here and there at intervals, were now to be gathered together, written in a book, and read as a whole in the hearing of the people. Baruch, already known as the Prophet's disciple, acted as scribe; and in the following year, when a solemn fast-day called the whole people together in the Temple (xxxvi. 1–9), Jeremiah — hindered himself, we know not how — sent him to proclaim them. The result was as it had been before: the princes of Judah connived at the escape of the prophet and his scribe (xxxvi. 19). The king vented his impotent rage upon the scroll which Jeremiah had written. Jeremiah and Baruch, in their retirement, re-wrote it with many added prophecies, among them, probably, the special prediction that the king should die by the sword, and be cast out unburied and dishonored (xxii. 30). In ch. xlv., which belongs to this period, we have a glimpse into the relations which existed between the master and the scholar, and into what at that time were the thoughts of each of them. Baruch, younger and more eager, had expected a change for the better. To play a prominent part in the impending crisis, to be the hero of a national revival, to gain the favor of the conqueror whose coming he announced — this, or something like this, had been the vision that had come before him, and when this passed away he sank into despair at the seeming fruitlessness of his efforts. Jeremiah had passed through that phase of trial and could sympathize with it and knew how to meet it. To the mind of his disciple, as once to his own, the future was revealed in all its dreariness. He was not to seek "great things" for himself in the midst of his country's ruin: his life, and that only, was to be given him "for a prey." As the danger drew nearer, there was given to the Prophet a clearer insight into the purposes of God for his people. He might have thought before, as others did, that the chastisement would be but for a short time, that repentance would lead to strength, and that the yoke of the Chaldæans might soon be shaken off: now he learnt that it would last for seventy years (xxv. 12), till he and all that generation had passed away. Nor was it on Judah only that the king of Babylon was to execute the judgments of Jehovah: all nations that were within the prophet's ken were to drink as fully as she did of "the wine-cup of His fury" (xxv. 15–38). In the absence of special dates for other events in the reign of Jehoiakim, we may bring together into one picture some of the most striking features of this period of Jeremiah's life. As the danger from the Chaldæans became more threatening, the persecution against him grew hotter, his own thoughts were more bitter and despondding (xviii.). The people sought his life: his voice rose up in the prayer that God would deliver and avenge him. Common facts became significant to him of new and wonderful truths; the work of the potter aiming at the production of a perfect form, rejecting the vessels which did not attain to it, became a parable of God's dealings with Israel and with the world (xviii. 1–6; comp. Maurice, *Proph. and Kings*, l. c.). That thought he soon reproduced in act as well as word. Standing in the valley of Ben-Hinnom, he broke the earthen vessel he carried in his hands, and prophesied to the people that the whole city should be defiled with the dead, as that valley had been, within their memory, by Josiah (xix. 10–13). The boldness of the speech and act drew upon him immediate punishment. The priest Pashur smote and put him "in the stocks" (xx. 2); and then there came upon him, as in all seasons of suffering, the sense of failure and weakness. The work of God's messengers seemed to him too terrible to be borne: he would fain have withdrawn from it (xx. 9). He used for himself the cry of wailing that had belonged to the extremest agony of Job (xx. 14–18). The years that followed brought no change for the better. Famine and drought were added to the miseries of the people (xiv. 1), but false prophets still deceived them with assurances of plenty; and Jeremiah was looked on with dislike, as "a prophet of evil," and "every one cursed" him (xv. 10). He was set, however, "as a fenced brazen wall" (xv. 20), and went on with his work, reproving king and nobles and people; as for other sins, so also especially for their desecration of the Sabbath (xvii. 19–27), for their blind reverence for the Temple, and yet blinder trust in it, even while they were worshipping the Queen of Heaven in the very streets of Jerusalem (vii. 14, 18). Now too, as before, his work extended to other nations: they were not to exult in the downfall of Judah, but to share it. All were to be swallowed up in the empire of the Chaldæans (xlviii.–xlix.). If there had been nothing beyond this, no hope for Israel or this world but that of a universal monarchy resting on brute strength, the prospect would have been altogether overwhelming; but through this darkness there gleamed the dawning of a glorious hope. When

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the seventy years were over, there was to be a restoration as wonderful as that from Egypt had been (xxxiii. 7). In the far off future there was the vision of a renewed kingdom; of a "righteous branch" of the house of David, "executing judgment and justice," of Israel and Judah dwelling safely, once more united, under "the Lord our Righteousness" (xxiii. 5, 6).

It is doubtful how far we can deal with the strange narrative of ch. xlii. as a fact in Jeremiah's life. Ewald (*Propheten des A. B.*, in loc.) rejects the reading "Euphrates" altogether; Hitzig, following Bochart, conjectures Ephratah. Most other modern commentators look on the narrative as merely symbolic. Assuming, however (with Calmet and Henderson, and the *consensus* of patristic expositors), that here, as in xix. 1, 10, xxvii. 2; Is. xx. 2, the symbols, however strange they might seem, were acts and not visions, it is open to us to conjecture that in this visit to the land of the Chaldæans may have originated his acquaintance with the princes and commanders who afterwards befriended him. The special commands given in his favor by Nebuchadnezzar (xxxix. 11) seem at any rate to imply some previous knowledge.

(4.) Under Jehoiachin (=Jeconiah), B. C. 597. — The danger which Jeremiah had so long foretold, at last came near. First Jehoiakim, and afterwards his successor, were carried into exile, and with them all that constituted the worth and strength of the nation, — princes, warriors, artisans (2 K. xxiv.). Among them too were some of the false prophets who had encouraged the people with the hope of a speedy deliverance, and could not yet abandon their blind confidence. Of the work of the prophet in this short reign we have but the fragmentary record of xxii. 24–30. We may infer, however, from the language of his later prophecies, that he looked with sympathy and sorrow on the fate of the exiles in Babylon; and that the fulfillment of all that he had been told to utter made him stronger than ever in his resistance to all schemes of independence and revolt.

(5.) Under Zedekiah, B. C. 597–586. — In this prince (probably, as having been appointed by Nebuchadnezzar), we do not find the same obstinate resistance to the prophet's counsels as in Jehoiakim. He respects him, fears him, seeks his counsel; but he is a mere shadow of a king, powerless even against his own counsellors, and in his reign, accordingly, the sufferings of Jeremiah were sharper than they had been before. The struggle with the false prophets went on: the more desperate the condition of their country, the more daring were their predictions of immediate deliverance. Between such men, living in the present, and the true prophet, walking by faith in the unseen future of a righteous kingdom (xxiii. 5, 6), there could not but be an internecine enmity. He saw too plainly that nothing but the most worthless remnant of the nation had been left in Judah (xxiv. 5–8), and denounced the falsehood of those who came with lying messages of peace. His counsel to the exiles (conveyed in a letter which, of all portions of the O. T., comes nearest in form and character to the Epistles of the N. T.) was, that they should submit to their lot, prepare for a long captivity, and wait quietly for the ultimate restoration. In this hope he found comfort for himself which made his sleep "sweet" unto him, even in the midst of all his weariness and strife (xxxi. 26). Even at Babylon, however, there were false prophets opposing him, speaking of him as a "madman" (xxix. 26), urging the priests of Jerusalem to more active persecution. The trial soon followed. The king at first seemed willing to be guided by him, and sent to ask for his intercession (xxxvii. 3), but the apparent revival of the power of Egypt under Apries (Pharaoh-Hophra), created false hopes, and drew him and the princes of the neighboring nations into projects of revolt. The clearness with which Jeremiah had foretold the ultimate overthrow of Babylon, in a letter sent to the exiles in that city by his disciple, Baruch's brother Seraiah (assuming the genuineness of l. and li.), made him all the more certain that the time of that overthrow had not yet arrived, and that it was not to come from the hand of Egypt. He appears in the streets of the city with bonds and yokes upon his neck (xxvii. 2), announcing that they were meant for Judah and its allies. The false prophet Hananiah — who broke the offensive symbol (xxviii. 10), and predicted the destruction of the Chaldæans within two years (xxviii. 3) — learnt that "a yoke of iron" was upon the neck of all the nations, and died himself while it was still pressing heavily on Judah (xxviii. 16, 17). The approach of an Egyptian army, however, and the consequent departure of the Chaldæans, made the position of Jeremiah full of danger; and he sought to effect his escape from a city in which, it seemed, he could no longer do good, and to take refuge in his own town of Anathoth or its neighborhood (xxxvii. 12). The discovery of this plan led, not unnaturally perhaps, to the charge of desertion: it was thought that he too was "falling away to the Chaldæans," as others were doing (xxxviii. 19), and, in spite of his denial, he was thrown into a dungeon (xxxvii. 16). The interposition of the king, who still respected and consulted him, led to some mitigation of the rigor of his confinement (xxxvii. 21); but, as this did not hinder him from speaking to the people, the princes of Judah — bent on an alliance with Egypt, and calculating on the king's being unable to resist them (xxxviii. 5) — threw him into the prison-pit, to die there. From this horrible fate he was again delivered, by the friendship of the Ethiopian eunuch, Ebed-Melech, and the king's regard for him; and was restored to the milder custody in which he had been kept previously, where we find (xxxii. 16) he had the companionship of Baruch. In the impotence of his perplexity, Zedekiah once again secretly consulted him (xxxviii. 14), but only to hear the certainty of failure if he continued to resist the authority of the Chaldæans. The same counsel was repeated more openly when the king sent Pashur (not the one already mentioned) and Zephaniah — before friendly, it appears, to Jeremiah or at least neutral (xxix. 29) — to ask for his advice. Fruitless as it was, we may yet trace, in the softened language of xxxiv. 5, one consequence of the king's kindness: though exile was inevitable, he was yet to "die in peace." The return of the Chaldæan army filled both king and people with dismay (xxxii. 1); and the risk now was, that they would pass from their presumptuous confidence to the opposite extreme and sink down in despair, with no faith in God and no hope for the future. The prophet was taught how to meet that danger also. In his prison, while the Chaldæans were ravaging the country, he bought, with all requisite formalities, the field at Anathoth, which his kinsman Hanameel wished to get rid of (xxxii. 6–9). His faith in the promises of God did not fail him

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With a confidence in his country's future, which has been compared (Nägelsbach, *l. c.*) to that of the Roman who bought at its full value the very ground on which the forces of Hannibal were encamped (Liv. xxxvi. 11), he believed not only that "houses and fields and vineyards should again be possessed in the land" (xxxii. 15), but that the voice of gladness should still be heard there (xxxiii. 11), that, under "the Lord our Righteousness," the house of David and the priests the Levites should never be without representatives (xxxiii. 15–18). At last the blow came. The solemn renewal of the national covenant (xxxiv. 19), the offer of freedom to all who had been brought into slavery, were of no avail. The selfishness of the nobles was stronger even than their fears, and the prophet, who had before rebuked them for their desecration of the Sabbath, now had to protest against their disregard of the sabbatic year (xxxiv. 14). The city was taken, the temple burnt. The king and his princes shared the fate of Jehoiachin. The prophet gave utterance to his sorrow in the LAMENTATIONS.

(6). After the capture of Jerusalem, B. C. 586 (?). The Chaldæan party in Judah had now the prospect of better things. Nebuchadnezzar could not fail to reward those who, in the midst of hardships of all kinds, had served him so faithfully. We find accordingly a special charge given to Nebuzaradan (xxxix. 11) to protect the person of Jeremiah; and, after being carried as far as Ramah with the crowd of captives (xl. 1), he was set free, and Gedaliah, the son of his steadfast friend Ahikam, made governor over the cities of Judah. The feeling of the Chaldæans towards him was shown yet more strongly in the offer made him by Nebuzaradan (xl. 4, 5). It was left to him to decide whether he would go to Babylon, with the prospect of living there under the patronage of the king, or remain in his own land with Gedaliah and the remnant over whom he ruled. Whatever may have been his motive — sympathy with the sufferings of the people, attachment to his native land, or the desire to help his friend — the prophet chose the latter, and the Chaldæan commander "gave him a reward," and set him free. For a short time there was an interval of peace (xl. 9–12), soon broken, however, by the murder of Gedaliah by Ishmael and his associates. We are left to conjecture in what way the prophet escaped from a massacre which was apparently intended to include all the adherents of Gedaliah. The fullness with which the history of the massacre is narrated in chap. xli. makes it however probable that he was among the prisoners whom Ishmael was carrying off to the Ammonites, and who were released by the arrival of Johanan. One of Jeremiah's friends was thus cut off, but Baruch still remained with him; and the people, under Johanan, who had taken the command on the death of Gedaliah, turned to him for counsel. "The governor appointed by the Chaldæans had been assassinated. Would not their vengeance fall on the whole people? Was there any safety but in escaping to Egypt while they could?" They came accordingly to Jeremiah with a foregone conclusion. With the vision of peace and plenty in that land of fleshpots (xlii. 14), his warnings and assurances were in vain, and did but draw on him and Baruch the old charge of treachery (xliii. 3). The people followed their own counsel, and — lest the two whom they suspected should betray or counteract it — took them also by force to Egypt. There, in the city of Tahpanhes, we have the last clear glimpses of the prophet's life. His words are sharper and stronger than ever. He does not shrink, even there, from speaking of the Chaldæan king once more as the "servant of Jehovah" (xliii. 10). He declares that they should see the throne of the conqueror set up in the very place which they had chosen as the securest refuge. He utters a final protest (xliv.) against the idolatries of which they and their fathers had been guilty, and which they were even then renewing. After this all is uncertain. If we could assume that lii. 31 was written by Jeremiah himself, it would show that he reached an extreme old age, but this is so doubtful that we are left to other sources. On the one hand, there is the Christian tradition, resting doubtless on some earlier belief (Tertull. *adv. Gnost.* c. 8; Pseudo-Epiphan. *Opp.* iii. 239; Hieron. *adv. Jovin.* ii. 37), that the long tragedy of his life ended in actual martyrdom, and that the Jews at Tahpanhes, irritated by his rebukes, at last stoned him to death. Most commentators on the N. T. find an allusion to this in Heb. xi. 37. An Alexandrian tradition reported that his bones had been brought to that city by Alexander the Great (*Chron. Pasch.* p. 156, ed. Dindorf, quoted by Carpzov and Nägelsbach). In the beginning of the last century travellers were told, though no one knew the precise spot, that he had been buried at Ghizeh (Lucas, *Travels in the Levant*, p. 28). On the other side, there is the Jewish statement that, on the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, he, with Baruch, made his escape to Babylon (Seder Olam Rabba, c. 26; Genebrard, *Chronol. Heb.* 1608) or Judæa (R. Solomon Jarchi, *on Jer.* xliv. 14), and died in peace. Josephus is altogether silent as to his fate, but states generally that the Jews who took refuge in Egypt were finally carried to Babylon as captives (*Ant.* x. 9). It is not impossible, however, that both the Jewish tradition and the silence of Josephus originated in the desire to gloss over a great crime, and that the offer of Nebuzaradan (xl. 4) suggested the conjecture that afterwards grew into an assertion. As it is, the darkness and doubt that brood over the last days of the prophet's life are more significant than either of the issues which presented themselves to men's imaginations as the winding-up of his career. He did not need a death by violence to make him a true martyr. To die, with none to record the time or manner of his death, was the right end for one who had spoken all along, not to win the praise of men, but because the word of the Lord was in him as a "burning fire" (xx. 9). May we not even conjecture that this silence was due to the prophet himself? If we believe (cf. *inf.*) that Baruch, who was with Jeremiah in Egypt, survived him, and had any share in collecting and editing his prophecies, it is hard to account for the omission of a fact of so much interest, except on the hypothesis that his lips were sealed by the injunctions of the master who thus taught him, by example as well as by precept, that he was not to seek "great things" for himself.

Other traditions connected with the name of Jeremiah, though they throw no light on his history, are interesting, as showing the impression left by his work and life on the minds of later generations. As the Captivity dragged on, the prophecy of the Seventy Years, which had at first been so full of terror, came to be a ground of hope

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Dan. ix. 2; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 21; Ezr. i. 1) On the return from Babylon, his prophecies were collected and received into the canon, as those of the second of the Great Prophets of Israel. In the arrangement followed by the Babylonian Talmudic writers (*Baba Bathra*, § 14 *b*; quoted by Lightfoot *on Matt.* xxvii. 9), and perpetuated among some of the mediæval Jewish transcribers (Wolff, *Bibl. Hebr.* ii. 148), he, and not Isaiah, occupies the first place. The Jewish saying that "the spirit of Jeremiah dwelt afterwards in Zechariah" (Grotius *in Matt.* xxvii. 9) indicates how greatly the mind of the one was believed to have been influenced by the teaching of the other. The fulfillment of his predictions of a restored nationality led men to think of him, not as a prophet of evil only, but as watching over his countrymen, interceding for them. More than any other of the prophets, he occupies the position of the patron-saint of Judæa. He had concealed the tabernacle and the ark, the great treasures of the Temple, in one of the caves of Sinai, there to remain unknown till the day of restoration (2 Macc. ii. 1–8). He appears "a man with gray hairs and exceeding glorious," "the lover of the brethren, who prayed much for the holy city," in the vision of Judas Maccabæus; and from him the hero receives his golden sword, as a gift of God (2 Macc. xv. 13–16). His whole vocation as a prophet is distinctly recognized (Ecclus. xlix. 7). The authority of his name is claimed for long didactic declamations against the idolatry of Babylon (Bar. vi. [or Epist. of Jer.]). At a later period it was attached, as that of the representative prophet, to quotations from other books in the same volume (Lightfoot, *l. c.*), or to prophecies, apocryphal or genuine, whose real author was forgotten (Hieron. *in Matt.* xxvii. 9; Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepig. V. T.* i. 1103; Grot. *in Eph.* v. 14). Even in the time of our Lord's ministry there prevailed the belief (resting, in part perhaps, in this case as in that of Elijah, on the mystery which shrouded the time and manner of his death) that his work was not yet over. Some said of Jesus that he was "Jeremias, or one of the prophets" (Matt. xvi. 14). According to many commentators he was "*the* prophet" whom all the people were expecting (John i. 21). The belief that he was the fulfillment of Deut. xviii. 18 has been held by later Jewish interpreters (Abarbanel in Carpzov, *l. c.*). The traditions connected with him lingered on even in the Christian church, and appeared in the notion that he had never really died, but would return one day from Paradise as one of the "two witnesses" of the Apocalypse (Victorinus, *Comm. in Apoc.* xi. 13). Egyptian legends assumed yet wilder and more fantastic forms. He it was who foretold to the priests of Egypt that their idols should one day fall to the ground in the presence of the virgin born (Epiphan. *de Vit. Proph.* Opp. ii. p. 239). Playing the part of a St. Patrick, he had delivered one district on the shores of the Nile from crocodiles and asps, and even in the 4th century of the Christian era the dust of that region was looked on as a specific against their bites (*ibid.*). According to another tradition, he had returned from Egypt to Jerusalem, and lived there for 300 years (D'Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* p. 499). The O. T. narrative of his sufferings was dressed out with the incidents of a Christian martyrdom (Eupolem. Polyhist. *in Euseb. Præp. Evang.* ix. 39).

II. *Character and Style.* — It will have been seen from this narrative that there fell to the lot of Jeremiah sharper suffering than any previous prophet had experienced. It was not merely that the misery which others had seen afar off was actually pressing on him and on his country, nor that he had to endure a life of persecution, while they had intervals of repose, in which they were honored and their counsel sought. In addition to all differences of outward circumstances, there was that of individual character, influenced by them, reacting on them. In every page of his prophecies we recognize the temperament which, while it does not lead the man who has it to shrink from doing God's work, however painful, makes the pain of doing it infinitely more acute, and gives to the whole character the impress of a deeper and more lasting melancholy. He is preëminently "the man that hath seen afflictions" (Lam. iii. 1). There is no sorrow like unto his sorrow (Lam. i. 12). He witnesses the departure, one by one, of all his hopes of national reformation and deliverance. He has to appear, Cassandra-like, as a prophet of evil, dashing to the ground the false hopes with which the people are buoying themselves up. Other prophets, Samuel, Elisha, Isaiah, had been sent to rouse the people to resistance. He (like Phocion in the parallel crisis of Athenian history) has been brought to the conclusion, bitter as it is, that the only safety for his countrymen lies in their accepting that against which they are contending as the worst of evils; and this brings on him the charge of treachery and desertion. If it were not for his trust in the God of Israel, for his hope of a better future to be brought out of all this chaos and darkness, his heart would fail within him. But that vision is clear and bright, and it gives to him, almost as fully as to Isaiah, the character of a prophet of the Gospel. He is not merely an Israelite looking forward to a national restoration. In the midst of all the woes which he utters against neighboring nations he has hopes and promises for them also (xlviii. 47, xlix. 6, 39). In that stormy sunset of prophecy, he beholds, in spirit, the dawn of a brighter and eternal day. He sees that, if there is any hope of salvation for his people, it cannot be by a return to the old system and the old ordinances, divine though they once had been (xxxi. 31). There must be a New Covenant. That word, destined to be so full of power for all after-ages, appears first in his prophecies. The relations between the people and the Lord of Israel, between mankind and God, must rest, not on an outward law, with its requirements of obedience, but on that of an inward fellowship with Him, and the consciousness of entire dependence. For all this he saw clearly there must be a personal centre. The kingdom of God could not be manifested but through a perfectly righteous man, ruling over men on earth. The prophet's hopes are not merely vague visions of a better future. They gather round the person of a Christ, and are essentially Messianic.

In much of all this — in their personal character, in their sufferings, in the view they took of the great questions of their time — there is a resemblance, at once significant and interesting, between the prophet of Anathoth and the poet of the *Divina Commedia*. What Egypt and Babylon were to the kingdom of Judah, France and the Empire were to the Florentine republic. In each case the struggle between the two great powers reproduced itself in the bitterness of contending factions. Dante, like Jeremiah, saw himself surrounded by

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evils against which he could only bear an unavailing protest. The worst agents in producing those evils were the authorized teachers of his religion. His hopes of better things connected themselves with the supremacy of a power which the majority of his countrymen looked on with repugnance. For him, also, there was the long weariness of exile, brightened at times by the sympathy of faithful friends. In him, as in the prophet, we find — united, it is true, with greater strength and sternness — that intense susceptibility to the sense of wrong which shows itself sometimes in passionate complaint, sometimes in bitter words of invective and reproach. In both we find the habit of mind which selects an image, not for its elegance or sublimity, but for what it means; not shrinking even from what seems grotesque and trivial, sometimes veiling its meaning in allusions more or less dark and enigmatic. Both are sustained through all their sufferings by their strong faith in the Unseen, by their belief in an eternal righteousness which shall one day manifest itself and be victorious.[a]

A yet higher parallel, however, presents itself. In a deeper sense than that of the patristic divines, the life of the prophet was a type of that of Christ. In both there is the same early manifestation of the consciousness of a Divine mission (Luke ii. 49). The persecution which drove the prophet from Anathoth has its counterpart in that of the men of Nazareth (Luke iv. 29). His protests against the priests and prophets are the forerunners of the woes against the Scribes and Pharisees (Matt. xxiii.). His lamentations over the coming miseries of his country answer to the tears that were shed over the Holy City by the Son of Man. His sufferings come nearest, of those of the whole army of martyrs, to those of the Teacher against whom princes and priests and elders and people were gathered together. He saw more clearly than others that New Covenant, with all its gifts of spiritual life and power, which was proclaimed and ratified in the death upon the cross. On the assumption that Jeremiah, not David, was the author of the 22d Psalm (Hitzig, *in loc.*, followed in this instance by Nägelsbach, *l. c.*), the words uttered in the agony of the crucifixion would point to a still deeper and more pervading analogy.

The character of the man impressed itself with more or less force upon the language of the writer. Criticisms on the "style" of a prophet are, indeed, for the most part, whether they take the form of praise or blame, wanting both in reverence and discernment. We do not gain much by knowing that to one writer he appears at once "sermone quidem . . . quibusdam aliis prophetis rusticior" (Hieron. *Prol. in Jerem.*), and yet "majestate sensuum profundissimus" (*Præm. in c. l.*); that another compares him to Simonides (Lowth, *Præl.* xxi.); a third to Cicero (Seb. Schmidt); that bolder critics find in him a great want of originality (Knobel, *Prophetismus*); "symbolical images of an inferior order, and symbolical actions unskillfully contrived" (Davidson, *Introd. to O. T.* c. xix.). Leaving these judgments, however, and asking in what way the outward form of his writings answers to his life, we find some striking characteristics that help us to understand both. As might be expected in one who lived in the last days of the kingdom, and had therefore the works of the earlier prophets to look back upon, we find in him reminiscences and reproductions of what they had written, which indicate the way in which his own spirit had been educated (comp. Is. xl. 19, 20, with x. 3–5; Ps. cxxxv. 7, with x. 13; Ps. lxxix. 6, with x. 25; Is. xlii. 16, with xxxi. 9; Is. iv. 2, xi. 1, with xxxiii. 15; Is. xv. with xlviii.; Is. xiii. and xlvii. with l., li.: see also Küper, *Jerem. librorum sac. interpres et vindex*). Traces of the influence of the newly discovered Book of the Law, and in particular of Deuteronomy, appear repeatedly in his, as in other writings of the same period (Deut. xxvii. 26, iv. 20, vii. 12, with xi. 3–5; Deut. xv. 12, with xxxiv. 14; Ex. xx. 16, with xxxii. 18; Ex. vi. 6, with xxxii. 21). It will be noticed that the parallelisms in these and other instances are, for the most part, not those that rise out of direct quotation, but such as are natural in one whose language and modes of thought have been fashioned by the constant study of books which came before him with a divine authority. Along with this, there is the tendency, natural to one who speaks out of the fullness of his heart, to reproduce himself — to repeat in nearly the same words the great truths on which his own heart rested, and to which he was seeking to lead others (comp. marginal references *passim*, and list in Keil, *Einleit.* § 74). Throughout, too, there are the tokens of his individual temperament: a greater prominence of the subjective, elegiac element than in other prophets, a less sustained energy, a less orderly and completed rhythm (De Wette, *Einleit.* § 217; Ewald, *Propheten*, ii. 1–11). A careful examination of the several parts of his prophecy has led to the conviction that we may trace an increase of these characteristics corresponding to the accumulating trials of his life (Ewald, *l. c.*). The earlier writings are calmer, loftier, more uniform in tone: the later show marks of age and weariness and sorrow, and are more strongly imbued with the language of individual suffering. Living at a time when the purity of the older Hebrew was giving way under continual contact with other kindred dialects, his language came under the influence which was acting on all the writers of his time, abounds in Aramaic forms, loses sight of the finer grammatical distinctions of the earlier Hebrew, includes many words not to be found in its vocabulary (Eichhorn, *Einleit. in das A. T.* iii. 121). It is in part distinctive of the man as well as of the time, that single words should have appeared full of a strange significance (i. 11), that whole predictions should have been embodied in names coined for the purpose (xix. 6, xx. 3), and that the real analogies which presented themselves should have been drawn not from the region of the great and terrible, but from the most homely and familiar incidents (xiii. 1–11, xviii. 1–10). Still more startling is his use of a kind of cipher (the Atbash;[b] comp. Hitzig and Ewald on xxv. 26), con-

[a] The fact that Jer. v. 6 suggested the imagery of the opening Canto of the *Inferno* is not without significance, as bearing on this parallelism.

[b] The system of secret writing which bears this name forms part of the Kabbala of the later Jews. The plan adopted is that of using the letters of the Hebrew alphabet in an inverted order, so that ת stands for א, ש for ב, and so on, and the word is formed out of the first four letters which are thus interchanged (אַרְבַּשׁ). In the passage referred to (xxv. 26), the otherwise unintelligible word Sheshach becomes, on applying this key, the equivalent of Babel. The position of the same word in li. 41 confirms this

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mailag, except from the initiated, the meaning of his predictions.

To associate the name of Jeremiah with any other portion of the O. T. is to pass from the field of history into that of conjecture; but the fact that Hitzig (*Comm. über die Psalm.*), followed in part by Rödiger (Ersch und Grüber, *Encycl.* art. Jerem.), assigns not less than thirty psalms (*sc.* v., vi., xiv., xxii.–xli., lii.–lv., lxix.–lxxi.) to his authorship is, at least, so far instructive that it indicates what were the hymns, belonging to that or to an earlier period, with which his own spirit had most affinity, and to which he and other like sufferers might have turned as the fit expression of their feelings.

III. *Arrangement.* — The absence of any chronological order in the present structure of the collection of Jeremiah's prophecies is obvious at the first glance; and this has led some writers (Blayney, *Pref. to Jeremiah*) to the belief that, as the book now stands, there is nothing but the wildest confusion — "a preposterous jumbling together" of prophecies of different dates. Attempts to reconstruct the book on a chronological basis have been made by almost all commentators on it since the revival of criticism (Simonis, Vitringa, Cornelius à Lapide, among the earliest; cf. De Wette, *Einleit.* § 220); and the result of the labors of the more recent critics has been to modify the somewhat hasty judgment of the English divine. Whatever points of difference there may be in the hypotheses of Movers, Hitzig, Ewald, Bunsen, Nägelsbach, and others, they agree in admitting traces of an order in the midst of the seeming irregularity, and endeavor to account, more or less satisfactorily, for the apparent anomalies. The conclusion of the three last-named is that we have the book substantially in the same state as that in which it left the hands of the prophet, or his disciple Baruch. Confining ourselves, for the present, to the Hebrew order (reproduced in the A. V.) we have two great divisions:

(1.) Ch. i.–xlv. Prophecies delivered at various times, directed mainly to Judah, or connected with Jeremiah's personal history.

(2.) Ch. xlvi.–li. Prophecies connected with other nations.

Ch. lii., taken largely, though not entirely, from 2 K. xxv., may be taken either as a supplement to the prophecy, or (with Grotius and Lowth) as an introduction to the Lamentations.

Looking more closely into each of these divisions, we have the following sections. The narrative of xxxvi. 32 serves to explain the growth of the book in its present shape, and accounts for some, at least, of its anomalies. Up to the 4th year of Jehoiakim, it would appear, no prophecies had been committed to writing, or, if written, they had not been collected and preserved. Then the more memorable among the messages which the word of the Lord had from time to time brought to him were written down at the dictation of the prophet himself. When that roll was destroyed, a second was written out, and other prophecies or narratives added as they came. We may believe that this MS. was the groundwork of our present text; but it is easy to understand how, in transcribing such a document, or collection of documents, the desire to introduce what seemed to the transcriber a better order might lead to many modifications. As it is, we recognize — adopting Bunsen's classification (*Gott in der Geschichte*, i. 113), as being the most natural, and agreeing substantially with Ewald's — the following groups of prophecies, the sections in each being indicated by the recurrence of the formula, "The word of the Lord came to Jeremiah," in fuller or abbreviated forms.

1. Ch. i.–xxi. Containing probably the substance of the book of xxxvi. 32, and including prophecies from the 13th year of Josiah to the 4th of Jehoiakim: i. 3, however, indicates a later revision, and the whole of ch. i. may possibly have been added on the prophet's retrospect of his whole work from this its first beginning. Ch. xxi. belongs to a later period, but has probably found its place here as connected, by the recurrence of the name Pashur, with ch. xx.

2. Ch. xxii.–xxv. Shorter prophecies, delivered at different times against the kings of Judah and the false prophets. Xxv. 13, 14 evidently marks the conclusion of a series of prophecies; and that which follows, xxv. 15–38, the germ of the fuller predictions in xlvi.–xlix., has been placed here as a kind of completion to the prophecy of the Seventy Years and the subsequent fall of Babylon.

3. Ch. xxvi.–xxviii. The two great prophecies of the fall of Jerusalem, and the history connected with them. Ch. xxvi. belongs to the earlier, ch. xxvii. and xxviii. to the later period of the prophet's work. Jehoiakim in xxvii. 1 is evidently (comp ver. 3) a mistake for Zedekiah.

4. Ch. xxix.–xxxi. The message of comfort for the exiles in Babylon.

5. Ch. xxxii.–xliv. The history of the last two years before the capture of Jerusalem, and of Jeremiah's work in them and in the period that followed. Ch. xxxv. and xxxvi. are remarkable as interrupting the chronological order, which otherwise would have been followed here more closely

interpretation; and all other explanations of the word are conjectural and far-fetched. The application of the Athbash to these passages rests historically on the authority of Jerome (*Comm. in Jerem.* in loc.), who refers to the consensus of the Jewish expositors of his own time. There is, of course, something startling in the appearance of one or two solitary instances of a schnical notation like this so long before it became conspicuous as a system; and this has led commentators to attempt other explanations of the mysterious word (comp. J. D. Michaelis, *in loc.*). On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that the age of alphabetic Psalms, such as Ps. cxix., was one in which we might expect to find the minds of men occupied with the changes and combinations to which the letters of the Hebrew alphabet might be subjected, and in which, therefore, such a system of cipher-writing was likely to suggest itself. The fact that Jeremiah himself adopted a complicated alphabetic structure for his great dirge over the fall of Jerusalem (comp. LAMENTATIONS), indicates a special tendency in him to carry to its highest point this characteristic of the literature of his time. Nor is this the only instance. Hitzig finds another example of the Athbash in li. 1. The words לֵב קָמַי (*qui cor suum levaverunt*, Vulg.; "in the midst of them that rise up against me," A. V.), for which the LXX. substitute Χαλδαίους, becomes, on applying the above notation, the equivalent of כַּשְׂדִּים. It should be added, however, that the LXX. omit the entire passage in xxv. 26, and the word Sheshach in li. 41; and that Ewald rejects it accordingly as a later interpolation, conjecturing that the word first came into use among the Jews who lived in exile at Babylon.

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them in any other part. The position of ch. xlv., unconnected with anything before or after it, may be accounted for on the hypothesis that Baruch desired to place on record so memorable a passage in his own life, and inserted it where the direct narrative of his master's life ended. The same explanation applies in part to ch. xxxvi., which was evidently at one time the conclusion of one of the divisions.

6. Ch. xlvi.–li. The prophecies against foreign nations, ending with the great prediction against Babylon.

7. The supplementary narrative of ch. lii.

IV. *Text.* The translation of the LXX. presents many remarkable variations, not only in details indicating that the translator found or substituted readings differing widely from those now extant in Hebrew codices (Keil, *Einleit.* § 76), but in the order of the several parts. Whether we suppose him to have had a different recension of the text, or to have endeavored to introduce an order according to his own notions into the seeming confusion of the Hebrew, the result is, that in no other book of the O. T. is there so great a diversity of arrangement. It is noticeable, as illustrating the classification given above, that the two agree as far as xxv. 13. From that point all is different, and the following table indicates the extent of the divergency. It will be seen that here there was the attempt to collect the prophecies according to their subject-matter. The thought of a consistently chronological arrangement did not present itself in one case more than the other.

LXX.		Hebrew.
xxv. 14–18	=	xlix. 34–39.
xxvi.	=	xlvi.
xxvii.–xxviii.	=	l.–li.
xxix. 1–7	=	xlvii. 1–7.
7–22	=	xlix. 7–22.
xxx. 1–5	=	xlix. 1–6.
6–11	=	28–33.
12–16	=	23–27.
xxxi.	=	xlviii.
xxxii.	=	xxv. 15–29.
xxxiii.–li.	=	xxvi.–xlv.
lii.	=	lii.

The difference in the arrangement of the two texts was noticed by the critical writers of the Early Church (Origen, *Ep. ad African.* Hieron. *Præf. in Jerem.*). For fuller details tending to a conclusion unfavorable to the trustworthiness of the Greek translation, see Keil, *Einleit.* (l. c.), and the authors there referred to.

Supposed Interpolations. — The genuineness of some portions of this book has been called in question, partly on the hypothesis that the version of the LXX. presents a purer text, partly on internal and more conjectural grounds. The following tables indicate the chief passages affected by each class of objections:

1. *As omitted in the LXX.*

(1.) x. 6, 7, 8, 10.
(2.) xxvii. 7.
(3.) xxvii. 16–21 [not omitted, but with many variations].
(4.) xxxiii. 14–26.
(5.) xxxix. 4–13.

2. *On other grounds.*

1.) x 1–16. As being altogether the work of a later writer, probably the so-called Pseudo-Isaiah. The Aramaic of ver. 11 is urged as confirming this view.

(2.) xxv. 11–14.
(3.) xxvii. 7.
(4.) xxxiii. 14–26.
(5.) xxxix. 1, 2, 4–13.
} As having the character of *vaticinia ex eventu.*

(6.) xxvii.–xxix. As showing, in the shortened form of the prophet's name (יִרְמְיָה), and the addition of the epithet "Jeremiah *the prophet*," the revision of a later writer.

(7.) xxx.–xxxiii. As partaking of the character of the later prophecies of Isaiah.

(8.) xlviii. As betraying in language and statements the interpolations either of the later prophecies of Isaiah or of a still later writer.

(9.) l. li. As being a *vaticinium ex eventu*, inserted probably by the writer of Is. xxxiv., and foreign in language and thought to the general character of Jeremiah's prophecies.

(10.) lii. As being a supplementary addition to the book, compiled from 2 K. xxv. and other sources.

In these, as in other questions connected with the Hebrew text of the O. T., the impugners of the authenticity of the above passages are for the most part — De Wette, Movers, Hitzig, Ewald, Knobel: Hävernick, Hengstenberg, Küper, Keil, Umbreit, are among the chief defenders. (Comp. Keil, *Einleitung*, § 76; and, for a special defense of l. and li., the monograph of Nägelsbach, *Jeremias und Babylon.*)

V. *Literature.* — Origen, *Hom. in Jerem.*, Theodoret, *Schol. in Jerem.*, *Opp.* ii. p. 143; Hieron. *Comm. in Jerem.* cc. i.–xxxii.; *Commentaries* by Œcolampadius (1530); Calvin (1563); Piscator (1614); Sanctius (1618); Venema (1765); Michaelis (1793); Blayney [*Jerem. and Lam. New Transl. with Notes*, Oxf.] (1784 [3d ed. Lond. 1836]); Dahler [*Jérémie traduit, accompagné des notes*, 2 pt. Strasb.] (1825–30); Umbreit [*Prakt. Comm.* Hamb.] (1842); Henderson [*Jerem. and Lam. translated, with a Commentary*, Lond. 1851]; Neumann [*Weissagungen u. Klagelieder*, 2 Bde. Leips.] (1856–58).

The following treatises may also be consulted: — Schnurrer, C. F., *Observationes ad vaticin. Jerem.*, 1793 [–94; repr. in the *Comment. Theol.* by Velthusen, Kuinoel and Ruperti, vol. ii.–v.]; Gaab, *Erklärung schwerer Stellen in d. Weissag. Jerem.*, 1824; Hensler, *Bemerkk. über Stellen in Jerem. Weissag.*, 1805; Spohn, *Jerem. Vates e vers. Jud. Alex.*, 1794 [–1824]; Küper, *Jerem. Librorum Sacrorum interpres et vindex*, 1837; Movers, *De utriusque recensionis vaticin. Jerem. indole et origine*, 1837; Wichelhaus, *De Jerem. versione Alex.*, 1847; Hengstenberg, *Christologie des A. T.* (Section on Jeremiah). E. H. P.

* The prophets are often spoken of in the Bible as announcing orally their predictions and messages, but very seldom as writing them out either before or after their promulgation. In this respect we have more distinct notices concerning the habit of Jeremiah, than of any other prophet. We learn from Jer. xxxvi. 2 ff., that in the fourth year of Jehoiakim he received a command from God to collect all that he had spoken "against Israel and against Judah, and against all the nations from the days of Josiah," and to write down the same in a book. In accordance with this direction he dictated to Baruch his amanuensis all his prophecies up to that time. This collection was burnt by JEHOIAKIM on account of the threatenings which it contained against himself; but Jeremiah immediately prepared another in which he not only

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asserted again what had been destroyed, but added to that "many like words" (ver. 32). See also ll. 60 ff. The prophet's object in thus putting together his revelations as made known to the public from time to time, may not have required him to follow any strict chronological order. The question, therefore, whether the present Hebrew collocation of these parts of his writings came from his hand or that of another, does not depend on the view taken of their chronological relation to each other. So far as this point is concerned, the existing order may have originated with the prophet himself, and not from a reviser or transcriber. The connection of subjects rather than of time appears to have controlled the general arrangement of the book of Jeremiah.

It is a singular fact, that Matthew (xxvii. 9) ascribes a passage to Jeremiah which seems to belong to Zechariah. See, on that difficulty, the addition to ACELDAMA (Amer. ed.). The predictions of Jeremiah were not only well known in the times immediately after him, but were celebrated for their strict fulfillment. Reference is made to this character of his writings in 2 Chron. xxvi. 21, and Ez. i. 1. His assignment of 70 years as the period of the duration of the Captivity was the ground of Daniel's earnest, effectual prayer for the end of the exile and the restoration of Israel (Dan. ix. 2 ff.). It is noteworthy that the first quotation from Jeremiah as we open the Gospel-history (Matt. ii. 17, 18) brings back to us the voice of lamentation and sorrow to which we were accustomed in the Old Testament.

Additional Literature. — The following works on Jeremiah also deserve notice: Seb. Schmid, *Comm. in Libr. Prophetiarum Jeremiæ*, 1685 (also 1697 and 1706), 2 vols. 4to; Leiste, *Obss. in Vaticin. Jerem. aliquot locos*, 1794, reprinted with large additions in Pott and Ruperti's *Sylloge Comm. Theol.* ii. 203–246; Rosenmüller, *Scholia in Vet. Test.* pars viii., 2 vols. 1826–27; J. C. K. Hofmann, *Die siebenzig Jahre des Jerem. u. d. siebenzig Jahrwochen des Daniel*, 1836; Maurer, *Comm. in Vet. Test.* i. 490–691 (1838); Heim and Hoffmann, *Die vier grossen Propheten erbaulich ausgelegt aus den Schriften der Reformatoren*, 1839; J. L. König, *Alttestamentliche Studien*, 2es Heft (*Das Deuteronomium u. der Prophet Jeremia, gegen von Bohlen*), 1839; Hitzig, *Der Prophet Jeremia erklärt*, 1841, 2e Aufl. 1866 (Lief. iii. of the *Kurzgef. exeget. Handb. zum A. T.*), comp. his *Proph. Bücher des A. T. übersetzt*, 1854; Ewald, *Die Propheten des Alten Bundes*, vol. ii., 1841 (a new edition about to be published, 1868); Stähelin, *Ueber das Princip das der Anordnung der Weissagungen d. Jerem. zu Grunde liegt*, in the *Zeitschr. d. deutschen morgenl. Gesellschaft*, 1849, iii. 216–230; Nägelsbach, *Der Proph. Jerem. u. Babylon*, 1850; Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, Bd. ii. 2e Hälfte, 1860; C. F. Graf, *Der Prophet Jeremia erklärt*, 1862; G. R. Noyes, *New Translation of the Hebrew Prophets*, vol. ii., 3d ed. Boston, 1866. The commentary on Jeremiah for Lange's *Bibelwerk* is to be prepared by Nägelsbach.

Of the later Introductions to the Old Testament those of Keil (pp. 248–264, 2e Aufl.), Bleek (pp. 469–501), and Davidson (iii. 87–129) contain important sections. The art. on Jeremiah in Ersch and Gruber's *Allgem. Encyclopädie* (Sect. ii. Bd. xv.) is by Rödiger; that in Herzog's *Real-Encykl.* (vi. 478–489), by Nägelsbach; and that in Zeller's *Bibl. Wörterb.* (i. 666 ff.), of a popular character, by Wunderlich. Stanley's sketch of Jeremiah (*Jewish Church*, ii. 570–622) describes him as in reality the great personage of his epoch, not merely in his religious sphere, but in the state. For his poetical characteristics, see Lowth's *Lectures on Hebrew Poetry*, pp. 177, 178 (Stowe's ed.), Meier, *Gesch. d. poet. Nat. Lit. der Hebräer* (1856), p. 395 ff., and Isaac Taylor's *Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*, p. 272 (N. Y. 1862). For Milman's estimate of his importance and of his literary merits, see his *History of the Jews*, i. 439–448 (Amer. ed.) "His unrivaled elegies," says this eminent critic, "combine the truth of history with the deepest pathos of poetry." He justifies the encomium by a translation of some of the passages, alike remarkable for originality of thought and tenderness of expression, in which the Hebrew patriot laments the sad fate of Jerusalem on its being captured and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. [LAMENTATIONS.] On the general import of his prophecies the reader may consult F. R. Hasse's *Geschichte des A. Bundes*, pp. 145–157; Köster's *Die Propheten*, pp. 112–115, and Hengstenberg's *Christology*, especially in relation to the Messianic portions, ii. 361 473 (Edinb. 1856). "It is to Jeremiah," says Stanley (ii. 580), "even more than to Isaiah, that the writers of the Apostolic age (Hebr. viii. 8, 13, x. 16, 17) look back, when they wish to describe the Dispensation of the Spirit. His predictions of the Anointed King are fewer and less distinct than those of the preceding prophets. But he is the prophet beyond all others of 'the New Testament,' 'the New Covenant,' which first appears in his writings. . . . And the knowledge of this new truth shall no longer be confined to any single order or caste, but 'all shall know the Lord, from the least unto the greatest' (Jer. xxxi. 33, 34)."

H.

JEREMI'AH. Seven other persons bearing the same name as the prophet are mentioned in the O. T.

1. ['Ιερεμίας: *Jeremias.*] Jeremiah of Libnah, father of Hamutal wife of Josiah, 2 K. xxiii. 31.

2. 3. 4. [2. 'Ιερεμία, Alex. -μιας, FA. -μιηας, Vat. Ιερμειας; 3. 'Ιερεμίας, Vat. -μεια, Alex. -μια, FA. Ιερμια; 4. 'Ιερεμία, Vat. -μεια, Alex. -μιας.] Three warriors — two of the tribe of Gad — in David's army, 1 Chr. xii. 4, 10, 13.

5. ['Ιερεμία; Vat. Ιερμεια.] One of the "mighty men of valor" of the trans-Jordanic half-tribe of Manasseh, 1 Chr. v. 24.

6. ['Ιερεμία; Alex. Ιερμια, exc. xii. 34, Ιερεμιας; Vat. Ιερμια, Ιερεμια; FA. Ιερμεια, Ιερεμεια.] A priest of high rank, head of the second or third of the 21 courses which are apparently enumerated in Neh. x. 2–8. He is mentioned again, *i. e.* the course which was called after him is, in Neh. xii. 1; and we are told at v. 12 that the personal name of the head of this course in the days of Joiakim was HANANIAH. This course, or its chief, took part in the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. xii. 34).

7. [Rom. Vat. 'Ιερεμίν.] The father of Jaasaniah the Rechabite, Jer. xxxv. 3.

* **JEREMIAH, LAMENTATIONS OF.** [LAMENTATIONS.]

JEREMI'AS ('Ιερεμίας; [Alex. in Ecclus., Ιηρεμιας:] *Jeremias, Hieremias*). 1. The Greek form of the name of Jeremiah the prophet, used in the A. V. of Ecclus. xlix. 6; 2 Macc. xv. 14; Matt. xvi. 14. [JEREMIAH; JEREMY.]

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2. 1 Esdr ix. 34. [JEREMAI.]

JER'EMOTH (יְרִימוֹת [*heights*]: Ἰαρεμώθ, [etc.]: *Jerimoth, Jerimuth*).

1. (Ἀριμώθ; [Vat. Ιαρειμωθ; Alex. Ιαριμουθ; Comp. Ald. Ἰερειμώθ: *Jerimoth.*]) A Benjamite chief, a son of the house of Beriah of Elpaal, according to an obscure genealogy of the age of Hezekiah (1 Chr. viii. 14; comp. 12 and 18). His family dwelt at Jerusalem, as distinguished from the other division of the tribe, located at Gibeon (ver. 28).

2. [Ἰαριμώθ: Vat. Αρειμωθ.] A Merarite Levite, son of Mushi (1 Chr. xxiii. 23); elsewhere called JERIMOTH.

3. [Ἰερειμώθ; Vat. Ερειμωθ.] Son of Heman; head of the 13th course of musicians in the Divine service (1 Chr. xxv. 22). In ver. 4 the name is JERIMOTH.

4. [Ἰαριμωθ; Vat. Ιαρειμοιθ; Alex. Ιεριμωθ.] One of the sons of Elam, and —

5. (Ἀρμώθ; [Vat. Αμων; FA. Αρμων; Alex. Comp. Ἰαρμώθ: *Jerimuth*]), one of the sons of Zattu, who had taken strange wives: but put them away, and offered each a ram for a trespass offering, at the persuasion of Ezra (Ezr. x. 26, 27). In Esdras the names are respectively HIEREMOTH and JARIMOTH.

6. The name which appears in the same list as "and RAMOTH" (ver. 29) — following the correction of the *Keri* — is in the original text (*Cetib*) Jeremoth, in which form also it stands in 1 Esdr. ix. 30, Ἱερεμώθ, A. V. HIEREMOTH. A. C. H.

JER'EMY (Ἱερμίας; [Alex. in 2 Macc. ii. 7, Ιερεμειας:] *Jeremias, Hieremias*), the prophet Jeremiah. 1 Esdr. i. 28, 32, 47, 57, ii. 1; 2 Esdr. ii. 18; 2 Macc. ii. 1, 5, 7; Matt. ii. 17, xxvii. 9. [JEREMIAH; JEREMIAS.] These abbreviated forms were much in favor about the time that the A. V. was translated. Elsewhere we find ESAY for Isaiah; and in the Homilies such abbreviations as Zachary, Toby, etc., are frequent.

* **JER'EMY, EPISTLE OF.** [BARUCH, THE BOOK OF, 7.]

JERI'AH (יְרִיָּהּ, *i. e.* Yeri-ya'hu [*founded by Jehovah*]: Ἱεριά; Ἐκδιάς; [Vat. Ιδουθ, Ιυδει; Alex. Ιερια,] Ιεδιας: *Jeriau*), a Kohathite Levite, chief of the great house of Hebron when David organized the service (1 Chr. xxiii. 19, xxiv. 23; in the latter passage the name of Hebron has been omitted both in the Hebrew and LXX.). The same man is mentioned again, though with a slight difference in his name, as JERIJAH.

JERIBAI [3 syl.] (יְרִיבַי [perh. *whom Jehovah defends*]: Ἰαριβί; [Vat. Ιαριβει;] Alex. Ιαριβαΐ: *Jeribai*), one of the Bene-Elnaam [sons of E.], named among the heroes of David's guard in the supplemental list of 1 Chr. (xi. 46).

JERICHO (יְרֵחוֹ, *Yrêcho*, Num. xxii. 1; also יְרִיחוֹ, *Yrîcho*, Josh. ii. 1, 2, 3; and יְרִיחֹה, *Yrîchoh*, 1 K. xvi. 34; أَرِيحَا, *Eriha*, *place of fragrance*, from רוּחַ, *rûach*, "to breathe," הֵרִיחַ, "to smell:" older commentators derive it from יָרֵחַ, *yârêach*, "the moon;" also from רָוַח, *rûvach*, "to be broad," as in a wide plain; Ἱεριχώ; [Vat. Ιερειχω, exc. Ezr. ii. 34, Ιερεια; Alex. Ιερειχω in 1 Chr. vi. 78, Ezr. ii. 34, and (with FA.) in Neh. iii. 2, vii. 36; FA. in 1 Chr. xix. 5, Ειεριχω; Sin. in Eccl. xxiv. 14, 1 Macc. xvi. 11, 14, Ιερειχω, and so Tisch. in the N. T., exc. Heb. xi. 30 (7th ed.); Strabo and Josephus, Ἱεριχοῦς: [*Jericho*]), a city of high antiquity, and, for those days, of considerable importance, situated in a plain traversed by the Jordan, and exactly over against where that river was crossed by the Israelites under Joshua (Josh. iii. 16). Such was either its vicinity, or the extent of its territory, that Gilgal, which formed their primary encampment, stood in its east border (iv. 19). That it had a king is a very secondary consideration, for almost every small town had one (xii. 9–24); in fact monarchy was the only form of government known to those primitive times — the government of the people of God presenting a marked exception to prevailing usage. But Jericho was further inclosed by walls — a fenced city — its walls were so considerable that at least one person (Rahab) had a house upon them (ii. 15), and its gates were shut, as throughout the East still, "when it was dark" (v. 5). Again, the spoil that was found in it betokened its affluence — Ai, Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, Hebron, Debir, and even Hazor, evidently contained nothing worth mentioning in comparison — besides sheep, oxen, and asses, we hear of vessels of brass and iron. These possibly may have been the first-fruits of those brass foundries "in the plain of Jordan" of which Solomon afterwards so largely availed himself (2 Chr. iv. 17). Silver and gold was found in such abundance that one man (Achan) could appropriate stealthily 200 shekels (100 oz. avoird., see Lewis, *Heb. Rep.* vi. 57) of the former, and "a wedge of gold of 50 shekels (25 oz.) weight;" "a goodly Babylonish garment," purloined in the same dishonesty, may be adduced as evidence of a then existing commerce between Jericho and the far East (Josh. vi. 24, vii. 21). In fact its situation alone — in so noble a plain and contiguous to so prolific a river — would bespeak its importance in a country where these natural advantages have been always so highly prized, and in an age when people depended so much more upon the indigenous resources of nature than they are compelled to do now. But for the curse of Joshua (vi. 26) doubtless Jericho might have proved a more formidable counter-charm to the city of David than even Samaria.

Jericho is first mentioned as the city to which the two spies were sent by Joshua from Shittim: they were lodged in the house of Rahab the harlot upon the wall, and departed, having first promised to save her and all that were found in her house from destruction (ii. 1–21). In the annihilation of the city that ensued, this promise was religiously observed. Her house was recognized by the scarlet line bound in the window from which the spies were let down, and she and her relatives were taken out of it, and "lodged without the camp;" but it is nowhere said or implied that her house escaped the general conflagration. That she "dwelt in

* In which case it would probably be a remnant of the old Canaanitish worship of the heavenly bodies, which has left its traces in such names as Chesil, Beth-shemesh, and others (see IDOLATRY, p. 1151 b) which may have been the head-quarters of the worship indicated in the names they bear.

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Israel" for the future; that she married Salmon son of Naasson, "prince of the children of Judah," and had by him Boaz, the husband of Ruth and progenitor of David and of our Lord; and lastly, that she is the first and only Gentile name that appears in the list of the faithful of the O. T. given by St. Paul (Josh. vi. 25; 1 Chr. ii. 10; Matt. i. 5; Heb. xi. 31), all these facts surely indicate that she did not continue to inhabit the accursed site; and, if so, and in absence of all direct evidence from Scripture, how could it ever have been inferred that her house was left standing?

Such as it had been left by Joshua, such it was bestowed by him upon the tribe of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 21), and from this time a long interval elapses before Jericho appears again upon the scene. It is only incidentally mentioned in the life of David in connection with his embassy to the Ammonite king (2 Sam. x. 5). And the solemn manner in which its second foundation under Hiel the Bethelite is recorded — upon whom the curse of Joshua is said to have descended in full force (1 K. xvi. 34) — would certainly seem to imply that up to that time its site had been uninhabited. It is true that mention is made of "a city of palm-trees" (Judg. i. 16, and iii. 13) in existence apparently at the time when spoken of; and that Jericho is twice — once *before* its first overthrow, and once *after* its second foundation — designated by that name (see Deut. xxxiv. 3, and 2 Chr. xxvii. 15). But it would be difficult to prove the identity of the city mentioned in the book of Judges, and as *in the territory of Judah*, with Jericho. However, once actually rebuilt, Jericho rose again slowly into consequence. In its immediate vicinity the sons of the prophets sought retirement from the world: Elisha "healed the spring of the waters;" and over and against it, beyond Jordan, Elijah "went up by a whirlwind into heaven" (2 K. ii. 1–22). In its plains Zedekiah fell into the hands of the Chaldæans (2 K. xxv. 5; Jer. xxxix. 5). By what may be called a retrospective account of it, we may infer that Hiel's restoration had not utterly failed; for in the return under Zerubbabel the "children of Jericho," 345 in number, are comprised (Ezr. ii. 34; Neh. vii. 36); and it is even implied that they removed thither again, for the *men of Jericho* assisted Nehemiah in rebuilding that part of the wall of Jerusalem that was next to the sheep-gate (Neh. iii. 2). We now enter upon its more modern phase. The Jericho of the days of Josephus was distant 150 stadia from Jerusalem, and 50 from the Jordan. It lay in a plain, overhung by a barren mountain whose roots ran northwards towards Scythopolis, and southwards in the direction of Sodom and the Dead Sea. These formed the western boundaries of the plain. Eastwards, its barriers were the mountains of Moab, which ran parallel to the former. In the midst of the plain — the great plain as it was called — flowed the Jordan, and at the top and bottom of it were two lakes: Tiberias, proverbial for its sweetness, and Asphaltites for its bitterness. Away from the Jordan it was parched and unhealthy during summer; but during winter, even when it snowed at Jerusalem, the inhabitants here wore linen garments. Hard by Jericho — bursting forth close to the site of the old city, which Joshua took on his entrance into Canaan — was a most exuberant fountain, whose waters, before noted for their contrary properties, had received, proceeds Josephus, through Elisha's prayers, their then wonderfully salutary and prolific efficacy. Within its range — 70 stadia (Strabo says 100) by 20 — the fertility of the soil was unexampled: palms of various names and properties, some that produced honey scarce inferior to that of the neighborhood — opobalsamum, the choicest of indigenous fruits — cyprus (Ar. "el-henna") and myrobalanum ("Zukkum") throve there beautifully, and thickly dotted about in pleasure-grounds (*B. J.* iv. 8, § 3). Wisdom herself did not disdain comparison with "the rose-plants of Jericho" (Ecclus. xxiv. 14). Well might Strabo (*Geogr.* xvi. 2, § 41, ed. Müller) conclude that its revenues were considerable. By the Romans Jericho was first visited under Pompey: he encamped there for a single night; and subsequently destroyed two forts, Threx and Taurus, that commanded its approaches (Strabo, *ibid.* § 40). Gabinius, in his resettlement of Judæa, made it one of the five seats of assembly (Joseph. *B. J.* i. 8, § 5). With Herod the Great it rose to still greater prominence; it had been found full of treasure of all kinds, as in the time of Joshua, so by his Roman allies who sacked it (*ibid.* i. 15. § 6); and its revenues were eagerly sought, and rented by the wily tyrant from Cleopatra, to whom Antony had assigned them (*Ant.* xv. 4, § 2). Not long afterwards he built a fort there, which he called "Cyprus" in honor of his mother (*ibid.* xvi. 5); a tower, which he called in honor of his brother "Phasaëlus;" and a number of new palaces — superior in their construction to those which had existed there previously — which he named after his friends. He even founded a new town, higher up the plain, which he called, like the tower, Phasaëlis (*B. J.* i. 21, § 8). If he did not make Jericho his habitual residence, he at least retired thither to die — and to be mourned, if he could have got his plan carried out — and it was in the amphitheatre of Jericho that the news of his death was announced to the assembled soldiers and people by Salome (*B. J.* i. 38, § 8). Soon afterwards the palace was burnt, and the town plundered by one Simon, a revolutionary that had been slave to Herod (*Ant.* xvii. 10, § 6); but Archelaus rebuilt the former sumptuously — founded a new town in the plain, that bore his own name — and, most important of all, diverted water from a village called Nesera, to irrigate the plain which he had planted with palms (*Ant.* xvii. 13, § 1). Thus Jericho was once more "a city of palms" when our Lord visited it: such as Herod the Great and Archelaus had left it, such he saw it. As the city that had so exceptionally contributed to his own ancestry — as the city which had been the first to fall — amidst so much ceremony — before "the captain of the Lord's host, and his servant Joshua" — we may well suppose that his eyes surveyed it with unwonted interest. It is supposed to have been on the rocky heights overhanging it (hence called by tradition the Quarentana), that he was assailed by the Tempter; and over against it, according to tradition likewise, He had been previously baptized in the Jordan. Here He restored sight to the blind (two certainly, perhaps three, St. Matt. xx. 30; St. Mark x. 46: this was in *leaving* Jericho. St. Luke says "as He was *come nigh unto* Jericho," etc., xviii. 35). Here the descendant of Rahab did not disdain the hospitality of Zacchæus the publican — an office which was likely to be lucrative enough in so rich a city. Finally, between Jerusalem and Jericho was laid the scene of His story of the good Samaritan, which, if it is not to be regarded as a real

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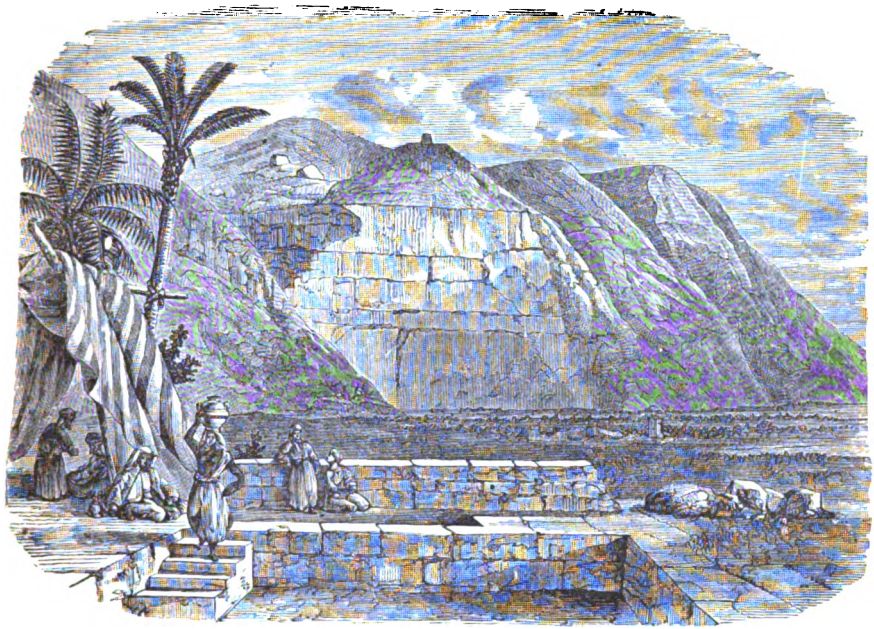
occurrence throughout, at least derives interest from the fact, that robbers have ever been the terror of that precipitous road; and so formidable had they proved only just before the Christian era, that Pompey had been induced to undertake the destruction of their strongholds (Strabo, as before, xvi. 2, § 40: comp. Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 6, § 1 ff.). Dagon, or Docus (1 Macc. xvi. 15; comp. ix. 50), where Ptolemy assassinated his father-in-law, Simon the Maccabee, may have been one of these.

Posterior to the Gospels the chronicle of Jericho may be briefly told. Vespasian found it one of the toparchies of Judæa (*B. J.* iii. 3, § 5), but deserted by its inhabitants in a great measure when he encamped there (*ibid.* iv. 8, § 2). He left a garrison on his departure — not necessarily the 10th legion, which is only stated to have marched *through* Jericho — which was still there when Titus advanced upon Jerusalem. Is it asked how Jericho was destroyed? Evidently by Vespasian; for Josephus, rightly understood, is not so silent as Dr. Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* i. 566, 2d ed.) thinks. The city pillaged and burnt, in *B. J.* iv. 9, § 1, was clearly Jericho with its adjacent villages, and not Gerasa, as may be seen at once by comparing the language there with that of c. 8, § 2, and the agent was Vespasian. Eusebius and St. Jerome (*Onomast.* s. v.) say that it was destroyed when Jerusalem was besieged by the Romans. They further add that it was afterwards rebuilt — they do not say by whom — and still existed in their day; nor had the ruins of the two preceding cities been obliterated. Could Hadrian possibly have planted a colony there when he passed through Judæa and founded Ælia? (Dion. Cass. *Hist.* lxix. c. 11, ed. Sturz.; more at large *Chron. Paschal.* p. 254, ed. Du Fresne.) The discovery which Origen made there of a version of the O. T. (the 5th in his Hexapla), together with sundry MSS., Greek and Hebrew, suggests that it could not have been wholly without inhabitants (Euseb. *E. H.* vi. 16; S. Epiphan. *Lib. de Pond. et Mensur.* circa med.); or again, as is perhaps more probable, did a Christian settlement arise there under Constantine, when baptisms in the Jordan began to be the rage? That Jericho became an episcopal see about that time under Jerusalem appears from more than one ancient Notitia (*Geograph. S.* a Carolo Paulo, 306, and the Parergon appended to it; comp. William of Tyre, *Hist.* lib. xxiii. ad f.). Its bishops subscribed to various councils in the 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries (*ibid.* and Le Quien's *Oriens Christian.* ii. 654). Justinian, we are told, restored a hospice there, and likewise a church dedicated to the Virgin (Procop. *De Ædif.* v. 9). As early as A. D. 337, when the Bordeaux pilgrim (ed. Wesseling) visited it, a house existed there which was pointed out, after the manner of those days, as the house of Rahab. This was roofless when Arculfus saw it; and not only so, but the third city was likewise in ruins (Adamn. *de Locis S.* ap. Migne, *Patrolog. C.* lxxxviii. 799). Had Jericho been visited by an earthquake, as Antoninus reports (ap. Ugol. *Thesaur.* vii. p. mcexiii., and note to c. 3), and as Syria certainly was, in the 27th year of Justinian, A. D. 553? If so, we can well understand the restorations already referred to; and when Antoninus adds that the house of Rahab had now become a hospice and oratory, we might almost pronounce that this was the very hospice which had been restored by that emperor. Again, it may be asked, did Christian Jericho receive no injury from the Persian Romizan, the ferocious general of Chosroes II. A. D. 614? (Bar-Hebræi *Chron.* 99 Lat. v. ed. Kirsch.) It would rather seem that there were more religious edifices in the 7th than in the 6th century round about it. According to Arculfus one church marked the site of Gilgal; another the spot where our Lord was supposed to have deposited his garments previously to his baptism: a third within the precincts of a vast monastery dedicated to St. John, situated upon some rising ground overlooking the Jordan. (See as before.) Jericho meanwhile had disappeared as a town to rise no more. Churches and monasteries sprung up around it on all sides, but only to moulder away in their turn. The anchorite caves in the rocky flanks of the Quarentana are the most striking memorial that remains of early or mediæval enthusiasm. Arculfus speaks of a diminutive race — Canaanites he calls them — that inhabited the plain in great numbers in his day. They have retained possession of those fairy meadow-lands ever since, and have made their head-quarters for some centuries round the "square tower or castle" first mentioned by Willebrand (ap. Leon. Allat. Συμμικτ. p. 151) in A. D. 1211, when it was inhabited by the Saracens, whose work it may be supposed to have been, though it has since been dignified by the name of the house of Zacchæus. Their village is by Brocardus (ap. Canis. *Thesaur.* iv. 16), in A. D. 1230, styled "a vile place;" by Sir J. Maundeville, in A. D. 1322, "a little village;" and by Henry Maundrell, in A. D. 1697, "a poor nasty village;" in which verdict all modern travellers that have ever visited *Riha* must concur. (See *Early Trav. in Pal.* by Wright, pp. 177 and 451.) They are looked upon by the Arabs as a debased race; and are probably nothing more or less than veritable gypsies, who are still to be met with in the neighborhood of the Frank mountain near Jerusalem, and on the heights round the village and convent of St. John in the desert, and are still called "Scomunicati" by the native Christians — one of the names applied to them when they first attracted notice in Europe in the 15th century (*i. e.* from feigning themselves "penitents" and under censure of the Pope. See Hoyland's *Histor. Survey of the Gypsies*, p. 18; also *The Gypsies*, a poem by A. P. Stanley.

Jericho does not seem to have been ever restored as a town by the Crusaders; but its plains had not ceased to be prolific, and were extensively cultivated and laid out in vineyards and gardens by the monks (Phocas ap. Leon. Allat. Συμμικτ. c. 20, p. 31). They seem to have been included in the domains of the patriarchate of Jerusalem, and as such were bestowed by Arnulf upon his niece as a dowry (Wm. of Tyre, *Hist.* xi. 15). Twenty-five years afterwards we find Melisendis, wife of king Fulco, assigning them to the convent of Bethany, which she had founded A. D. 1137.

The site of ancient (the first) Jericho is with reason placed by Dr. Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* i. 558–568) in the immediate neighborhood of the fountain of Elisha; and that of the second (the city of the N. T. and of Josephus) at the opening of the Wady Kelt (Cherith), half an hour from the fountain. These are precisely the sites that one would infer from Josephus. On the other hand we are much more inclined to refer the ruined aqueducts round Jericho to the irrigations of Archelaus (see above) than to any hypothetical "culture or preparation of sugar by the Saracens." Jacob of Vitry

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Jericho.

says but generally, that the plains of the Jordan produced canes yielding sugar in abundance, — from Lebanon to the Dead Sea, — and when he speaks of the mode in which sugar was obtained from them, he is rather describing what was done in Syria than anywhere near Jericho (*Hist. Hierosol.* c. 93). Besides, it may fairly be questioned whether the same sugar-yielding reeds or canes there spoken of are not still as plentiful as ever they were within range of the Jordan (see Lynch's *Narrative*, events of April 16, also p. 266–67). Almost every reed in these regions distils a sugary juice, and almost every herb breathes fragrance. Palms have indeed disappeared (there was a solitary one remaining not long since) from the neighborhood of the "city of palms;" yet there were groves of them in the days of Arculfus, and palm-branches could still be cut there when Fulcherius traversed the Jordan, A. D. 1100 (ap. *Gesta Dei per Francos*, vol. i. part 1, p. 402). The fig-mulberry or "tree-fig" of Zacchæus — which all modern travellers confound with our *Acer pseudoplatanus*, or common sycamore (see *Dict. & Hist. Nat.* tom. xliii. p. 218, and Cruden's *Concord.* s. v.) — mentioned by the Bordeaux pilgrim and by Antoninus, no longer exists.[a] The *opobalsamum* has become extinct both in Egypt — whither Cleopatra is said to have transplanted it — and in its favorite vale, Jericho. The *myrobalanum* (*Zukkum* of the Arabs) alone survives, and from its nut oil is still extracted. Honey may be still found here and there, in the nest of the wild bee. Fig-trees, maize, and cucumbers, may be said to comprise all that is now cultivated in the plain; but wild flowers of brightest and most varied hue bespangle the rich herbage on all sides.

Lastly, the bright yellow apples of Sodom are still to be met with round Jericho; though Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 84) and others (Havercamp, ad *Tertull. Apol.* c. 40, and Jacob of Vitry, as above) make their locality rather the shores of the Dead Sea: and some modern travellers assert that they are found out of Palestine no less (*Bibl. Res.* i. 522 ff.). In fact there are two different plants that, correctly or incorrectly, have obtained that name, both bearing bright yellow fruit like apples, but with no more substance than fungus-balls. The former or larger sort seems confined in Palestine to the neighborhood of the Dead Sea, while the latter or smaller sort abounds near Jericho.

E. S. Ff.

JE'RIEL (יְרִיאֵל [*founded by God*]: Ἰερίηλ; [Vat. Ρεῆλ:] *Jeriel*), a man of Issachar, one of the six heads of the house of TOLA at the time of the census in the time of David (1 Chr. vii. 2).

JERI'JAH (יְרִיָּה [*founded by Jehovah*] Ὀβρίας; [Vat. τοῦ Δειας:] Alex. Ἰωρίας: *Jeria*), 1 Chr. xxvi. 31. [The same man as JERIAH, with a slight difference in the form of the name.] The difference consists in the omission of the final ה,

[a] Sepp also (*Jerusalem und das heil. Land*, i. 610) says that this tree has entirely disappeared from this region. Mr. Tristram makes a different statement. "The tree into which the publican climbed must not be confounded with the oriental plane common by the streams of Northern Galilee, but was the sycamore fig (*Ficus sycomorus*). . . . We were gratified by the discovery that though scarce it is not yet extinct in the Plain of Jericho, as we found two aged trees in the little ravine [near the channel of *Wady Kelt*], in illustration of the Gospel narrative." (*Land of Israel*, p. 220, and also p. 514, 2d ed.) He also found a few of these trees "among the ruins by the wayside at ancient Jericho" (*Natural History of the Bible*, p. 369, Lond. 1867). [ZACCHÆUS.] H.

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not in the insertion of the j, which our translators should have added in the former case.

JERIMOTH (יְרִימוֹת [*heights*]: Ἰερειμώθ, Ἰαριμώθ, Ἰερειμούθ: *Jerimoth*).

1. [Ἰερειμούθ; Vat. Αρειμωθ.] Son or descendant of Bela, according to 1 Chr. vii. 7, and founder of a Benjamite house, which existed in the time of David (ver. 2). He is perhaps the same as —

2. (Ἀρειμούθ; [Vat. Αρειμουθ;] Alex. Ιαριμουθ; [FA. *αριθμους*:] *Jerimuth*), who joined David at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 5). [BELA.]

3. (יְרִימוֹת, *i. e.* Jeremoth: [Ἰερειμούθ; Vat. Αιρεμωθ; Alex. Ιερειμωθ.]) A son of Becher (1 Chr. vii. 8), and head of another Benjamite house. [BECHER.]

4. [Ἰερειμώθ; Vat. Αρειμωθ.] Son of Mushi, the son of Merari, and head of one of the families of the Merarites which were counted in the census of the Levites taken by David (1 Chr. xxiv. 30). [See JEREMOTH, 2.]

5. [Ἰερειμώθ; Vat. Ιερεμωθ; Alex. Ιερειμουθ.] Son of Heman, head of the 15th ward of musicians (1 Chr. xxv. 4, 22). In the latter he is called JEREMOTH. [HEMAN.]

6. [Ἰερειμώθ; Alex. -μουθ; Vat. Ερειμωθ.] Son of Azriel, "ruler" (נָגִיד) of the tribe of Naphtali in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxvii. 19). The same persons, called rulers, are in ver. 22 called "princes" (שָׂרֵי).

7. (Ἰερειμούθ; [Vat. -ρει-;] Alex. Ερμουθ.) Son of king David, whose daughter Mahalath was one of the wives of Rehoboam, her cousin Abihail being the other (2 Chr. xi. 18). As Jerimoth is not named in the list of children by David's wives in 1 Chr. iii. or xiv. 4–7, it is fair to infer that he was the son of a concubine, and this in fact is the Jewish tradition (Jerome, *Quæstiones*, ad loc.). It is however questionable whether Rehoboam would have married the grand-child of a concubine even of the great David. The passage 2 Chr. xi. 18 is not quite clear, since the word "daughter" is a correction of the *Keri*: the original text had בֵּן, *i. e.* "son."

8. [Ἰερειμώθ; Vat. -ρει-.] A Levite in the reign of Hezekiah, one of the overseers of offerings and dedicated things placed in the chambers of the Temple, who were under Cononiah and Shimei the Levites, by command of Hezekiah, and Azariah the high-priest (2 Chr. xxxi. 13). A. C. H.

JERIOTH (יְרִיעוֹת [*curtains*]: Ἰερειώθ; [Vat. Ελιωθ: *Jeriuth*]), according to our A. V. and the LXX., one of the elder Caleb's wives (1 Chr. ii. 18); but according to the Vulgate she was his daughter by his first wife Azubah. The Hebrew text seems evidently corrupt, and will not make sense; but the probability is that Jerioth was a daughter of Caleb the son of Hezron. (In this case we ought to read הוֹלִיד מִן עֲזוּבָה אִשְׁתּוֹ.) The Latin version of Santes Pagninus, which makes Azubah and Jerioth both daughters of Caleb, and the note of Vatablus, which makes *Ishah* (A. V. "wife") a proper name and a third daughter, are clearly wrong, as it appears from ver 19 that Azubah was Caleb's wife. A. C. H.

JEROBO'AM (יָרָבְעָם = Yarab'am: Ἰεροβοάμ). The name signifies "whose people is many," and thus has nearly the same meaning with REHOBOAM, "enlarger of the people." Both names appear for the first time in the reign of Solomon, and were probably suggested by the increase of the Jewish people at that time.

1. The first king of the divided kingdom of Israel. The ancient authorities for his reign and his wars were "the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" (1 K. xiv. 19), and "the visions of Iddo the seer against Jeroboam the son of Nebat" (2 Chr. ix. 29). The extant account of his life is given in two versions, so different from each other, and yet each so ancient, as to make it difficult to choose between them. The one usually followed is that contained in the Hebrew text, and in one portion of the LXX. The other is given in a separate account inserted by the LXX. at 1 K. xi. 43, and xii. 24. This last contains such evident marks of authenticity in some of its details, and is so much more full than the other, that it will be most conveniently taken as the basis of the biography of this remarkable man, as the nearest approach which, in the contradictory state of the text, we can now make to the truth.

I. He was the son of an Ephraimite of the name of Nebat;[a] his father had died whilst he was young; but his mother, who had been a person of loose character (LXX.), lived in her widowhood, trusting apparently to her son for support. Her name is variously given as ZERUAH (Heb.), or Sarira (LXX.), and the place of their abode on the mountains of Ephraim is given either as ZEREDA, or (LXX.) as Sarira: in the latter case, indicating that there was some connection between the wife of Nebat and her residence.

At the time when Solomon was constructing the fortifications of Millo underneath the citadel of Zion, his sagacious eye discovered the strength and activity of a young Ephraimite who was employed on the works, and he raised him to the rank of superintendent (פִּקֻּד, A. V. "ruler") over the taxes and labors exacted from the tribe of Ephraim (1 K. xi. 28). This was Jeroboam. He made the most of his position. He completed the fortifications, and was long afterwards known as the man who had "enclosed the city of David" (1 K. xii. 24, LXX.). He then aspired to royal state. Like Absalom before him, in like circumstances, though now on a grander scale, in proportion to the enlargement of the royal establishment itself, he kept 300 chariots and horses (LXX.), and at last was perceived by Solomon to be aiming at the monarchy.

These ambitious designs were probably fostered by the sight of the growing disaffection of the great tribe over which he presided, as well as by the alienation of the prophetic order from the house of Solomon. According to the version of the story in the Hebrew text (Jos. *Ant.* viii. 7, § 7), this alienation was made evident to Jeroboam very early in his career. He was leaving Jerusalem, and he encountered, on one of the black-paved roads which

[a] According to the old Jewish tradition preserved by Jerome (*Quæst. Hebr.* 2 Sam. xvi. 10), Nebat, the father of Jeroboam, was identical with Shimei of Gera, who was the first to insult David in his flight, and the "first of all the house of Joseph" to congratulate him on his return.

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ran out of the city, Ahijah, "the prophet of the ancient sanctuary of Shiloh. Ahijah drew him aside from the road into the field (LXX.), and, as soon as they found themselves alone, the prophet, who was dressed in a new outer garment, stripped it off, and tore it into 12 shreds; 10 of which he gave to Jeroboam, with the assurance that on condition of his obedience to His laws, God would establish for him a kingdom and dynasty equal to that of David (1 K. xi. 29–40).

The attempts of Solomon to cut short Jeroboam's designs occasioned his flight into Egypt. There he remained during the rest of Solomon's reign — in the court of Shishak (LXX.), who is here first named in the sacred narrative. On Solomon's death, he demanded Shishak's permission to return. The Egyptian king seems, in his reluctance, to have offered any gift which Jeroboam chose, as a reason for his remaining, and the consequence was the marriage with Ano, the elder sister of the Egyptian queen, Tahpenes (LXX. Thekemina), and of another princess (LXX.) who had married the Edomite chief, Hadad. A year elapsed, and a son, Abijah (or Abijam), was born. Then Jeroboam again requested permission to depart, which was granted; and he returned with his wife and child to his native place, Sarira, or Zereda, which he fortified, and which in consequence became a centre for his fellow tribesmen (1 K. xi. 43, xii. 24, LXX.) Still there was no open act of insurrection, and it was in this period of suspense (according to the LXX.) that a pathetic incident darkened his domestic history. His infant son fell sick. The anxious father sent his wife to inquire of God concerning him. Jerusalem would have been the obvious place to visit for this purpose. But no doubt political reasons forbade. The ancient sanctuary of Shiloh was nearer at hand; and it so happened that a prophet was now residing there, of the highest repute. It was Ahijah — the same who, according to the common version of the story, had already been in communication with Jeroboam, but who, according to the authority we are now following, appears for the first time on this occasion. He was 60 years of age — but was prematurely old, and his eyesight had already failed him. He was living, as it would seem, in poverty, with a boy who waited on him, and with his own little children. For him and for them, the wife of Jeroboam brought such gifts as were thought likely to be acceptable: ten loaves, and two rolls for the children (LXX.), a bunch of raisins (LXX.), and a jar of honey. She had disguised herself, to avoid recognition; and perhaps these humble gifts were part of the plan. But the blind prophet, at her first approach, knew who was coming; and bade his boy go out to meet her, and invite her to his house without delay. There he warned her of the uselessness of her gifts. There was a doom on the house of Jeroboam, not to be averted; those who grew up in it and died in the city would become the prey of the hungry dogs; they who died in the country would be devoured by the vultures. This child alone would die before the calamities of the house arrived: "They shall mourn for the child, Woe, O Lord, for in him there is found a good word regarding the Lord," — or according to the other version, "all Israel shall mourn for him, and bury him; for he only of Jeroboam shall come to the grave, because in him there is found some good thing toward Jehovah, the God of Israel, in the house of Jeroboam" (1 K. xiv. 13, LXX. xii.). The mother returned. As she reëntered the town of Sarira (Heb. Tirzah, 1 K. xiv. 17), the child died. The loud wail of her attendant damsels greeted her on the threshold (LXX.). The child was buried, as Ahijah had foretold, with all the state of the child of a royal house. "All Israel mourned for him" (1 K. xiv. 18). This incident, if it really occurred at this time, seems to have been the turning point in Jeroboam's career. It drove him from his ancestral home, and it gathered the sympathies of the tribe of Ephraim round him. He left Sarira and came to Shechem. The Hebrew text describes that he was sent for. The LXX. speaks of it as his own act. However that may be, he was thus at the head of the northern tribes, when Rehoboam, after he had been on the throne for somewhat more than a year, came up to be inaugurated in that ancient capital. Then (if we may take the account already given of Ahijah's interview as something separate from this), for the second time, and in a like manner, the Divine intimation of his future greatness is conveyed to him. The prophet Shemaiah, the Enlanite (?) (ὁ Ἐνλαμί, LXX.) addressed to him the same acted parable, in the ten shreds of a new unwashed garment (LXX.). Then took place the conference with Rehoboam (Jeroboam appearing in it, in the Hebrew text, but not [a] in the LXX.), and the final revolt; [b] which ended (expressly in the Hebrew text, in the LXX. by implication) in the elevation of Jeroboam to the throne of the northern kingdom. Shemaiah remained on the spot and deterred Rehoboam from an attack. Jeroboam entered at once on the duties of his new situation, and fortified Shechem as his capital on the west, and Penuel (close by the old trans-Jordanic capital of Mahanaim) on the east.

II. Up to this point there had been nothing to disturb the anticipations of the Prophetic Order and of the mass of Israel as to the glory of Jeroboam's future. But from this moment one fatal error crept, not unnaturally, into his policy, which undermined his dynasty and tarnished his name as the first king of Israel. The political disruption of the kingdom was complete; but its religious unity was as yet unimpaired. He feared that the yearly pilgrimages to Jerusalem would undo all the work which he effected, and he took the bold step of rending it asunder. Two sanctuaries of venerable antiquity existed already — one at the southern, the other at the northern extremity of his dominions. These he elevated into seats of the national worship, which should rival the newly established Temple at Jerusalem. As Abderrahman, caliph of Spain arrested the movement of his subjects to Mecca, by the erection of the holy place of the Zecca at Cordova, so Jeroboam trusted to the erection of his shrines at Dan and Bethel. But he was not satisfied without another deviation from the Mosaic idea of the national unity. His long stay in Egypt had familiarized him with the outward forms under which the Divinity was there represented; and now, for the first time since the Exodus, was an Egyptian element introduced into the national worship of

[a] This omission is however borne out by the Hebrew text, 1 K. xii 20, "when all Israel *heard that* J. was come again."

[b] The cry of revolt, 1 K. xii. 16, is the same as that in 2 Sam. xx. 1.

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Palestine. A golden figure of Mnevis, the sacred calf of Heliopolis, was set up at each sanctuary, with the address, "Behold thy God ('Elohim' — comp. Neh. ix. 18) which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." The sanctuary at DAN, as the most remote from Jerusalem, was established first (1 K. xii. 30) with priests from the distant tribes, whom he consecrated instead of the Levites (xii. 31, xiii. 33). The more important one, as nearer the capital and in the heart of the kingdom, was BETHEL. The worship and the sanctuary continued till the end of the northern kingdom. The priests were supplied by a peculiar form of consecration — any one from the non-Levitical tribes could procure the office on sacrificing a young bullock and seven rams (1 K. xiii. 33; 2 Chr. xiii. 9). For the dedication of this he copied the precedent of Solomon in choosing the feast of Tabernacles as the occasion; but postponing it for a month, probably in order to meet the vintage of the most northern parts. On the fifteenth day of this month (the 8th), he went up in state to offer incense on the altar which was before the calf. It was at this solemn and critical moment that a prophet from Judah suddenly appeared, whom Josephus with great probability identifies with Iddo the Seer (he calls him Iadôn, *Ant.* viii. 8, § 5; and see Jerome, *Qu. Hebr.* on 2 Chr. x. 4), who denounced the altar, and foretold its desecration by Josiah, and violent overthrow. It is not clear from the account, whether it is intended that the overthrow took place then, or in the earthquake described by Amos (i. 1). Another sign is described as taking place instantly. The king stretching out his hand to arrest the prophet, felt it withered and paralyzed, and only at the prophet's prayer saw it restored, and acknowledged his divine mission. Josephus adds, but probably only in conjecture from the sacred narrative, that the prophet who seduced Iddo on his return, did so in order to prevent his obtaining too much influence over Jeroboam, and endeavored to explain away the miracles to the king, by representing that the altar fell because it was new, and that his hand was paralyzed from the fatigue of sacrificing. A further allusion is made to this incident in the narrative of Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 15, § 4), where Zedekiah is represented as contrasting the potency of Iddo in withering the hand of Jeroboam with the powerlessness of Micaiah to wither the hand of Zedekiah. The visit of Ano to Ahijah, which the common Hebrew text places after this event, and with darker intimations in Ahijah's warning only suitable to a later period, has already been described

Jeroboam was at constant war with the house of Judah, but the only act distinctly recorded is a battle with Abijah, son of Rehoboam; in which, in spite of a skillful ambush made by Jeroboam, and of much superior force, he was defeated, and for the time lost three important cities, Bethel, Jeshanah, and Ephraim.[a] The calamity was severely felt; he never recovered the blow, and soon after died, in the 22d year of his reign (2 Chr. xiii. 20), and was buried in his ancestral sepulchre (1 K. xiv. 20). His son Nadab, or (LXX.) Nebat (named after the grandfather), succeeded, and in him the dynasty was closed. The name of Jeroboam long remained under a cloud as the king who "had caused Israel to sin." At the time of the Reformation, it was a common practice of Roman Catholic writers to institute comparisons between his separation from the sanctuary of Judah, and that of Henry VIII from the see of Rome.

2. JEROBOAM II., the son of Joash, the 4th of the dynasty of Jehu. The most prosperous of the kings of Israel. The contemporary accounts of his reign are, (1.) in the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" (2 K. xiv. 28), which are lost, but of which the substance is given in 2 K. xiv. 23-29. (2.) In the contemporary prophets Hosea and Amos, and (perhaps) in the fragments found in Is. xv., xvi. It had been foretold in the reign of Jehoahaz that a great deliverer should come, to rescue Israel from the Syrian yoke (comp. 2 K. xiii. 4, xiv. 26, 27; and this had been expanded into a distinct prediction of Jonah, that there should be a restoration of the widest dominion of Solomon (xiv. 25). This "savior" and "restorer" was Jeroboam. He not only repelled the Syrian invaders, but took their capital city Damascus (2 K. xiv. 28; Am. i. 3–5), and recovered the whole of the ancient dominion from Hamath to the Dead Sea (xiv. 25; Am. vi. 14). Ammon and Moab were reconquered (Am. i. 13, ii. 1–3); the trans-Jordanic tribes were restored to their territory (2 K. xiii. 5; 1 Chr. v. 17–22).

But it was merely an outward restoration. The sanctuary at Bethel was kept up in royal state (Am. vii. 13), but drunkenness, licentiousness, and oppression, prevailed in the country (Am. ii. 6–8, iv. 1, vi. 6; Hos. iv. 12–14, i. 2), and idolatry was united with the worship of Jehovah (Hos. iv. 13, xiii. 6).

Amos prophesied the destruction of Jeroboam and his house by the sword (Am. vii. 9, 17), and Amaziah, the high priest of Bethel, complained to the king (Am. vii. 10–13). The effect does not appear. Hosea (Hos. i. 1) also denounced the crimes of the nation. The prediction of Amos was not fulfilled as regarded the king himself. He was buried with his ancestors in state (2 K. xiv. 29).

Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 561, *note*) supposes that Jeroboam was the subject of Ps. xlv. A. P. S.

JERO'HAM (יְרֹחָם [*one beloved*]: *Jeroham*). 1. (Ἱεροβοάμ, both MSS. [rather, Rom. Alex.] at 1 Chr. vi. 27; but Alex. Ιερεαμ at ver. 34; [in 1 Sam., Ἱερεμεήλ, Comp. Alex. Ἱεροάμ; in 1 Chr., Vat. Ιδαερ, Ηααλ; Comp. Ἱεροάμ, Ἱερόαμ: Ald. Ἱερεμεήλ.]) Father of Elkanah, the father of Samuel, of the house of Kohath. His father is called Eliab at 1 Chr. vi. 27, Eliel at ver. 34, and Elihu at 1 Sam. i. 1. Jeroham must have been about the same age as Eli. A. C. H.

2. (Ἱεροάμ, [Vat. Ιρααμ,] Alex. Ἱερόαμ.) A Benjamite, and the founder of a family of Bene Jeroham (1 Chr. viii. 27). They were among the leaders of that part of the tribe which lived in Jerusalem, and which is here distinguished from the part which inhabited Gibeon. Probably the same person is intended in —

3. (Ἱεροβοάμ, [Vat. Ιρααμ, Comp. Alex. Ἱερόαμ.]) Father (or progenitor) of Ibneiah, one of the leading Benjamites of Jerusalem (1 Chr. ix 8; comp. 3 and 9).

4. (Ἱεράμ, Alex. Ιερααμ, [Comp. Ald. Ἱερόαμ

[a] The Targum on Ruth iv. 20 mentions Jeroboam's having stationed guards on the roads, which guards had been slain by the people of Netophah; but what is here alluded to, or when it took place, we have at present no clew to.

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a Neh, Rom. Alex. Ἱερομμ, Vat. FA.[1] omit.]) A descendant of Aaron, of the house of Immer, the leader of the sixteenth course of priests; son of Pashur and father of Adaiah (1 Chr. ix. 12). He appears to be mentioned again in Neh. xi. 12 (a record curiously and puzzlingly parallel to that of 1 Chr. ix., though with some striking differences), though there he is stated to belong to the house of Malchiah, who was leader of the fifth course (and comp. Neh. xi. 14).

5. (Ἱρομμ, [Vat. FA. Ραμ, Alex. Ιερομ.]) Jeroham of Gedor (מִן גְּדוֹר), some of whose "sons" joined David when he was taking refuge from Saul at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 7). The list purports to be of Benjamites (see ver. 2, where the word "even" is interpolated, and the last five words belong to ver. 3). But then how can the presence of Korhites (ver. 6), the descendants of Korah the Levite, be accounted for?

6. (Ἱρομβ, [Vat. Ald.] Alex. Ἰωρδμ.) A Danite, whose son or descendant Azareel was head of his tribe in the time of David (1 Chr. xxvii. 22).

7. (Ἰωρδμ.) Father of Azariah, one of the "captains of hundreds" in the time of Athaliah; one of those to whom Jehoiada the priest confided his scheme for the restoration of Joash (2 Chr. xxiii. 1). G.

JERUBBA'AL (יְרֻבַּעַל) [*with whom Baal contends*]: Ἱεροβααλ; [Vat. in Judg. vi. 32, Αρβααλ; vii. 1, Ιαρβαλ; viii. 29, Ιεαρυβααλ; 1 Sam. xii. 11, Ιεροβοαμ;] Alex. δικαστηριον του Βααλ, Judg. vi. 32, Ιροβααλ in vii. 1: *Jerobaal*), the surname of Gideon which he acquired in consequence of destroying the altar of Baal, when his father defended him from the vengeance of the Abi-ezrites. The A. V. of Judg. vi. 32, which has "therefore on that day *he* called him Jerubbaal," implying that the surname was given by Joash, should rather be, in accordance with a well-known Hebrew idiom, "*one* called him," *i. e.* he was called by the men of his city. The LXX. in the same passage have ἐκάλεσεν αὐτό, "he called *it*," i. e. the altar mentioned in the preceding verse; but as in all other passages they recognize Jerubbaal as the name of Gideon, the reading should probably be αὐτόν. In Judg. viii. 35 the Vulg. strictly follows the Heb., *Jerobaal Gedeon*. The Alex. version omits the name altogether from Judg. ix. 57. Besides the passages quoted, it is found in Judg. vii. 1, viii. 29, ix. 1, 5, 16, 19, 24, 28; and 1 Sam. xii. 11. In a fragment of Porphyry, quoted by Eusebius (*Præp. Ev.* i. 9, § 21), Gideon appears as Hieromba'los (Ἱερομβάλος), the priest of the God Ἰευώ, or Jehovah, from whom the Phœnician chronicler, Sanchoniatho of Beyrout, received his information with regard to the affairs of the Jews. It is not a little remarkable that Josephus omits all mention both of the change of name and of the event it commemorates. [GIDEON.]

W. A. W.

JERUBBE'SHETH (יְרֻבֶּשֶׁת): LXX., followed by the Vulgate, reads Ἱεροβδαλ, or [Vat. H. Ιεροβααμ, Vat. M. and] Cod. Alex. Ιεροβοαμ), a name of Gideon (2 Sam. xi. 21). A later generation probably abstained from pronouncing the name (Ex. xxiii. 13) of a false god, and therefore changed Gideon's name (Judg. vi. 32) of Jerubbaal = "with whom Baal contends," into Jerubbesheth = "with whom the idol contends." Comp. similar changes (1 Chr. viii. 33, 34) of Eshbaal for Ishbosheth, and Meribbaal for Mephibosheth.

W. T. B.

JERU'EL, THE WILDERNESS OF (מִדְבַּר יְרוּאֵל [*desert founded by God*]: ἡ ἔρημος Ἰειριήλ: *Jeruel*), the place in which Jehoshaphat was informed by Jahaziel the Levite that he should encounter the hordes of Ammon, Moab, and the Mehunims, who were swarming round the south end of the Dead Sea to the attack of Jerusalem: "Ye shall find them at the end of the wady, facing the wilderness of Jeruel" (2 Chr. xx. 16). The "wilderness" contained a watch-tower (ver. 24), from which many a similar incursion had probably been descried. It was a well-known spot, for it has the definite article. Or the word (הַמִּצְפֶּה) may mean a commanding ridge,[a] below which the "wilderness" lay open to view. The name has not been met with, but may yet be found in the neighborhood of Tekoa and Berachah (perhaps *Bereikut*), east of the road between *Urtâs* and Hebron. G.

JERU'SALEM (יְרוּשָׁלַם, *i. e.* Yerûshalaim; or, in the more extended form, יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, in 1 Chr. iii. 5, 2 Chr. xxv. 1, xxxii. 9, Esth. ii. 6, Jer. xxvi. 18, only; in the Chaldee passages of Ezra and Daniel, יְרוּשְׁלֶם, *i. e.* Yerûshlem: LXX. Ἱερουσαλήμ; N. T. apparently indifferently Ἱερουσαλήμ and τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα: Vulg. Cod. Amiat. *Hierusalem* and *Hierusolyma*, but in other old copies *Jerusalem*, *Jerosolyma*. In the A. V. of 1611 it is "Ierusalem," in O. T. and Apocr.; but in N. T. "Hierusalem").[b]

On the derivation and signification of the name considerable difference exists among the authorities. The Rabbis state that the name Shalem was bestowed on it by Shem (identical in their traditions with Melchizedek), and the name Jireh by Abraham, after the deliverance of Isaac on Mount Moriah,[c] and that the two were afterwards com-

[1] Ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναβάσεως, λεγομένης δ' ἐξοχῆς, Jos. *Ant.* ix. 1, § 2.

[a] Other names borne by Jerusalem are as follows: 1. ARIEL, the "lion of God," or according to another interpretation, the "hearth of God" (Is. xxix. 1 2, 7; comp. Ez. xliii. 15). For the former signification compare Ps. lxxvi. 1, 2 (Stanley, *S. & P.* 171). 2. Ἡ ἁγία πόλις, "the holy city," Matt. iv. 5 and xxvii. 53 only. Both these passages would seem to refer to Zion — the sacred portion of the place, in which the Temple was situated. It also occurs, ἡ π. η ἁγ., Rev. xi. 2. 3. Ælia Capitolina, the name bestowed by the emperor Hadrian (Ælius Hadrianus) on the city as rebuilt by him, A. D. 135, 136. These two names of the Emperor are inscribed on the well-known stone in the south wall of the Aksa, one of the few Roman relics about which there can be no dispute. This name is usually employed by Eusebius (Αἰλία) and Jerome, in their *Onomasticon*. By Ptolemy it is given as Καστελιάς (Reland, *Pal.* p. 462). 4. The Arabic names are *el-Khuds*, "the holy," or *Beit el-Makdis*, "the holy house," "the sanctuary." The former is that in ordinary use at present. The latter is found in Arabic chronicles. The name *esh-Sherif*, "the venerable," or "the noble," is also quoted by Schultens in his *Index Geogr. in Vit. Salad.* 5. The corrupt form of *Aurusaun* is found in Edrisi (Jaubert, i. 345), possibly quoting a Christian writer.

[b] The question of the identity of MICHAH with Jerusalem still be examined under that head

[c]

mand, lest displeasure should be felt by either of the two Saints at the exclusive use of one (*Bereshi. Rab.* in Otho. *Lex. Rab.* s. v., also Lightfoot). Others, quoted by Reland (p. 833), would make it mean "fear of Salem," or "sight of peace." The suggestion of Reland himself, adopted by Simonis (*Onom.* p. 467), and Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 155, *note*) is יְרוּשׁ שָׁלֵם, "inheritance of peace," but this is questioned by Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 628 *b*) and Fürst (*Handwb.* p. 547 *b*), who prefer יְרוּ שָׁלֵם, the "foundation of peace." [a] Another derivation, proposed by the fertile Hitzig (*Jesaja*, p. 2), is named by the two last great scholars only to condemn it. Others again, looking to the name of the Canaanite tribe who possessed the place at the time of the conquest, would propose Jebus-salem (Reland, p. 834), or even Jebus-Solomon, as the name conferred on the city by that monarch when he began his reign of tranquillity.

Another controversy relates to the termination ים of the name — Jerushal*aim* — the Hebrew dual; which, by Simonis and Ewald, is unhesitatingly referred to the double formation of the city, while reasons are shown against it by Reland and Gesenius. It is certain that on the two occasions where the latter portion of the name appears to be given for the whole (Gen. xiv. 18; Ps. lxxvi. 2) it is Shalem, and not Shalaim; also that the five places where the vowel points of the Masorets are supported by the letters of the original text are of a late date, when the idea of the double city, and its reflection in the name, would have become familiar to the Jews. In this conflict of authorities the suggestion will perhaps occur to a bystander that the original formation of the name may have been anterior to the entrance of the Israelites on Canaan, and that Jerushalaim may be the attempt to give an intelligible Hebrew form to the original archaic name, just as centuries afterwards, when Hebrews in their turn gave way to Greeks, attempts were made to twist Jerushalaim itself into a shape which should be intelligible to Greek ears, [b] Ἱερο σολυμὰ, "the holy Solyma" (Joseph. *B. J.* vi. 10), Ἱερὸν Σαλομῶνος, [c] the "holy place of Solomon" (Eupolemus, in Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* ix. 34), or, on the other hand, the curious fancy quoted by Josephus (*Ap.* i. 34, 35) from Lysimachus — Ἱερόσυλα, "spoilers of temples" — are perhaps not more violent adaptations, or more wide of the real meaning of "Jerusalem," than that was of the original name of the city.

The subject of Jerusalem naturally divides itself into three heads: —

I. The place itself: its origin, position, and physical characteristics.

II. The annals of the city.

III. The topography of the town; the relative localities of its various parts; the sites of the "Holy Places" ancient and modern, etc.

I. The place itself.

The arguments — if arguments they can be called — for and against the identity of the "Salem" of Melchizedek (Gen. xiv. 18) with Jerusalem — the "Salem" of a late Psalmist (Ps. lxxvi. 2) — are almost equally balanced. In favor of it are the unhesitating statement of Josephus (*Ant.* i. 10, 2; vii. 3, 2; *B. J.* vi. 10 [d]) and Eusebius (*Onom.* Ἱερουσαλήμ), the recurrence of the name Salem in the Psalm just quoted, where it undoubtedly means Jerusalem, [e] and the general consent in the identification. On the other hand is the no less positive statement of Jerome, grounded on more reason than he often vouchsafes for his statements [f] (*Ep. ad Evangelum*, § 7), that "Salem was not Jerusalem, as Josephus and all Christians (*nostri omnes*) believe it to be, but a town near Scythopolis, which to this day is called Salem, where the magnificent ruins of the palace of Melchizedek are still seen, and of which mention is made in a subsequent passage of Genesis — 'Jacob came to Salem, a city of Shechem' (Gen. xxxiii. 18)." Elsewhere (*Onomasticon*, "Salem") Eusebius and he identify it with Shechem itself. This question will be discussed under the head of Salem. Here it is sufficient to say (1) that Jerusalem suits the circumstances of the narrative rather better than any place further north, or more in the heart of the country. It would be quite as much in Abram's road from the sources of Jordan to his home under the oaks of Hebron, and it would be more suitable for the visit of the king of Sodom. In fact we know that, in later times at least, the usual route from Damascus avoided the central highlands of the country and the neighborhood of Shechem, where *Salim* is now shown. (See Pompey's route in Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 3, § 4; 4, § 1.) (2) It is perhaps some confirmation of the identity, at any rate it is a remarkable coincidence, that the king of Jerusalem in the time of Joshua should bear the title Adoni-zedek — almost precisely the same as that of Melchizedek.

The question of the identity of Jerusalem with "Cadytis, a large city of Syria," "almost as large as Sardis," which is mentioned by Herodotus (ii. 159, iii. 5) as having been taken by Pharaoh-Necho, need not be investigated in this place. It is interesting, and, if decided in the affirmative, so far important as confirming the Scripture narrative: but does not in any way add to our knowledge of the history of the city. The reader will find it fully examined in Rawlinson's *Herod.* ii. 246; Blakesley's *Herod.* — *Excursus on bk.* iii. ch. 5 (both against the identification); and in Kenrick's *Egypt*, ii. 406, and *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geogr.* ii. 17 (both for it).

[a] Such mystical interpretations as those of Origen, τὸ πνεῦμα χάριτος αὐτῶν (from רוח and שלם), ἱερὸν εἰρήνης, where half the name is interpreted as Greek and half as Hebrew, curious as they are, cannot be examined here. (See the catalogues preserved by Jerome.)

[b] Other instances of similar Greek forms given to Hebrew names are Ἱεριχώ and Ἱερομάξ.

[c] Philo carries this a step further, and, bearing in view only the sanctity of the place, he discards the Semitic member of the name, and calls it Ἱεσόπολις. It is exactly the complement of πόλις Σολύμα (Pausanias, viii. 16).

[d] In this passage he even goes so far as to say that Melchizedek, "the first priest of God," built there the first Temple, and changed the name of the city from Soluma to Hierosoluma.

[e] A contraction analogous to others with which we are familiar in our own poetry; *e. gr.* Edin, or Edina for Edinburgh.

[f] Winer is wrong in stating (*Realwb.* ii. 79) that Jerome bases this statement on a rabbinical tradition. The tradition that he quotes, in § 5 of the same Ep. is as to the identity of Melchizedek with Shem.

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Nor need we do more than refer to the traditions — it traditions they are, and not mere individual speculations — of Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 2) and Plutarch (*Is. et Osir.* c. 31) of the foundation of the city by a certain Hierosolymus, a son of the Typhon (see Winer's note, i. 545). All the certain information to be gathered as to the early history of Jerusalem, must be gathered from the books of the Jewish historians alone.

It is during the conquest of the country that Jerusalem first appears in definite form on the scene in which it was destined to occupy so prominent a position. The earliest notice is probably that in Josh. xv. 8 and xviii. 16, 28, describing the landmarks of the boundaries of Judah and Benjamin. Here it is styled ha-Jebusi, *i. e.* "the Jebusite" (A. V. Jebusi), after the name of its occupiers, just as is the case with other places in these lists. [JEBUSI.] Next, we find the form JEBUS (Judg. xix. 10, 11) — "Jebus, which is Jerusalem the city of the Jebusites;" and lastly, in documents which profess to be of the same age as the foregoing — we have Jerusalem (Josh. x. 1, &c., xii. 10; Judg. i. 7, &c.). To this we have a parallel in Hebron, the other great city of Southern Palestine, which bears the alternative title of Kirjath-Arba in these very same documents.

It is one of the obvious peculiarities of Jerusalem — but to which Professor Stanley appears to have been the first to call attention — that it did not become the capital till a comparatively late date in the career of the nation. Bethel, Shechem, Hebron, had their beginnings in the earliest periods of national life — but Jerusalem was not only not a chief city, it was not even possessed by the Israelites till they had gone through one complete stage of their life in Palestine, and the second — the monarchy — had been fairly entered on. (See Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 169.)

The explanation of this is no doubt in some measure to be found in the fact that the seats of the government and the religion of the nation were originally fixed farther north — first at Shechem and Shiloh; then at Gibeah, Nob, and Gibeon; but it is also no doubt partly due to the natural strength of Jerusalem. The heroes of Joshua's army who traced the boundary-line which was to separate the possessions of Judah and Benjamin, when, after passing the spring of En-rogel, they went along the "ravine of the son of Hinnom," and looked up to the "southern shoulder of the Jebusite" (Josh. xv. 7, 8), must have felt that to scale heights so great and so steep would have fully tasked even their tried prowess. We shall see, when we glance through the annals of the city, that it did effectually resist the tribes of Judah and Simeon not many years later. But when, after the death of Ishbosheth, David became king of a united and powerful people, it was necessary for him to leave the remote Hebron and approach nearer to the bulk of his dominions. At the same time it was impossible to desert the great tribe to which he belonged, and over whom he had been reigning for seven years. Out of this difficulty Jerusalem was the natural escape, and accordingly at Jerusalem David fixed the seat of his throne and the future sanctuary of his nation.

The boundary between Judah and Benjamin, the north boundary of the former and the south of the latter, ran at the foot of the hill on which the city stands, so that the city itself was actually in Benjamin, while by crossing the narrow ravine of Hinnom you set foot on the territory of Judah.[a] That it was not far enough to the north to command the continued allegiance of the tribe of Ephraim, and the others which lay above him, is obvious from the fact of the separation which at last took place. It is enough for the vindication of David in having chosen it to remember that that separation did not take place during the reigns of himself or his son, and was at last precipitated by misgovernment combined with feeble short-sightedness. And if not actually in the centre of Palestine, it was yet virtually so. "It was on the ridge, the broadest and most strongly marked ridge, of the back-bone of the complicated hills which extend through the whole country from the Plain of Esdraelon to the Desert. Every wanderer, every conqueror, every traveller who has trod the central route of Palestine from N. to S. must have passed through the table-land of Jerusalem. It was the water-shed between the streams, or rather the torrent-beds, which find their way eastward to the Jordan, and those which pass westward to the Mediterranean (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 176)."

This central position, as expressed in the words of Ezekiel (ver. 5), "I have set Jerusalem in the midst of the nations and countries round about her," led in later ages to a definite belief that the city was actually in the centre of the earth — in the words of Jerome, "umbilicus terræ," the central boss or navel of the world.[b] (See the quotations in Reland, *Palæstina*, pp. 52 and 838; Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 3, § 5; also Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 116.)

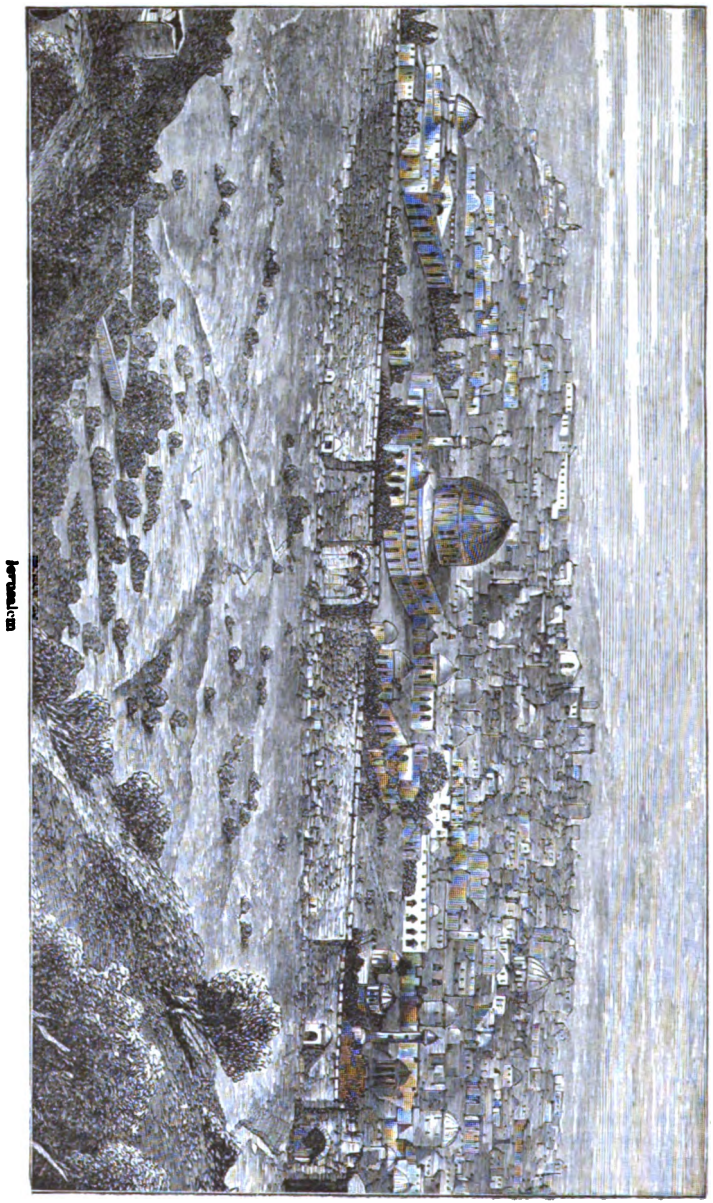
At the same time it should not be overlooked that, while thus central to the people of the country, it had the advantage of being remote from the great high road of the nations which so frequently passed by Palestine, and therefore enjoyed a certain immunity from disturbance. The only practicable route for a great army, with baggage, siege-trains, etc., moving between Egypt and Assyria was by the low plain which bordered the sea-coast from Tyre to Pelusium. From that plain, the central table-land on which Jerusalem stood was approached by valleys and passes generally too intricate and precipitous for the passage of large bodies. One road there was less rugged than the rest — that from Jaffa and Lydda up the pass of the Beth-horons to Gibeon, and thence, over the hills, to the north side of Jerusalem; and by this route, with few if any exceptions, armies seem to have ap-

[a] This appears from an examination of the two corresponding documents, Josh. xv. 7, 8, and xviii. 16, 17. The line was drawn from En-shemesh — probably *Ain Haud*, below Bethany — to En-rogel — either *Ain Ayub*, or the Fountain of the Virgin; thence it went by the ravine of Hinnom and the southern shoulder of the Jebusite — the steep slope of the modern Zion; climbed the heights on the west of the ravine, and struck off to the spring at Nephtoah, probably *Lifta*. The other view, which is made the most of by Blunt in one of his ingenious "coincidences" (Pt. ii. 17), and is also favored by Stanley (*S. & P.* p. 176), is derived from a Jewish tradition, quoted by Lightfoot (*Prospect of the Temple*, ch. 1), to the effect that the altars and sanctuary were in Benjamin, the courts of the Temple were in Judah.

[b] This is prettily expressed in a rabbinical figure quoted by Otho (*Lex.* p. 286): "The world is like to an eye; the white of the eye is the ocean surrounding the world; the black is the world itself; the pupil is Jerusalem, and the image in the pupil, the Temple."

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proached the city. But, on the other hand, we shall find, in tracing the annals of Jerusalem, that great forces frequently passed between Egypt and Assyria, and battles were fought in the plain by large armies, nay, that sieges of the towns on the Mediterranean coast were conducted, lasting for



years, without apparently affecting Jerusalem in the least.

Jerusalem stands in latitude 31° 46′ 35″ North, and longitude 35° 18′ 30″ East of Greenwich.[a] It is 32 miles distant from the sea, and 18 from the Jordan; 20 from Hebron, and 36 from Samaria.

[a] Such is the result of the latest observations possessed by the Lords of the Admiralty, and officially communicated to the Consul of Jerusalem in 1852 (Rob. iii. 183). To what part of the town the observations apply is not stated. Other results, only slightly differing, will be found in Van de Velde's *Memoir*, p. 64, and in Rob i. 269.

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"In several respects," says Professor Stanley, "its situation is singular among the cities of Palestine. Its elevation is remarkable; occasioned not from its being on the summit of one of the numerous hills of Judæa, like most of the towns and villages, but because it is on the edge of one of the highest table-lands of the country. Hebron indeed is higher still by some hundred feet, and from the south, accordingly (even from Bethlehem), the approach to Jerusalem is by a slight descent. But from any other side the ascent is perpetual; and to the traveller approaching the city from the E. or W. it must always have presented the appearance beyond any other capital of the then known world — we may say beyond any important city that has ever existed on the earth — of a mountain city; breathing, as compared with the sultry plains of Jordan, a mountain air; enthroned, as compared with Jericho or Damascus, Gaza or Tyre, on a mountain fastness" (*S. & P.* p. 170, 171).

The elevation of Jerusalem is a subject of constant reference and exultation by the Jewish writers. Their fervid poetry abounds with allusions to its height,[a] to the ascent thither of the tribes from all parts of the country. It was the habitation of Jehovah, from which "he looked upon all the inhabitants of the world" (Ps. xxxiii. 14); its kings were "higher than the kings of the earth" (Ps. lxxxix. 27). In the later Jewish literature of narrative and description, this poetry is reduced to prose, and in the most exaggerated form. Jerusalem was so high that the flames of Jamnia were visible from it (2 Macc. xii. 9). From the tower of Psephinus outside the walls, could be discerned on the one hand the Mediterranean Sea, on the other the country of Arabia (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 4, § 3). Hebron could be seen from the roofs of the Temple (Lightfoot, *Chor. Cent.* xlix.). The same thing can be traced in Josephus's account of the environs of the city, in which he has exaggerated what is in truth a remarkable ravine, to a depth so enormous that the head swam and the eyes failed in gazing into its recesses (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 5).[b]

In exemplification of these remarks it may be said that the general elevation of the western ridge of the city, which forms its highest point, is about 2,600 feet above the level of the sea. The Mount of Olives rises slightly above this — 2,724 feet. Beyond the Mount of Olives, however, the descent is remarkable; Jericho — 13 miles off — being no less than 3,624 feet below, namely, 900 feet under the Mediterranean. On the north, Bethel, at a distance of 11 miles, is 419 feet below Jerusalem. On the west Ramleh — 25 miles — is 2,274 feet below. Only to the south, as already remarked, are the heights slightly superior, — Bethlehem, 2,704; Hebron, 3,029. A table of the heights of the various parts of the city and environs is given further on.

The situation of the city in reference to the rest of Palestine, has been described by Dr. Robinson in a well-known passage, which is so complete and graphic a statement of the case, that we take the liberty of giving it entire.

"Jerusalem lies near the summit of a broad mountain ridge. This ridge or mountainous tract extends, without interruption, from the plain of Esdraelon to a line drawn between the south end of the Dead Sea and the S. E. corner of the Mediterranean: or more properly, perhaps, it may be regarded as extending as far south as to *Tebet 'Ardif* in the desert; where it sinks down at once to the level of the great western plateau. This tract, which is everywhere not less than from twenty to twenty-five geographical miles in breadth, is in fact high uneven table-land. It everywhere forms the precipitous western wall of the great valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea: while towards the west it sinks down by an offset into a range of lower hills, which lie between it and the great plain along the coast of the Mediterranean. The surface of this upper region is everywhere rocky, uneven, and mountainous; and is moreover cut up by deep valleys which run east or west on either side towards the Jordan or the Mediterranean. The line of division, or water-shed, between the waters of these valleys, — a term which here applies almost exclusively to the waters of the rainy season, — follows for the most part the height of land along the ridge: yet not so but that the heads of the valleys, which run off in different directions, often interlap for a considerable distance. Thus, for example, a valley which descends to the Jordan often has its head a mile or two westward of the commencement of other valleys which run to the western sea.

"From the great plain of Esdraelon onwards towards the south, the mountainous country rises gradually, forming the tract anciently known as the mountains of Ephraim and Judah; until in the vicinity of Hebron it attains an elevation of nearly 3,000 Paris feet above the level of the Mediterranean Sea. Further north, on a line drawn from the north end of the Dead Sea towards the true west, the ridge has an elevation of only about 2,500 Paris feet; and here, close upon the water-shed, lies the city of Jerusalem.

"Six or seven miles N. and N. W. of the city is spread out the open plain or basin round about *el-Jîb* (Gibeon), extending also towards *el-Bireh* (Beeroth); the waters of which flow off at its S. E. part through the deep valley here called by the Arabs *Wady Beit Hanina*; but to which the monks and travellers have usually given the name of the Valley of Turpentine, or of the Terebinth, on the mistaken supposition that it is the ancient Valley of Elah. This great valley passes along in a S. W. direction an hour or more west of Jerusalem: and

[a] See the passages quoted by Stanley (*S. & P.* p. 171).

[b] * Recent excavations at Jerusalem show that Josephus, so far from being extravagant, was almost literally exact in what he says of the height of the ancient walls. The labors of Lieut. Warren in the service of the Palestine Exploration Fund (as reported by Mr. Grove in the *London Times*, Nov. 11, 1867), "have established, by actual demonstration, that the south wall of the sacred enclosure which contained the Temple, is buried for more than half its depth beneath an accumulation of rubbish — probably the ruins of the successive buildings which once covered it, and that, if bored to its foundation, the wall would present an unbroken face of solid masonry of nearly 1,000 feet long, and for a large portion of the distance more than 150 feet in height; in other words, the length of the Crystal Palace, and the height of the transept. The wall, as it stands, with less than half that height emerging from the ground, has always been regarded as a marvel. What must it have been when entirely exposed to view? No wonder that prophets and psalmists have rejoiced in the 'walls' and 'bulwarks' of the Temple, and that Tacitus should have described it as *moto arcis constructum*" See also *Journal of Sacred Literature*, p. 494 (January 1868). H.

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finally opens out from the mountains into the western plain, at the distance of six or eight hours S. W. from the city, under the name of *Wady es-Sŭrâr*. The traveller, on his way from Ramleh to Jerusalem, descends into and crosses this deep valley at the village of *Kŭlônieh* on its western side, an hour and a half from the latter city. On again reaching the high ground on its eastern side, he enters upon an open tract sloping gradually downwards towards the south and east; and sees before him, at the distance of a mile and a half, the walls and domes of the Holy City, and beyond them the higher ridge or summit of the Mount of Olives.

'The traveller now descends gradually towards the city along a broad swell of ground, having at some distance on his left the shallow northern part of the Valley of Jehoshaphat: and close at hand on his right the basin which forms the beginning of the Valley of Hinnom. Upon the broad and elevated promontory within the fork of these two valleys, lies the Holy City. All around are higher hills: on the east, the Mount of Olives: on the south, the Hill of Evil Counsel, so called, rising directly from the Vale of Hinnom; on the west, the ground rises gently, as above described, to the borders of the great Wady; while on the north, a bend of the ridge connected with the Mount of Olives bounds the prospect at the distance of more than a mile. Towards the S. W. the view is somewhat more open; for here lies the plain of Rephaim



PLAN OF JERUSALEM.

1 *Mount Zion*. 2. Moriah. 3. The Temple. 4. Antonia. 5. Probable site of Golgotha. 6. Ophel. 7. Bezetha. 8. *Church of the Holy Sepulchre*. 9, 10. The Upper and Lower Pools of Gihon. 11. Enrogel. 12. Pool of Hezekiah. 13. *Fountain of the Virgin*. 14. Siloam. 15 Bethesda. 16. Mount of Olives. 17 Gethsemane.

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already described, commencing just at the southern brink of the Valley of Hinnom, and stretching off S. W., where it runs to the western sea. In the N. W., too, the eye reaches up along the upper part of the Valley of Jehoshaphat; and from many points can discern the mosque of *Neby Samwil*, situated on a lofty ridge beyond the great Wady, at the distance of two hours" (Robinson's *Bibl. Res.* i. 258–260).

So much for the local and political relation of Jerusalem to the country in general. To convey an idea of its individual position, we may say roughly, and with reference to the accompanying Plan, that the city occupies the southern termination of a table-land, which is cut off from the country round it on its west, south, and east sides, by ravines more than usually deep and precipitous. These ravines leave the level of the table-land, the one on the west and the other on the northeast of the city, and fall rapidly until they form a junction below its southeast corner. The eastern one — the valley of the Kedron, commonly called the Valley of Jehoshaphat, runs nearly straight from north to south. But the western one — the Valley of Hinnom — runs south for a time and then takes a sudden bend to the east until it meets the Valley of Jehoshaphat, after which the two rush off as one to the Dead Sea. How sudden is their descent may be gathered from the fact, that the level at the point of junction — about a mile and a quarter from the starting-point of each — is more than 600 feet below that of the upper plateau from which they commenced their descent. Thus, while on the north there is no material difference between the general level of the country outside the walls and that of the highest parts of the city; on the other three sides, so steep is the fall of the ravines, so trench-like their character, and so close do they keep to the promontory, at whose feet they run, as to leave on the beholder almost the impression of the ditch at the foot of a fortress, rather than of valleys formed by nature.

The promontory thus encircled is itself divided by a longitudinal ravine running up it from south to north, rising gradually from the south like the external ones, till at last it arrives at the level of the upper plateau, and dividing the central mass into two unequal portions. Of these two, that on the west — the "Upper City" of the Jews, — the Mount Zion of modern tradition — is the higher and more massive; that on the east — Mount Moriah, the "Akra" or "lower city" of Josephus, now occupied by the great Mohammedan sanctuary with its mosques and domes — is at once considerably lower and smaller, so that, to a spectator from the south, the city appears to slope sharply towards the east.[a] This central valley, at about half-way up its length, threw out a subordinate on its left or west side, which apparently quitted it at about right angles, and made its way up to the general level of the ground at the present Jaffa or Bethlehem gate. We say apparently, because covered as the ground now is, it is difficult to ascertain the point exactly. Opinions differ as to whether the straight valley north and south, or its southern half, with the branch just spoken of, was the "Tyropœon valley" of Josephus. The question will be examined in Section III. under the head of the Topography of the Ancient City.

One more valley must be noted. It was on the north of Moriah, and separated it from a hill on which, in the time of Josephus, stood a suburb or part of the city called Bezetha, or the New-town. Part of this depression is still preserved in the large reservoir with two arches, usually called the Pool of Bethesda, near the St Stephen's gate. It also will be more explicitly spoken of in the examination of the ancient topography

This rough sketch of the *terrain* of Jerusalem will enable the reader to appreciate the two great advantages of its position. On the one hand, the ravines which entrench it on the west, south, and east — out of which, as has been said, the rocky slopes of the city rise almost like the walls of a fortress out of its ditches — must have rendered it impregnable on those quarters to the warfare of the old world. On the other hand, its junction with the more level ground on its north and northwest sides afforded an opportunity of expansion, of which we know advantage was taken, and which gave it remarkable superiority over other cities of Palestine, and especially of Judah, which, though secure on their hill-tops, were unable to expand beyond them (Stanley, *S. & P.* pp. 174, 175).

The heights of the principal points in and round the city, above the Mediterranean Sea, as given by Lt. Van de Velde in the *Memoir*[b] accompanying his Map, 1858, are as follows: —

	Feet.
N. W. corner of the city (*Kasr Jalud*)	2,610
Mount Zion (*Cœnaculum*)	2,587
Mount Moriah (*Haram esh-Sherif*)	2,429
Bridge over the Kedron, near Gethsemane	2,281
Pool of Siloam	2,114
Bir-Ayub, at the confluence of Hinnom and Kedron	1,996
Mount of Olives, Church of Ascension on summit	2,724

From these figures it will be seen that the ridge on which the western half of the city is built is tolerably level from north to south; that the eastern hill is more than a hundred feet lower; and that from the latter the descent to the floor of the valley at its feet — the *Bir-Ayûb* — is a drop of nearly 450 feet.

The Mount of Olives overtops even the highest part of the city by rather more than 100 feet, and the Temple-hill by no less than 300. Its northern and southern outliers — the Viri Galilæi, Scopus, and Mount of Offense — bend round slightly towards the city, and give the effect of "standing round about Jerusalem." Especially would this be the case to a worshipper in the Temple. "It is true," says Professor Stanley, "that this image is not realized, as most persons familiar with European scenery would wish, and expect it to be realized. . . . Any one facing Jerusalem westward, northward, or southward will always see the city itself on an elevation higher than the hills in its immediate neighborhood, its towers and walls standing out against the sky, and not against any high background, such as that which encloses the mountain towns and villages of our own Cumbrian or Westmoreland valleys. Nor again is the plain on which it stands inclosed by a continuous, though distant, circle of mountains like Athens or Innspruck. The mountains in the neighborhood of Jerusalem are of unequal height, and only in two or three instances

[a] The character of the ravines and the eastward slope of the site are very well and very truthfully shown in a view in Bartlett's *Walks*, entitled "Mount Sion, Jerusalem, from the Hill of Evil Counsel."

[b] A table of levels, differing somewhat from those of Lt. Van de Velde, will be found in Barclay's *City of the Great King*, pp. 103, 104.

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— *Neby-Samuil*, *er-Ram*, and *Tuleil el-Fûl* — rising to any considerable elevation. Still they act as a shelter; they must be surmounted before the traveller can see, or the invader attack, the Holy City; and the distant line of Moab would always seem to rise as a wall against invaders from the remote east.* It is these mountains, expressly including those beyond the Jordan, which are mentioned as 'standing round about Jerusalem' in another and more terrible sense, when, on the night of the assault of Jerusalem by the Roman armies, they 'echoed back' the screams of the inhabitants of the captured city, and the victorious shouts of the soldiers of Titus. The situation of Jerusalem was thus not unlike, on a small scale, to that of Rome, saving the great difference that Rome was in a well-watered plain, leading direct to the sea, whereas Jerusalem was on a bare table-land, in the heart of the country. But each was situated on its own cluster of steep hills; each had room for future expansion in the surrounding level; each, too, had its nearer and its more remote barriers of protecting hills — Rome its Janiculum hard by, and its Apennine and Alban mountains in the distance; Jerusalem its Olivet hard by, and, on the outposts of its plain, Mizpeh, Gibeon, and Ramah, and the ridge which divides it from Bethlehem" (*S. & P.* pp. 174, 175).

* This may be the best place for stating some of the results of Capt. Wilson's measurements by levels for determining the distance of Jerusalem from various other places, and its altitude above the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea. The representations on this subject, founded on reckonings by time, are more or less inaccurate. The following abridged table presents the observations most important for our purpose. It should be premised that the line adopted by the engineers begins at *Jaffa* (Joppa) and runs through or near by *Lud* (Lydda), *Jimzu* (Gimzo), *Birfileeyn*, *El-Jib* (Gibeon), *Beit-'ûr* (Beth-Horon). Jerusalem, Bethany, and then to the neighborhood of Jericho, where turning to the right it crosses the plain to the Dead Sea. Fifty-five bench-marks, on rocks or other permanent objects, were made along the route, which must be of great service to future explorers. The line of the levels appears to be the most direct one practicable between the two limits: —

Place.	Distance in Miles and Links.	Altitude.
Jaffa	0 0000	3,800
Yazur	8 7656	85.405
Beit-Dejam	5 5843	91.435
Lydda	11 5922	164.770
Jimzu	14 5194	411.605
Mount Scopus	37 6845	2,715.795
Mount Olivet	39 0286	2,623.790
Summit of Olivet	39 1721	2,662.500
Bethany	40 2409	2,281.825
Well of the Apostles	41 6068	1,519.615
Khan Hadhur	48 5296	870.590
Old Aqueduct	52 5174	89.715
Dead Sea	62 2965	1,292.185

It thus appears that the highest point of elevation between the two seas — 2,715 feet — occurs on Mount Scopus, just north of Jerusalem. The height from the top of the cairn on Scopus is 2,724 feet. The level of the Mediterranean is crossed 3¼ miles beyond *Khan Hadhur*; and the figures against the two last stations represent the depression below the level of the Mediterranean. The party reached the Dead Sea on the 12th of March, 1865. It is known that this sea is liable to be, on the average, six feet lower, a few weeks later in the season; and hence the lowest depression of the surface would be 1,298 feet. According to the soundings by Lieut. Vignes of the French Navy, the maximum *depth* of the Dead Sea is 1,148 feet, making the depression of the bottom 2,446 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. "The sounding in the Mediterranean, midway between Malta and Candia, by Capt. Spratt, gave a depth of 13,020 feet, or a depression of the bottom five times greater than that of the bottom of the Dead Sea" (*Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, pp. 20–23, Lond. 1865). It should be stated that a line of levels was also carried from Jerusalem to Solomon's Pools. The level at the Jaffa gate on the west side of the city was found to be 2,528 feet below the Mediterranean; near Mar Elyas, 2,616; at Rachel's tomb, 2,478; at the Castle near Solomon's Pools, 2,624¼; near the upper Pool, 2,616, and the lower Pool, 2,513¾. (*Survey*, p. 88.) H.

Roads. — There appear to have been but two main approaches to the city. 1. From the Jordan Valley by Jericho and the Mount of Olives. This was the route commonly taken from the north and east of the country — as from Galilee by our Lord (Luke xvii. 11, xviii. 35, xix. 1, 29, 45, &c.), from Damascus by Pompey (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 3, § 4; 4, § 1), to Mahanaim by David (2 Sam. xv., xvi.). It was also the route from places in the central districts of the country, as Samaria (2 Chr. xxviii. 15). The latter part of the approach, over the Mount of Olives, as generally followed at the present day, is identical with what it was, at least in one memorable instance, in the time of Christ. A path there is over the crown of the hill, but the common route still runs more to the south, round the shoulder of the principal summit (see *S. & P.* p. 193). In the later times of Jerusalem, this road crossed the valley of the Kedron by a bridge or viaduct on a double series of arches, and entered the Temple by the gate Susan. (See the quotations from the Talmud in Otho, *Lex. Rab.* 265; and Barclay, pp. 102, 282.) The insecure state of the Jordan Valley has thrown this route very much into disuse, and has diverted the traffic from the north to a road along the central ridge of the country. 2. From the great maritime plain of Philistia and Sharon. This road led by the two Beth-horons up to the high ground at Gibeon, whence it turned south, and came to Jerusalem by Ramah and Gibeah, and over the ridge north of the city. This is still the route by which the heavy traffic is carried, though a

* Mr. Tristram states that Nebo, one of the summits of this Moab range, is distinctly visible from the roof of the English Church at Jerusalem, and that with suitable glasses the buildings of Jerusalem can be seen from Nebo (*Land of Israel*, p. 542, 2d ed.). The appearance of these mountains as seen from Jerusalem stretching like a curtain along the eastern horizon is very unique and impressive. Every one who has visited the holy city will recognise Stanley's description of the view as not less just than beautiful. "From almost every point, there is visible that long purple wall, rising out of its unfathomable depths, more even more interesting than to the old Jebusites or Israelites. They knew the tribes who lived there they had once dwelt there themselves. But to the inhabitants of modern Jerusalem, of whom comparatively few have ever visited the other side of the Jordan, it is the end of the world, — and to them it

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shorter but more precipitous road is usually taken by travellers between Jerusalem and Jaffa. In tracing the annals we shall find that it was the route by which large bodies, such as armies, always approached the city, whether from Gaza on the south, or from Cæsarea and Ptolemais on the north. 3. The communication with the mountainous districts of the south is less distinct. Even Hebron, after the establishment of the monarchy at Jerusalem, was hardly of importance enough to maintain any considerable amount of communication, and only in the wars of the Maccabees do we hear of any military operations in that region.

The roads out of Jerusalem were a special subject of Solomon's care. He paved them with black stone — probably the basalt of the trans-Jordanic districts (Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 7, § 4).

Gates. — The situation of the various gates of the city is examined in Section III. It may, however, be desirable to supply here a complete list of those which are named in the Bible and Josephus, with the references to their occurrences: —

1. Gate of Ephraim. 2 Chr. xxv. 23; Neh. viii. 16, xii. 39. This is probably the same as the —
2. Gate of Benjamin. Jer. xx. 2, xxxvii. 13; Zech. xiv. 10. If so, it was 400 cubits distant from the —
3. Corner Gate. 2 Chr. xxv. 23, xxvi. 9; Jer. xxxi. 38; Zech. xiv. 10.
4. Gate of Joshua, governor of the city. 2 K. xxiii. 8.
5. Gate between the two walls. 2 K. xxv. 4; Jer. xxxix. 4.
6. Horse Gate. Neh. iii. 28; 2 Chr. xxiii. 15; Jer. xxxi. 40.
7. Ravine Gate (*i. e.* opening on ravine of Hinnom). 2 Chr. xxvi. 9; Neh. ii. 13, 15, iii. 13.
8. Fish Gate. 2 Chr. xxxiii. 14; Neh. iii. 3; Zeph. i. 10.
9. Dung Gate. Neh. ii. 13, iii. 13.
10. Sheep Gate. Neh. iii. 1, 32, xii. 39.
11. East Gate. Neh. iii. 29.
12. Miphkad. Neh. iii. 31.
13. Fountain Gate (Siloam?). Neh. xii. 37.
14. Water Gate. Neh. xii. 37.
15. Old Gate. Neh. xii. 39.
16. Prison Gate. Neh. xii. 39.
17. Gate Harsith (perhaps the Sun; A. V. East Gate). Jer. xix. 2.
18. First Gate. Zech. xiv. 10.
19. Gate Gennath (gardens). Joseph. *B. J.* v. 4, § 4.
20. Essenes' Gate. Joseph. *B. J.* 4, § 2.

To these should be added the following gates of the Temple:

Gate Sur. 2 K. xi. 6. Called also —
Gate of Foundation. 2 Chr. xxiii. 5.
Gate of the Guard, or behind the guard. 2 K. xi. 6, 19. Called the —
High Gate. 2 Chr. xxiii. 20, xxvii. 3; 2 K. xv. 35.
Gate Shallecheth. 1 Chr. xxvi. 16.

Burial-Grounds. — The main cemetery of the city seems from an early date to have been where it is still — on the steep slopes of the valley of the Kidron. Here it was that the fragments of the idol abominations, destroyed by Josiah, were cast on the "graves of the children of the people" (2 K. xxiii. 6), and the valley was always the receptacle for impurities of all kinds. There Maachah's idol was burnt by Asa (1 K. xv. 13); there, according to Josephus, Athaliah was executed; and there the "filthiness" accumulated in the sanctuary, by the false-worship of Ahaz, was discharged (2 Chr. xxix. 5, 16). But in addition to this, and although there is only a slight allusion in the Bible to the fact (Jer. vii. 32), many of the tombs now existing in the face of the ravine of Hinnom, on the south of the city, must be as old as Biblical times — and if so, show that this was also used as a cemetery. The monument of Ananus the high-priest (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 12, § 2) would seem to have been in this direction.

The tombs of the kings were in the city of David, that is, Mount Zion, which, as will be shown in the concluding section [III.] of this article, was an eminence on the northern part of Mount Moriah. [See opposite view in § IV. Amer. ed.] The royal sepulchres were probably chambers containing separate recesses for the successive kings. [TOMBS.] Of some of the kings it is recorded that, not being thought worthy of a resting-place there, they were buried in separate or private tombs in Mount Zion (2 Chr. xxi. 20, xxiv. 25; 2 K. xv. 7). Ahaz was not admitted to Zion at all, but was buried in Jerusalem (2 Chr. xxviii. 27). Other spots also were used for burial. Somewhere to the north of the Temple, and not far from the wall, was the monument of king Alexander (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 7, § 3). Near the northwest corner of the city was the monument of John the high-priest (Joseph. v. 6, § 2, &c.), and to the northeast the "monument of the Fuller" (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 4, § 2). On the north, too, were the monuments of Herod (v. 3, § 2) and of queen Helena (v. 2, § 2, 3, § 3), the former close to the "Serpent's Pool."

Wood; Gardens. — We have very little evidence as to the amount of wood and of cultivation that existed in the neighborhood of Jerusalem. The king's gardens of David and Solomon seem to have been in the bottom formed by the confluence of the Kedron and Hinnom (Neh. iii. 15; Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 14, § 4, ix. 10, § 4). The Mount of Olives, as its name and those of various places upon it seem to imply, was a fruitful spot. At its foot was situated the Garden of Gethsemane. At the time of the final siege, the space north of the wall of Agrippa was covered with gardens, groves, and plantations of fruit-trees, inclosed by hedges and walls; and to level these was one of Titus's first operations (*B. J.* v. 3, § 2). We know that the gate Gennath (*i. e.* "of gardens") opened on this side of the city (*B. J.* v. 4, § 2). The Valley of Hinnom was in Jerome's time "a pleasant and woody spot, full of delightful gardens watered from the fountain of Siloah" (*Comm. in Jer.* vii. 30). In the Talmud mention is made of a certain rose-garden outside the city, which was of great fame but no clew is given to its situation (Otho, *Lex.*

m, these mountains almost have the effect of a distant iew of the sea; the hues constantly changing, this r that precipitous rock coming out clear in the morn-ng or evening shade — there, the form dimly shad-owed out by surrounding valleys of what may possibly e Pisgah; here the point of Kerak, the capital of Moab and fortress of the Crusaders — and then at times all wrapt in deep haze — the mountains over hanging the valley of the shadow of death, and all the more striking from their contrast with the gray or green colors of the hills and streets and walls through which you catch the glimpse of them." (*S. & P.* p. 166, Amer. ed.) H.

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Rob. 266). [GARDEN.] The sieges of Jerusalem were too frequent during its later history to admit of any considerable growth of wood near it, even if the thin soil, which covers the rocky substratum, would allow of it. And the scarcity of earth again necessitated the cutting down of all the trees that could be found for the banks and mounds, with which the ancient sieges were conducted. This is expressly said in the accounts of the sieges of Pompey and Titus. In the latter case the country was swept of its timber for a distance of eight or nine miles from the city (*B. J.* vi. 8, § 1, &c.).

Water. — How the gardens just mentioned on the north of the city were watered it is difficult to understand, since at present no water exists in that direction. At the time of the siege (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 3, § 2) there was a reservoir in that neighborhood called the Serpent's Pool; but it has not been discovered in modern times. The subject of the waters is more particularly discussed in the third section, and reasons are shown for believing that at one time a very copious source existed somewhere north of the town, the outflow of which was stopped — possibly by Hezekiah, and the water led underground to reservoirs in the city and below the Temple. From these reservoirs the overflow escaped to the so-called Fount of the Virgin, and thence to Siloam, and possibly to the *Bir-Ayûb*, or "Well of Nehemiah." This source would seem to have been, and to be still the only *spring* in the city — but it was always provided with private and public cisterns. Some of the latter still remain. Outside the walls the two on the west side (*Birket Mamilla*, and *Birket es-Sultân*), generally known as the upper and lower reservoirs of Gihon, the small "pool of Siloam," with the larger *B. el-Hamra* close adjoining, and the *B. Hammam Sitti Maryam*, close to the St. Stephen's Gate. Inside are the so-called Pool of Hezekiah (*B. el-Batrak*), near the Jaffa gate, which receives the surplus water of the *Birket Mamilla;* and the *B. Israil* on the opposite side of the city, close to the St. Stephen's Gate, commonly known as the Pool of Bethesda. These two reservoirs are probably the Pools of Amygdalon and Struthius of Josephus, respectively. Dr. Barclay has discovered another reservoir below the *Mekemeh* in the low part of the city — the Tyropœon valley — west of the *Haram*, supplied by the aqueduct from Bethlehem and "Solomon's Pools." It is impossible within the limits of the present article to enter more at length into the subject of the waters. The reader is referred to the chapters on the subject in Barclay's *City of the Great King* (x. and xviii.), and Williams's *Holy City;* also to the articles KIDRON; SILOAM; POOL.

Streets, Houses, etc. — Of the nature of these in the ancient city we have only the most scattered notices. The "East Street" (2 Chr. xxix. 4); the "street of the city" — *i. e.* the city of David (xxxii. 6); the "street facing the water gate" (Neh. viii. 1, 3) — or, according to the parallel account in 1 Esdr. ix. 38, the "broad place (εὐρύχωρον) of the Temple towards the east;" the street of the house of God (Ezr. x. 9); the street of the gate of Ephraim" (Neh. viii. 16); and the "open place of the first gate towards the east" must have been not "streets" in our sense of the word, so much as the open spaces found in eastern towns round the inside of the gates. This is evident, not only from the word used, *Rechob*, which has the force of breadth or room, but also from the nature of the occurrences related in each case. The same places are intended in Zech. viii. 5. Streets, properly so called (*Chutzôth*), there were (Jer. v. 1, xi. 13, &c.) but the name of only one, "the Bakers' Street" (Jer. xxxvii. 21), is preserved to us. This is conjectured, from the names, to have been near the Tower of Ovens (Neh. xii. 38; "furnaces" is incorrect). A notice of streets of this kind in the 3d century B. C. is preserved by Aristeas (see p. 1292). At the time of the destruction by Titus the low part of the city was filled with narrow lanes, containing the bazaars of the town, and when the breach was made in the second wall it was at the spot where the cloth, brass, and wool bazaars abutted on the wall.

To the houses we have even less clew, but there is no reason to suppose that in either houses or streets the ancient Jerusalem differed very materially from the modern. No doubt the ancient city did not exhibit that air of mouldering dilapidation which is now so prominent there — that *sooty* look which gives its houses the appearance of "having been burnt down many centuries ago" (Richardson, in *S. & P.* p. 183), and which, as it is characteristic of so many eastern towns, must be ascribed to Turkish neglect. In another respect too, the modern city must present a different aspect from the ancient — the dull monotony of color which, at least during a part of the year,[a] pervades the slopes of the hills and ravines outside the walls. Not only is this the case on the west, where the city does not relieve the view, but also on the south. A dull, leaden ashy hue overspreads all. No doubt this is due, wholly or in part, to the enormous quantities of *débris* of stone and mortar which have been shot over the precipices after the numerous demolitions of the city. The whole of the slopes south of the Haram area (the ancient Ophel), and the modern Zion, and the west side of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, especially near the St. Stephen's Gate, are covered with these *débris*, lying as soft and loose as the day they were poured over, and presenting the appearance of gigantic mounds of rubbish.

In this point at least the ancient city stood in favorable contrast with the modern, but in many others the resemblance must have been strong. The nature of the site compels the walls in many places to retain their old positions. The southern part of the summit of the Upper City and the slopes of Ophel are now bare, where previous to the final siege they were covered with houses, and the North Wall has retired very much south of where it then stood; but, on the other hand, the West and East, and the western corner of the North Wall, are what they always were. And the look of the walls and gates, especially the Jaffa Gate, with the "Citadel" adjoining, and the Damascus Gate, is probably hardly changed from what it was. True, the minarets, domes, and spires, which give such a variety to the modern town, must have been absent; but their place was supplied by the four great towers at the northwest part of the wall; by the upper stories and turrets of Herod's palace, the palace of the Asmoneans, and the other public buildings: while the lofty fortress of Antonia, towering far above every building within the city,[b] and itself

[a] The writer was there in September, and the aspect above described left an ineffaceable impression on him.

[b] "Conspicuo fastigio turris Antonia" (Tac. *Hist.* v. 11).

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surmounted by the keep on its southeast corner, must have formed a feature in the view not altogether unlike (though more prominent than) the "Citadel" of the modern town. The flat roofs and the absence of windows, which give an eastern city so startling an appearance to a western traveller, must have existed then as now.

But the greatest resemblance must have been on the southeast side, towards the Mount of Olives. Though there can be no doubt (see below, Section III. p. 1314) that the inclosure is now much larger than it was, yet the precinct of the *Haram es-Sherif*, with its domes and sacred buildings, some of them clinging to the very spot formerly occupied by the Temple, must preserve what we may call the personal identity of this quarter of the city, but little changed in its general features from what it was when the Temple stood there. Nay, more: in the substructions of the inclosure — those massive and venerable walls, which once to see is never to forget — is the very masonry itself, its lower courses undisturbed, which was laid there by Herod the Great, and by Agrippa, possibly even by still older builders.

Environs of the City. — The various spots in the neighborhood of the city will be described at length under their own names, and to them the reader is accordingly referred. See EN-ROGEL; HINNOM; KIDRON; OLIVES, MOUNT OF, etc., etc.

II. THE ANNALS OF THE CITY.

In considering the annals of the city of Jerusalem, nothing strikes one so forcibly as the number and severity of the sieges which it underwent. We catch our earliest glimpse of it in the brief notice of the 1st chapter of Judges, which describes how the "children of Judah smote it with the edge of the sword, and set the city on fire;" and almost the latest mention of it in the New Testament is contained in the solemn warnings in which Christ foretold how Jerusalem should be "compassed with armies" (Luke xxi. 20), and the abomination of desolation be seen standing in the Holy Place (Matt. xxiv. 15). In the fifteen centuries which elapsed between those two points the city was besieged no fewer than seventeen times; twice it was razed to the ground; and on two other occasions its walls were levelled. In this respect it stands without a parallel in any city ancient or modern. The fact is one of great significance. The number of the sieges testifies to the importance of the town as a key to the whole country, and as the depositary of the accumulated treasures of the Temple, no less forcibly than do the severity of the contests and their protracted length to the difficulties of the position, and the obstinate enthusiasm of the Jewish people. At the same time the details of these operations, scanty as they are, throw considerable light on the difficult topography of the place; and on the whole they are in every way so characteristic, that it has seemed not unfit to use them as far as possible as a frame-work for the following rapid sketch of the history of the city.

The first siege appears to have taken place almost immediately after the death of Joshua (cir. 1400 B. C.). Judah and Simeon had been ordered by the divine oracle at Shiloh or Shechem to commence the task of actual possession of the portions distributed by Joshua. As they traversed the region south of these they encountered a large force of Canaanites at Bezek. These they dispersed, took prisoner Adoni-bezek, a ferocious petty chieftain, who was the terror of the country, and swept on their southward road. Jerusalem was soon reached.[a] It was evidently too important, and also too near the actual limits of Judah, to be passed by. "They fought against it and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and set the city on fire" (Judg. i. 8). To this brief notice Josephus (*Ant.* v. 2, § 2) makes a material addition. He tells us that the siege lasted some time (*σὺν χρόνῳ*); that the part which was taken at last, and in which the slaughter was made, was the lower city: but that the upper city was so strong, "by reason of its walls and also of the nature of the place," that they relinquished the attempt and moved off to Hebron (*Ant.* v. 2, § 23). These few valuable words of the old Jewish historian reveal one of those topographical peculiarities of the place — the possession of an upper as well as a lower city — which differenced it so remarkably from the other towns of Palestine — which enabled it to survive so many sieges and partial destructions, and which in the former section we have endeavored to explain. It is not to be wondered at that these characteristics, which must have been impressed with peculiar force on the mind of Josephus during the destruction of Jerusalem, of which he had only lately been a witness, should have recurred to him when writing the account of the earlier sieges.[b]

As long as the upper city remained in the hands of the Jebusites they practically had possession of the whole — and a Jebusite city in fact it remained for a long period after this. The Benjamites followed the men of Judah to Jerusalem, but with no better result — "They could not drive out the Jebusites, but the Jebusites dwelt with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day" (Judg. i. 21). At the time of the sad story of the Levite (Judg. xix.) — which the mention of Phinehas (xx. 28) fixes as early in the period of the Judges — Benjamin can hardly have had even so much footing as the passage just quoted would indicate; for the Levite refuses to enter it, not because it was hostile, but because it was "the city of a stranger, and not of Israel." And this lasted during the whole period of the Judges, the reign of Saul, and the reign of David at Hebron.[c] Owing to several

[a] According to Josephus, they did not attack Jerusalem till after they had taken many other towns — *πλείστας τε λαβόντες, ἀπολιόρκουν* Ἱ.

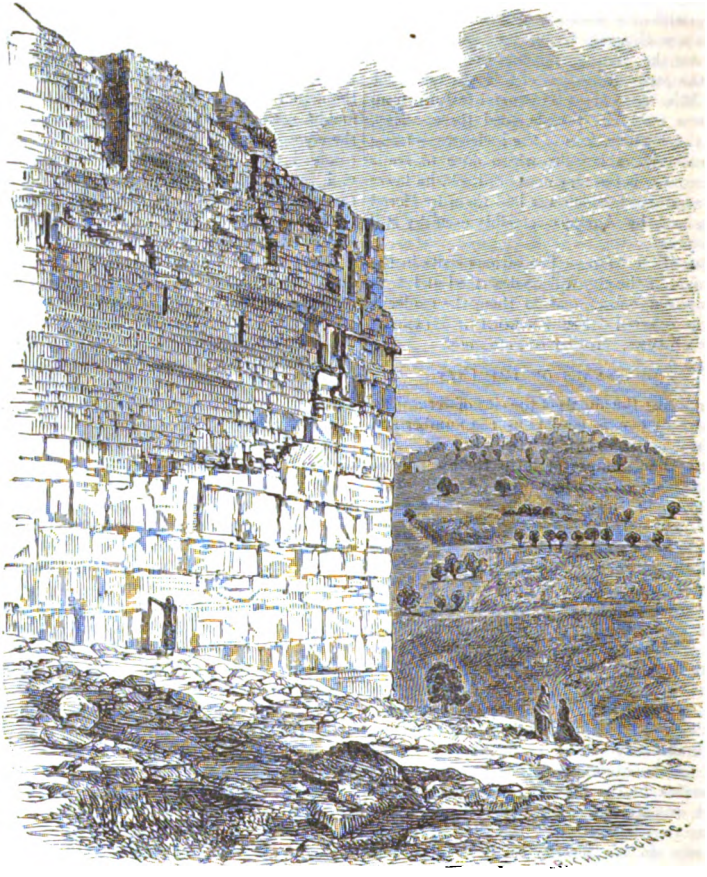
[b] See this noticed and contrasted with the situation of the villages in other parts by Prof. Stanley (*S. & P.* 161, 577, &c.).

[c] About half way through the period of the Judges — *i. e.* cir. B. C. 1320 — occurred an invasion of the territory of the Hittites (Khatti) by Sethee I. king of Egypt, and the capture of the capital city, Ketesh, in the land of Amar. This would not have been noticed here, had not Ketesh been by some writers identified with Jerusalem (Osborn, *Egypt. her Testimony*, etc.; also Williams in *Dict. of Geogr.* ii. 23, 24). The grounds of the identification are (1) the apparent affinity of the name (which they read Chadash) with the Greek Κάδυτις, the modern Arabic *el-Kuds*, and the Syriac *Kadatha;* (2) the affinity of Amar with Amorites; (3) a likeness between the form and situation of the city, as shown in a rude sketch in the Egyptian records, and that of Jerusalem. But on closer examination these correspondences vanish. Egyptian scholars are now agreed that Jerusalem is much too far south to suit the requirements of the rest of the campaign, and that Ketesh survives in *Kedes*, a name discovered by Robinson's teacher to o

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circumstances — the residence of the Ark at Shiloh — Saul's connection with Gibeah, and David's with Ziklag and Hebron — the disunion of Benjamin and Judah, symbolized by Saul's persecution of David — the tide of affairs was drawn northwards and southwards, and Jerusalem, with the places adjacent, was left in possession of the Jebusites. But as soon as a man was found to assume the rule over all Israel both north and south, so soon was it necessary that the seat of government should be moved from the remote Hebron nearer to the centre of the country, and the choice of David at once fell on the city of the Jebusites.

David advanced to the siege at the head of the men-of-war of all the tribes who had come to Hebron "to turn the kingdom of Saul to him." They are stated as 280,000 men, choice warriors of the flower of Israel (1 Chr. xii. 23–39). No doubt they approached the city from the south. The ravine of the Kedron, the valley of Hinnom, the hills south and southeast of the town, the uplands on the west must have swarmed with these hardy



JERUSALEM.

East Corner of the South Wall, and the Mount of Olives from the S. W.

warriors. As before, the lower city was immediately taken — and as before, the citadel held out (Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 3, § 1). The undaunted Jebusites, believing in the impregnability of their fortress, manned the battlements "with lame and blind."[a] But they little understood the temper of the king

lake and island on the Orontes between *Riblah* and *Hums*, and still showing traces of extensive artificial works. Nor does the agreement between the representation in the records and the site of Jerusalem fare better. For the stream, which was supposed to represent the ravines of Jerusalem — the nearest point of the resemblance — contained at Ketesh water enough to drown several persons (Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschrift.* ii. 21, &c.).

[a] The passage which forms the latter clause of 2 Sam. v. 8 is generally taken to mean that the blind and the lame were excluded from the Temple. But where is the proof of that this was the fact? On one occasion at least we know that "the blind and the lame" came to Christ in the Temple, and he healed them (Matt. xxi. 14). And indeed what had the Temple, which was not founded till long after this, to do with the matter? The explanation — which is in accordance with the accentuation of the Masoretes, and for which the writer is indebted to the kindness of the Rev. J. J. S. Perowne — would seem to be that it was a proverb used in future with regard to any impregnable fortress — "The blind and the lame are there; let him enter the place if he can." [G. T.]

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or of those he commanded. David's anger was thoroughly roused by the insult (ὀργισθείς, Joseph.), and he at once proclaimed to his host that the first man who would scale the rocky side of the fortress and kill a Jebusite should be made chief captain of the host. A crowd of warriors (πάντες, Joseph.), rushed forward to the attempt, but Joab's superior agility gained him the day,[a] and the citadel, the fastness of ZION, was taken (cir. 1046 B. C.). It is the first time that that memorable name appears in the history.

David at once proceeded to secure himself in his new acquisition. He inclosed the whole of the city with a wall, and connected it with the citadel. In the latter he took up his own quarters, and the Zion of the Jebusites became "the city of David."[b] [ZION; MILLO.] The rest of the town was left to the more immediate care of the new captain of the host.

The sensation caused by the fall of this impregnable fortress must have been enormous. It reached even to the distant Tyre, and before long an embassy arrived from Hiram, the king of Phœnicia, with the characteristic offerings of artificers and materials to erect a palace for David in his new abode. The palace was built, and occupied by the fresh establishment of wives and concubines which David acquired. Two attempts were made — the one by the Philistines alone (2 Sam. v. 17–21; 1 Chr. xiv. 8–12), the other by the Philistines, with all Syria and Phœnicia (Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 4, § 1; 2 Sam. v. 22–25) — to attack David in his new situation, but they did not affect the city, and the actions were fought in the "Valley of Giants," apparently north of Jerusalem, near Gibeah or Gibeon. The arrival of the Ark, however, was an event of great importance. The old Tabernacle of Bezaleel and Aholiab being now pitched on the height of Gibeon, a new tent had been spread by David in the fortress for the reception of the Ark; and here, "in its place," it was deposited with the most impressive ceremonies, and Zion became at once the great sanctuary of the nation. It now perhaps acquired the name of Beth ha-Har, the "house of the mount," of which we catch a glimpse in the LXX. addition to 2 Sam. xv. 24. In this tent the Ark remained, except for its short flight to the foot of the Mount of Olives with David (xv. 24–29), until it was removed to its permanent resting-place in the Temple of Solomon.

In the fortress of Zion, too, was the sepulchre of David, which became also that of most of his successors.

The only works of ornament which we can ascribe to David are the "royal gardens," as they are called by Josephus, which appear to have been formed by him in the level space southeast of the city, formed by the confluence of the valleys of Kedron and Hinnom, screened from the sun during part of the day by the shoulders of the inclosing mountains, and irrigated by the well *'Ain Eyúb*, which still appears to retain the name of Joab (Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 14, § 4; ix. 10, § 4).

Until the time of Solomon we hear of no additions to the city. His three great works were the Temple, with its east wall and cloister (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 5, § 1), his own Palace, and the Wall of Jerusalem. The two former will be best described elsewhere. [PALACE; SOLOMON; TEMPLE.] Of the last there is an interesting notice in Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 2, § 1; 6, § 1), from which it appears that David's wall was a mere rampart without towers, and only of moderate strength and height. One of the first acts of the new king was to make the walls larger — probably extend them round some outlying parts of the city — and strengthen them (1 K. iii. 1, with the explanation of Josephus, viii. 2, § 1). But on the completion of the Temple he again turned his attention to the walls, and both increased their height, and constructed very large towers along them (ix. 15, and Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 6, § 1). Another work of his in Jerusalem was the repair or fortification of Millo, whatever that strange term may signify (1 K. ix. 15, 24). It was in the works at Millo and the city of David — it is uncertain whether the latter consisted of stopping breaches (as in A. V.) or filling a ditch round the fortress (the Vulg. and others) — that Jeroboam first came under the notice of Solomon (1 K. xi. 27). Another was a palace for his Egyptian queen — of the situation of which all we know is that it was not in the city of David (1 K. vii. 8, ix. 24, with the addition in 2 Chr. viii. 11). But there must have been much besides these to fill up the measure of "all that Solomon desired to build in Jerusalem" (2 Chr. viii. 6) — the vast Harem for his 700 wives and 300 concubines, and their establishment — the colleges for the priests of the various religions of these women — the stables for the 1,400 chariots and 12,000 riding horses. Outside the city, probably on the Mount of Olives, there remained, down to the latest times of the monarchy (2 K. xxiii. 13), the fanes which he had erected for the worship of foreign gods (1 K. xi. 7), and which have still left their name clinging to the "Mount of Offense."

His care of the roads leading to the city is the subject of a special panegyric from Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 7, § 4). They were, as before observed, paved with black stone, probably the hard basalt from the region of Argob, on the east of Jordan, where he had a special resident officer.

As long as Solomon lived, the visits of foreign powers to Jerusalem were those of courtesy and amity; but with his death this was changed. A city, in the palaces of which all the vessels were of pure gold, where spices, precious stones, rare woods, curious animals, were accumulated in the greatest profusion; where silver was no more valued than the stones of the street, and considered too mean a material for the commonest of the royal purposes — such a city, governed by such a *fainéant* prince as Rehoboam, was too tempting a prey for the surrounding kings. He had only been on the throne four years (cir. 970 B. C.) before Shishak, king of Egypt, invaded Judah with an enormous host, took the fortified places and advanced to the capital. Jerusalem was crowded with the chief men of the realm who had taken refuge there (2 Chr. xii. 5), but Rehoboam did not attempt resistance. He opened his gates, apparently on a promise from Shishak that he would not pillage (Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 10, § 3). However, the promise was not kept, the treasures of the Temple and palace were carried off, and special mention is made of the golden

[a] A romantic legend is preserved in the *Midrash Tehillim*, on Ps. xviii. 29, of the stratagem by which Joab succeeded in reaching the top of the wall. (See quoted in Eisenmenger, i. 476, 477.)

[b] In the N. T. "the city of David" means Bethlehem.

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sconces (מְגִנִּים), which were hung by Solomon in the house of the forest of Lebanon (1 K. xiv. 25; 2 Chr. xii. 9; comp. 1 K. x. 17).[a]

Jerusalem was again threatened in the reign of Asa (grandson of Rehoboam), when Zerah the Cushite, or king of Ethiopia (Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 12, § 1), probably incited by the success of Shishak, invaded the country with an enormous horde of followers (2 Chr. xiv. 9). He came by the road through the low country of Philistia, where his chariots could find level ground. But Asa was more faithful and more valiant than Rehoboam had been. He did not remain to be blockaded in Jerusalem, but went forth and met the enemy at Mareshah, and repulsed him with great slaughter (cir. 940). The consequence of this victory was a great reformation extending throughout the kingdom, but most demonstrative at Jerusalem. A vast assembly of the men of Judah and Benjamin, of Simeon, even of Ephraim and Manasseh — now "strangers" (גֵּרִים) — was gathered at Jerusalem. Enormous sacrifices were offered; a prodigious enthusiasm seized the crowded city, and amidst the clamor of trumpets and shouting, oaths of loyalty to Jehovah were exchanged, and threats of instant death denounced on all who should forsake His service. The altar of Jehovah in front of the porch of the Temple, which had fallen into decay, was rebuilt; the horrid idol of the queen-mother — the mysterious Asherah, doubtless an abomination of the Syrian worship of her grandmother — was torn down, ground to powder, and burnt in the ravine of the Kedron. At the same time the vessels of the Temple, which had been plundered by Shishak, were replaced from the spoil taken by Abijah from Ephraim, and by Asa himself from the Cushites (2 Chr. xv. 8–19; 1 K. xv. 12–15). This prosperity lasted for more than ten years, but at the end of that interval the Temple was once more despoiled, and the treasures so lately dedicated to Jehovah were sent by Asa, who had himself dedicated them, as bribes to Ben-hadad at Damascus, where they probably enriched the temple of Rimmon (2 Chr. xvi. 2, 3; 1 K. xv. 18). Asa was buried in a tomb excavated by himself in the royal sepulchres in the citadel.

The reign of his son Jehoshaphat, though of great prosperity and splendor, is not remarkable as regards the city of Jerusalem. We hear of a "new court" to the Temple, but have no clew to its situation or its builder (2 Chr. xx. 5). An important addition to the government of the city was made by Jehoshaphat in the establishment of courts for the decision of causes both ecclesiastical and civil (2 Chr. xix. 8–11).

Jehoshaphat's son Jehoram was a prince of a different temper. He began his reign (cir. 887) by a massacre of his brethren, and of the chief men of the kingdom. Instigated, no doubt, by his wife Athaliah, he reintroduced the profligate licentious worship of Ashtaroth and the high places (2 Chr. xxi. 11), and built a temple for Baal (2 Chr. xxiii. 17; comp. Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 7, § 4). Though a man of great vigor and courage, he was overcome by an invasion of one of those huge hordes which were now almost periodical. The Philistines and Arabians attacked Jerusalem, broke into the palace, spoiled it of all its treasures, sacked the royal harem, killed or carried off the king's wives, and all his sons but one. This was the fourth siege. Two years after it the king died, universally detested, and so strong was the feeling against him that he was denied a resting-place in the sepulchres of the kings, but was buried without ceremony in a private tomb on Zion (2 Chr. xxi. 20).

The next events in Jerusalem were the massacre of the royal children by Joram's widow Athaliah, and the six years' reign of that queen. During her sway the worship of Baal was prevalent and that of Jehovah proportionately depressed. The Temple was not only suffered to go without repair, but was even mutilated by the sons of Athaliah, and its treasures removed to the temple of Baal (2 Chr. xxiv. 7). But with the increasing years of Joash, the spirit of the adherents of Jehovah returned, and the confederacy of Jehoiada the priest with the chief men of Judah resulted in the restoration of the true line. The king was crowned and proclaimed in the Temple. Athaliah herself was hurried out to execution from the sacred precincts into the valley of the Kedron (Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 7, § 3), between the Temple and Olivet, through the Horse Gate.[b] The temple of Baal was demolished, his altars and images destroyed, his priests put to death, and the religion of Jehovah was once more the national religion. But the restoration of the Temple advanced but slowly, and it was not till three-and-twenty years had elapsed, that through the personal interference of the king the ravages of the Baal worshippers were repaired (2 K. xii. 6–16), and the necessary vessels and utensils furnished for the service of the Temple (2 Chr. xxiv. 14. But see 2 K. xii. 13; Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 8, § 2). But this zeal for Jehovah soon expired. The solemn ceremonial of the burial of the good priest in the royal tombs, among the kings, can hardly have been forgotten before a general relapse into idolatry took place, and his son Zechariah was stoned with his family[c] in the very court of the Temple for protesting.

The retribution invoked by the dying martyr quickly followed. Before the end of the year (cir. 838), Hazael king of Syria, after possessing himself of Gath, marched against the much richer prize of Jerusalem. The visit was averted by a timely offering of treasure from the Temple and the royal palace (2 K. xii. 18; 2 Chr. xxiv. 21, Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 8, § 4), but not before an action had been fought, in which a large army of the Israelites was routed by a very inferior force of Syr-

[a] According to Josephus he also carried off the arms which David had taken from the king of Zobah; but these were afterwards in the Temple, and did service at the proclamation of king Joash. [ARMS, Shelet, p. 162.]

[b] The Horse Gate is mentioned again in connection with Kidron by Jeremiah (xxxi. 40). Possibly the same was perpetuated in the gate Susan (*Sus* = horse) of the second Temple, the only gate on the east side of the outer wall (Lightfoot, *Prosp. of Temple*, iii.).

[c] From the expression in xxiv 25, "sons of Jehoiada," we are perhaps warranted in believing that Zechariah's brethren or his sons were put to death with him. The LXX. and Vulg. have the word in the singular number "son;" but, on the other hand, the Syriac and Arabic, and the Targum all agree with the Hebrew text, and it is specially mentioned in Jerome's *Quæst. Hebr.* It is perhaps supported by the special notice taken of the exception made by Amaziah in the case of the murderers of his father (2 K. xiv 6; 2 Chr xxv. 4). The case of Naboth is a parallel [See ELIJAH, p 706, note *f*.]

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ans, with the loss of a great number of the principal people and of a vast booty. Nor was this all. These reverses so distressed the king as to bring on a dangerous illness, in the midst of which he was assassinated by two of his own servants, sons of two of the foreign women who were common in the royal harems. He was buried on Mount Zion, though, like Jehoram, denied a resting-place in the royal tombs (2 Chr. xxiv. 25). The predicted danger to the city was, however, only postponed. Amaziah began his reign (B. C. 837) with a promise of good; his first act showed that, while he knew how to avenge the murder of his father, he could also restrain his wrath within the bounds prescribed by the law of Jehovah. But with success came deterioration. He returned from his victories over the Edomites, and the massacre at Petra, with fresh idols to add to those which already defiled Jerusalem — the images of the children of Seir, or of the Amalekites (Josephus), which were erected and worshipped by the king. His next act was a challenge to Joash the king of Israel, and now the danger so narrowly escaped from Hazael was actually encountered. The battle took place at Beth-shemesh of Judah, at the opening of the hills, about 12 miles west of Jerusalem. It ended in a total rout. Amaziah, forsaken by his people, was taken prisoner by Joash, who at once proceeded to Jerusalem and threatened to put his captive to death before the walls, if he and his army were not admitted. The gates were thrown open, the treasures of the Temple — still in the charge of the same family to whom they had been committed by David — and the king's private treasures, were pillaged, and for the first time the walls of the city were injured. A clear breach was made in them of 400 cubits in length "from the gate of Ephraim to the corner gate," and through this Joash drove in triumph, with his captive in the chariot, into the city.[a] This must have been on the north side, and probably at the present northwest corner of the walls. If so, it is the first recorded attempt at that spot, afterwards the favorite point for the attack of the upper city.

The long reign of Uzziah (2 K. xv. 1–7; 2 Chr. xxvi.) brought about a material improvement in the fortunes of Jerusalem. He was a wise and good[b] prince (Joseph. ix. 10, § 3), very warlike, and a great builder. After some campaigns against foreign enemies, he devoted himself to the care of Jerusalem for the whole of his life (Joseph.). The walls were thoroughly repaired, the portion broken down by Joash was rebuilt and fortified with towers at the corner gate; and other parts which had been allowed to go to ruin — as the gate opening on the Valley of Hinnom,[c] a spot called the "turning" (see Neh. iii. 19, 20, 24), and others, were renewed and fortified, and furnished for the first time with machines, then expressly invented, for shooting stones and arrows against besiegers. Later in this reign happened the great earthquake, which, although unmentioned in the historical books of the Bible, is described by Josephus (ix. 10, § 4), and alluded to by the Prophets as a kind of era (see Stanley, *S. & P.* pp. 184, 125). A serious breach was made in the Temple itself, and below the city a large fragment was detached from the hill[d] at En-rogel, and, rolling down the slope, overwhelmed the king's gardens at the junction of the valleys of Hinnom and Kedron, and rested against the bottom of the slope of Olivet. After the leprosy of Uzziah, he left the sacred precincts, in which the palace would therefore seem to have been situated, and resided in the hospital or lazar-house till his death.[e] He was buried on Zion, with the kings (2 K. xv. 7); not in the sepulchre itself, but in a garden or field attached to the spot.

Jotham (cir. 756) inherited his father's sagacity, as well as his tastes for architecture and warfare. His works in Jerusalem were building the upper gateway to the Temple — apparently a gate communicating with the palace (2 Chr. xxiii. 20) — and also porticoes leading to the same (*Ant.* ix. 11, § 2). He also built much on Ophel, — probably on the south of Moriah (2 K. xv. 35; 2 Chr. xxvii. 3), — repaired the walls wherever they were dilapidated, and strengthened them by very large and strong towers (Joseph.). Before the death of Jotham (B. C. 740) the clouds of the Syrian invasion began to gather. They broke on the head of Ahaz his successor; Rezin king of Syria and Pekah king of Israel joined their armies and invested Jerusalem (2 K. xvi. 5). The fortifications of the two previous kings enabled the city to hold out during a siege of great length (ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον, Joseph.). During its progress Rezin made an expedition against the distant town of Elath on the Red Sea, from which he expelled the Jews, and handed it over to the Edomites (2 K. xvi. 6; *Ant.* ix. 12, § 1). [AHAZ.] Finding on his return that the place still held out, Rezin ravaged Judæa and returned to Damascus with a multitude of captives, leaving Pekah to continue the blockade.

Ahaz, thinking himself a match for the Israelite army, opened his gates and came forth. A tremendous conflict ensued, in which the three chiefs of the government next to the king, and a hundred and twenty thousand of the able warriors of the army of Judah, are stated to have been killed, and Pekah returned to Samaria with a crowd of captives, and a great quantity of spoil collected from the Benjamite towns north of Jerusalem (Joseph.). Ahaz himself escaped, and there is no mention, in any of the records, of the city having been plundered. The captives and the spoil were however sent back by the people of Samaria — a fact which, as it has no bearing on the history of the city, need here only be referred to, because from the narrative

[a] This is an addition by Josephus (ix. 9, § 9). If it really happened, the chariot must have been sent round by a flatter road than that which at present would be the direct road from *Ain-Shems*. Since the time of Solomon, chariots would seem to have become unknown in Jerusalem. At any rate we should infer, from the notice in 2 K. xiv. 2, that the royal establishment could not at that time boast of one.

[b] The story of his leprosy at any rate shows his zeal for Jehovah.

[c] 2 Chr. xxvi. 9. The word rendered "the valley" is גֵּיא, always employed for the valley on the west and south of the town, as נַחַל is for that on the east.

[d] This will be the so-called Mount of Evil Counsel, or the hill below Moriah, according as En-rogel is taken to be the "Well of Joab" or the "Fount of the Virgin."

[e] בֵּית הַחָפְשׁוּת. The interpretation given above is that of Kimchi, adopted by Gesenius, Fürst and Bertheau. Keil (on 2 K. xv. 5) and Hengstenberg however, contend for a different meaning.

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we learn that the nearest or most convenient route from Samaria to Jerusalem at that time was not, as now, along the plateau of the country, but by the depths of the Jordan Valley, and through Jericho (2 K. xvi. 5; 2 Chr. xxviii. 5–15; Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 12, § 2).

To oppose the confederacy which had so injured him, Ahaz had recourse to Assyria. He appears first to have sent an embassy to Tiglath-Pileser with presents of silver and gold taken from the treasures of the Temple and the palace (2 K. xvi. 8), which had been recruited during the last two reigns, and with a promise of more if the king would overrun Syria and Israel (*Ant.* ix. 12, § 3). This Tiglath-Pileser did. He marched to Damascus, took the city, and killed Rezin. While there, Ahaz visited him, probably to make his formal submission of vassalage,[a] and gave him the further presents. To collect these he went so far as to lay hands on part of the permanent works of the Temple — the original constructions of Solomon, which none of his predecessors had been bold enough or needy enough to touch. He cut off the richly chased panels which ornamented the brass bases of the cisterns, dismounted the large tank or "sea" from the brazen bulls, and supported it on a pedestal of stone, and removed the "cover for the sabbath," and the ornamental stand on which the kings were accustomed to sit in the Temple (2 K. xvi. 17, 18).

Whether the application to Assyria relieved Ahaz from one or both of his enemies, is not clear. From one passage it would seem that Tiglath-Pileser actually came to Jerusalem (2 Chr. xxviii. 20). At any rate the intercourse resulted in fresh idolatries, and fresh insults to the Temple. A new brazen altar was made after the profane fashion of one he had seen at Damascus, and was set up in the centre of the court of the Temple, to occupy the place and perform the functions of the original altar of Solomon, now removed to a less prominent position (see 2 K. xvi. 12–15, with the expl. of Keil); the very sanctuary itself (הֵיכָל, and דְּבִיר) was polluted by idol-worship of some kind or other (2 Chr. xxix. 5, 16). Horses dedicated to the sun were stabled at the entrance to the court, with their chariots (2 K. xxiii. 11). Altars for sacrifice to the moon and stars were erected on the flat roofs of the Temple (*ibid.* 12). Such consecrated vessels as remained in the house of Jehovah were taken thence, and either transferred to the service of the idols (2 Chr. xxix. 19), or cut up and re-manufactured; the lamps of the sanctuary were extinguished[b] (xxix. 7), and for the first time the doors of the Temple were closed to the worshippers (xxviii. 24), and their offerings seized for the idols (Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 12, § 3). The famous sun-dial was erected at this time, probably in the Temple.[c] When Ahaz at last died, it is not wonderful that a meaner fate was awarded him than that of even the leprous Uzziah. He was excluded not only from the royal sepulchres, but from the precincts of Zion, and was buried "in the city — in Jerusalem."[d] The very first act of Hezekiah (B. C. 724) was to restore what his father had desecrated (2 Chr. xxix. 3; and see 36, "suddenly"). The Levites were collected and inspirited; the Temple freed from its impurities both actual and ceremonial; the accumulated abominations being discharged into the valley of the Kedron. The full musical service of the Temple was reorganized with the instruments and the hymns ordained by David and Asaph; and after a solemn sin-offering for the late transgressions had been offered in the presence of the king and princes, the public were allowed to testify their acquiescence in the change by bringing their own thank-offerings (2 Chr. xxix. 1–36). This was done on the 17th of the first month of his reign. The regular time for celebrating the Passover was therefore gone by. But there was a law (Num. ix. 10, 11) which allowed the feast to be postponed for a month on special occasions, and of this law Hezekiah took advantage, in his anxiety to obtain from the whole of his people a national testimony to their allegiance to Jehovah and his laws (2 Chr. xxx. 2, 3). Accordingly at the special invitation of the king a vast multitude, not only from his own dominions, but from the northern kingdom, even from the remote Asher and Zebulun, assembled at the capital. Their first act was to uproot and efface all traces of the idolatry of the preceding and former reigns. High-places, altars, the mysterious and obscene symbols of Baal and Asherah, the venerable brazen serpent of Moses itself, were torn down, broken to pieces, and the fragments cast into the valley of the Kedron[e] (2 Chr. xxx. 14: 2 K. xviii. 4). This done, the feast was kept for two weeks, and the vast concourse dispersed. The permanent service of the Temple was next thoroughly organized, the subsistence of the officiating ministers arranged, and provision made for storing the supplies (2 Chr. xxxi. 2–21). It was probably at this time that the decorations of the Temple were renewed, and the gold or other precious plating,[f] which had been removed by former kings, reapplied to the doors and pillars (2 K. xviii. 16).

And now approached the greatest crisis which had yet occurred in the history of the city: the dreaded Assyrian army was to appear under its walls. Hezekiah had in some way intimated that he did not intend to continue as a dependent — and the great king was now (in the 14th year of Hezekiah, cir. 711 B. C.) on his way to chastise him. The Assyrian army had been for some time in Phœnicia and on the sea-coast of Philistia (Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. 476), and Hezekiah had therefore had warning of his approach. The delay was taken advantage of to prepare for the siege. As before,

[a] This follows from the words of 2 K. xviii. 7.

[b] In the old Jewish Calendar the 18th of Ab was kept as a fast, to commemorate the putting out the western light of the great candlestick by Ahas.

[c] There is an *a priori* probability that the dial would be placed in a sacred precinct; but may we not infer, from comparing 2 K. xx. 4 with 9, that it was in the "middle court," and that the sight of it there as he passed through had suggested to Isaiah the "sign" which was to accompany the king's recovery?

[d] Such is the express statement of 2 Chr. xxvi. 27. The book of Kings repeats its regular formula Josephus omits all notice of the burial.

[e] The record, we apprehend, does not recognise this distinction between Zion and Jerusalem. See § IV Amer. ed. S. W.

[e] And yet it would seem, from the account of Josiah's reforms (2 K. xxiii. 11, 12), that many of Ahaz's intrusions survived even the zeal of Hezekiah.

[f] The word "gold" is supplied by our translators but the word "overlaid" (צִפָּה) shows that some metallic coating is intended.

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Hezekiah made the movement a national one. A great concourse came together. The springs round Jerusalem were stopped — that is, their outflow was prevented, and the water diverted underground to the interior of the city (2 K. xx. 20; 2 Chr. xxxii. 4). This was particularly the case with the spring which formed the source of the stream of the Kedron,[a] elsewhere called the "upper springhead of Gihon" (2 Chr. xxxii. 30; A. V. most incorrectly "water-course"). It was led down by a subterraneous channel "through the hard rock" (2 Chr. xxxii. 30; Ecclus. xlviii. 17), to the west side of the city of David (2 K. xx. 20), that is, into the valley which separated the Mount Moriah and Zion from the Upper City, and where traces of its presence appear to this day (Barclay, 310, 538). This done, he carefully repaired the walls of the city, furnished them with additional towers, and built a second wall (2 Chr. xxxii. 5; Is. xxii. 10). The water of the reservoir, called the "lower pool," or the "old pool," was diverted to a new tank in the city between the two walls[b] (Is. xxii. 11). Nor was this all: as the struggle would certainly be one for life and death, he strengthened the fortifications of the citadel (2 Chr. xxxii. 5, "Millo;" Is. xxii. 9), and prepared abundance of ammunition. He also organized the people, and officered them, gathered them together in the open place at the gate, and inspired them with confidence in Jehovah (xxxii. 6).

The details of the Assyrian invasion or invasions will be found under the separate heads of SENNACHERIB and HEZEKIAH. It is possible that Jerusalem was once regularly invested by the Assyrian army. It is certain that the army encamped there on another occasion, that the generals—the Tartan, the chief Cup-bearer, and the chief Eunuch — held a conversation with Hezekiah's chief officers outside the walls, most probably at or about the present *Kasr Jalud* at the N. W. corner of the city, while the wall above was crowded with the anxious inhabitants. At the time of Titus's siege the name of "the Assyrian Camp" was still attached to a spot north of the city, in remembrance either of this or the subsequent visit of Nebuchadnezzar (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 12, § 2). But though untaken — though the citadel was still the 'virgin daughter of Zion" — yet Jerusalem did not escape unharmed. Hezekiah's treasures had to be emptied, and the costly ornaments he had added to the Temple were stripped off to make up the tribute. This, however, he had recovered by the time of the subsequent visit of the ambassadors from Babylon, as we see from the account in 2 K. xx. 12; and 2 Chr. xxxii. 27–29. The death of this good and great king was indeed a national calamity, and so it was considered. He was buried in one of the chief of the royal sepulchres, and a vast concourse from the country, as well as of the citizens of Jerusalem, assembled to join in the wailings at the funeral (2 Chr. xxxii. 33).

The reign of Manasseh (B. C. 696) must have been an eventful one in the annals of Jerusalem though only meagre indications of its events are to be found in the documents. He began by plunging into all the idolatries of his grandfather — restoring all that Hezekiah had destroyed, and desecrating the Temple and the city with even more offensive idolatries than those of Ahaz (2 Chr. xxxiii. 2–9; 2 K. xxi. 2–9). In this career of wickedness he was stopped by an invasion of the Assyrian army, by whom he was taken prisoner and carried to Babylon, where he remained for some time. The rest of his long reign was occupied in attempting to remedy his former misdoings, and in the repair and conservation of the city (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 3, § 2). He built a fresh wall to the citadel, "from the west side of Gihon-in-the-valley to the Fish Gate," *i. e.* apparently along the east side of the central valley, which parts the upper and lower cities from S. to N. He also continued the works which had been begun by Jotham at Ophel, and raised that fortress or structure to a great height. On his death he was buried in a private tomb in the garden attached to his palace, called also the garden of Uzza (2 K. xxi. 18; 2 Chr. xxxiii. 20). Here also was interred his son Amon after his violent death, following an uneventful but idolatrous reign of two years (2 Chr. xxxiii. 21–25; 2 K. xxi. 19–26).

The reign of Josiah (B. C. 639) was marked by a more strenuous zeal for Jehovah than even that of Hezekiah had been. He began his reign at eight years of age, and by his 20th year (12th of his reign — 2 Chr. xxxiv. 3) commenced a thorough removal of the idolatrous abuses of Manasseh and Amon, and even some of Ahaz, which must have escaped the purgations of Hezekiah[c] (2 K. xxiii. 12). As on former occasions, these abominations were broken up small and carried down to the bed of the Kidron — which seems to have served almost the purpose of a common sewer, and there calcined and dispersed. The cemetery, which still paves the sides of that valley, had already begun to exist, and the fragments of the broken altars and statues were scattered on the graves that they might be effectually defiled, and thus prevented from further use. On the opposite side of the valley, somewhere on the Mount of Olives, were the erections which Solomon had put up for the deities of his foreign wives. Not one of these was spared; they were all annihilated, and dead bones scattered over the places where they had stood. These things occupied six years, at the expiration of which, in the first month of the 18th year of his reign (2 Chr. xxxv. 1; 2 K. xxiii. 23), a solemn passover was held, emphatically recorded to have been the greatest since the time of Samuel (2 Chr. xxxv. 18). This seems to have been the crowning ceremony of the

[a] The authority for this is the use here of the word *Nachal*, which is uniformly applied to the valley east of the city, as *Ge* is to that west and south. There are other grounds which are stated in the concluding section of this article. Similar measures were taken by the Moslems on the approach of the Crusaders (Will. of Tyre, viii. 7, quoted by Robinson, i. 346 note).

[b] The reservoir between the Jaffa Gate and the Church of the Sepulchre, now usually called the Pool of Hezekiah, cannot be either of the works alluded to above. If an ancient construction, it is probably the Almond Pool of Josephus. (For the reasons, see Williams, *Holy City*, 35–38, 488.)

[c] See opposite view by Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* i. 512 f.; 1852, p. 243 f. S. W.

[c] The narrative in Kings appears to place the destruction of the images after the king's solemn covenant in the Temple, *i. e.* after the completion of the repairs. But, on the other hand, there are the dates given in 2 Chr. xxxiv. 8, xxxv. 1, 19, which fix the Passover to the 14th of the 1st month of his 18th year, too early in the year for the repair which was begun in the same year to have preceded it.

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purification of the Temple; and it was at once followed by a thorough renovation of the fabric (2 Chr. xxxiv. 8; 2 K. xxii. 3). The cost was met by offerings collected at the doors (2 K. xxii. 4), and also throughout the country (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 4, § 1), not only of Judah and Benjamin, but also of Ephraim and the other northern tribes (2 Chr. xxxiv. 9). It was during these repairs that the book of the Law was found; and shortly after all the people were convened to Jerusalem to hear it read, and to renew the national covenant with Jehovah.[a] The mention of Huldah the prophetess (2 Chr. xxxiv. 22; 2 K. xxii. 14) introduces us to the lower city under the name of "the Mishneh" (הַמִּשְׁנֶה), A. V. "college," "school," or "second part").[b] The name also survives in the book of Zephaniah, a prophet of this reign (i. 10), who seems to recognize "the Fish Gate," and "the lower city," and "the hills," as the three main divisions of the city.

Josiah's death took place at a distance from Jerusalem; but he was brought there for his burial, and was placed in "his own sepulchre" (2 K. xxiii. 30), or "in the sepulchre of his fathers" (2 Chr. xxxv. 24), probably that already tenanted by Manasseh and Amon. (See 1 Esdr. i. 31.)

Josiah's rash opposition to Pharaoh-Necho cost him his life, his son his throne, and Jerusalem much suffering. Before Jehoahaz (B. C. 608) had been reigning three months, the Egyptian king found opportunity to send to Jerusalem,[c] from Riblah where he was then encamped, a force sufficient to depose and take him prisoner, to put his brother Eliakim on the throne, and to exact a heavy fine from the city and country, which was paid in advance by the new king, and afterwards extorted by taxation (2 K. xxiii. 33, 35).

The fall of the city was now rapidly approaching. During the reign of Jehoiakim — such was the new name which at Necho's order Eliakim had assumed — Jerusalem was visited by Nebuchadnezzar, with the Babylonian army lately victorious over the Egyptians at Carchemish. The visit was possibly repeated once, or even twice.[d] A siege there must have been; but of this we have no account. We may infer how severe was the pressure on the surrounding country, from the fact that the very Bedouins were driven within the walls by "the fear of the Chaldæans and of the Syrians" (Jer. xxv. 11). We may also infer that the Temple was entered, since Nebuchadnezzar carried off some of the vessels therefrom for his temple at Babylon (2 Chr. xxxvi. 7), and that Jehoiakim was treated with great indignity (*ibid.* 6). In the latter part of this reign we discern the country harassed and pillaged by marauding bands from the east of Jordan (2 K. xxiv. 2).

Jehoiakim was succeeded by his son Jehoiachin (B. C. 597). Hardly had his short reign begun before the terrible army of Babylon reappeared before the city, again commanded by Nebuchadnezzar (2 K. xxiv. 10, 11). Jehoiachin's disposition appears to have made him shrink from inflicting on the city the horrors of a long siege (*B. J.* vi. 2, § 1), and he therefore surrendered in the third month of his reign. The treasures of the palace and Temple were pillaged, certain golden articles of Solomon's original establishment which had escaped the plunder and desecrations of the previous reigns, were cut up (2 K. xxiv. 13), and the more desirable objects out of the Temple carried off (Jer. xxvii. 19). The first deportation that we hear of from the city now took place. The king, his wives, and the queen mother, with their eunuchs and whole establishment, the princes, 7,000 warriors, and 1,000 artificers — in all 10,000 souls, were carried off to Babylon (*ibid.* 14–16). The uncle of Jehoiachin was made king in his stead, by the name of Zedekiah, under a solemn oath ("by God") of allegiance (2 Chr. xxxvi. 13; Ez. xvii. 13, 14, 18). Had he been content to remain quiet under the rule of Babylon, the city might have stood many years longer; but he was not. He appears to have been tempted with the chance of relief afforded by the accession of Pharaoh Hophra, and to have applied to him for assistance (Ez. xvii. 15). Upon this Nebuchadnezzar marched in person to Jerusalem, arriving in the ninth year of Zedekiah, on the 10th day of the 10th month[e] (B. C. 588), and at once began a regular siege, at the same time wasting the country far and near (Jer. xxxiv. 7). The siege was conducted by erecting forts on lofty mounds round the city, from which, on the usual Assyrian plan,[f] missailes were discharged into the town, and the walls and houses in them battered by rams (Jer. xxxi. 24, xxxiii. 4, lii. 4; Ez. xxi. 22; Joseph. *Ant.* x. 8, § 1). The city was also surrounded with troops (Jer. lii. 7). The siege was once abandoned, owing to the approach of the Egyptian army (Jer. xxxvii. 5, 11), and during the interval the gates of the city were reopened (*ibid.* 13). But the relief was only temporary, and, in the 11th of Zedekiah (B. C. 586), on the 9th day of the 4th month (Jer. lii. 6), being just a year and a half from the first investment, the city was taken. Nebuchadnezzar had in the mean time retired from Jerusalem to Riblah to watch the more important siege of Tyre, then in the last year of its progress. The besieged seem to have suffered severely both from hunger and disease (Jer. xxvii. 24), but chiefly from the former

[a] This narrative has some interesting correspondences with that of Joash's coronation (2 K. xi.). Amongst these is the singular expression, the king stood "on the pillar." In the present case Josephus understands this as an official spot — ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος.

[b] See Kell on 2 K. xxii. 14. [In regard to this rendering of the A. V., see addition to COLLEGE, Amer. ed. H.]

[c] This event would surely be more emphatically related in the Bible, if Jerusalem were the Cadytis which Necho is recorded by Herodotus to have destroyed after the battle at Megiddo. The Bible records pass over in total silence, or notice only in a casual way, events which occurred close to the Israelite territory, when those events do not affect the Israelites themselves; instances the 29-years' siege of Ashdod by Psammetichus, Necho's predecessor; the destruction of Gezer by a former Pharaoh (1 K. ix. 16), etc. But when events do affect them, they are mentioned with more or less detail. The question of Cadytis is discussed by Sir G. Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, ii. 246, note; also by Kenrick, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 406

[d] It seems impossible to reconcile the accounts of this period in Kings, Chronicles, and Jeremiah, with Josephus and the other sources. For one view see JEHOIAKIM. For an opposite one see Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 509–514.

[e] According to Josephus (*Ant.* x. 7, § 4), this date was the commencement of the final portion of the siege. But there is nothing in the Bible records to support this.

[f] For the sieges see Layard's *Nineveh* ii. 366, etc.

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2 K. xxv 3; Jer. lii. 6; Lam. v. 10). But they would perhaps have held out longer had not a breach in the wall been effected on the day named. It was at midnight (Joseph.). The whole city was wrapt in the pitchy darkness[a] characteristic of an eastern town, and nothing was known by the Jews of what had happened till the generals of the army entered the Temple (Joseph.) and took their seats in the middle court[b] (Jer. xxxix. 3; Joseph. *Ant.* x. 8, § 2). Then the alarm was given to Zedekiah, and, collecting his remaining warriors, they stole out of the city by a gate at the south side, somewhere near the present *Bab el-Mugharibeh*, crossed the Kedron above the royal gardens, and made their way over the Mount of Olives to the Jordan Valley. At break of day information of the flight was brought to the Chaldæans by some deserters. A rapid pursuit was made: Zedekiah was overtaken near Jericho, his people were dispersed, and he himself captured and reserved for a miserable fate at Riblah. Meantime the wretched inhabitants suffered all the horrors of assault and sack: the men were slaughtered, old and young, prince and peasant; the women violated in Mount Zion itself (Lam. ii. 4, v. 11, 12).

On the seventh day of the following month (2 K. xxv. 8), Nebuzaradan, the commander of the king's body-guard, who seems to have been charged with Nebuchadnezzar's instructions as to what should be done with the city, arrived. Two days were passed, probably in collecting the captives and booty; and on the tenth (Jer. lii. 12) the Temple, the royal palace, and all the more important buildings of the city, were set on fire, and the walls thrown down and left as heaps of disordered rubbish on the ground (Neh. iv. 2). The spoil of the city consisted apparently of little more than the furniture of the Temple. A few small vessels in gold[c] and silver, and some other things in brass were carried away whole — the former under the especial eye of Nebuzaradan himself (2 K. xxv. 15: comp. Jer. xxvii. 19). But the larger objects, Solomon's huge brazen basin or sea with its twelve bulls, the ten bases, the two magnificent pillars, Jachin and Boaz, too heavy and too cumbrous for transport, were broken up. The pillars were almost the only parts of Solomon's original construction which had not been mutilated by the sacrilegious hands of some Baal-worshipping monarch or other, and there is quite a touch of pathos in the way in which the chronicler lingers over his recollections of their height, their size, and their ornaments — capitals, wreathen work, and pomegranates, "all of brass."

The previous deportations, and the sufferings endured in the siege, must to a great extent have drained the place of its able-bodied people, and thus the captives, on this occasion, were but few and unimportant. The high-priest, and four other officers of the Temple, the commanders of the fighting men, five[d] people of the court, the mustering officer of the army, and sixty selected private persons, were reserved to be submitted to the king at Riblah. The daughters of Zedekiah, with their children and establishment (Jer. xli. 10, 16; comp. *Ant.* x. 9, § 4), and Jeremiah the prophet (*ibid.* xl. 5), were placed by Nebuzaradan at Mizpeh under the charge of Gedaliah ben-Ahikam, who had been appointed as superintendent of the few poor laboring people left to carry on the necessary husbandry and vine-dressing. In addition to these were some small bodies of men in arms, who had perhaps escaped from the city before the blockade, or in the interval of the siege, and who were hovering on the outskirts of the country watching what might turn up (Jer. xl. 7, 8). [ISHMAEL, 6.] The remainder of the population — numbering, with the 7 above named, 832 souls (Jer. lii. 29) — were marched off to Babylon. About two months after this Gedaliah was murdered by Ishmael, and then the few people of consideration left with Jeremiah went into Egypt. Thus the land was practically deserted of all but the very poorest class. Even these were not allowed to remain in quiet. Five years afterwards — the 23d of Nebuchadnezzar's reign — the insatiable Nebuzaradan, on his way to Egypt (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 9, § 7), again visited the ruins, and swept off 745 more of the wretched peasants (Jer. lii. 30).

Thus Jerusalem at last had fallen, and the Temple, set up under such fair auspices, was a heap of blackened ruins.[e] The spot, however, was none the less sacred because the edifice was destroyed, and it was still the resort of devotees, sometimes from great distances, who brought their offerings — in strange heathenish guise indeed, but still with a true feeling — to weep and wail over the holy place (Jer. xli. 5). It was still the centre of hope to the people in captivity, and the time soon arrived for their return to it. The decree of Cyrus authorizing the rebuilding of the "house of Jehovah, God of Israel, which is in Jerusalem," was issued B. C. 536. In consequence thereof a very large caravan of Jews arrived in the country. The expedition comprised all classes — the royal family, priests, Levites, inferior ministers, lay people belonging to various towns and families — and numbered 42,360[f] in all. They were well provided with treasure for the necessary outlay; and — a more precious burden still — they bore the vessels of the old Temple which had been preserved at Babylon, and were now destined again to find a home at Jerusalem (Ezr. v. 14, vi. 5).

A short time was occupied in settling in their former cities, but on the first day of the 7th month (Ezr. iii. 6) a general assembly was called together at Jerusalem in "the open place of the first gate towards the east" (1 Esdr. v. 47); the altar was set up, and the daily morning and evening sacri-

[a] The moon being but nine days old, there can have been little or no moonlight at this hour.

[b] This was the regular Assyrian custom at the conclusion of a siege (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 375).

[c] Josephus (x. 8, § 5) says the candlestick and the golden table of shewbread were taken הכא; but these were doubtless carried off on the previous occasion.

[d] Jeremiah (lii. 25) says "seven."

[e] The events of this period are kept in memory by the Jews of the present day by various commemorative fasts, which were instituted immediately after the occurrences themselves. These are: the 10th Tebeth (Jan. 5), the day of the investment of the city by Nebuchadnezzar; the 10th Ab (July 29), destruction of the Temple by Nebuzaradan, and subsequently by Titus; the 3d Tisri (Sept. 19), murder of Gedaliah; 9th Tebeth, when Ezekiel and the other captives at Babylon received the news of the destruction of the Temple. The entrance of the Chaldees into the city is commemorated on the 17th Tammuz (July 8), the day of the breach of the Antonia by Titus. The modern dates here given are the days on which the fasts are kept in the present year, 1860.

[f] Josephus says 42,462.

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fices commenced.[a] Other festivals were re-instituted, and we have a record of the celebration of at least one anniversary of the day of the first assembly at Jerusalem (Neh. viii. 1, &c.). Arrangements were made for stone and timber for the fabric, and in the 2d year after their return (B. C. 534), on the 1st day of the 2d month (1 Esdr. v. 57), the foundation of the Temple was laid amidst the songs and music of the priests and Levites (according to the old rites of David), the tears of the old men and the shouts of the young. But the work was destined to suffer material interruptions. The chiefs of the people by whom Samaria had been colonized, finding that the Jews refused their offers of assistance (Ezr. iv. 2), annoyed and hindered them in every possible way; and by this and some natural drawbacks — such as violent storms of wind by which some of the work had been blown down (Hag. i. 9), drought, and consequent failure of crops, and mortality amongst both animals and men — the work was protracted through the rest of the reign of Cyrus, and that of Ahasuerus, till the accession of Artaxerxes (Darius I.) to the throne of Persia (B. C. 522). The Samaritans then sent to the court at Babylon a formal memorial (a measure already tried without success in the preceding reign), representing that the inevitable consequence of the restoration of the city would be its revolt from the empire. This produced its effect, and the building entirely ceased for a time. In the mean time houses of some pretension began to spring up — "ceiled houses" (Hag. i. 4), — and the enthusiasm of the builders of the Temple cooled (*ibid.* 9). But after two years the delay became intolerable to the leaders, and the work was recommenced at all hazards, amidst the encouragements and rebukes of the two prophets, Zechariah and Haggai, on the 24th day of the 6th month of Darius' 2d year. Another attempt at interruption was made by the Persian governor of the district west of the Euphrates[b] (Ezr. v. 3), but the result was only a confirmation by Darius of the privileges granted by his predecessor (vi. 6–13), and an order to render all possible assistance. The work now went on apace, and the Temple was finished and dedicated[c] in the 6th year of Darius (B. C. 516), on the 3d (or 23d, 1 Esdr. vii. 5) of Adar — the last month, and on the 14th day of the new year the first Passover was celebrated. The new Temple was 60 cubits less in altitude than that of Solomon (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 11, § 1); but its dimensions and form — of which there are only scanty notices — will be best considered elsewhere. [TEMPLE.] All this time the walls of the city remained as the Assyrians had left them (Neh. ii. 12, &c.). A period of 58 years now passed of which no accounts are preserved to us; but at the end of that time, in the year 457, Ezra arrived from Babylon with a caravan of Priests, Levites, Nethinims, and lay people, among the latter some members of the royal family, in all 1,777 persons (Ezr. vii., viii.), and with valuable offerings from the Persian king and his court, as well as from the Jews who still remained in Babylonia (*ibid.* vii. 14, viii. 25). He left Babylon on the 1st day of the year and reached Jerusalem on the 1st of the 5th month (Ezr. vii. 9, viii. 32).

Ezra at once set himself to correct some irregularities into which the community had fallen. The chief of them was the practice of marrying the native women of the old Canaanite nations. The people were assembled at three days' notice, and harangued by Ezra — so urgent was the case — in the midst of a pouring rain, and in very cold weather, in the open space in front of the main entrance to the Temple (Ezr. x. 9; 1 Esdr. ix. 6). His exhortations were at once acceded to, a form of trespass-offering was arranged, and no less than 17 priests, 10 Levites, and 86 laymen, renounced their foreign wives, and gave up an intercourse which had been to their fathers the cause and the accompaniment of almost all their misfortunes. The matter took three months to carry out, and was completed on the 1st day of the new year: but the practice was not wholly eradicated (Neh. xiii. 23), though it never was pursued as before the Captivity.

We now pass another period of eleven years until the arrival of Nehemiah, about B. C. 445. He had been moved to come to Jerusalem by the accounts given him of the wretchedness of the community, and of the state of ruin in which the walls of the city continued (Neh. i. 3). Arrived there he kept his intentions quiet for three days, but on the night of the third he went out by himself, and, as far as the ruins would allow, made the circuit of the place (ii. 11–16). On the following day he collected the chief people, and proposed the immediate rebuilding of the walls. One spirit seized them. Priests rulers, Levites, private persons, citizens of distant towns,[d] as well as those dwelling on the spot, all put their hand vigorously to the work. And notwithstanding the taunts and threats of Sanballat, the ruler of the Samaritans, and Tobiah the Ammonite, in consequence of which one half of the people had to remain armed while the other half built, the work was completed in 52 days, on the 25th of Elul. The wall thus rebuilt was that of the city of Jerusalem as well as the city of David or Zion, as will be shown in the next section, where the account of the rebuilding is examined in detail (Section III. p. 1322). At this time the city must have presented a forlorn appearance; but few houses were built, and large spaces remained unoccupied, or occupied but with the ruins of the Assyrian destructions (Neh. vii. 4). In this respect it was not unlike much of the modern city. The solemn dedication of the wall, recorded in Neh. xii. 27–43, probably took place at a later period when the works had been completely finished.

Whether Ezra was here at this time is uncer-

[a] The feast of Tabernacles is also said to have been celebrated at this time (iii. 4; Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 4, § ; but this is in direct opposition to Neh. viii. 17, which states that it was first celebrated when Ezra was present (comp. 18), which he was not on the former occasion.

[b] עבר נהרה — beyond the river, but by our translators rendered "on this side," as if speaking from Jerusalem. (See Ewald, *Gr.* 110, *note*.)

[c] Psalm xxx. by its title purports to have been used on this occasion (Ewald, *Dichter*, i. 210, 228). Ewald also suggests that Ps. lxviii. was finally used for this festival (*Gesch.* iv. 127, *note*).

[d] Among these we find Jericho and the Jordan Valley (A. V. "plain"), Beth-zur, near Hebron, Gibeon, Beth-horon, perhaps Samaria, and the other side of Jordan (see iv. 12, referring to those who lived near Sanballat and Tobiah).

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min.[a] [EZRA, i. 8C3 *b*.] But we meet him during the government of Nehemiah, especially on one interesting occasion — the anniversary, it would appear, of the first return of Zerubbabel's caravan — on the 1st of the 7th month (Neh. viii. 1). He there appears as the venerable and venerated instructor of the people in the forgotten law of Moses, amongst other reforms reinstituting the feast of Tabernacles, which we incidentally learn had not been celebrated since the time that the Israelites originally entered on the land (viii. 17).

Nehemiah remained in the city for twelve years (v. 14, xiii. 6), during which time he held the office and maintained the state of governor of the province (v. 14) from his own private resources (v. 15). He was indefatigable in his regulation and maintenance of the order and dignity both of the city (vii. 3, xi. 1, xiii. 15, &c.) and Temple (x. 32, 39, xii. 44); abolished the excessive rates of usury by which the richer citizens had grievously oppressed the poor (v. 6–12); kept up the genealogical registers, at once so characteristic of, and important to, the Jewish nation (vii. 5, xi., xii.); and in various other ways showed himself an able and active governor, and possessing a complete ascendency over his fellow-citizens. At the end of this time he returned to Babylon; but it does not appear that his absence was more than a short one,[b] and he was soon again at his post, as vigilant and energetic as ever (xiii. 7). Of his death we have no record.

The foreign tendencies of the high-priest Eliashib and his family had already given Nehemiah some concern (xiii. 4, 28), and when the checks exercised by his vigilance and good sense were removed, they quickly led to serious disorders, unfortunately the only occurrences which have come down to us during the next epoch. Eliashib's son Joiada, who succeeded him in the high-priesthood (apparently a few years before the death of Nehemiah), had two sons, the one Jonathan (Neh. xii. 11) or Johanan (Neh. xii. 22; Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 7, § 1), the other Joshua (Joseph. *ibid.*). Joshua had made interest with the general of the Persian army that he should displace his brother in the priesthood: the two quarrelled, and Joshua was killed by Johanan in the Temple (B. C. cir. 366): a horrible occurrence, and even aggravated by its consequences; for the Persian general made it the excuse not only to pollute the sanctuary (*ναός*) by entering it, on the ground that he was certainly less unclean than the body of the murdered man — but also to extort a tribute of 50 darics on every lamb offered in the daily sacrifice for the next seven years (Joseph. *Ant.* ibid.).

Johanan in his turn had two sons, Jaddua (Neh. xii. 11, 22) and Manasseh (Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 7, § 2). Manasseh married the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite,[c] and eventually became the first priest of the Samaritan temple on Gerizim (Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8, §§ 2, 4). But at first he seems to have been associated in the priesthood of Jerusalem with his brother (Joseph. *μετέχειν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης*), and have relinquished it only on being forced to do so on account of his connection with Sanballat. The foreign marriages against which Ezra and Nehemiah had acted so energetically had again become common among both the priests and laymen. A movement was made by a reforming party against the practice; but either it had obtained a firmer hold than before, or there was nothing to replace the personal influence of Nehemiah, for the movement only resulted in a large number going over with Manasseh to the Samaritans (Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8, §§ 2, 4). During the high-priesthood of Jaddua occurred the famous visit of Alexander the Great to Jerusalem. Alexander had invaded the north of Syria, beaten Darius's army at the Granicus, and again at Issus, and then, having besieged Tyre, sent a letter to Jaddua inviting his allegiance, and desiring assistance in men and provisions. The answer of the high-priest was, that to Darius his allegiance had been given, and that to Darius he should remain faithful while he lived. Tyre was taken in July B. C. 331 (Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, 431), and then the Macedonians moved along the flat strip of the coast of Palestine to Gaza, which in its turn was taken in October. The road to Egypt being thus secured, Alexander had leisure to visit Jerusalem, and deal in person with the people who had ventured to oppose him. This he did apparently by the same route which Isaiah (x. 28–32) describes Sennacherib as taking. The "Sapha" at which he was met by the high-priest must be Mizpeh — Scopus — the high ridge to the north of the city, the Nob of Isaiah, which is crossed by the northern road, and from which the first view — and that a full one — of the city and Temple is procured. The result to the Jews of the visit was an exemption from tribute in the Sabbatical year: a privilege which they retained for long.[d]

We hear nothing more of Jerusalem until it was taken by Ptolemy Soter, about B. C. 320, during his incursion into Syria. The account given by Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 1; *Apion*, i. § 22), partly from Agatharchides, and partly from some other source, is extremely meagre, nor is it quite consistent with itself. But we can discern one point to which more than one parallel is found in the later history — that the city fell into the hands of Ptolemy because the Jews would not fight on the Sabbath. Great hardships seem to have been experienced by the Jews after this conquest, and a large number were transported to Egypt and to Northern Africa.

A stormy period succeeded — that of the struggles between Antigonus and Ptolemy for the possession of Syria, which lasted until the defeat of the former at Ipsus (B. C. 301), after which the country came into the possession of Ptolemy. The contention however was confined to the maritime region of

[a] The name occurs among those who assisted in the dedication of the wall (xii. 33); but so as to make us believe that it was some inferior person of the same name.

[b] Prideaux says five years; but his reasons are not satisfactory, and would apply to ten as well as to five.

[c] According to Neh. xiii. 28, the man who married Sanballat's daughter was "son of Joiada;" but this is in direct contradiction to the circumstantial statements of Josephus, followed in the text; and the word "son" is often used in Hebrew for "grandson," or even a more remote descendant (see, e. g. CARMI, 2).

[d] The details of this story, and the arguments for and against its authenticity, are given under ALEXANDER (i. 60); see also HIGH-PRIEST (ii. 1072). It should be observed that the part of the Temple which Alexander entered, and where he sacrificed to God, was not the *ναός*, into which Bagoas had forced himself after the murder of Joshua, but the *ἱερόν* — the court only (Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8, § 5). The Jewish tradition is that he was induced to put off his shoes before treading the sacred ground of the court, by being told that they would slip on the polished marble (*Meg. Thanith*, in Reland, *Antiq.* i. 8, 5).

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Palestine,[a] and Jerusalem appears to have escaped. Scanty as is the information we possess concerning the city, it yet indicates a state of prosperity; the only outward mark of dependence being an annual tax of twenty talents of silver payable by the high-priests. Simon the Just, who followed his father Onias in the high-priesthood (cir. B. C. 300), is one of the favorite heroes of the Jews. Under his care the sanctuary (*ναός*) was repaired, and some foundations of great depth added round the Temple, possibly to gain a larger surface on the top of the hill (Ecclus. l. 1, 2). The large cistern or "sea" of the principal court of the Temple, which hitherto would seem to have been but temporarily or roughly constructed, was sheathed in brass[b] (*ibid.* 3); the walls of the city were more strongly fortified to guard against such attacks as those of Ptolemy (*ib.* 4); and the Temple service was maintained with great pomp and ceremonial (*ib.* 11–21). His death was marked by evil omens of various kinds presaging disasters[c] (Otho, *Lex. Rab.* "Messias"). Simon's brother Eleazar succeeded him as high-priest (B. C. 291), and Antigonus of Socho as president of the Sanhedrim[d] (Prideaux). The disasters presaged did not immediately arrive, at least in the grosser forms anticipated. The intercourse with Greeks was fast eradicating the national character, but it was at any rate a peaceful intercourse during the reigns of the Ptolemies who succeeded Soter, namely, Philadelphus (B. C. 285), and Euergetes (B. C. 247). It was Philadelphus, who, according to the story preserved by Josephus, had the translation of the Septuagint[e] made, in connection with which he sent Aristeas to Jerusalem during the priesthood of Eleazar. He also bestowed on the Temple very rich gifts, consisting of a table for the shewbread, of wonderful workmanship, basins, bowls, phials, etc., and other articles both for the private and public use of the priests (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 2, § 5 — 10, 15). A description of Jerusalem at this period under the name of Aristeas still survives,[f] which supplies a lively picture of both Temple and city. The Temple was "enclosed with three walls 70 cubits high, and of proportionate thickness. . . . The spacious courts were paved with marble, and beneath them lay immense reservoirs of water, which by mechanical contrivance was made to rush forth, and thus wash away the blood of the sacrifices." The city occupied the summit and the eastern slopes of the opposite hill — the modern Zion. The main streets appear to have run north and south; some "along the brow . . others lower down but parallel, following the course of the valley, with cross streets connecting them." They were "furnished with raised pavements," either due to the slope of the ground, or possibly adopted for the reason given by Aristeas namely, to enable the passengers to avoid contact with persons or things ceremonially unclean. The bazaars were then, as now, a prominent feature of the city. There were to be found gold, precious stones, and spices brought by caravans from the East, and other articles imported from the West by way of Joppa, Gaza, and Ptolemais, which served as its commodious harbor. It is not impossible that among these Phœnician importations from the West may have figured the dyes and the tin of the remote Britain.

Eleazar was succeeded (cir. B. C. 276) by his uncle Manasseh, brother to Onias I.; and he again (cir. 250) by Onias II. Onias was a son of the great Simon the Just; but he inherited none of his father's virtues, and his ill-timed avarice at length endangered the prosperity of Jerusalem. For, the payment of the annual tax to the court of Egypt having been for several years evaded, Ptolemy Euergetes, about 226, sent a commissioner to Jerusalem to enforce the arrears (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 4, § 1; Prideaux). Onias, now in his second childhood (*Ant.* xii. 4, § 3), was easily prevailed on by his nephew Joseph to allow him to return with the commissioner to Alexandria, to endeavor to arrange the matter with the king. Joseph, a man, evidently, of great ability,[g] not only procured the remission of the tax in question,[h] but also persuaded Ptolemy to grant him the lucrative privilege of farming the whole revenue of Judæa, Samaria, Cœle-Syria, and Phœnicia — a privilege which he retained till the province was taken from the Ptolemies by Antiochus the Great. Hitherto the family of the high-priest had been the most powerful in the country; but Joseph had now founded one able to compete with it, and the contention and rivalry between the two — manifesting itself at one time in enormous bribes to the court, at another in fierce quarrels at home — at last led to the interference of the chief power with the affairs of a city, which, if wisely and quietly governed, might never have been molested.

Onias II. died about 217, and was succeeded by Simon II. In 221 Ptolemy Philopator had succeeded Euergetes on the throne of Egypt. He had only been king three years when Antiochus the Great attempted to take Syria from him. Antiochus partly succeeded, but in a battle at Raphia, south of Gaza, fought in the year 217 (the same as that of Hannibal at Thrasymene), he was completely routed and forced to fly to Antioch. Ptolemy shortly after visited Jerusalem. He offered sacrifice in the court of the Temple, and would have entered the sanctuary, had he not been pre-

[a] Diod Sic. xix.; Hecatæus in Joseph. *Apion.* i. 22.

[b] So the A. V., apparently following a different text from either LXX. or Vulgate, which state that the reservoir was made smaller. But the passage is probably corrupt.

[c] One of the chief of these was that the scapegoat was not, as formerly, dashed in pieces by his fall from the rock, but got off alive into the desert, *where he was eaten by the Saracens.*

[d] Simon the Just was the last of the illustrious men who formed "the Great Synagogue." Antigonus was the first of the *Tanaim*, or expounders of the written law, whose *dicta* are embodied in the Mishna. From Sadoc, one of Antigonus's scholars, is said to have sprung the sect of the Sadducees (Prideaux, ii. Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 313). It is remarkable that Antigonus is the first Jew we meet with bearing a Greek name.

[e] The legend of the translation by 72 interpreters is no longer believed; but it probably rests on some foundation of fact. The sculpture of the table and bowls (lilies and vines, without any figures) seems to have been founded on the descriptions in the Law. In 5 Macc. ii. 14, &c., it is said to have had also a map of Egypt upon it.

[f] It is to be found in the Appendix to Havercamp's *Josephus*, and in Gallandii *Bibl. Vet. Patr.* i. 805. An extract is given in article "Jerusalem" (*Dict. of Geogr.* ii. 26, 28).

[g] The story of the stratagem by which he made his fortune is told in Prideaux (anno 226), and in Milman's *Hist. of the Jews* (ii. 34).

[h] At least we hear nothing of it afterwards.

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resisted by the firmness of the high-priest Simon, and also by a supernatural terror which struck him and stretched him paralyzed on the pavement of the court (3 Macc. ii. 22).[a] This repulse Ptolemy never forgave, and the Jews of Alexandria suffered severely in consequence.

Like the rest of Palestine, Jerusalem now became alternately a prey to each of the contending parties (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3, § 3). In 203 it was taken by Antiochus. In 199 it was retaken by Scopas the Alexandrian general, who left a garrison in the citadel. In the following year Antiochus again beat the Egyptians, and then the Jews, who had suffered most from the latter, gladly opened their gates to his army, and assisted them in reducing the Egyptian garrison. This service Antiochus requited by large presents of money and articles for sacrifice, by an order to Ptolemy to furnish cedar and other materials for cloisters and other additions to the Temple, and by material relief from taxation. He also published a decree affirming the sacredness of the Temple from the intrusion of strangers, and forbidding any infractions of the Jewish law (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3, §§ 3, 4).

Simon was followed in 195 by Onias III. In 187 Antiochus the Great died, and was succeeded by his son Seleucus Soter (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 4, § 10). Jerusalem was now in much apparent prosperity. Onias was greatly respected, and governed with a firm hand; and the decree of the late king was so far observed, that the whole expenditure of the sacrifices was borne by Seleucus (2 Macc. iii. 1–3). But the city soon began to be much disturbed by the disputes between Hyrcanus, the illegitimate son of Joseph the collector, and his elder and legitimate brothers, on the subject of the division of the property left by their father. The high-priest, Onias, after some hesitation, seems to have taken the part of Hyrcanus, whose wealth — after the suicide of Hyrcanus (about B. C. 180) — he secured in the treasury of the Temple. The office of governor (προστάτης) of the Temple was now held by one Simon, who is supposed to have been one of the legitimate brothers of Hyrcanus. By this man Seleucus was induced to send Heliodorus to Jerusalem to get possession of the treasure of Hyrcanus. How the attempt failed, and the money was for the time preserved from pillage, may be seen in 2 Macc. iii. 24–30, and in the well-known picture of Raffaelle Sanzio.

In 175 Seleucus Soter died, and the kingdom of Syria came to his brother, the infamous Antiochus Epiphanes. His first act towards Jerusalem was to sell the office of high-priest — still filled by the good Onias III. — to Onias's brother Joshua (2 Macc. iv. 7; *Ant.* xii. 5, § 1). Greek manners had made many a step at Jerusalem, and the new high-priest was not likely to discourage their further progress. His first act was to Grecize his own name, and to become "Jason;" his next to set up a gymnasium — that is a place where the young men of the town were trained naked — to introduce the Greek dress, Greek sports, and Greek appellations. Now (1 Macc. i. 13, &c.; 2 Macc. iv. 9, 12) for the first time we hear of an attempt to efface the distinguishing mark of a Jew — again to "become uncircumcised." The priests quickly followed the example of their chief (2 Macc. iv. 14) and the Temple service was neglected. A special deputation of the youth of Jerusalem — "Antiochians" they were now called — was sent with offerings from the Temple of Jehovah to the festival of Hercules at Tyre. In 172 Jerusalem was visited by Antiochus. He entered the city at night by torch-light and amid the acclamations of Jason and his party, and after a short stay returned[b] (2 Macc. iv. 22). And now the treachery of Jason was to be requited to him. His brother Onias, who had assumed the Greek name of Menelaus, in his turn bought the high-priesthood from Antiochus, and drove Jason out to the other side of the Jordan (2 Macc. iv. 26). To pay the price of the office, Menelaus had laid hands on the consecrated plate of the Temple. This became known, and a riot was the consequence (2 Macc. iv. 32, 39, 40).

During the absence of Antiochus in Egypt, Jason suddenly appeared before Jerusalem with a thousand men, and whether by the fury of his attack, or from his having friends in the city, he entered the walls, drove Menelaus into the citadel, and slaughtered the citizens without mercy. Jason seems to have failed to obtain any of the valuables of the Temple, and shortly after retreated beyond Jordan, where he miserably perished (2 Macc. v. 7–10). But the news of these tumults reaching Antiochus on his way from Egypt brought him again to Jerusalem (B. C. 170). He appears to have entered the city without much difficulty.[c] An indiscriminate massacre of the adherents of Ptolemy followed, and then a general pillage of the contents of the Temple. Under the guidance of Menelaus, Antiochus went into the sanctuary, and took from thence the golden altar, the candlestick, the magnificent table of shewbread, and all the vessels and utensils, with 1,800 talents out of the treasury. These things occupied three days. He then quitted for Antioch, carrying off, besides his booty, a large train of captives; and leaving, as governor of the city, a Phrygian named Philip, a man of a more savage disposition than himself (1 Macc. i. 20–24; 2 Macc. v. 11–21; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5, § 3; *B. J.* i. 1, § 1). But something worse was reserved for Jerusalem than pillage, death, and slavery, worse than even the pollution of the presence of this monster in the holy place of Jehovah. Nothing less than the total extermination of the Jews was resolved on, and in two years (B. C. 168) an army was sent under Apollonius to carry the resolve into effect. He waited till the Sabbath, and then for the second time the entry was made while the people were engaged in their devotions. Another great slaughter took place, the city was now in its turn pillaged and burnt, and the walls destroyed.

The foreign garrison took up its quarters in what had from the earliest times been the strongest part of the place — the ancient city of David (1 Macc. i. 33, vii. 32), the famous hill of Zion, described

[a] The third book of the Maccabees, though so called, has no reference to the Maccabean heroes, but is taken up with the relation of this visit of Ptolemy to Jerusalem, and its consequences to the Jews.

[b] This visit is omitted in 1 Macc. Josephus mentions it, but says that it was marked by a great slaughter of the Jewish party and by plunder (*Ant.* xii. 5, § 3). This, however, does not agree with the festal character given to it in the 2 Macc., and followed above.

[c] There is a great discrepancy between the accounts of 1 Macc., 2 Macc., and Josephus.

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as being on an eminence adjoining [a] the north wall of the Temple, and so high as to overlook it (*Ant.* xii. 5, § 4). This hill was now fortified with a very strong wall with towers, and within it the garrison secured their booty, cattle, and other provisions, the women of their prisoners, and a certain number of the inhabitants of the city friendly to them.

Antiochus next issued an edict to compel heathen worship in all his dominions, and one Athenæus was sent to Jerusalem to enforce compliance. As a first step, the Temple was reconsecrated to Zeus Olympius (2 Macc. vi. 2). The worship of idols (1 Macc. i. 47), with its loose and obscene accompaniments (2 Macc. vi. 4), was introduced there — an altar to Zeus was set up on the brazen altar of Jehovah, pig's-flesh offered thereon, and the broth or liquor sprinkled about the Temple (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 8, § 2). And while the Jews were compelled not only to tolerate but to take an active part in these foreign abominations, the observance of their own rites and ceremonies — sacrifice, the sabbath, circumcision — was absolutely forbidden. Many no doubt complied (*Ant.* xii. 5, § 4); but many also resisted, and the torments inflicted, and the heroism displayed in the streets of Jerusalem at this time, almost surpass belief. But though a severe, it was a wholesome discipline, and under its rough teaching the old spirit of the people began to revive.

The battles of the Maccabees were fought on the outskirts of the country, and it was not till the defeat of Lysias at Beth-zur that they thought it safe to venture into the recesses of the central hills. Then they immediately turned their steps to Jerusalem. On ascending the Mount Moriah, and entering the quadrangle of the Temple, a sight met their eyes, which proved at once how complete had been the desecration, and how short-lived the triumph of the idolaters; for while the altar still stood there with its abominable burden, the gates in ashes, the priests' chambers in ruins, and, as they reached the inner court, the very sanctuary itself open and empty — yet the place had been so long disused that the whole precincts were full of vegetation, "the shrubs grew in the quadrangle like a forest." The precincts were at once cleansed, the polluted altar put aside, a new one constructed, and the holy vessels of the sanctuary replaced, and on the third anniversary of the desecration — the 25th of the month Chisleu, in the year B. C. 165, the Temple was dedicated with a feast which lasted for eight days.[b] After this the outer wall of the Temple[c] was very much strengthened (1 Macc. iv. 60), and it was in fact converted into a fortress (comp. vi. 26, 61, 62), and occupied by a garrison (iv. 61). The Acra was still held by the soldiers of Antiochus. One of the first acts of Judas on entering the Temple had been to detach a party to watch them, and two years later (B. C. 163) so frequent had their sallies and annoyances become — particularly an attempt on one occasion to confine the worshippers within the Temple inclosure[d] (1 Macc. vi. 18) — that Judas collected his people to take it, and began a siege with banks and engines. In the mean time Antiochus had died (B. C. 164), and was succeeded by his son Antiochus Eupator, a youth. The garrison in the Acra, finding themselves pressed by Judas, managed to communicate with the king, who brought an army from Antioch and attacked Beth-zur, one of the key-positions of the Maccabees. This obliged Judas to give up the siege of the Acra, and to march southwards against the intruder (1 Macc. vi. 32; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 9, § 4). Antiochus's army proved too much for his little force, his brother Eleazar was killed, and he was compelled to fall back on Jerusalem and shut himself up in the Temple. Thither Lysias, Antiochus's general — and later, Antiochus himself — followed him (vi. 48, 51, 57, 62) and commenced an active siege. How long it lasted we are not informed, but the provisions of the besieged were rapidly becoming exhausted, and famine had driven many to make their escape (ver. 54), when news of an insurrection elsewhere induced Lysias to advise Antiochus to offer terms to Judas (vi. 55–58). The terms, which were accepted by him were, liberty to live after their own laws, and immunity to their persons and their fortress. On inspection, however, Antiochus found the place so strong that he refused to keep this part of the agreement, and before he left the walls were pulled down (vi. 62; *Ant.* xii. 9, § 7). Judas apparently remained in Jerusalem for the next twelve months. During this time Antiochus and Lysias had been killed and the throne seized by Demetrius (B. C. 162), and the new king had despatched Bacchides and Alcimus, the then high-priest, — a man of Grecian principles, — with a large force, to Jerusalem. Judas was again within the walls of the Temple, which in the interval he must have rebuilt. He could not be tempted forth, but sixty of the Assideans were treacherously murdered by the Syrians, who then moved off, first to a short distance from the city, and finally back to Antioch (1 Macc. vii. 1–25: *Ant.* xii. 10, §§ 1–3). Demetrius then sent another army under Nicanor, but with no better success. An action was fought at Caphar-salama, an unknown place not far from the city. Judas was victorious, and Nicanor escaped and took

[a] This may be inferred from many of the expressions concerning this citadel; but Josephus expressly uses the word ἐπίκειτο (*Ant.* xii. 9, § 3), and says it was on an eminence in the lower city, i. e. the eastern hill, as contradistinguished from the western hill or upper city.

[b] The term *Zion* is not applied to this eminence by either of these writers, and "the city of David," as used by one, is synonymous with Jerusalem. For a critical examination and clear elucidation of the testimony here referred to, in its connection, by Dr. Robinson, see *Bibl. Sacra*, iii. 629–634. It should be noted, moreover, as is stated further on, that the above "eminence in the lower city" was subsequently removed by Simon "and brought to an entire level with the plain" (*Ant.* xiii. 6, § 7). According to the above theory, then, "the famous hill of Zion" vanished, bodily, about a century and a half before Christ!

S. W.

[b] This feast is alluded to in John x. 22. Chisleu was the mid-winter month. The feast of the Dedication falls this year (1860) on the 9th Dec.

[c] In 1 Macc. iv. 60 it is said that they builded up "Mount Sion;" but in the parallel passages, vi. 7, 26, the word used is "sanctuary," or rather "holy places, ἁγίασμα. The meaning probably is the entire measure. Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 7, § 7) says "the city."

[d] Both writers probably refer to the whole city.

S. W.

[d] Συγκλείσοντες τὸν Ἰσραὴλ κυκλῳ τῶν ἁγίων. The A. V. "shut up the Israelites round about the sanctuary," does not here give the sense, which seems to be as above.

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refuge in the Acra at Jerusalem. Shortly after Nicanor came down from the fortress and paid a visit to the Temple, where he insulted the priests (1 Macc. vii. 33, 34; 2 Macc. xiv. 31–33). He also caused the death of Razis, one of the elders in Jerusalem, a man greatly esteemed, who killed himself in the most horrible manner, rather than fall into his hands (2 Macc. xiv. 37–46). He then procured some reinforcements, met Judas at Adasa, probably not far from *Ramleh*, was killed, and his army thoroughly beaten. Nicanor's head and right arm were brought to Jerusalem. The head was nailed on the wall of the Acra, and the hand and arm on a conspicuous spot facing the Temple (2 Macc. xv. 30–35), where their memory was perhaps perpetuated in the name of the gate Nicanor, the eastern entrance to the Great Court (Reland, *Antiq.* i. 9, 4).

The death of Judas took place in 161. After it Bacchides and Alcimus again established themselves at Jerusalem in the Acra (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 1, § 3), and in the intervals of their contests with Jonathan and Simon added much to its fortifications, furnished it with provisions, and confined there the children of the chief people of Judæa as hostages for their good behavior (1 Macc. ix. 50–53). In the second month (May) of 160 the high-priest Alcimus began to make some alterations in the Temple, apparently doing away with the inclosure between one court and another, and in particular demolishing some wall or building, to which peculiar sanctity was attached as "the work of the prophets" (1 Macc. ix. 54). The object of these alterations was doubtless to lessen the distinction between Jew and Gentile. But they had hardly been commenced before he was taken suddenly ill and died.

Bacchides now returned to Antioch, and Jerusalem remained without molestation for a period of seven years. It does not appear that the Maccabees resided there; part of the time they were at Michmash, in the entangled country seven or eight miles north of Jerusalem, and part of the time fighting with Bacchides at Beth-basi in the Jordan Valley near Jericho. All this time the Acra was held by the Macedonian garrison (*Ant.* xiii. 4, § 92) and the malcontent Jews, who still held the hostages taken from the other part of the community (1 Macc. x. 6). In the year 153 Alexander Balas, the real or pretended son of Antiochus Epiphanes, having landed at Ptolemais, Demetrius sent a communication to Jonathan with the view of keeping him attached to his cause (1 Macc. x. 1, &c.; *Ant.* xiii. 2, § 1). Upon this Jonathan moved up to Jerusalem, rescued the hostages from the Acra, and began to repair the city. The destructions of the last few years were remedied, the walls round Mount Zion particularly being rebuilt in the most substantial manner, as a regular fortification (v. 11). From this time forward Jonathan received privileges and professions of confidence from both sides. First, Alexander authorized him to assume the office of high-priest, which had not been filled up since the death of Alcimus (comp. *Ant.* xx. 10, § 1). This he took at the Feast of Tabernacles in the autumn of the year 153, and at the same time collected soldiers and ammunition (1 Macc. x. 21). Next, Demetrius, amongst other immunities granted to the country, recognized Jerusalem and its environs as again "holy and free," relinquished all right to the Acra — which was henceforward to be subject to the high-priest (x. 31, 32), endowed the Temple with the revenues of Ptolemais, and also with 15,000 shekels of silver charged in other places, and ordered not only the payment of the same sum in regard to former years, but the release of an annual tax of 5,000 shekels hitherto exacted from the priests. Lastly, he authorized the repairs of the holy place, and the building and fortifying of the walls of Jerusalem to be charged to the royal accounts, and gave the privilege of sanctuary to all persons, even mere debtors, taking refuge in the Temple or in its precincts (1 Macc. x. 31, 32, 39–45).

The contentions between Alexander and Demetrius, in which he was actively engaged, prevented Jonathan from taking advantage of these grants till the year 145. He then began to invest the Acra (xi. 20; *Ant.* xiii. 4, § 9), but, owing partly to the strength of the place, and partly to the constant dissensions abroad, the siege made little progress during fully two years. It was obvious that no progress could be made as long as the inmates of the Acra could get into the city or the country, and there buy provisions (xiii. 49), as hitherto was the case; and, therefore, at the first opportunity, Jonathan built a wall or bank round the base of the citadel-hill, cutting off all communication both with the city on the west and the country on the east (xii. 36; comp. xiii. 49), and thus completing the circle of investment, of which the Temple wall formed the south and remaining side. At the same time the wall of the Temple was repaired and strengthened, especially on the east side, towards the Valley of Kedron. In the mean time Jonathan was killed at Ptolemais, and Simon succeeded him both as chief and as high-priest (xiii. 8, 42). The investment of the Acra proved successful, but three years still elapsed before this enormously strong place could be reduced, and at last the garrison capitulated only from famine (xiii. 49; comp. 21). Simon entered it on the 23d of the 2d month B. C. 142. The fortress was then entirely demolished, and the eminence on which it had stood lowered, until it was reduced below the height of the Temple hill beside it. The last operation occupied three years (*Ant.* xiii. 6, § 7). The valley north of Moriah was probably filled up at this time (*B. J.* v. 5, § 1). A fort was then built on the north side of the Temple hill, apparently against the wall, so as directly to command the site of the Acra, and here Simon and his immediate followers resided (xiii. 52). This was the Baris — so called after the Hebrew word Birah — which, under the name of Antonia, became subsequently so prominent a feature of the city. Simon's other achievements, and his alliance with the Romans, must be reserved for another place. We hear of no further occurrences at Jerusalem during his life except the placing of two brass tablets, commemorating his exploits on Mount Zion, in the precinct of the sanctuary (xiv. 27, 48). In 135 Simon was murdered at Dôk near Jericho, and then all was again confusion in Jerusalem.

One of the first steps of his son John Hyrcanus was to secure both the city and the Temple (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 7, § 4). The people were favorable to him, and repulsed Ptolemy, Simon's murderer, when he attempted to enter (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 7, § 4; *B. J.* i. 2, § 3). Hyrcanus was made high-priest. Shortly after this, Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, brought an army into southern Palestine, ravaged and burnt the country, and attacked Jerusalem. To invest the city, and cut off all chance of escape,

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it was encircled by a girdle of seven camps. The active operations of the siege were carried on as usual at the north, where the level ground comes up to the walls. Here a hundred towers of attack were erected, each of three stories, from which projectiles were cast into the city, and a double ditch, broad and deep, was excavated before them to protect them from the sudden sallies which the besieged were constantly making. On one occasion the wall of the city was undermined, its timber foundations burnt, and thus a temporary breach effected (5 Macc. xxi. 5). For the first and last time we hear of a want of water inside the city, but from this a seasonable rain relieved them. In other respects the besiegod seem to have been well off. Hyrcanus however, with more prudence than humanity, anticipating a long siege, turned out of the city all the infirm and non-fighting people. The Feast of Tabernacles had now arrived, and, at the request of Hyrcanus, Antiochus, with a moderation which gained him the title of "the Pious," agreed to a truce. This led to further negotiations, which ended in the siege being relinquished. Antiochus wished to place a garrison in the city, but this the late experience of the Jews forbade, and hostages and a payment were substituted. The money for this subsidy was obtained by Hyrcanus from the sepulchre of David, the outer chamber of which he is said to have opened, and to have taken 3,000 talents of the treasure which had been buried with David, and had hitherto escaped undiscovered (*Ant.* vii. 15, § 3; xiii. 8, § 4; *B. J.* i. 2, § 5). After Antiochus's departure Hyrcanus carefully repaired the damage done to the walls (5 Macc. xxi. 18); and it may have been at this time that he enlarged the Baris or fortress adjoining the northwest wall of the Temple inclosure, which had been founded by his father, and which he used for his own residence and for the custody of his sacred vestments worn as high-priest (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 4, § 3).

During the rest of his long and successful reign John Hyrcanus resided at Jerusalem, ably administering the government from thence, and regularly fulfilling the duties of the high-priest (see 5 Macc. xxiii. 3; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 10, § 3). The great sects of Pharisees and Sadducees first appear in prominence at this period. Hyrcanus, as a Maccabee, had belonged to the Pharisees, but an occurrence which happened near the end of his reign caused him to desert them and join the Sadducees, and even to persecute his former friends (see the story in Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 10, § 5; 5 Macc. xxv. 7–11; Milman, ii. 73). He died in peace and honor (*Ant.* xiii. 10, § 7). There is no mention of his burial, but it is nearly certain that the "monument of John the high-priest," which stood near the northwest corner of the city and is so frequently referred to in the account of the final siege, was his tomb; at least no other high-priest of the name of John is mentioned. [HIGH-PRIEST, ii. 1074.]

Hyrcanus was succeeded (B. C. 107) by his son Aristobulus.[a] Like his predecessors he was high-priest; but unlike them he assumed the title as well as the power of a king (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 11, § 1; 5 Macc. xxvii. 1). Aristobulus resided in the Baris (*Ant.* xiii. 11, § 2). A passage, dark and subterraneous (*B. J.* i. 3, § 3), led from the Baris to the Temple; one part of this passage was called "Strato's tower," and here Antigonus, brother of Aristobulus, was murdered by his order.[b] Aristobulus died very tragically immediately after, having reigned but one year. His brother Alexander Jannæus (B. C. 105), who succeeded him, was mainly engaged in wars at a distance from Jerusalem, returning thither however in the intervals (*Ant.* xiii. 12, § 3, *ad fin.*). About the year 95 the animosities of the Pharisees and Sadducees came to an alarming explosion. Like his father, Alexander belonged to the Sadducees. The Pharisees had never forgiven Hyrcanus for having deserted them, and at the feast of Tabernacles, as the king was officiating, they invited the people to pelt him with the citrons which they carried in the feast (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 13, § 5: comp. 10, § 5; Reland, *Ant.* iv. 5, § 9). Alexander retaliated, and six thousand persons were at that time killed by his orders. But the dissensions lasted for six years, and no fewer than 50,000 are said to have lost their lives (*Ant.* xiii. 13, § 5; 5 Macc. xxix. 2). These severities made him extremely unpopular with both parties, and led to their inviting the aid of Demetrius Eucherus, king of Syria, against him. The actions between them were fought at a distance from Jerusalem; but the city did not escape a share in the horrors of war: for when, after some fluctuations, Alexander returned successful, he crucified publicly 800 of his opponents, and had their wives and children butchered before their eyes, while he and his concubines feasted in sight of the whole scene (*Ant.* xiii. 14, § 2). Such an iron sway as this was enough to crush all opposition, and Alexander reigned till the year 79 without further disturbances. He died while besieging a fortress called Ragabe, somewhere beyond Jordan. He is commemorated as having at the time of his disputes with the people erected a wooden screen round the altar and the sanctuary (*vaós*), as far as the parapet of the priests' court, to prevent access to him as he was ministering[c] (*Ant.* xiii. 13, § 5). The "monument of king Alexander" was doubtless his tomb. It stood somewhere near, but outside, the north wall of the Temple (*B. J.* v. 7, § 3), probably not far from the situation of the tombs of the old kings (see section III. p. 1325). In spite of opposition the Pharisees were now by far the most powerful party in Jerusalem, and Alexander had therefore before his death instructed his queen, Alexandra — whom he left to succeed him with two sons — to commit herself to them. She did so, and the consequence was that though the feuds between the two great parties continued at their height, yet the government, being supported by the strongest, was always secure. The elder of the two sons, Hyrcanus, was made high-priest, and Aristobulus had the command of the army. The queen lived till the year 70. On her death, Hyrcanus attempted to take the crown, but was opposed by his brother, so

[a] The adoption of Greek names by the family of the Maccabees, originally the great opponents of everything Greek, shows how much and how unconsciously the Jews were now departing from their ancient standards.

[b] For the story of his death, and the accomplishment of the prediction that he should die in Strato's Tower — *i. e.* Cæsarea — compare the well-known story of the death of Henry IV. in Jerusalem, *i. e.* the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster.

[c] Josephus's words are not very clear: — *διύφανσεν βύλινον περὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὸν ναὸν βαλλόμενος μέχρι τοῦ θριγκοῦ, εἰς ὃν μόνοις ἐξῆν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν εἰσιέναι*

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sheim in three months he yielded its possession, Aristobulus becoming king in the year 69. Before Alexandra's death she had imprisoned the family of Aristobulus in the Baris (*B. J.* i. 5, § 4). There too Hyrcanus took refuge during the negotiations with his brother about the kingdom, and from thence had attacked and vanquished his opponents who were collected in the Temple (*Ant.* xiv. 1, § 2). Josephus here first speaks of it as the Acropolis,[a] and as being above the Temple (ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ). After the reconciliation, Aristobulus took possession of the royal palace (τὰ βασίλεια). This can hardly be other than the "palace of the Asmoneans," of which Josephus gives some notices at a subsequent part of the history (*Ant.* xx. 8, § 11; *B. J.* ii. 16, § 3) From these it appears that it was situated west of the Temple, on the extreme highest point of the upper city (the modern Zion) immediately facing the southwest angle of the Temple inclosure, and at the west end of the bridge which led from the Temple to the Xystus.

The brothers soon quarreled again, when Hyrcanus called to his assistance Aretas, king of Damascus. Before this new enemy Aristobulus fled to Jerusalem and took refuge within the fortifications of the Temple. And now was witnessed the strange anomaly of the high-priest in alliance with a heathen king besieging the priests in the Temple. Suddenly a new actor appears on the scene; the siege is interrupted and eventually raised by the interference of Scaurus, one of Pompey's lieutenants, to whom Aristobulus paid 400 talents for the relief. This was in the year 65. Shortly after, Pompey himself arrived at Damascus. Both the brothers came before him in person (*Ant.* xiv. 3, § 2), and were received with moderation and civility. Aristobulus could not make up his mind to submit, and after a good deal of shuffling betook himself to Jerusalem and prepared for resistance. Pompey advanced by way of Jericho. As he approached Jerusalem, Aristobulus, who found the city too much divided for effectual resistance, met him and offered a large sum of money and surrender. Pompey sent forward Gabinius to take possession of the place; but the bolder party among the adherents of Aristobulus had meantime gained the ascendency, and he found the gates closed. Pompey on this threw the king into chains and advanced on Jerusalem. Hyrcanus was in possession of the city and received the invader with open arms. The Temple on the other hand was held by the party of Aristobulus, which included the priests (xiv. 4, § 3). They cut off the bridges and causeways which connected the Temple with the town on the west and north, and prepared for an obstinate defence. Pompey put a garrison into the palace of the Asmoneans, and into other positions in the upper city, and fortified the houses adjacent to the Temple. The north side was the most practicable, and there he commenced his attack. But even there the hill was intrenched by an artificial ditch in addition to the very deep natural valley, and was defended by lofty towers on the wall of the Temple (*Ant.* xiv. 4, § 2; *B. J.* i. 7, § 1).

Pompey appears to have stationed some part of his force on the high ground west of the city (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 12, § 2), but he himself commanded in person at the north. The first efforts of his soldiers were devoted to filling up the ditch[b] and the valley, and to constructing the banks on which to place the military engines, for which purpose they cut down all the timber in the environs. These had in the mean time been sent for from Tyre, and as soon as the banks were sufficiently raised the balistae were set to work to throw stones over the wall into the crowded courts of the Temple; and lofty towers were erected, from which to discharge arrows and other missiles. But these operations were not carried on without great difficulty, for the wall of the Temple was thronged with slingers, who most seriously interfered with the progress of the Romans. Pompey, however, remarked that on the seventh day the Jews regularly desisted from fighting (*Ant.* xiv. 4, § 2; Strab. xvi. p. 763), and this afforded the Romans a great advantage, for it gave them the opportunity of moving the engines and towers nearer the walls, filling up the trenches, adding to the banks, and in other ways making good the damage of the past six days without the slightest molestation. In fact Josephus gives it as his opinion, that but for the opportunity thus afforded, the necessary works never could have been completed. In the Temple itself, however fierce the attack, the daily sacrifices and other ceremonials, down to the minutest detail, were never interrupted, and the priests pursued their duties undeterred, even when men were struck down near them by the stones and arrows of the besiegers. At the end of three months the besiegers had approached so close to the wall that the battering rams could be worked, and a breach was effected in the largest of the towers, through which the Romans entered, and after an obstinate resistance and loss of life, remained masters of the Temple. Many Jews were killed by their countrymen of Hyrcanus's party who had entered with the Romans; some in their confusion set fire to the houses which abutted on a portion of the Temple walls, and perished in the flames, while others threw themselves over the precipices (*B. J.* i. 7, § 4). The whole number slain is reported by Josephus at 12,000 (*Ant.* xiv. 4, § 4). During the assault the priests maintained the same calm demeanor which they had displayed during the siege, and were actually slain at their duties while pouring their drink-offerings and burning their incense (*B. J.* i. 7, § 4). It should be observed that in the account of this siege the Baris is not once mentioned; the attack was on the Temple alone, instead of on the fortress, as in Titus's siege. The inference is that at this time it was a small and unimportant adjunct to the main fortifications of the Temple.

Pompey and many of his people explored the recesses of the Temple, and the distress of the Jews was greatly aggravated by their holy places being thus exposed to intrusion and profanation (*B. J.* i. 7, § 6). In the sanctuary were found the great golden vessels — the table of shew-bread, the candlestick, the censers, and other articles proper to that place. But what most astonished the intruders, on passing beyond the sanctuary and exploring the total darkness of the Holy of Holies, was to find in the adytum neither image nor shrine. It evidently caused much remark ("inde vulgatum"), and was the one fact regarding the Temple which the historian thought worthy of preservation —

[a] He also here applies to it the term φρούριον (*Ant.* xiii. 16, § 5; *B. J.* i. 5, § 4), which he commonly uses for smaller fortresses.

[b] The size of the ditch is given by Strabo as 60 fms deep and 250 wide (xvi. p. 763).

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"nulla intus deum effigie; vacuam sedem et inanis arcana" (Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9). Pompey's conduct on this occasion does him great credit. He left the treasures thus exposed to his view — even the spices and the money in the treasury — untouched, and his examination over, he ordered the Temple to be cleansed and purified from the bodies of the slain, and the daily worship to be resumed. Hyrcanus was continued in his high-priesthood, but without the title of king (*Ant.* xx. 10); a tribute was laid upon the city, the walls were entirely demolished (καταισχῦναι τὰ τείχη πάντα. Strabo, xvi. p. 763), and Pompey took his departure for Rome, carrying with him Aristobulus, his sons Alexander and Antigonus, and his two daughters. The Temple was taken in the year 63, in the 3d month (Sivan), on the day of a great fast (*Ant.* xiv. 4, § 3); probably that for Jeroboam, which was held on the 23d of that month.

During the next few years nothing occurred to affect Jerusalem, the struggles which desolated the unhappy Palestine during that time having taken place away from its vicinity. In 56 it was made the seat of one of the five senates or Sanhedrim, to which under the constitution of Gabinius the civil power of the country was for a time committed. Two years afterwards (B. C. 54) the rapacious Crassus visited the city on his way to Parthia, and plundered it not only of the money which Pompey had spared, but of a considerable treasure accumulated from the contributions of Jews throughout the world, in all a sum of 10,000 talents, or about 2,000,000*l.* sterling. The pillage was aggravated by the fact of his having first received from the priest in charge of the treasure a most costly beam of solid gold, on condition that everything else should be spared (*Ant.* xiv. 7, § 1).

During this time Hyrcanus remained at Jerusalem, acting under the advice of Antipater the Idumean, his chief minister. The assistance which they rendered to Mithridates, the ally of Julius Cæsar, in the Egyptian campaign of 48–47, induced Cæsar to confirm Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood, and to restore him to the civil government under the title of Ethnarch (*Ant.* xiv. 10). At the same time he rewarded Antipater with the procuratorship of Judæa (*Ant.* xiv. 8, § 5), and allowed the walls of the city to be rebuilt (*Ant.* xiv. 10, § 4) The year 47 is also memorable for the first appearance of Antipater's son Herod in Jerusalem, when, a youth of fifteen (or more probably[a] 25), he characteristically overawed the assembled Sanhedrim. In 43 Antipater was murdered in the palace of Hyrcanus by one Malichus, who was very soon after himself slain by Herod (*Ant.* xiv. 11, §§ 4, 6). The tumults and revolts consequent on these murders kept Jerusalem in commotion for some time (*B. J.* i. 12). But a more serious danger was at hand. Antigonus, the younger and now the only surviving son of Aristobulus, suddenly appeared in the country supported by a Parthian army. Many of the Jews of the district about Carmel and Joppa[b] flocked to him, and he instantly made for Jerusalem, giving out that his only object was to pay a visit of devotion to the Temple (5 Macc. xlix. 5). So sudden was his approach, that he got into the city and reached the palace in the upper market-place — the modern Zion — without resistance. Here however he was met by Hyrcanus and Phasaelus (Herod's brother with a strong party of soldiers. A fight ensued, which ended in Antigonus being driven over the bridge into the Temple, where he was constantly harassed and annoyed by Hyrcanus and Phasaelus from the city. Pentecost arrived, and the city, and the suburbs between it and the Temple, were crowded with peasants and others who had come up to keep the feast. Herod too arrived, and with a small party had taken charge of the palace. Phasaelus kept the wall. Antigonus' people seem (though the account is very obscure) to have got out through the Baris into the part north of the Temple. Here Herod and Phasaelus attacked, dispersed, and cut them up. Pacorus, the Parthian general, was lying outside the walls, and at the earnest request of Antigonus, he and 500 horse were admitted, ostensibly to mediate. The result was, that Phasaelus and Hyrcanus were outwitted, and Herod overpowered, and the Parthians got possession of the place. Antigonus was made king, and as Hyrcanus knelt a suppliant before him, the new king — with all the wrongs which his father and himself had suffered full in his mind — bit off the ears of his uncle, so as effectually to incapacitate him from ever again taking the high priesthood. Phasaelus killed himself in prison. Herod alone escaped (*Ant.* xiv. 13).

Thus did Jerusalem (B. C. 40) find itself in the hands of the Parthians.

In three months Herod returned from Rome king of Judæa, and in the beginning of 39 appeared before Jerusalem with a force of Romans, commanded by Silo, and pitched his camp on the west side of the city (*B. J.* i. 15, § 5). Other occurrences, however, called him away from the siege at this time, and for more than two years he was occupied elsewhere. In the mean time Antigonus held the city, and had dismissed his Parthian allies. In 37 Herod appeared again, now driven to fury by the death of his favorite brother Joseph, whose dead body Antigonus had shamefully mutilated (*B. J.* i. 17, § 2). He came, as Pompey had done, from Jericho, and, like Pompey, he pitched his camp and made his attack on the north side of the Temple. The general circumstances of the siege seem also very much to have resembled the former, except that there were now two walls north of the Temple, and that the driving of mines was a great feature in the siege operations (*B. J.* i. 18, § 1; *Ant.* xiv. 16, § 2). The Jews distinguished themselves by the same reckless courage as before; and although it is not expressly said that the services of the Temple were carried on with such minute regularity as when they excited the astonishment of Pompey, yet we may infer it from the fact that, during the hottest of the operations, the besieged desired a short truce in which to bring in animals for sacrifice (*Ant.* xiv. 16, § 2). In one respect — the factions which raged among the besieged — this siege somewhat foreshadows that of Titus.

For a short time after the commencement of the operations Herod absented himself for his marriage at Samaria with Mariamne. On his return he was joined by Sosius, the Roman governor of Syria, with a force of from 50,000 to 60,000 men, and the siege was then resumed in earnest (*Ant.* xiv. 16).

The first of the two walls was taken in forty

[a] See the reasons urged by Prideaux, *ad loc.*

[b] At that time, and even as late as the Crusades, called the Woodland or the Forest country (Ἀσσαρῶν ὕλη *Ant.* xiv. 13, § 3).

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days, and the second in fifteen more.[a] Then the outer court of the Temple, and the lower city — lying in the hollow between the Temple and the modern Zion — was taken, and the Jews were driven into the inner parts of the Temple and to the upper market-place, which communicated therewith by the bridge. At this point some delay seems to have arisen, as the siege is distinctly said to have occupied in all five months (*B. J.* i. 18, § 2; see also *Ant.* xiv. 16, § 2). At last, losing patience, Herod allowed the place to be stormed; and an indiscriminate massacre ensued, especially in the narrow streets of the lower city, which was only terminated at his urgent and repeated solicitations.[b] Herod and his men entered first, and in his anxiety to prevent any plunder and desecration of the Temple, he himself hastened to the entrance of the sanctuary, and there standing with a drawn sword in his hand, threatened to cut down any of the Roman soldiers who attempted to enter.

Through all this time the Baris had remained impregnable: there Antigonus had taken refuge, and thence, when the whole of the city was in the power of the conquerors, he descended, and in an abject manner craved his life from Sosius. It was granted, but only to be taken from him later at the order of Antony.

Antigonus was thus disposed of, but the Asmonean party was still strong both in numbers and influence. Herod's first care was to put it down. The chiefs of the party, including the whole of the Sanhedrim but two,[c] were put to death, and their property, with that of others whose lives were spared, was seized. The appointment of the high-priest was the next consideration. Hyrcanus returned from Parthia soon after the conclusion of the siege; but even if his mutilation had not incapacitated him for the office, it would have been unwise to appoint a member of the popular family. Herod therefore bestowed the office (B. C. 36) on one Ananel, a former adherent of his, and a Babylonian Jew (*Ant.* xv. 3, § 1), a man without interest or influence in the politics of Jerusalem (xv. 2, § 4). Ananel was soon displaced through the machinations of Alexandra, mother of Herod's wife Mariamne, who prevailed on him to appoint her son Aristobulus, a youth of sixteen. But the young Asmonean was too warmly received by the people (*B. J.* i. 22, § 2) for Herod to allow him to remain. Hardly had he celebrated his first feast before he was murdered at Jericho, and then Ananel resumed the office (*Ant.* xv. 3, § 3).

The intrigues and tragedies of the next thirty years are too complicated and too long to be treated of here. A general sketch of the events of Herod's life will be found under his name, and other opportunities will occur for noticing them. Moreover, a great part of these occurrences have no special connection with Jerusalem, and therefore have no place in a brief notice, like the present, of those things which more immediately concern the city.

In many respects this period was a repetition of that of the Maccabees and Antiochus Epiphanes. True, Herod was more politic, and more prudent, and also probably had more sympathy with the Jewish character than Antiochus. But the spirit of stern resistance to innovation and of devotion to the law of Jehovah burnt no less fiercely in the breasts of the people than it had done before; and it is curious to remark how every attempt on Herod's part to introduce foreign customs was met by outbreak, and how futile were all the benefits which he conferred both on the temporal and ecclesiastical welfare of the people when these obnoxious intrusions were in question.[d]

In the year 34 the city was visited by Cleopatra, who, having accompanied Antony to the Euphrates was now returning to Egypt through her estates at Jericho (*Ant.* xv. 4, § 2).

In the spring of 31, the year of the battle of Actium, Judæa was visited by an earthquake, the effects of which appear to have been indeed tremendous: 10,000 (*Ant.* xv. 5, § 2) or, according to another account (*B. J.* i. 19, § 3), 20,000 persons were killed by the fall of buildings, and an immense quantity of cattle. The panic at Jerusalem was very severe; but it was calmed by the arguments of Herod, then departing to a campaign on the east of Jordan for the interests of Cleopatra.

The following year was distinguished by the death of Hyrcanus, who, though more than 80 years old, was killed by Herod, ostensibly for a treasonable correspondence with the Arabians, but really to remove the last remnant of the Asmonean race, who, in the fluctuations of the times, and in Herod's absence from his kingdom, might have been dangerous to him. He appears to have resided at Jerusalem since his return; and his accusation was brought before the Sanhedrim (*Ant.* xv. 6, § 1–3).

Mariamne was put to death in the year 29, whether in Jerusalem or in the Alexandreion, in which she had been placed with her mother when Herod left for his interview with Octavius, is not certain. But Alexandra was now in Jerusalem again; and in Herod's absence, ill, at Samaria (Sebaste), she began to plot for possession of the Baris, and of another fortress situated in the city. The attempt, however, cost her her life. The same year saw the execution of Costobarus, husband of Herod's sister Salome, and of several other persons of distinction (*Ant.* xv. 7, § 8–10).

Herod now began to encourage foreign practices and usages, probably with the view of "counterbalancing by a strong Grecian party the turbulent and exclusive spirit of the Jews." Amongst his acts of this description was the building of a theatre[e] at Jerusalem (*Ant.* xv. 8, § 1). Of its situation no information is given, nor have any indications yet been discovered. It was ornamented with the names of the victories of Octavius, and with trophies of arms conquered in the wars of Herod. Quinquennial games in honor of Cæsar were instituted on the most magnificent scale, with racing, boxing, musical contests, fights of gladiators and wild beasts. The zealous Jews took fire at

[a] These periods probably date from the return of Herod with Sosius, and the resumption of more active hostilities.

[b] True he was one of the same race who at a former task of Jerusalem had cried "Down with it, down with it even to the ground!" But times had altered since then.

[c] These two were Hillel and Shammai, renowned in the Jewish literature as the founders of the two great rival schools of doctrine and practice.

[d] The principles and results of the whole of this later period are ably summed up in Merivale's *Romans*, iii., chap. 29.

[e] The amphitheatre "in the plain" mentioned in this passage is commonly supposed to have been also at Jerusalem (Barclay, *City of Great King*, 174, and

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these innovations, but their wrath was specially excited by the trophies round the theatre at Jerusalem, which they believed to contain figures of men. Even when shown that their suspicions were groundless, they remained discontented. The spirit of the old Maccabees was still alive, and Herod only narrowly escaped assassination, while his would-be assassins endured torments and death with the greatest heroism. At this time he occupied the old palace of the Asmoneans, which crowned the eastern face of the upper city, and stood adjoining the Xystus at the end of the bridge which formed the communication between the south part of the Temple and the upper city (xv. 8, § 5; comp. xx. 8, § 11, and *B. J.* ii. 16, § 3). This palace was not yet so magnificent as he afterwards made it, but it was already most richly furnished (xv. 9, § 2). Herod had now also completed the improvements of the Baris — the fortress built by John Hyrcanus on the foundations of Simon Maccabæus — which he had enlarged and strengthened at great expense, and named Antonia — after his friend Mark Antony.[a] A description of this celebrated fortress will be given in treating of the TEMPLE, of which, as reconstructed by Herod, it formed an intimate part. It stood at the west end of the north wall of the Temple, and was inaccessible on all sides but that. See section III p. 1318.

The year 25 — the next after the attempt on Herod's life in the theatre — was one of great misfortunes. A long drought, followed by unproductive seasons, involved Judæa in famine, and its usual consequence, a dreadful pestilence (*Ant.* xv. 9, § 1). Herod took a noble and at the same time a most politic course. He sent to Egypt for corn, sacrificing for the purchase the costly decorations of his palace and his silver and gold plate. He was thus able to make regular distribution of corn and clothing, on an enormous scale, for the present necessities of the people, as well as to supply seed for the next year's crop (*Ant.* xv. 9, § 2). The result of this was to remove to a great degree the animosity occasioned by his proceedings in the previous year.

In this year or the next, Herod took another wife, the daughter of an obscure priest of Jerusalem named Simon. Shortly before the marriage Simon was made high-priest in the room of Joshua, or Jesus, the son of Phaneus, who appears to have succeeded Ananel, and was now deposed to make way for Herod's future father-in-law (*Ant.* xv. 9, § 3). It was probably on the occasion of this marriage that he built a new and extensive palace[b] immediately adjoining the old wall, at the northwest corner of the upper city (*B. J.* v. 4, § 4), about the spot now occupied by the Latin convent, in which, as memorials of his connection with Cæsar and Agrippa, a large apartment — superior in size to the Sanctuary of the Temple — was named after each (*Ant.* ibid.; *B. J.* i. 21, § 1). This palace was very strongly fortified; it communicated with the three great towers on the wall erected shortly after, and it became the citadel, the special fortress (Βίτιον φρούριον, *B. J.* v. 5, § 8), of the upper city. A road led to it from one of the gates — naturally the northern — in the west wall of the Temple inclosure (*Ant.* xv. 14, § 5). But all Herod's works in Jerusalem were eclipsed by the rebuilding of the Temple in more than its former extent and magnificence. He announced his intention in the year 19, probably when the people were collected in Jerusalem at the Passover. At first it met with some opposition from the fear that what he had begun he would not be able to finish, and the consequent risk involved in demolishing the old Temple. This he overcame by engaging to make all the necessary preparations before pulling down any part of the existing buildings. Two years appear to have been occupied in these preparations — among which Josephus mentions the teaching of some of the priests and Levites to work as masons and carpenters — and then the work began (xv. 11, § 2). Both Sanctuary and Cloisters — the latter double in extent and far larger and loftier than before — were built from the very foundations (*B. J.* i. 21, § 1; *Ant.* xv. 11, § 3). [TEMPLE.] The holy house itself (ναός), *i. e.* the Porch, Sanctuary, and Holy of Holies — was finished in a year and a half (xv. 11, § 6). Its completion on the anniversary of Herod's inauguration, B. C. 16, was celebrated by lavish sacrifices and a great feast. Immediately after this, Herod made a journey to Rome to fetch home his two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus — with whom he returned to Jerusalem, apparently in the spring of 15 (*Ant.* xvi. 1, § 2). In the autumn of this year he was visited by his friend Marcus Agrippa, the favorite of Augustus. Agrippa was well received by the people of Jerusalem, whom he propitiated by a sacrifice of a hundred oxen and by a magnificent entertainment (*Ant.* xvi. 2, § 1). Herod left again in the beginning of 14 to join Agrippa in the Black Sea. On his return, in the autumn or winter of the same year, he addressed the people assembled at Jerusalem — for the Feast of Tabernacles — and remitted them a fourth of the annual tax (xv. 2, § 4). Another journey was followed by a similar assembly in the year 11, at which time Herod announced Antipater as his immediate successor (xvi. 4, § 6; *B. J.* i. 23, § 4).

About B. C. 9 — eight years from the commencement — the court and cloisters of the Temple were finished (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 5), and the bridge between the south cloister and the upper city — demolished by Pompey — was doubtless now rebuilt with that massive masonry of which some remains still survive (see the wood-cut, p. 1314). At this time equally magnificent works were being carried on in another part of the city, namely, in the old wall at the northwest corner, contiguous to the palace, where three towers of great size and magnificence were erected on the wall, and one as an outwork at a small distance to the north. The latter was called Psephinus (*B. J.* v. 4, §§ 2, 3, 4), the three former were Hippicus, after one of his friends — Phasaelus, after his brother — and Mariamne, after his queen (*Ant.* xvi. 5, § 2; *B. J.* v. 4, § 3). For

there); but this is not a necessary inference. The word στάδιον is generally used of the plain of the Jordan near Jericho, where we know there was an amphitheatre (*B. J.* i. 33, § 8). From another passage (*B. J.* i. 21, § 8) it appears there was one at Cæsarea. That the στάδιον at Jerusalem is mentioned in *B. J.* ii. 1, § 3

[a] The name was probably not bestowed later than B. C. 34 or 33 — the date of Herod's closest relations with Antony: and we may therefore infer that the alterations to the fortress had been at least 7 or 8 years in progress.

[b] The old palace of the Asmoneans continued to be known as "the royal palace," τὸ βασίλειον (*Ant.* xx. 8, § 11)

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their positions see section III. p. 1317. Phasaelus appears to have been erected first of the three (*Ant.* xvii. 10, § 2), though it cannot have been begun at the time of Phasaelus's death, as that took place some years before Jerusalem came into Herod's hands.

About this time occurred — if it occurred at all, which seems more than doubtful (Prideaux, *Anno* 134) — Herod's unsuccessful attempt to plunder the sepulchre of David of the remainder of the treasures left there by Hyrcanus (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 7, § 1).

In or about the year 7 occurred the affair of the Golden Eagle, a parallel to that of the theatre, and, like that, important, as showing how strongly the Maccabeean spirit of resistance to innovations on the Jewish law still existed, and how vain were any concessions in the other direction in the presence of such innovations. Herod had fixed a large golden eagle, the symbol of the Roman empire, of which Judæa was now a province, over the entrance to the Sanctuary, probably at the same time that he inscribed the name of Agrippa on the gate (*B. J.* i. 21, § 8). As a breach of the 2d commandment — not as a badge of dependence — this had excited the indignation of the Jews, and especially of two of the chief Rabbis, who instigated their disciples to tear it down. A false report of the king's death was made the occasion of doing this in open day, and in the presence of a large number of people. Being taken before Herod, the Rabbis defended their conduct and were burnt alive. The high-priest Matthias was deposed, and Joazar took his place.

This was the state of things in Jerusalem when Herod died, in the year 4 B. C. of the common chronology (Dionysian era), but really a few months after the birth of Christ. [JESUS CHRIST.]

The government of Judæa, and therefore of Jerusalem, had by the will of Herod been bequeathed to Archelaus. He lost no time after the burial of his father in presenting himself in the Temple, and addressing the people on the affairs of the kingdom — a display of confidence and moderation, strongly in contrast to the demeanor of the late king. It produced an instant effect on the excited minds of the Jews, still smarting from the failure of the affair of the eagle, and from the chastisement it had brought upon them; and Archelaus was besieged with clamors for the liberation of the numerous persons imprisoned by the late king, and for remission of the taxes. As the people collected for the evening sacrifice the matter became more serious, and assumed the form of a public demonstration, of lamentation for the two martyrs, Judas and Matthias, and indignation against the intruded high-priest. So loud and shrill were the cries of lament that they were heard over the whole city. Archelaus meanwhile temporized and promised redress when his government should be confirmed by Rome. The Passover was close at hand, and the city was fast filling with the multitudes of rustics and of pilgrims (*ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας*), who crowded to the great Feast (*B. J.* ii. 1, § 3; *Ant.* xvii. 9, § 3). These strangers, not being able or willing to find admittance into the houses, pitched their tents (*τοὺς αὐτόθι ἑστηνωκότας*) on the open ground around the Temple (*Ant.* ibid.). Meanwhile the tumult in the Temple itself was maintained and increased daily; a multitude of fanatics never left the courts, but continued there, incessantly clamoring and imprecating.

Longer delay in dealing with such a state of things would have been madness; a small party of soldiers had already been roughly handled by the mob (*B. J.* ii. 1, § 3), and Archelaus at last did what his father would have done at first. He despatched the whole garrison, horse and foot, the foot-soldiers by way of the city to clear the Temple, the horse-soldiers by a detour round the level ground north of the town, to surprise the pilgrims on the eastern slopes of Moriah, and prevent their rushing to the succor of the fanatics in the Temple. The movement succeeded: 3,000 were cut up and the whole concourse dispersed over the country.

During Archelaus' absence at Rome, Jerusalem was in charge of Sabinus, the Roman procurator of the province, and the tumults — ostensibly on the occasion of some exactions of Sabinus, but doubtless with the same real ground as before — were renewed with worse results. At the next feast, Pentecost, the throng of strangers was enormous. They formed regular encampments round the Temple, and on the western hill of the upper city, and besieged Sabinus and his legion, who appear to have been in the Antonia.[a] At last the Romans made a sally and cut their way into the Temple. The struggle was desperate, a great many Jews were killed, the cloisters of the outer court burnt down, and the sacred treasury plundered of immense sums. But no reverses could quell the fury of the insurgents, and matters were not appeased till Varus, the prefect of the province, arrived from the north with a large force and dispersed the strangers. On this quiet was restored.

In the year 3 B. C. Archelaus returned from Rome ethnarch of the southern province. He immediately displaced Joazar, whom his father had made high-priest after the affair of the Eagle, and put Joazar's brother Eleazar in his stead. This is the only event affecting Jerusalem that is recorded in the 10 years between the return of Archelaus and his summary departure to trial at Rome (A. D. 6).

Judæa was now reduced to an ordinary Roman province; the procurator of which resided, not at

[a] The determination of the locality of the legion during this affair is most puzzling. On the one hand, the position of the insurgents, who lay completely round the Temple, South, East, North, and West, and who are expressly said thus to have hemmed in the Romans on all sides (*Ant.* xvii. 10, § 2), and also the expression used about the sally of the legion, namely, that they "leaped out" into the Temple, seem to point inevitably to the Antonia. On the other hand, Sabinus gave the signal for the attack from the tower Phasaelus (*Ant.* ibid.). But Phasaelus was on the old wall, close to Herod's palace, fully half a mile, as the crow flies, from the Temple — a strange distance for a Roman commander to be off from his troops! The only suggestion that occurs to the writer is that Phasaelus was the name not only of the tower on the wall, but of the southeast corner turret of Antonia, which we know to have been 20 cubits higher than the other three (*B. J.* v. 5, § 8). This would agree with all the circumstances of the narrative, and with the account that Sabinus was "in the highest tower of the fortress: the very position occupied by Titus during the assault on the Temple from Antonia. But this suggestion is quite unsupported by any direct evidence.

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Jerusalem, but at Caesarea on the coast (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 3, § 1). The first appointed was Copo-nius, who accompanied Quirinus to the country immediately on the disgrace of Archelaus. Quirinus (the CYRENIUS of the N. T.) — now for the second time prefect of Syria — was charged with the unpopular measure of the enrolment or assessment of the inhabitants of Judaea. Notwithstanding the riots which took place elsewhere, at Jerusalem the enrollment was allowed to proceed without resistance, owing to the prudence of Joazar (*Ant.* xviii. 1, § 1), again high-priest for a short time. One of the first acts of the new governor had been to take formal possession of the state vestments of the high-priest, worn on the three Festivals and on the Day of Atonement. Since the building of the Baris by the Maccabees these robes had always been kept there, a custom continued since its reconstruction by Herod. But henceforward they were to be put up after use in an underground stone chamber, under the seal of the priests, and in charge of the captain of the guard. Seven days before use they were brought out, to be consigned again to the chamber after the ceremony was over (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 4, § 3).

Two incidents at once most opposite in their character, and in their significance to that age and to ourselves, occurred during the procuratorship of Coponius. First, in the year 8, the finding of Christ in the Temple. Annas had been made high-priest about a year before. The second occurrence must have been a most distressing one to the Jews, unless they had become inured to such things. But of this we cannot so exactly fix the date. It was nothing less than the pollution of the Temple by some Samaritans, who secretly brought human bones and strewed them about the cloisters during the night of the Passover.[a] Up to this time the Samaritans had been admitted to the Temple; they were henceforth excluded.

In or about A. D. 10, Coponius was succeeded by M. Ambivius, and he by Annius Rufus. In 14, Augustus died, and with Tiberius came a new procurator — Val. Gratus, who held office till 26, when he was replaced by Pontius Pilate. During this period the high-priests had been numerous,[b] but it is only necessary here to say that when Pilate arrived at his government the office was held by Joseph Caiaphas, who had been appointed but a few months before. The freedom from disturbance which marks the preceding 20 years at Jerusalem was probably due to the absence of the Roman troops, who were quartered at Caesarea out of the way of the fierce fanatics of the Temple. But Pilate transferred the winter quarters of the army to Jerusalem (*Ant.* xviii. 3, § 1), and the very first day there was a collision. The offense was given by the Roman standards — the images of the emperor and of the eagle — which by former commanders had been kept out of the city. A representation was made to Pilate; and so obstinate was the temper of the Jews on the point, that he yielded, and the standards were withdrawn (*Ant.* ibid.). He afterwards, as if to try how far he might go, consecrated some gilt shields — not containing figures, but inscribed simply with the name of the deity and of the donor — and hung them in the palace at Jerusalem. This act again aroused the resistance of the Jews; and on appeal to Tiberius they were removed (Philo, *πρὸς Γάϊον*, Mangey ii. 589).

Another riot was caused by his appropriation of the Corban — a sacred revenue arising from the redemption of vows — to the cost of an aqueduct which he constructed for bringing water to the city from a distance of 200 (*Ant.* xviii. 3, § 2) or 400 (*B. J.* ii. 9, § 4) stadia. This aqueduct has been supposed to be that leading from "Solomon's Pools" at *Urtas* to the Temple hill (Krafft, in Ritter, *Erdkunde, Pal.* 276), but the distance of Urtas is against the identification.

A. D. 29. At the Passover of this year our Lord made his first recorded visit to the city since his boyhood (John ii. 13).

A. D. 33. At the Passover of this year, occurred his crucifixion and resurrection.

In A. D. 37, Pilate having been recalled to Rome Jerusalem was visited by Vitellius, the prefect of Syria, at the time of the Passover. Vitellius conferred two great benefits on the city. He remitted the duties levied on produce, and he allowed the Jews again to have the free custody of the high-priest's vestments. He removed Caiaphas from the high-priesthood, and gave it to Jonathan son of Annas. He then departed, apparently leaving a Roman officer (*φρούραρχος*) in charge of the Antonia (*Ant.* xviii. 4, § 3). Vitellius was again at Jerusalem this year, probably in the autumn, with Herod the tetrarch (xviii. 5, § 3); while there, he again changed the high-priest, substituting for Jonathan, Theophilus his brother. The news of the death of Tiberius and the accession of Caligula reached Jerusalem at this time. Marcellus was appointed procurator by the new emperor. In the following year Stephen was stoned. The Christians were greatly persecuted, and all, except the Apostles, driven out of Jerusalem (Acts viii. 1, xi. 19).

In A. D. 40, Vitellius was superseded by P. Petronius, who arrived in Palestine with an order to place in the Temple a statue of Caligula. This order was ultimately, by the intercession of Agrippa, countermanded, but not until it had roused the whole people as one man (*Ant.* xviii. 8, §§ 2–9; and see the admirable narrative of Milman, *Hist. of Jews*, bk. x.).

With the accession of Claudius in 41 came an edict of toleration to the Jews. Agrippa arrived in Palestine to take possession of his kingdom, and one of his first acts was to visit the Temple, where he offered sacrifice and dedicated the golden chain which the late emperor had presented him after his release from captivity. It was hung over the Treasury (*Ant.* xix. 6, § 1). Simon was made high-priest; the house-tax was remitted.

Agrippa resided very much at Jerusalem, and added materially to its prosperity and convenience. The city had for some time been extending itself towards the north, and a large suburb had come into existence on the high ground north of the Temple, and outside of the "second wall" which inclosed the northern part of the great central valley of the city. Hitherto the outer portion of this suburb — which was called Bezetha, or "New Town," and had grown up very rapidly — was unprotected by any formal wall, and practically be-

[a] The mode of pollution adopted by Josiah towards the idolatrous shrines (see p. 1287).

[b] Their names and succession will be found under HIGH-PRIEST, p. 1078. See also ANNAS.

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open to attack.[a] This defenseless condition attracted the attention of Agrippa, who, like the first Herod, was a great builder, and he commenced inclosing it in so substantial and magnificent a manner as to excite the suspicions of the Prefect, at whose instance it was stopped by Claudius (*Ant.* ibid.; *B. J.* ii. 11, § 6, v. 4, § 2). Subsequently the Jews seem to have purchased permission to complete the work (Tac. *Hist.* v. 12; Joseph. *B. J.* v. 4, § 2, *ad fin.*). This new wall, the outermost of the three which inclosed the city on the north, started from the old wall at the Tower Hippicus, near the N. W. corner of the city. It ran northward, bending by a large circuit to the east, and at last returning southward along the western brink of the Valley of Kedron till it joined the southern wall of the Temple. Thus it inclosed not only the new suburb, but also the district immediately north and northeast of the Temple on the brow of the Kedron Valley, which up to the present date had lain open to the country. The huge stones which still lie — many of them undisturbed — in the east and south walls of the Haram area, especially the southeast corner under the "Bath and Cradle of Jesus," are parts of this wall.[b]

The year 43 is memorable as that of St. Paul's first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion. The year 44 began with the murder of St. James by Agrippa (Acts xii. 1), followed at the Passover by the imprisonment and escape of St. Peter. Shortly after, Agrippa himself died. Cuspius Fadus arrived from Rome as procurator, and Longinus as prefect of Syria. An attempt was made by the Romans to regain possession of the pontifical robes; but on reference to the emperor the attempt was abandoned. In 45 commenced a severe famine which lasted two years (Ewald, *Gesch.* vi. 409, note). To the people of Jerusalem it was alleviated by the presence of Helena, queen of Adiabene, a convert to the Jewish faith, who visited the city in 46 and imported corn and dried fruit, which she distributed to the poor (*Ant.* xx. 2, § 5; 5, § 2). During her stay Helena constructed, at a distance of three stadia from the city, a tomb, marked by three pyramids, to which her remains, with those of her son, were afterwards brought (*Ant.* xx. 4, § 3). It was situated to the north, and formed one of the points in the course of the new wall (*B. J.* v. 4, § 2). At the end of this year St. Paul arrived in Jerusalem for the second time.

A. D. 48. Fadus was succeeded by Ventidius Cumanus. A frightful tumult happened at the Passover of this year, caused, as on former occasions, by the presence of the Roman soldiers in the Antonia and in the courts and cloisters of the Temple during the festival. Ten, or, according to another account, twenty thousand, are said to have met their deaths not by the sword, but trodden to death in the crush through the narrow lanes which led from the Temple down into the city (*Ant.* xx. 5, § 3; *B. J.* ii. 12, § 1). Cumanus was recalled, and FELIX appointed in his room (*Ant.* xx. 7, § 1; *B. J.* ii. 12, § 8), partly at the instance of Jonathan, the then high-priest (*Ant.* xx. 8, § 5). A set of ferocious fanatics, whom Josephus calls *Sicarii*, had lately begun to make their appearance in the city, whose creed it was to rob and murder all whom they judged hostile to Jewish interests. Felix, weary of the remonstrances of Jonathan on his vicious life, employed some of these wretches to assassinate him. He was killed in the Temple, while sacrificing. The murder was never inquired into, and, emboldened by this, the Sicarii repeated their horrid act, thus adding, in the eyes of the Jews, the awful crime of sacrilege to that of murder (*B. J.* ii. 13, § 3; *Ant.* ibid.). The city, too, was filled with impostors pretending to inspiration, but inspired only with hatred to all government and order. Nor was the disorder confined to the lower classes: the chief people of the city, the very high-priests themselves, robbed the threshing-floors of the tithes common to all the priests, and led parties of rioters to open tumult and fighting in the streets (*Ant.* xx. 8, § 8). In fact, not only Jerusalem, but the whole country far and wide, was in the most frightful confusion and insecurity.

At length a riot at Cæsarea of the most serious description caused the recall of Felix, and in the end of 60 or the beginning of 61, PORCIUS FESTUS succeeded him as procurator. Festus was an able and upright officer (*B. J.* ii. 14, § 1), and at the same time conciliatory towards the Jews (Acts xxv. 9). In the brief period of his administration he kept down the robbers with a strong hand, and gave the province a short breathing time. His interview with St. Paul (Acts xxv., xxvi.) took place, not at Jerusalem, but at Cæsarea. On one occasion both Festus and Agrippa came into collision with the Jews at Jerusalem. Agrippa — who had been appointed king by Nero in 52 — had added an apartment to the old Asmonean palace on the eastern brow of the upper city, which commanded a full view into the interior of the courts of the Temple. This view the Jews intercepted by building a wall on the west side of the inner quadrangle.[c] But the wall not only intercepted Agrippa, it also interfered with the view from the outer cloisters in which the Roman guard was stationed during the festivals. Both Agrippa and Festus interfered, and required it to be pulled down; but the Jews pleaded that once built it was a part of the Temple, and entreated to be allowed to appeal to Nero. Nero allowed their plea, but retained as hostages the high-priest and treasurer, who had headed the deputation. Agrippa appointed Joseph, called Cabi, to the vacant priesthood. In 62 (probably) Festus died, and was succeeded by Albinus, and he again very shortly after by Annas or Ananus, son of the Annas before whom our Lord was taken. In the interval a persecution was commenced against the Christians at the instance of the new high-priest, a rigid Sadducee, and St. James and others were arraigned before the Sanhedrim (Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 9, § 1). They were "delivered to be stoned," but St. James at any rate appears not to have been killed till a few years later. The act gave great offense to all, and cost Annas his office after he had held it but three

[a] The statements of Josephus are not quite reconcilable. In one passage he says distinctly that Bezetha lay quite naked (*B. J.* v. 4, § 2), in another that had some kind of wall (*Ant.* xix. 7, § 2).

[b] * For the view which claims a higher antiquity for these walls — making them coeval with the remaining substructions — see § IV., Amer. ed. S. W.

[c] No one in Jerusalem might build so high that his house could overlook the Temple. It was the subject of a distinct prohibition by the Doctors. See Maimonides, quoted by Otho, *Lex. Rab.* 266. Probably this furnished one reason for so hostile a step to so friendly a person as Agrippa.

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months. Jesus (Joshua), the son of Damneus, succeeded him. Albinus began his rule by endeavoring to keep down the Sicarii and other disturbers of the peace: and indeed he preserved throughout a show of justice and vigor (*Ant.* xx. 11, § 1), though in secret greedy and rapacious. But before his recall he pursued his end more openly, and priests, people, and governors alike seem to have been bent on rapine and bloodshed: rival high-priests headed bodies of rioters, and stoned each other, and in the words of Josephus, "all things grew from worse to worse" (*Ant.* xx. 9, § 4). The evils were aggravated by two occurrences — first, the release by Albinus, before his departure, of all the smaller criminals in the prisons (*Ant.* xx. 9, § 5); and secondly, the sudden discharge of an immense body of workmen, on the completion of the repairs to the Temple (xx. 9, § 7). An endeavor was made to remedy the latter by inducing Agrippa to rebuild the eastern cloister; but he refused to undertake a work of such magnitude, though he consented to pave the city with marble. The repairs of a part of the sanctuary that had fallen, and the renewal of the foundations of some portions were deferred for the present, but the materials were collected and stored in one of the courts (*B. J.* v. 1, § 5).

Bad as Albinus had been, Gessius Florus, who succeeded him in 65, was worse. In fact, even Tacitus admits that the endurance of the oppressed Jews could last no longer — "duravit patientia Judæis usque ad Gessium Florum" (*Hist.* v. 10). So great was his rapacity, that whole cities and districts were desolated, and the robbers openly allowed to purchase immunity in plunder. At the Passover, probably in 66, when Cestius Gallus, the prefect of Syria, visited Jerusalem, the whole assembled people[a] besought him for redress; but without effect. Florus's next attempt was to obtain some of the treasure from the Temple. He demanded 17 talents in the name of the emperor. The demand produced a frantic disturbance, in the midst of which he approached the city with both cavalry and foot-soldiers. That night Florus took up his quarters in the royal palace — that of Herod, at the N. W. corner of the city. On the following morning he took his seat on the Bema, and the high-priest and other principal people being brought before him, he demanded that the leaders of the late riot should be given up. On their refusal he ordered his soldiers to plunder the upper city. This order was but too faithfully carried out; every house was entered and pillaged, and the Jews driven out. In their attempt to get through the narrow streets which lay in the valley between the upper city and the Temple, many were caught and slain, others were brought before Florus, scourged, and then crucified. No grade or class was exempt. Jews who bore the Roman equestrian order were among the victims treated with most indignity. Queen Berenice herself (*B. J.* ii. 15, § 1) — residing at that time in the Asmonean palace in the very midst of the slaughter — was so affected by the scene, as to intercede in person and barefoot before Florus, but without avail, and in returning she was herself nearly killed, and only escaped by taking refuge in her palace and calling her guards about her. The further details of this dreadful tumult must be passed over.[b] Florus was foiled in his attempt to press through the old city up into the Antonia — whence he would have had nearer access to the treasures — and finding that the Jews had broken down the north and west cloisters where they joined the fortress, so as to cut off the communication, he relinquished the attempt and withdrew to Cæsarea (*B. J.* ii. 15, § 6).

Cestius Gallus, the prefect, now found it necessary for him to visit the city in person. He sent one of his lieutenants to announce him, but before he himself arrived events had become past remedy. Agrippa had shortly before returned from Alexandria, and had done much to calm the people. At his instance they rebuilt the part of the cloisters which had been demolished, and collected the tribute in arrear, but the mere suggestion from him that they should obey Florus until he was replaced, produced such a storm that he was obliged to leave the city (*B. J.* ii. 16, § 5; 17, § 1). The seditious party in the Temple led by young Eleazar, son of Ananias, rejected the offerings of the Roman emperor, which since the time of Julius Cæsar had been regularly made. This, as a direct renunciation of allegiance, was the true beginning of the war with Rome (*B. J.* ii. 17, § 2). Such acts were not done without resistance from the older and wiser people. But remonstrance was unavailing, the innovators would listen to no representations. The peace party, therefore, despatched some of their number to Florus and to Agrippa, and the latter sent 3,000 horse-soldiers to assist in keeping order.

Hostilities at once began. The peace party, headed by the high-priest, and fortified by Agrippa's soldiers, threw themselves into the upper city. The insurgents held the Temple and the lower city. In the Antonia was a small Roman garrison. Fierce contests lasted for seven days, each side endeavoring to take possession of the part held by the other. At last the insurgents, who behaved with the greatest ferocity, and were reinforced by a number of Sicarii, were triumphant. They gained the upper city, driving all before them — the high-priest and other leaders into vaults and sewers, the soldiers into Herod's palace. The Asmonean palace, the high-priest's house, and the repository of the Archives — in Josephus's language, "the nerves of the city" (*B. J.* ii. 17, § 6) — were set on fire. Antonia was next attacked, and in two days they had effected an entrance, sabred the garrison, and burnt the fortress. The ballistæ and catapults found there were preserved for future use (v. 6, § 3). The soldiers in Herod's palace were next besieged; but so strong were the walls, and so stout the resistance, that it was three weeks before an entrance could be effected. The soldiers were at last forced from the palace into the three great towers on the adjoining wall with great loss; and ultimately were all murdered in the most treacherous manner. The high-priest and his brother were discovered hidden in the aqueduct of the palace: they were instantly put to death. Thus the insurgents were now completely masters of both city and Temple. But they were not to remain so long. After the defeat of Cestius Gallus at Beth-horon, dissensions began to arise, and it soon became known that there was still a large moderate party; and

[a] Josephus says three millions in number! Three millions is very little under the population of London with all its suburbs

[b] The whole tragic story is most forcibly told by Milman (ii. 219–224)

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Justus took advantage of this to advance from Scopus on the city. He made his way through Bezetha, the new suburb north of the Temple,[a] and through the wood-market, burning everything as he went (*B. J.* v. 7, § 2), and at last encamped opposite the palace at the foot of the second wall. The Jews retired to the upper city and to the Temple. For five days Cestius assaulted the wall without success; on the sixth he resolved to make one more attempt, this time at a different spot — the north wall of the Temple, east of, and behind, the Antonia. The Jews, however, fought with such fury from the top of the cloisters, that he could effect nothing, and when night came he drew off to his camp at Scopus. Thither the insurgents followed him, and in three days gave him one of the most complete defeats that a Roman army had ever undergone. His catapults and balistæ were taken from him, and reserved by the Jews for the final siege (v. 6, § 3). This occurred on the 8th of Marchesvan (beginning of November), 66.

The war with Rome was now inevitable, and it was evident that the siege of Jerusalem was only a question of time. Ananus, the high-priest, a moderate and prudent man, took the lead; the walls were repaired, arms and warlike instruments and machines of all kinds fabricated, and other preparations made. In this attitude of expectation — with occasional diversions, such as the expedition to Ascalon (*B. J.* iii. 2, §§ 1, 2), and the skirmishes with Simon Bar-Gioras (ii. 22, § 2) — the city remained while Vespasian was reducing the north of the country, and till the fall of Giscala (Oct. or Nov. 67), when John, the son of Levi, escaped thence to Jerusalem, to become one of the most prominent persons in the future conflict.

From the arrival of John, two years and a half elapsed till Titus appeared before the walls of Jerusalem. The whole of that time was occupied in contests between the moderate party, whose desire was to take such a course as might yet preserve the nationality of the Jews and the existence of the city, and the Zealots or fanatics, the assertors of national independence, who scouted the idea of compromise, and resolved to regain their freedom or perish. The Zealots, being utterly unscrupulous, and resorting to massacre on the least resistance, soon triumphed, and at last reigned paramount, with no resistance but such as sprang from their own internal factions. For the repulsive details of this frightful period of contention and outrage the reader must be referred to other works.[b] It will be sufficient to say that at the beginning of 70, when Titus made his appearance, the Zealots themselves were divided into two parties — that of John of Giscala and Eleazar, who held the Temple and its courts and the Antonia — 8,400 men; that of Simon Bar-Gioras, whose head-quarters were in the tower Phasaelus (v. 4, § 3), and who held the upper city, from the present Cœnaculum to the Latin Convent, the lower city in the valley, and the district where the old Acra had formerly stood, north of the Temple — 10,000 men, and 5,000 Idumæans (*B. J.* v. 6, § 1), in all, a force of between 23,000 and 24,000 soldiers trained in the civil encounters of the last two years to great skill and thorough recklessness.[c] The numbers of the other inhabitants, swelled, as they were, by the strangers and pilgrims who flocked from the country to the Passover, it is extremely difficult to decide. Tacitus doubtless from some Roman source, gives the whole at 600,000. Josephus states that 1,100,000 perished during the siege (*B. J.* vi. 9, § 3; comp. v. 13, § 7) and that more than 40,000 were allowed to depart into the country (vi. 8, § 2), in addition to an "immense number" sold to the army, and who of course form a proportion of the 97,000 "carried captive during the whole war" (vi. 9, § 3). We may therefore take Josephus's computation of the numbers at about 1,200,000. Reasons are given in the third section of this article for believing that even the smaller of these numbers is very greatly in excess, and that it cannot have exceeded 60,000 or 70,000 (see p. 1320).

Titus's force consisted of four legions, and some auxiliaries — at the outside 30,000 men (*B. J.* v. 1, § 6). These were disposed on their first arrival in three camps — the 12th and 15th legions on the ridge of Scopus, about a mile north of the city; the 5th a little in the rear; and the 10th on the top of the Mount of Olives (v. 2, §§ 3, 5), to guard the road to the Jordan Valley, and to shell the place (if the expression may be allowed) from that commanding position. The army was well furnished with artillery and machines of the latest and most approved invention — "cuncta expugnandis urbibus, reperta apud veteres, aut novis ingeniis," says Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 13). The first operation was to clear the ground between Scopus and the north wall of the city — fell the timber, destroy the fences of the gardens which fringed the wall, and level the rocky protuberances. This occupied four days. After it was done the three legions were marched forward from Scopus, and encamped off the north-west corner of the walls, stretching from the Tower Psephinus to opposite Hippicus. The first step was to get possession of the outer wall. The point of attack chosen was in Simon's portion of the city, at a low and comparatively weak place near the monument of John Hyrcanus (v. 6, § 2), close to the junction of the three walls, and where the upper city came to a level with the surrounding ground. Round this spot the three legions erected banks, from which they opened batteries, pushing up the rams and other engines of attack to the foot of the wall. One of the rams, more powerful than the rest, went among the Jews by the sobriquet of Nikôn,[d] "the conqueror." Three large towers, 75 feet high, were also erected, overtopping the wall. Meantime from their camp on the Mount of Olives the 10th legion opened fire on the Temple and the east side of the city. They had the heaviest balistæ, and did great damage. Simon and his men did not suffer these works to go on without molestation.

[a] It is remarkable that nothing is said of any resistance to his passage through the great wall of Agrippa, which encircled Bezetha.

[b] Dean Milman's *History of the Jews*, bks. xiv., xv., xvi; and Merivale's *History of the Romans*, vi. ch. 9. To both of these works the writer begs leave to express his obligations throughout the above meagre sketch of "the most soul-stirring struggle of all ancient history." Of course the materials for all modern accounts are in Josephus only, excepting the few touches — strong, but not always accurate — in the 5th book of Tacitus' *Histories*.

[c] These are the numbers given by Josephus; but it is probable that they are exaggerated.

[d] Ὁ Νίκων . . . ἀπ᾽ τοῦ πάντα νικᾶν (*B. J.* v. 7 § 2). A curious question is raised by the occurrence of this and other Greek names in Josephus; so stated as to lean to the inference that Greek was familiarly used by the Jews indiscriminately with Hebrew. See the catalogues of names in *B. J.* v. 4, § 2.

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The catapults, both those taken from Cestius, and those found in the Antonia, were set up on the wall, and constant desperate sallies were made. At last the Jews began to tire of their fruitless assaults. They saw that the wall must fall, and, as they had done during Nebuchadnezzar's siege, they left their posts at night, and went home. A breach was made by the redoubtable Nikôn on the 7th Artemisius (cir. April 15); and here the Romans entered, driving the Jews before them to the second wall. A great length of the wall was then broken down; such parts of Bezetha as had escaped destruction by Cestius were levelled, and a new camp was formed, on the spot formerly occupied by the Assyrians, and still known as the "Assyrian camp." [a]

This was a great step in advance. Titus now lay with the second wall of the city close to him on his right, while before him at no considerable distance rose Antonia and the Temple, with no obstacle in the interval to his attack. Still, however, he preferred, before advancing, to get possession of the second wall, and the neighborhood of John's monument was again chosen. Simon was no less reckless in assault, and no less fertile in stratagem, than before; but notwithstanding all his efforts, in five days a breach was again effected. The district into which the Romans had now penetrated was the great Valley which lay between the two main hills of the city, occupied then, as it is still, by an intricate mass of narrow and tortuous lanes, and containing the markets of the city — no doubt very like the present bazaars. Titus's breach was where the wool, cloth, and brass bazaars came up to the wall (v. 8, § 1). This district was held by the Jews with the greatest tenacity. Knowing, as they did, every turn of the lanes and alleys, they had an immense advantage over the Romans, and it was only after four days' incessant fighting, much loss, and one thorough repulse, that the Romans were able to make good their position. However, at last, Simon was obliged to retreat, and then Titus demolished the wall. This was the second step in the siege.

Meantime some shots had been interchanged in the direction of the Antonia, but no serious attack was made. Before beginning there in earnest, Titus resolved to give his troops a few days' rest, and the Jews a short opportunity for reflection. He therefore called in the 10th legion from the Mount of Olives, and held an inspection of the whole army on the ground north of the Temple — full in view of both the Temple and the upper city, every wall and house in which were crowded with spectators (*B. J.* v. 9, § 1). But the opportunity was thrown away upon the Jews, and, after four days, orders were given to recommence the attack. Hitherto the assault had been almost entirely on the city: it was now to be simultaneous on city and Temple. Accordingly two pairs of large batteries were constructed, the one pair in front of Antonia; the other at the old point of attack — the monument of John Hyrcanus. The first pair was erected by the 5th and 12th legions, and was near the pool Struthius — probably the present *Birket Israil*, by the St. Stephen's Gate; the second by the 10th and 15th, at the pool called the Almond Pool — possibly that now known as the Pool of Hezekiah — and near the high-priest's monument (v. 11, § 4). These banks seem to have been constructed of timber and fascines, to which the Romans must have been driven by the scarcity of earth. They absorbed the incessant labor of seventeen days, and were completed on the 29th Artemisius (cir. May 7). John in the mean time had not been idle; he had employed the seventeen days' respite in driving mines, through the solid limestone of the hill, from within the fortress (v. xi. § 4; vi. 1, § 3) to below the banks. The mines were formed with timber roofs and supports. When the banks were quite complete, and the engines placed upon them, the timber of the galleries was fired, the superincumbent ground gave way, and the labor of the Romans was totally destroyed. At the other point Simon had maintained a resistance with all his former intrepidity, and more than his former success. He had now greatly increased the number of his machines, and his people were much more expert in handling them than before, so that he was able to impede materially the progress of the works. And when they were completed, and the battering rams had begun to make a sensible impression on the wall, he made a furious assault on them, and succeeded in firing the rams, seriously damaging the other engines, and destroying the banks (v. 11, §§ 5, 6).

It now became plain to Titus that some other measures for the reduction of the place must be adopted. It would appear that hitherto the southern and western parts of the city had not been invested, and on that side a certain amount of communication was kept up with the country, which, unless stopped, might prolong the siege indefinitely (*B. J.* v. 12, § 1; 10, § 3; 11, § 1; 12, § 3). The number who thus escaped is stated by Josephus at more than 500 a day (v. 11, § 1). A council of war was therefore held, and it was resolved to encompass the whole place with a wall, and then recommence the assault. The wall began at the Roman camp — a spot probably outside the modern north wall, between the Damascus Gate and the N. E. corner. From thence it went to the lower part of Bezetha — about St. Stephen's Gate; then across Kedron to the Mount of Olives; thence south, by a rock called the "Pigeon's Rock," — possibly the modern "Tombs of the Prophets" — to the Mount of Offense. It then turned to the west: again dipped into the Kedron, ascended the Mount of Evil Counsel, and so kept on the upper side of the ravine to a village called Beth-Erebinthi, whence it ran outside of Herod's monument to its starting point at the camp. Its entire length was 39 furlongs — very near 5 miles; and it contained 13 stations or guard-houses. The whole strength of the army was employed on the work, and it was completed in the short space of three days. The siege was then vigorously pressed. The north attack was relinquished, and the whole force concentrated on the Antonia (12, § 4). Four new banks of greater size than before were constructed, and as all the timber in the neighborhood had been already cut down, the materials had to be procured from a distance of eleven miles (vi. 1, § 1). Twenty-one days were occupied in completing the banks. Their position is not specified, but it is evident, from some of the expressions of Josephus, that they were at a considerable distance from the fortress (vi. 1, § 3). At length on the 1st Panemus or Tamuz (cir. June 7), the fire from the banks commenced, under cover of which the rams were set to work, and that night a part of the wall fell at a spot where the foundations had been weakened by the mines employed against the former attacks. Still this was but an outwork

[a] Compare Mahaneh-Dan, "camp of Dan" (Judg. xviii. 12

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and between it and the fortress itself a new wall was discovered which John had taken the precaution to build. At length, after two desperate attempts, this wall and that of the inner fortress were scaled by a bold surprise, and on the 5th[a] Panemus (June 11) the Antonia was in the hands of the Romans (vi. 1, § 7). Another week was occupied in breaking down the outer walls of the fortress for the passage of the machines, and a further delay took place in erecting new banks, on the fresh level, for the bombardment, and battery of the Temple. During the whole of this time — the miseries of which are commemorated in the traditional name of *yomin deëkn*, "days of wretchedness," applied by the Jews to the period between the 17th Tamuz and the 9th Ab — the most desperate hand-to-hand encounters took place, some in the passages from the Antonia to the cloisters, some in the cloisters themselves, the Romans endeavoring to force their way in, the Jews preventing them. But the Romans gradually gained ground. First the western, and then the whole of the northern external cloister was burnt (27th and 28th Pan.), and then the wall enclosing the court of Israel and the holy house itself. In the interval, on the 17th Panemus, the daily sacrifice had failed, owing to the want of officiating priests: a circumstance which had greatly distressed the people, and was taken advantage of by Titus to make a further though fruitless invitation to surrender. At length, on the tenth day of Lous or Ab (July 15), by the wanton act of a soldier, contrary to the intention of Titus, and in spite of every exertion he could make to stop it, the sanctuary itself was fired (vi. 4, § 5–7). It was, by one of those rare coincidences that sometimes occur, the very same month and day of the month that the first temple had been burnt by Nebuchadnezzar (vi. 4, § 8). John, and such of his party as escaped the flames and the carnage, made their way by the bridge on the south to the upper city. The whole of the cloisters that had hitherto escaped, including the magnificent triple colonnade of Herod on the south of the Temple, the treasury chambers, and the rooms round the outer courts, were now all burnt and demolished. Only the edifice of the sanctuary itself still remained. On its solid masonry the fire had had comparatively little effect, and there were still hidden in its recesses a few faithful priests who had contrived to rescue the most valuable of the utensils, vessels, and spices of the sanctuary (vi. 6. § 1; 8, § 3).

The Temple was at last gained; but it seemed as if half the work remained to be done. The upper city, higher than Moriah, inclosed by the original wall of David and Solomon, and on all sides precipitous except at the north, where it was defended by the wall and towers of Herod, was still to be taken.[b] Titus first tried a parley — he standing on the east end of the bridge between the Temple and the upper city, and John and Simon on the west end. His terms, however, were rejected, and no alternative was left him but to force on the siege. The whole of the low part of the town — the crowded lanes of which we have so often heard — was burnt, in the teeth of a frantic resistance from the Zealots (vi. 7, § 1), together with the council-house, the repository of the records (doubtless occupied by Simon since its former destruction), and the palace of Helena, which were situated in this quarter — the suburb of Ophel under the south wall of the Temple, and the houses as far as Siloam on the lower slopes of the Temple Mount.

It took 18 days to erect the necessary works for the siege; the four legions were once more stationed at the west or northwest corner where Herod's palace abutted on the wall, and where the three magnificent and impregnable towers of Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne rose conspicuous (vi. 8, § 1, and § 4, *ad fin.*). This was the main attack. Opposite the Temple, the precipitous nature of the slopes of the upper city rendered it unlikely that any serious attempt would be made by the Jews, and this part accordingly, between the bridge and the Xystus, was left to the auxiliaries. The attack was commenced on the 7th of Gorpiæus (cir. Sept. 11), and by the next day a breach was made in the wall, and the Romans at last entered the city. During the attack John and Simon appear to have stationed themselves in the towers just alluded to; and had they remained there they would probably have been able to make terms, as the towers were considered impregnable (vi. 8, § 4). But on the first signs of the breach, they took flight, and, traversing the city, descended into the Valley of Hinnom below Siloam, and endeavored to force the wall of circumvallation and so make their escape On being repulsed there, they took refuge apart in some of the subterraneous caverns or sewers of the city. John shortly after surrendered himself; but Simon held out for several weeks, and did not make his appearance until after Titus had quitted the city. They were both reserved for the Triumph at Rome.

The city being taken, such parts as had escaped the former conflagrations were burned, and the whole of both city and Temple was ordered to be demolished, excepting the west wall of the upper city, and Herod's three great towers at the northwest corner, which were left standing as memorials of the massive nature of the fortifications.

Of the Jews, the aged and infirm were killed; the children under seventeen were sold as slaves; the rest were sent, some to the Egyptian mines, some to the provincial amphitheatres, and some to grace the Triumph of the Conqueror.[c] Titus then

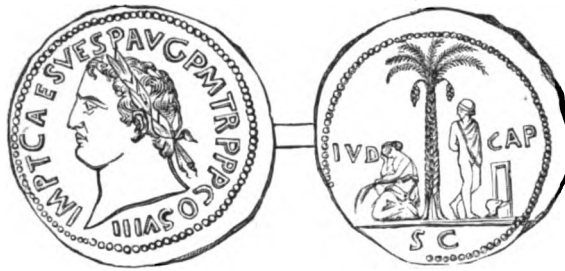
[a] Josephus contradicts himself about this date, since in vi. 2, § 1, he says that the 17th Panemus was the "very day" that Antonia was entered. The date given in the text agrees best with the narrative But on the other hand the 17th is the day commemorated in the Jewish Calendar.

[b] The reader will note that all which remained to be taken was the western hill, protected as above described. If the topographical theory of this article be correct, namely, that Zion, the city of David, was exterior to this hill, then these monarchs deprived themselves and their royal residence not only of the advantage of the strongest natural position, but also of the protection of their own wall! There is no escape from this conclusion; and the above statement of Mr. Grove, which is strictly accurate, is a complete refutation of Mr. Fergusson's theory. S. W.

[c] The prisoners were collected for this final partition in the Court of the Women. Josephus states that during the process eleven thousand died! It is a good instance of the exaggeration in which he indulges on these matters; for taking the largest estimate of the Court of the Women (Lightfoot's), it contained 35,000 square feet, *i. e.* little more than 3 square feet for each of those who died, not to speak of the living.

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departed, leaving the tenth legion under the command of Terentius Rufus to carry out the work of demolition. Of this Josephus assures us that "the whole[a] was so thoroughly leveled and dug up that no one visiting it would believe it had ever been inhabited" (*B. J.* vii. 1, § 1). G.



Medal of Vespasian, commemorating the capture of Jerusalem.

From its destruction by Titus to the present time. — For more than fifty years after its destruction by Titus Jerusalem disappears from history. During the revolts of the Jews in Cyrenaica, Egypt, Cyprus, and Mesopotamia, which disturbed the latter years of Trajan, the recovery of their city was never attempted. There is indeed reason to believe that Lucuas, the head of the insurgents in Egypt, led his followers into Palestine, where they were defeated by the Roman general Turbo, but Jerusalem is not once mentioned as the scene of their operations. Of its annals during this period we know nothing. Three towers and part of the western wall alone remained of its strong fortifications to protect the cohorts who occupied the conquered city, and the soldiers' huts were long the only buildings on its site. But in the reign of Hadrian it again emerged from its obscurity, and became the centre of an insurrection, which the best blood of Rome was shed to subdue. In despair of keeping the Jews in subjection by other means, the Emperor had formed a design to restore Jerusalem, and thus prevent it from ever becoming a rallying point for this turbulent race. In furtherance of his plan he had sent thither a colony of veterans, in numbers sufficient for the defense of a position so strong by nature against the then known modes of attack. To this measure Dion Cassius (lxix. 12) attributes a renewal of the insurrection, while Eusebius asserts that it was not carried into execution till the outbreak was quelled. Be this as it may, the embers of revolt, long smouldering, burst into a flame soon after Hadrian's departure from the East in A. D. 132. The contemptuous indifference of the Romans, or the secrecy of their own plans, enabled the Jews to organize a wide-spread conspiracy. Bar Cocheba, their leader, the third, according to Rabbinical writers, of a dynasty of the same name, princes of the Captivity, was crowned king at Bether by the Jews who thronged to him, and by the populace was regarded as the Messiah. His armor-bearer, R. Akiba, claimed descent from Sisera, and hated the Romans with the fierce rancor of his adopted nation. All the Jews in Palestine flocked to his standard. At an early period in the revolt they became masters of Jerusalem, and attempted to rebuild the Temple. The exact date of this attempt is uncertain, but the fact is inferred from allusions in Chrysostom (*Or.* 3 *in Judæos*), Nicephorus (*H. E.* iii. 24), and George Cedrenus (*Hist. Comp.* p. 249), and the collateral evidence of a coin of the period. Hadrian, alarmed at the rapid spread of the insurrection, and the ineffectual efforts of his troops to repress it, summoned from Britain Julius Severus, the greatest general of his time, to take the command of the army of Judæa. Two years were spent in a fierce guerilla warfare before Jerusalem was taken, after a desperate defense in which Bar Cocheba perished. The courage of the defenders was shaken by the falling in of the vaults on Mount Zion, and the Romans became masters of the position (Milman, *Hist. of Jews*, iii. 122). But the war did not end with the capture of the city. The Jews in great force had occupied the fortress of Bether, and there maintained a struggle with all the tenacity of despair against the repeated onsets of the Romans. At length, worn out by famine and disease, they yielded on the 9th of the month Ab, A. D. 135, and the grandson of Bar Cocheba was among the slain. The slaughter was frightful. The Romans, say the Rabbinical historians, waded to their horse-bridles in blood, which flowed with the fury of a mountain torrent. The corpses of the slain, according to the same veracious authorities, extended for more than thirteen miles, and remained unburied till the reign of Antoninus. Five hundred and eighty thousand are said to have fallen by the sword, while the number of victims to the attendant calamities of war was countless. On the side of the Romans the loss was enormous, and so dearly bought was their victory, that Hadrian, in his letter to the Senate, announcing the conclusion of the war, did not adopt the usual congratulatory phrase. Bar Cocheba has left traces of his occupation of Jerusalem in coins which were struck during the first two years of the war. Four silver coins, three of them undoubtedly belonging to Trajan, have been discovered, restamped with Samaritan characters. But the rebel leader, amply supplied with the precious metals by the contributions of his followers, afterwards coined his own money. The mint was probably during the first two years of the war at Jerusalem; the coins struck during that period bearing the inscription, "to the freedom of Jerusalem," or "Jerusalem the holy." They are mentioned in both Talmuds.

Hadrian's first policy, after the suppression of the revolt, was to obliterate the existence of Jerusalem as a city. The ruins which Titus had left were razed to the ground, and the plough passed over the foundations of the Temple. A colony of Roman citizens occupied the new city which rose from the ashes of Jerusalem, and their number was afterwards augmented by the Emperor's veteran legionaries. A temple to the Capitoline Jupiter was erected on the site of the sacred edifice of the

[a] The word used by Josephus — περίβολος τῆς πόλεως — may mean either the whole place, or the inclosing walls, or the precinct of the Temple. The statements of the Talmud perhaps imply that the foundations of the Temple only were dug up (see the quotations in Schwarz, p. 235); and even these seem to have been in existence in the time of Chrysostom (*Ad Judæos*, iii. 431).

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lova, and among the ornaments of the new city were a theatre, two market-places (δημόσια), a building called τετράνυμφον, and another called κάδρα. It was divided into seven quarters, each of which had its own warden. Mount Zion lay without the walls (Jerome, *Mic.* iii. 12; *Itin. Hieros.* p. 592, ed. Wesseling). That the northern wall inclosed the so-called sacred places, though asserted by Deyling, is regarded by Münter as a fable of a later date. A temple to Astarte, the Phœnician Venus, on the site afterwards identified with the sepulchre, appears on coins, with four columns and the inscription C. A. C., *Colonia Ælia Capitolina*, but it is more than doubtful whether it was erected at this time. The worship of Serapis was introduced from Egypt. A statue of the emperor was raised on the site of the Holy of Holies (Niceph. *H. E.* iii. 24); and it must have been near the same spot that the Bordeaux pilgrim saw two statues of Hadrian, not far from the "lapis pertusus" which the Jews of his day yearly visited and anointed with oil (*Itin. Hieros.* p. 591).

It was not, however, till the following year, A. D. 136, that Hadrian, on celebrating his Vicennalia, bestowed upon the new city the name of Ælia Capitolina, combining with his own family title the name of Jupiter of the Capitol, the guardian deity of the colony. Christians and pagans alone were allowed to reside. Jews were forbidden to enter on pain of death, and this prohibition remained in force in the time of Tertullian. But the conqueror, though stern, did not descend to wanton mockery. The swine, sculptured by the emperor's command over the gate leading to Bethlehem (Euseb. *Chron.* Hadr. *Ann.* xx.) was not intended as an insult to the conquered race to bar their entrance to the city of their fathers, but was one of the *signa militaria* of the Roman army. About the middle of the 4th century the Jews were allowed to visit the neighborhood, and afterwards, once a year, to enter the city itself, and weep over it on the anniversary of its capture. Jerome (on *Zeph.* i. 15) has drawn a vivid picture of the wretched crowds of Jews who in his day assembled at the wailing-place by the west wall of the Temple to bemoan the loss of their ancestral greatness. On the ninth of the month Ab might be seen the aged and decrepit of both sexes, with tattered garments and disheveled hair, who met to weep over the downfall of Jerusalem, and purchased permission of the soldiery to prolong their lamentations ("et miles mercedem postulat ut illis flere plus liceat").

So completely were all traces of the ancient city obliterated that its very name was in process of time forgotten. It was not till after Constantine built the *Martyrion* on the site of the crucifixion, that its ancient appellation was revived. In the 7th canon of the Council of Nicæa the bishop of Ælia is mentioned; but Macarius, in subscribing to the canons, designated himself bishop of Jerusalem. The name Ælia occurs as late as Adamnanus (A. D. 697), and is even found in Edrisi and Mejr ed-Din about 1495.

After the inauguration of the new colony of Ælia the annals of the city again relapse into an obscurity which is only represented in history by a list of twenty-three Christian bishops, who filled up the interval between the election of Marcus, the first of the series, and Macarius in the reign of Constantine. Already in the third century the Holy Places had become objects of enthusiasm, and the pilgrimage of Alexander, a bishop in Cappadocia, and afterwards of Jerusalem, is matter of history. In the following century such pilgrimages became more common. The aged Empress Helena, mother of Constantine, visited Palestine in A. D. 326, and, according to tradition, erected magnificent churches at Bethlehem, and on the Mount of Olives. Her son, fired with the same zeal, swept away the shrine of Astarte, which occupied the site of the resurrection, and founded in its stead a chapel or oratory. On the east of this was a large court, the eastern side being formed by the *Basilica*, erected on the spot where the cross was said to have been found The latter of these buildings is that known as the *Martyrion*; the former was the church of the *Anastasis*, or Resurrection: their locality will be considered in the following section (p. 1324, &c.). The Martyrion was completed A. D. 335, and its dedication celebrated by a great council of bishops, first at Tyre, and afterwards at Jerusalem, at which Eusebius was present. In the reign of Julian (A. D. 362) the Jews, with the permission and at the instigation of the emperor, made an abortive attempt to lay the foundations of a temple. From whatever motive, Julian had formed the design of restoring the Jewish worship on Mount Moriah to its pristine splendor, and during his absence in the East the execution of his project was intrusted to his favorite, Alypius of Antioch. Materials of every kind were provided at the emperor's expense, and so great was the enthusiasm of the Jews that their women took part in the work, and in the laps of their garments carried off the earth which covered the ruins of the Temple. But a sudden whirlwind and earthquake shattered the stones of the former foundations; the workmen fled for shelter to one of the neighboring churches (ἐπί τι τῶν πλησίον ἱερῶν, Greg. Naz. *Or.* iv. 111), the doors of which were closed against them by an invisible hand, and a fire issuing from the Temple-mount raged the whole day and consumed their tools. Numbers perished in the flames. Some who escaped took refuge in a portico near at hand, which fell at night and crushed them as they slept (Theodor. *H. E* iii. 15; Sozomen, v. 21; see also Ambros. *Epist ad Theodosium*, lib. ii. ep. 17). Whatever may have been the coloring which this story received as it passed through the hands of the ecclesiastical historians, the impartial narrative of Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiii. 1), the friend and companion in arms of the emperor, leaves no reasonable doubt of the truth of the main facts that the work was interrupted by fire, which all attributed to supernatural agency. In the time of Chrysostom the foundations of the Temple still remained, to which the orator could appeal (*ad Judæos*, iii. 431; Paris, 1636). The event was regarded as a judgment of God upon the impious attempt of Julian to falsify the predictions of Christ: a position which Bishop Warburton defends with great skill in his treatise on the subject.

During the fourth and fifth centuries Jerusalem became the centre of attraction for pilgrims from all regions, and its bishops contended with those of Cæsarea for the supremacy; but it was not till after the council of Chalcedon (451–453) that it was made an independent patriarchate. In the theological controversies which followed the decision of that council with regard to the two natures of Christ, Jerusalem bore its share with other oriental

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churches, and two of its bishops were deposed by Monophysite fanatics. The synod of Jerusalem in A. D. 536 confirmed the decree of the synod of Constantinople against the Monophysites.

In 529 the Emperor Justinian founded at Jerusalem a splendid church in honor of the Virgin, which has been identified by most writers with the building known in modern times as the Mosque el-Aksa, but of which probably no remains now exist (see p. 1329). [Against this view see Amer. ed. § IV.] Procopius, the historian, ascribes to the same emperor the erection of ten or eleven monasteries in the neighborhood of Jerusalem and Jericho. Eutychius adds that he built a hospital for strangers in Jerusalem, and that the church above mentioned was begun by the patriarch Elias, and completed by Justinian. Later in the same century Gregory the Great (590–604) sent the abbot Probus to Jerusalem with a large sum of money, and endowed a hospital for pilgrims, which Robinson suggests is the same as that now used by the Muslims for the like purpose, and called by the Arabs *et-Takiyeh*.

For nearly five centuries the city had been free from the horrors of war. The merchants of the Mediterranean sent their ships to the coasts of Syria, and Jerusalem became a centre of trade, as well as of devotion. But this rest was roughly broken by the invading Persian army under Chosroes II., who swept through Syria, drove the imperial troops before them, and, after the capture of Antioch and Damascus, marched upon Jerusalem. A multitude of Jews from Tiberias and Galilee followed in their train. The city was invested, and taken by assault in June, 614; thousands of the monks and clergy were slain; the suburbs were burnt, churches demolished, and that of the Holy Sepulchre injured, if not consumed, by fire. The invading army in their retreat carried with them the patriarch Zacharias, and the wood of the true cross, besides multitudes of captives. During the exile of the patriarch, his vicar Modestus, supplied with money and workmen by the munificent John Eleemon, patriarch of Alexandria, restored the churches of the Resurrection and Calvary, and also that of the Assumption. After a struggle of fourteen years the imperial arms were again victorious, and in 628 Heraclius entered Jerusalem on foot, at the head of a triumphal procession, bearing the true cross on his shoulder. The restoration of the churches is, with greater probability, attributed by William of Tyre to the liberality of the emperor (*Hist.* i. 1).

The dominion of the Christians in the Holy City was now rapidly drawing to a close. After an obstinate defense of four months, in the depth of winter, against the impetuous attacks of the Arabs, the patriarch Sophronius surrendered to the Khalif Omar in person A. D. 637. The valor of the besieged extorted unwilling admiration from the victors, and obtained for them terms unequaled for leniency in the history of Arab conquest. The Khalif, after ratifying the terms of capitulation, which secured to the Christians liberty of worship in the churches which they had, but prohibited the erection of more, entered the city, and was met at the gates by the patriarch. Sophronius received him with the uncourteous exclamation, "Verily this is the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place!" and the chronicler does not forget to record the tagged dress and "Satanic hypocrisy" of the hardy khalif (Cedrenus, *Hist. Comp.* 426). Omar then in company with the patriarch, visited the Church of the Resurrection, and at the Muslim time of prayer knelt down on the eastern steps of the Basilica, refusing to pray within the buildings, in order that the possession of them might be secured to the Christians. Tradition relates that he requested a site whereon to erect a mosque for the Mohammedan worship, and that the patriarch assigned him the spot occupied by the reputed stone of Jacob's vision: over this he is said to have built the mosque afterwards known by his name (Eutychii *Chron.* ii. 285; Ockley, *Hist. of Sar.* pp. 205–214, Bohn), and which still exists in the S. E. corner of the Aksa. Henceforth Jerusalem became for Muslims, as well as Christians, a sacred place, and the Mosque of Omar shared the honors of pilgrimage with the renowned Kaaba of Mecca.

In the reign of Charlemagne (771–814) ambassadors were sent by the Emperor of the West to distribute alms in the Holy City, and on their return were accompanied by envoys from the enlightened Khalif Hârûn er-Rashîd, bearing to Charlemagne the keys of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre. But these amenities were not of long continuance. The dissensions which ensued upon the death of the khalif spread to Jerusalem, and churches and convents suffered in the general anarchy. About the same period the feud between the Joktanite and Ishmaelite Arabs assumed an alarming aspect. The former, after devastating the neighboring region, made an attempt upon Jerusalem, but were repulsed by the signal valor of its garrison. In the reign of the Khalif el-Motasem it was held for a time by the rebel chief Tamûn Abu-Hareb.

With the fall of the Abassides the Holy City passed into the hands of the Fatimite conqueror Muez, who fixed the seat of his empire at Musr el-Kâhirah, the modern Cairo (A. D. 969). Under the Fatimite dynasty the sufferings of the Christians in Jerusalem reached their height, when el-Hakem, the third of his line, ascended the throne (A. D. 996). The church of the Holy Sepulchre, which had been twice dismantled and burnt within the previous seventy years (Eutych. *Ann.* ii. 529, 530; Cedren. *Hist. Comp.* p. 661), was again demolished (Ademari *Chron.* A. D. 1010), and its successor was not completed till A. D. 1048. A small chapel ("oratoria valde modica," Will. Tyr. viii. 3) supplied the place of the magnificent Basilica on Golgotha.

The pilgrimages to Jerusalem in the 11th century became a source of revenue to the Muslims, who exacted a tax of a byzant from every visitor to the Holy Sepulchre. Among the most remarkable pilgrimages of this century were those of Robert of Normandy (1035), Lietbert of Cambray (1054), and the German bishops (1065).

In 1077 Jerusalem was pillaged by Afsis the Kharismian, commander of the army sent by Melek Shah against the Syrian dominions of the khalif. About the year 1084 it was bestowed by Tutush, the brother of Melek Shah, upon Ortok, chief of a Turkman horde under his command. From this time till 1091 Ortok was emir of the city, and on his death it was held as a kind of fief by his sons Ilghâzy and Sukmân, whose severity to the Christians became the proximate cause of the Crusades. Rudhwân, son of Tutush, made an ineffectual attack upon Jerusalem in 1096. The city was ultimately taken, after a siege of forty days, by Afdal, vizir

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of the khalif of Egypt, and for eleven months had been governed by the Emir Iftikar ed-Dauleh. when, on the 7th of June, 1099, the crusading army appeared before the walls. After the fall of Antioch in the preceding year the remains of their numerous host marched along between Lebanon and the sea, passing Byblos, Beyrout, and Tyre on their road, and so through Lydda, Ramleh, and the ancient Emmaus, to Jerusalem. The crusaders, 40,000 in number, but with little more than 20,000 effective troops, reconnoitred the city, and determined to attack it on the north. Their camp extended from the Gate of St. Stephen to that beneath the tower of David. Godfrey of Lorraine occupied the extreme left (East): next him was Count Robert of Flanders: Robert of Normandy held the third place; and Tancred was posted at the N. W. corner tower, afterwards called by his name. Raymond of Toulouse originally encamped against the West Gate, but afterwards withdrew half his force to the part between the city and the church of Zion. At the tidings of their approach the khalif of Egypt gave orders for the repair of the towers and walls; the fountains and wells for five or six miles round (Will. Tyr. vii. 23), with the exception of Siloam, were stopped, as in the days of Hezekiah, when the city was invested by Sennacherib's host of Assyrians. On the fifth day after their arrival the crusaders attacked the city and drove the Saracens from the outworks, but were compelled to suspend their operations till the arrival of the Genoese engineers. Another month was consumed in constructing engines to attack the walls, and meanwhile the besiegers suffered all the horrors of thirst in a burning sun. At length the engines were completed and the day fixed for the assault. On the night of the 13th of July Godfrey had changed his plan of attack, and removed his engines to a weaker part of the wall between the Gate of St. Stephen and the corner tower overlooking the Valley of Jehoshaphat on the north. At break of day the city was assaulted in three points at once. Tancred and Raymond of Toulouse attacked the walls opposite their own positions. Night only separated the combatants, and was spent by both armies in preparations for the morrow's contest. Next day, after seven hours' hard fighting, the drawbridge from Godfrey's Tower was let down. Godfrey was first upon the wall, followed by the Count of Flanders and the Duke of Normandy; the northern gate was thrown open, and at three o'clock on Friday the 15th of July Jerusalem was in the hands of the crusaders. Raymond of Toulouse entered without opposition by the Zion Gate. The carnage was terrible: 10,000 Muslims fell within the sacred inclosure. Order was gradually restored, and Godfrey of Bouillon elected king (Will. Tyr. viii.). Churches were established, and for eighty-eight years Jerusalem remained in the hands of the Christians. In 1187 it was retaken by Saladin after a siege of several weeks. Five years afterwards (1192), in anticipation of an attack by Richard of England, the fortifications were strengthened and new walls built, and the supply of water again cut off (Barhebr. *Chron.* p. 421). During the winter of 1191–2 the work was prosecuted with the utmost vigor. Fifty skilled masons, sent by Alaeddin of Mosul, rendered able assistance, and two thousand Christian captives were pressed into the service. The Sultan rode round the fortifications each day encouraging the workmen, and even brought them stones on his horse's saddle. His sons, his brother Malek al-Adel, and the Emirs ably seconded his efforts, and within six months the works were completed, solid and durable as a rock (Wilken, *Kreuzzüge*, iv. 457, 458). The walls and towers were demolished by order of the Sultan Melek el-Mu'adhdhem of Damascus in 1219, and in this defenseless condition the city was ceded to the Christians by virtue of the treaty with the Emperor Frederick II. An attempt to rebuild the walls in 1239 was frustrated by an assault by David of Kerak, who dismantled the city anew. In 1243 it again came into the hands of the Christians, and in the following year sustained a siege by the wild Kharismian hordes, who slaughtered the priests and monks who had taken refuge in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and after plundering the city withdrew to Gaza. After their departure Jerusalem again reverted to the Mohammedans, in whose hands it still remains. The defeat of the Christians at Gaza was followed by the occupation of the Holy City by the forces of the Sultan of Egypt.

In 1277 Jerusalem was nominally annexed to the kingdom of Sicily. In 1517 it passed under the sway of the Ottoman Sultan Selim I., whose successor Suliman built the present walls of the city in 1542. Mohammed Aly, the Pasha of Egypt, took possession of it in 1832. In 1834 it was seized and held for a time by the Fellahin during the insurrection, and in 1840, after the bombardment of Acre, was again restored to the Sultan.

Such in brief is a sketch of the checkered fortunes of the Holy City since its destruction by Titus.[a] The details will be found in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*; Prof. Robinson's *Bibl. Res.* i 365–407; the Rev. G. Williams' *Holy City*, vol. i. Wilken's *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge*; Deyling's *Diss. de Ælia Capitolina orig. et historia*; and Bp. Münter's *History of the Jewish War under Trajan and Hadrian*, translated in Robinson's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, pp. 393–455. W. A. W

III. Topography of the City.[b]

There is perhaps no city in the ancient world the topography of which ought to be so easily determined as that of Jerusalem. In the first place, the city always was small, and is surrounded by deep valleys, while the form of the ground within its limits is so strongly marked that there never could

[a] * Some account of Jerusalem as it now is will be found under the head of *Modern Jerusalem*, appended to the present article (Amer. ed.). This review of the vicissitudes of the Holy City would be incomplete without such an addition. H.

[b] * This article of Mr. Fergusson on the "Topography of the City" is one of great value, aside altogether from the correctness or incorrectness of his peculiar views respecting the identification of Mount Zion and the site of the Holy Sepulchre. On these particular points his views, though approved by some in England and supported by no little ingenuity, are not those which Biblical scholars generally entertain. We insert therefore (at the end of the article) a somewhat extended examination of his theory on this part of the subject, by Dr. Wolcott, who writes with the advantage of a personal knowledge of the localities in question. We pursue this course, instead of setting aside or abridging the article, both as an act of justice to Mr Fergusson, who enjoys a high reputation as an architect and archaeologist and as required also by our pledge to the reader to omit nothing in this edition of the Dictionary which he would find in the English edition. E

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apparently be any great difficulty in ascertaining its general extent, or in fixing its more prominent features; and on the other hand we have in the works of Josephus a more full and complete topographical description of this city than of almost any other in the ancient world. It is certain that he was intimately acquainted with the localities he describes, and as his copious descriptions can be tested by comparing them with the details of the siege by Titus which he afterwards narrates, there ought to be no difficulty in settling at least all the main points. Nor would there ever have been any, but for the circumstance that for a long period after the destruction of the city by Titus, the place was practically deserted by its original inhabitants, and the continuity of tradition consequently broken in upon; and after this, when it again appears in history, it is as a sacred city, and at a period the most uncritical of any known in the modern history of the world. During at least ten centuries of what are called most properly the dark ages, it was thought necessary to find a locality for every event mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures which had taken place within or near its walls. These were in most instances fixed arbitrarily, there being no constant tradition to guide the topographer, so that the confusion which has arisen has become perplexing, to a degree that can only be appreciated by those who have attempted to unravel the tangled thread; and now that long centuries of constant tradition have added sanctity to the localities, it is extremely difficult to shake one's self free from its influence, and to investigate the subject in that critical spirit which is necessary to elicit the truth so long buried in obscurity.

It is only by taking up the thread of the narrative from the very beginning, and admitting nothing which cannot be proved, either by direct testimony or by local indications, that we can hope to clear up the mystery; but, with the ample materials that still exist, it only requires that this should be done in order to arrive at a correct determination of at least all the principal points of the topography of this sacred city.

So little has this been done hitherto, that there are at present before the public three distinct views of the topography of Jerusalem, so discrepant from one another in their most essential features, that a disinterested person might fairly feel himself justified in assuming that there existed no real data for the determination of the points at issue, and that the disputed questions must forever remain in the same unsatisfactory state as at present.

1. The first of these theories is the most obvious, and has at all events the great merit of simplicity. It consists in the belief that all the sacred localities were correctly ascertained in the early ages of Christianity; and, what is still more important, that none have been changed during the dark ages that followed, or in the numerous revolutions to which the city has been exposed. Consequently, inferring that all which the traditions of the Middle Ages have handed down to us may be implicitly relied upon. The advantages of this theory are so manifest, that it is little wonder that it should be so popular and find so many advocates.

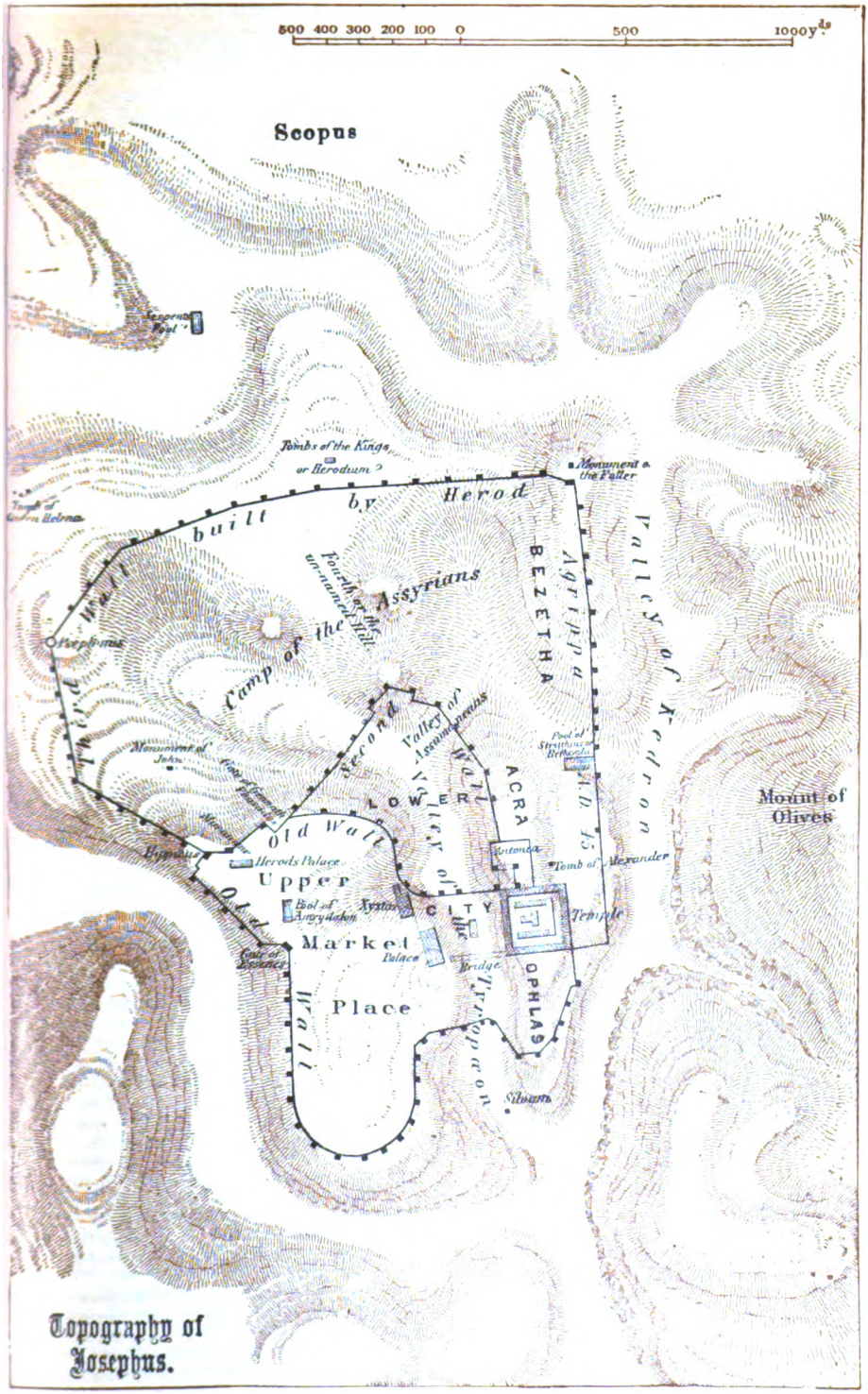
The first person who ventured publicly to express his dissent from this view was Korte, a German printer, who travelled in Palestine about the year 1728. On visiting Jerusalem he was struck with the apparent impossibility of reconciling the site of the present church of the Holy Sepulchre with the exigencies of the Bible narrative, and on his return home published a work denying the authenticity of the so-called sacred localities. His heresies excited very little attention at the time, or for long afterwards; but the spirit of inquiry which has sprung up during the present century has revived the controversy which has so long been dormant and many pious and earnest men, both Protestant and Catholic, have expressed with more or less distinctness the difficulties they feel in reconciling the assumed localities with the indications in the Bible. The arguments in favor of the present localities being the correct ones are well summed up by the Rev. George Williams in his work on the Holy City, and with the assistance of Professor Willis all has been said that can be urged in favor of their authenticity. Nothing can exceed the ingenuity of the various hypotheses that are brought forward to explain away the admitted difficulties of the case; but we look in vain for any new facts to counterbalance the significance of those so often urged on the other side, while the continued appeals to faith and to personal arguments, do not inspire confidence in the soundness of the data brought forward.

2. Professor Robinson, on the other hand, in his elaborate works on Palestine, has brought together all the arguments which from the time of Korte have been accumulating against the authenticity of the mediæval sites and traditions. He has done this with a power of logic which would probably have been conclusive had he been able to carry the argument to its legitimate conclusion. His want of knowledge of architecture and of the principles of architectural criticism, however, prevented him from perceiving that the present church of the Holy Sepulchre was wholly of an age subsequent to that of the Crusades, and without a trace of the style of Constantine. Nor was he, from the same causes, able to correct in a single instance the erroneous adscriptions given to many other buildings in Jerusalem, whose dates might have afforded a clew to the mystery. When, in consequence, he announced as the result of his researches the melancholy conclusion, that the site of the Holy Sepulchre was now, and must in all probability for ever remain a mystery, the effect was, that those who were opposed to his views clung all the more firmly to those they before entertained, preferring a site and a sepulchre which had been hallowed by the tradition of ages rather than launch forth on the shoreless sea of speculation which Dr. Robinson's negative conclusion opened out before them.

3. The third theory is that put forward by the author of this article in his "Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem." It agrees generally with the views urged by all those from Korte to Robinson, who doubt the authenticity of the present site of the sepulchre; but instead of acquiescing in the desponding view taken by the latter, it goes on to assert, for reasons which will be given hereafter, that the building now known to Christians as the Mosque of Omar, but by Moslems called the Dome of the Rock, is the identical church which Constantine erected over the Rock which contained the Tomb of Christ.

If this view of the topography can be maintained, it at once sets to rest all questions that can possibly arise as to the accordance of the sacred sites with the Bible narrative; for there is no doubt but that at the time of the crucifixion this locality was outside the walls, "near the judgment-seat," as

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Topography of Josephus.

Plate I

JERUSALEM

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"towards the country;" and it agrees in every respect with the minutest indication of the Scriptures.

It confirms all that was said by Eusebius, and all Christian and Mohammedan writers before the time of the Crusades, regarding the sacred localities, and brings the Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan topography into order, and explains all that before was so puzzling.

It substitutes a building which no one doubts was built long before the time of the Crusades, for one which as undoubtedly was erected after that event; and one that now possesses in its centre a mass of living rock with one cave in it exactly as described by Eusebius, for one with only a small tabernacle of marble, where no rock ever was seen by human eyes; and it groups together buildings undoubtedly of the age of Constantine, whose juxtaposition it is otherwise impossible to account for.

A theory offering such advantages as these ought either to be welcomed by all Christian men, or assailed by earnest reasoning, and not rejected without good and solid objections being brought against it. For it never can be unimportant even to the best established creeds to deprive scoffers of every opportunity for a sneer, and it is always wise to offer to the wavering every testimony which may tend to confirm them in their faith.

The most satisfactory way of investigating the subject will probably be to commence at the time of the greatest prosperity of Jerusalem, immediately before its downfall, which also happens to be the period when we have the greatest amount of knowledge regarding its features. If we can determine what was then its extent, and fix the more important localities at that period, there will be no great difficulty in ascertaining the proper sites for the events which may have happened either before or after. All that now remains of the ancient city of course existed then; and the descriptions of Josephus, in so far as they are to be trusted, apply to the city as he then saw it; so that the evidence is at that period more complete and satisfactory than at any other time, and the city itself being then at its greatest extent, it necessarily included all that existed either before or afterwards.

It will not be necessary here to dwell upon the much disputed point of the veracity of the historian on whose testimony we must principally rely in this matter. It will be sufficient to remark that every new discovery, every improved plan that has been made, has served more and more to confirm the testimony of Josephus, and to give a higher idea of the minute accuracy of his local knowledge. In no one instance has he yet been convicted of any material error in describing localities in *plan*. Many difficulties which were thought at one time to be insuperable have disappeared with a more careful investigation of the data; and now that the city has been carefully mapped and explored, there seems every probability of our being able to reconcile all his descriptions with the appearance of the existing localities. So much indeed is this the case that one cannot help suspecting that the Roman army was provided with surveyors who could map out the localities with very tolerable precision; and that, though writing at Rome, Josephus had before him data which checked and guided him in all he said as to horizontal dimensions. This becomes more probable when we consider how moderate all these are, and how consistent with existing remains, and compare them with his strangely exaggerated statements whenever he speaks of heights or describes the arrangement of buildings which had been destroyed in the siege, and of which it may be supposed no record or correct description then existed. He seems to have felt himself at liberty to indulge his national vanity in respect to these, but to have been checked when speaking of what still existed, and could never be falsified. The consequence is, that in almost all instances we may implicitly rely on anything he says with regard to the *plan* of Jerusalem, and as to anything that existed or could be tested at the time he wrote, but must receive with the greatest caution any assertion with regard to what did not then remain, or respecting which no accurate evidence could be adduced to refute his statement.

In attempting to follow the description of Josephus there are two points which it is necessary should be fixed in order to understand what follows.

The first of these is the position and dimensions of the Temple; the second the position of the Tower Hippicus.

Thanks to modern investigation there now seems to be little difficulty in determining the first, with all the accuracy requisite to our present purposes. The position of the Tower Hippicus cannot be determined with the same absolute certainty, but can be fixed within such limits as to allow no reasonable doubts as to its locality.

I. *Site of the Temple.* — Without any exception, all topographers are now agreed that the Temple stood within the limits of the great area now known as the Haram, though few are agreed as to the portion of that space which it covered; and at least one author places it in the centre, and not at the southern extremity of the inclosure. With this exception all topographers are agreed



No. 1. — Remains of Arch of Bridge. (S. W. angle of Haram.)

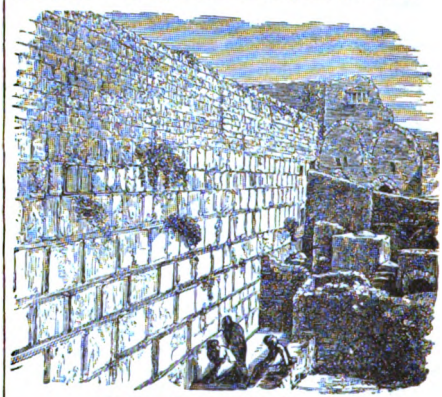
that the southwestern angle of the Haram area was one of the angles of the ancient Jewish Temple. In the first place it is admitted that the Temple was a rectangle, and this happens to be the only right angle of the whole inclosure. In the next place, in his description of the great Stoa Basilica of the Temple, Josephus distinctly states that it stood on the southern wall and overhung the valley (*Ant.* xv. 16, § 5). Again, the discovery of the remains of the arch of a bridge, commencing about 40 feet from the S. W. angle in the western wall, and consequently coinciding with the centre of the

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great Stoa (as will be shown under the head TEMPLE), so exactly corresponds with the description of Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 4, § 2: *B. J.* i. 2, §§ 5, 2, ii. 16, § 2, vi. 6, § 3, vi. 7, § 1) as in itself to be sufficient to decide the question.[a] The size of the stones and the general character of the masonry at the Jews' Wailing-place (wood-cut No. 2) in the western wall near its southern extremity have been considered by almost all topographers as a proof that the wall there formed part of the substructures of the Temple: and lastly, the discovery of one of the old gateways which Josephus (*B. J.* vi. 6, § 2) mentions as leading from the Temple to Parbar, on this side, mentioned by Ali Bey, ii. 226, and Dr. Barclay (*City of the Great King*, p. 490), besides minor indications, make up such a chain of proof as to leave scarcely a doubt on this point.

The extent of the Temple northwards and eastwards from this point is a question on which there is much less agreement than with regard to the fixation of its southwestern angle, though the evidence, both written and local, points inevitably to the conclusion that Josephus was literally correct when he said that the Temple was an exact square of a stadium, or 600 Greek feet, on each side (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 3). This assertion he repeats when describing the great Stoa Basilica, which occupied the whole of the southern side (xv. 11, § 9); and again, in describing Solomon's, or the eastern portico, he says it was 400 cubits, or 600 feet, in extent (xx. 10, § 7); and lastly, in narrating the building of the Temple of Solomon (viii. 3, § 9), he says he elevated the ground to 400 cubits, meaning, as the context explains, on each side. In fact there is no point on which Josephus repeats himself so often, and is throughout so thoroughly consistent.

There is no other written authority on this subject except the Talmud, which asserts that the Temple was a square of 500 cubits each side (*Mishna*, v. 334); but the Rabbis, as if aware that this assertion did not coincide with the localities, immediately correct themselves by explaining that it was the cubit of 15 inches which was meant, which would make the side 625 feet. Their authority, however, is so questionable, that it is of the least possible consequence what they said or meant.



No. 2. — Jews' Wailing-Place.

The *instantia crucis*, however, is the existing remains, and these confirm the description of Josephus to the fullest possible extent. Proceeding eastward along the southern wall from the southwestern angle we find the whole Haram area filled up perfectly solid, with the exception of the great tunnel-like entrance under the Mosque el-Aksa, until, at the distance of 600 feet from the angle, we arrive at a wall running northwards at right

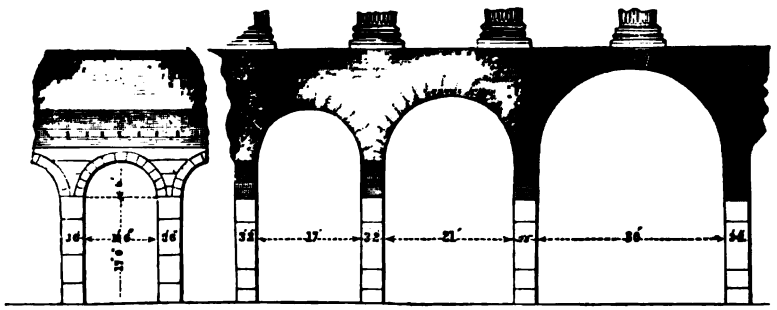
[a] * This arch is known among travellers as "Robinson's Arch." Though Dr. Robinson was not the first to recognize these projecting stones as connected with some ancient bridge or viaduct, he was unquestionably the first to identify them with the bridge so particularly described by Josephus. (See *Bib. Res.*, 2d ed., i. 287 ff., and 606 ff.). It will be observed that these stones spring out of the Haram wall on the east side of the Tyropœon. One of the most remarkable of the recent discoveries at Jerusalem is the disinterring of the opposite buttress or pier of the bridge on the western side of the valley, and of the stones of the pavement which formed the floor of this causeway.

The following account of this discovery is drawn up from the report of Lieut. Warren, who superintended the excavation: "At the depth of about 55 feet a gallery from one of the shafts was traced along an ancient artificial cutting in the solid rock until it was stopped by a mass of masonry, constructed of fine beveled stones of great size, and evidently still remaining in their original position. This masonry, of which three courses remain, proved to be the lowermost portion of the original western pier of 'Robinson's Arch.' . . . The remains of the pier consist of 'splendid stones' of a peculiarly hard texture, of great magnitude and in perfect preservation; the lowest course, resting on the rock, is 3 feet 6 inches high, and the next 3 feet 9 inches — the height of the large stones still visible, above the present surface of the ground in the Haram wall. The pier was rather more than 12 feet in thickness east and west; and it was constructed not as a solid mass, but so built with the great stones (already mentioned), that it had a hollow space in the inside, with openings leading to this space through the exterior masonry; and thus the whole pier may be said to be made up of smaller ones. . . .

"East of these remarkable and most interesting remains of this arch-pier, and on a level with the rock surface, a pavement of stone was found to extend towards the Haram wall; and here, on this pavement, upwards of 50 feet beneath the present surface, when they had cleared away a cavern-like space sufficiently large for them to examine the ancient relics that were lying before them, the explorers discovered, ranged in two lines north and south, and huddled together just as they fell, the actual *voussoirs*, or wedge-shaped arch-stones, of which when in its complete condition, the great viaduct of Robinson's Arch had been constructed. That viaduct had led from the Jerusalem on the western portion of the rock-plateau that formed the site of the city, over the Tyropœon Valley — to the Temple on Zion — the eastern portion. . . The great arch, its span 41 feet 6 inches and its width upwards of 50 feet, which supported this causeway, was broken down by command of Titus, when at length the whole of Jerusalem had fallen into his power; and the arch-stones, hard, and their forms still as clearly defined as when they fell, and each one weighing at least 20 tons, may now be seen in the excavated cavern, at the bottom of the shaft, preserved in safety while hidden from sight through eighteen centuries by the gradually accumulating covering of ruins and earth, that at length rose 50 feet above them. . . It would be difficult to find any relic of ancient times more interesting than this broken archway. The Apostles must very often have passed over it, while yet the arch remained entire; and so also must their Master and ours often have passed over it with them." (See *Report of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, for 1867–68, pp. 52–58 (by Lieut. Warren), and the article *Exploration of Palestine*, in *The Quiver*, p. 619, by Rev. C. Boutell (Lond. 1868).) H.

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ungus to the southern wall, and bounding the solid space. Beyond this point the Haram area is filled up with a series of light arches supported on square piers (shown in the annexed woodcut, No. 3), the whole being of so slight a construction that it may be affirmed with absolute certainty that neither the Stoa Basilica, nor any of the larger buildings of the Temple, ever stood on them. The proof of this is not difficult. Taking Josephus's account of the great Stoa as we find it, he states that it consisted of four rows of Corinthian pillars, 40 in each row. If they extended along the whole length of the present southern wall they must have been spaced between 23 and 24 feet apart, and this, from our knowledge of the works of the ancients, we may assert to be architecturally impossible. But, far more than this, the piers that support the vaults in question are only about 3 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 3 inches square, while the pillars which it is assumed they supported were between 5 and 6 feet in diameter (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 5), so that, if this were so, the foundations must have been practically about half the area of the columns they supported. Even this is not all: the piers in the vaults are so irregularly spaced, some 17, some 20 or 21, and one even 30 feet apart, that the pillars of the Stoa must have stood in most instances on the crown or sides of the arches, and these are so weak (as may be seen from the roots of the trees above having struck through them) that they could not for one hour have supported the weight. In fact there can be no doubt whatever that the buildings of the Temple never stood on this frail prop, and also that no more solid foundations ever existed here; for the bare rock is everywhere visible, and if ever more solidly built upon, the remains of such constructions could not have disappeared. In so far, therefore, as the southern wall is concerned, we may rest perfectly satisfied with Josephus's description that the Temple extended east and west 600 feet.



No. 3. — Section of vaults in S. E. angle of Haram.

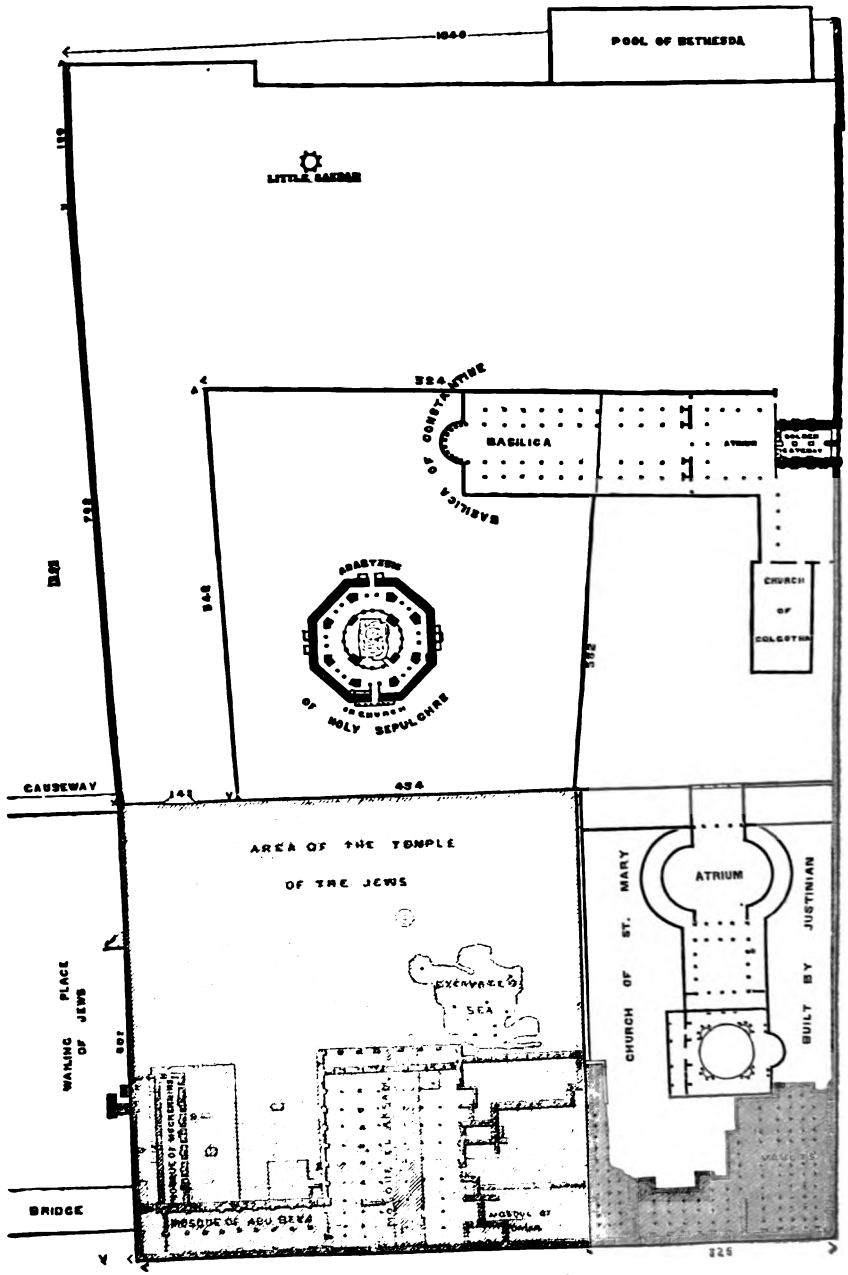
The position of the northern wall is as easily fixed. If the Temple was square it must have commenced at a point 600 feet from the southwest angle, and in fact the southern wall of the platform which now surrounds the so-called Mosque of Omar runs parallel to the southern wall of the inclosure, at a distance of exactly 600 feet, while westward it is continued in a causeway which crosses the valley just 600 feet from the southwestern angle. It may also be mentioned that from this point the western wall of the Haram area no longer follows the same direction, but inclines slightly to the westward, indicating a difference (though perhaps not of much value) in the purpose to which it was applied. Moreover the south wall of what is now the platform of the Dome of the Rock runs eastward from the western wall for just 600 feet; which again gives the same dimension for the north wall of the Temple as was found for the southern wall by the limitation of the solid space before the commencement of the vaults. All these points will be now clear by reference to the plan on the next page (wood-cut No. 4), where the dimensions are stated in English feet, according to the best available authorities, not in Greek feet, which alone are used in the text.

The only point in Josephus's description which seems to have misled topographers with regard to these dimensions is his assertion that the Temple extended from one valley to the other (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 5). If he had named the valley or identified it in any way with the Valley of Kedron this might have been a difficulty; but as it is only a valley it is of less importance, especially as the manner in which the vaults extend northwards immediately beyond the eastern wall of the Temple is sufficient to show that such a depression once existed here as to justify his expression. But, whatever importance may be attached to these indefinite words, they never can be allowed to outweigh the written dimensions and the local indications, which show that the Temple never could have extended more than 600 feet from the western wall.

It has been objected to this conclusion that if the Temple were only 600 feet square, it would be impossible to find space within its walls for all the courts and buildings mentioned by Josephus and in the Talmud. This difficulty, however, has no real foundation in fact, and the mode in which the interior may have been arranged, so as to meet all the exigencies of the case, will be explained in treating of the TEMPLE. But in the mean while it seems impossible to escape from the conclusion that the square space indicated by shading in the plan (wood-cut No. 4) was the exact area occupied by the Jewish Temple as rebuilt by Herod, and as described by Josephus. [Against this view, see § IV. Amer. ed.]

II. *Hippicus.* — Of all the towers that once adorned the city of Jerusalem only one now exists in anything like a state of perfection. Being in the centre of the citadel, on one of the most elevated points of the city, it strikes the traveller's eye whichever way he turns; and from its prominence now, and the importance which Josephus ascribes to the tower Hippicus, it has been somewhat hastily assumed that the two are identical. The reasons, however, against this assumption are too cogent to

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No. 4.—Plan of Haram Area at Jerusalem

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allow of the identity being admitted. Josephus gives the dimensions of the Hippicus as 25 cubits, or 37½ feet square, whereas the tower in the citadel is 56 feet 6 inches by 70 feet 3 inches (Rob. *Bibl. Res.* 1st ed. i. 456), and, as Josephus never diminishes the size of anything Jewish, this alone should make us pause. Even if we are to assume that it is one of the three great towers built by Herod, as far as its architecture is concerned, it may as well be Phasaëlus or Mariamne as Hippicus. Indeed its dimensions accord with the first named of these far better than with the last. But the great test is the locality, and unfortunately the tower in the citadel hardly agrees in this respect in one point with the description of Josephus. In the first place he makes it a corner tower, whereas, at the time he wrote, the tower in the citadel must have been in a reëntering angle of the wall, as it is now. In the next he says it was "over against Psephinus" (*B. J.* v. 4, § 3), which never could be said of this tower. Again, in the same passage, he describes the three towers as standing on the north side of the wall. If this were so, the two others must have been in his time in the centre of the city, where Herod never would have placed them. They also are said to have stood on a height, whereas eastward of the citadel the ground falls rapidly. Add to these that the position of the army of Titus when he sat down before Jerusalem is in itself almost sufficient to settle the point. After despatching the 10th Legion to the Mount of Olives he located himself with the principal division of his army opposite the Tower Psephinus, but his right wing "fortified itself at the tower called Hippicus, and was distant in like manner about two stadia from the city" (*B. J.* v. 3, § 5). It is almost impossible to apply this passage to the tower in the citadel, against which no attack ever was made or intended. Indeed, at no period of the siege did Titus attempt to storm the walls situated on the heights. His attack was made from the northern plateau, and it was there that his troops were encamped, and consequently it must have been opposite the angle now occupied by the remains called the *Kasr Jalud* that they were placed. From the context it seems almost impossible that they could have been encamped in the valley opposite the present citadel.

These, and other objections which will be noticed in the sequel, seem fatal to the idea of the tower in the citadel being the one Josephus alludes to. But at the northwestern angle of the present city there are the remains of an ancient building of beveled masonry and large stones, like those of the foundations of the Temple (Rob. *Bibl. Res.* i. 471; Schultz, 95; Krafft, 37, &c.), whose position answers so completely every point of the locality of Hippicus as described by Josephus, as to leave no reasonable doubt that it marks the site of this celebrated edifice. It stood and stands "on the northern side of the old wall" — "on a height," the very highest point in the town — "over against Psephinus" — "is a corner tower," and just such a one as would naturally be taken as the starting-point for the description of the walls. Indeed, if it had happened that the *Kasr Jalud* were as well preserved as the tower in the citadel, or that the latter had retained only two or three courses of its masonry, it is more than probable that no one would have doubted that the *Kasr Jalud* was the Hippicus; but with that tendency which prevails to ascribe a name to what is prominent rather than to what is less obvious, these remains have been overlooked, and difficulties have been consequently introduced into the description of the city, which have hitherto seemed almost insuperable.[a]

III. *Walls.* — Assuming therefore for the present that the *Kasr Jalud*, as these ruins are now popularly called, is the remains of the Hippicus, we have no difficulty in determining either the direction or the extent of the walls of Jerusalem, as described by Josephus (*B. J.* v. 4, § 2), and as shown in Plate I.

The first or old wall began on the north at the tower called Hippicus, and, extending to the Xystus, joined the council house, and ended at the west cloister of the Temple. Its southern direction is described as passing the Gate of the Essenes (probably the modern Jaffa Gate), and, bending above the fountain of Siloam, it reached Ophel, and was joined *to the eastern cloister of the Temple.* The importance of this last indication will be apparent in the sequel when speaking of the third wall.

The second wall began at the Gate Gennath, in the old wall, probably near the Hippicus, and passed round the northern quarter of the city, inclosing, as will be shown hereafter, the great valley of the Tyropœon, which leads up to the Damascus Gate; and then, proceeding southward, joined the fortress Antonia. Recent discoveries of old beveled masonry in the immediate proximity of the Damascus Gate leave little doubt but that, so far at least, its direction was identical with that of the modern wall; and some part at least of the northern portion of the western wall of the Haram area is probably built on its foundations.

The third wall was not commenced till twelve years after the date of the Crucifixion, when it was undertaken by king Herod Agrippa; and was intended to inclose the suburbs which had grown out on the northern sides of the city, which before this had been left exposed (*B. J.* v. 4, § 2). It began at the Hippicus, and reached as far as the tower Psephinus, till it came opposite the monument of Queen Helena of Adiabene; it then passed by the sepulchral monuments of the kings — a well-known locality — and turning south at the monument of the Fuller, *joined the old wall at the valley called the Valley of Kedron.* This last is perhaps the most important point in the description. If the Temple had extended the whole width of the modern Haram area, this wall must have joined its northern cloister, or if the whole of the north side of the Temple were covered by the tower Antonia it might

[a] "Nothing could seem to be more palpable to an observer, than that in the Tower of David, so called, in the present citadel of Jerusalem, we have the remains of one of the three great Herodian towers, spared by Titus, when the city was demolished (*B. J.* vi. 7, § 1). No theory, which would make it more modern, can explain the structure. Its lower part bears every mark of antiquity, and its cubic solidity (an unusual feature) accords with Josephus's description of these towers. (*B. J.* v. 4, § 3.) If it was either of them, it must have been Hippicus, for Phasaëlus and Mariamne lay east of it, and there could not have been a fortress west of this point. Its position relative to the site of the Temple, and to the wall which stretched between them, along the northern brow of Zion, harmonizes with this view. The ruins of *Kŭl'at el-Jâlûd* offer no rival claim — suggesting nothing more than a modern bastion and an ancient wall. S. W.

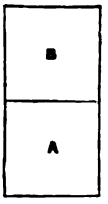
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have been said to have extended to that fortress, but in either of these cases it is quite impossible that it could have passed outside the present Haram wall so as to meet the old wall at the southeastern angle of the Temple, where Josephus in his description makes the old wall end. There does not seem to be any possible solution of the difficulty, except the one pointed out above, that the Temple was only 600 feet square; that the space between the Temple and the Valley of Kedron was not inclosed within the walls till Agrippa's time, and that the present eastern wall of the Haram is the identical wall built by that king — a solution which not only accords with the words of Josephus but with all the local peculiarities of the place.

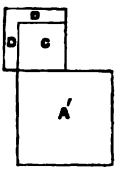
It may also be added that Josephus's description (*B. J.* v. 4, § 2) of the immense stones of which this wall was constructed, fully bears out the appearance of the great stones at the angles, and does away with the necessity of supposing, on account of their magnificence, that they are parts of the substructure of the Temple proper.

After describing these walls, Josephus adds that the whole circumference of the city was 33 stadia, or nearly four English miles, which is as near as may be the extent indicated by the localities. He then adds (*B. J.* v. 4, § 3) that the number of towers in the old wall was 60, the middle wall 40, and the new wall 99. Taking the distance of these towers as 150 feet from centre to centre, which is probably very near the truth on the average, the first and last named walls are as nearly as may be commensurate, but the middle wall is so much too short that either we must assume a mistake somewhere, or, what is more probable, that Josephus enumerated the towers not only to where it ended at the Antonia, but round the Antonia and Temple to where it joined the old wall above Siloam. With this addition the 150 feet again is perfectly consistent with the facts of the case and with the localities. Altogether it appears that the extent and direction of the walls is not now a matter admitting of much controversy, and probably would never have been so, but for the difficulties arising from the position of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which will be alluded to hereafter.[a]

IV. *Antonia.* — Before leaving the subject of the walls, it may be well to fix the situation of the *Turris Antonia*, as far as the data at our command will admit. It certainly was attached to the Temple buildings, and on the northern side of them; but whether covering the whole space, or only a portion, has been much disputed. After stating that the Temple was foursquare, and a stadium on each side, Josephus goes on to say (*B. J.* v. 5, § 2), that with Antonia it was six stadia in circumference. The most obvious conclusion from this would be that the Antonia was of the same dimensions as the Temple, and of the form shown in the diagram (wood-cut No. 5), where A marks the Temple, and B Antonia, according to this theory. In other words, it assumes that the Antonia occupied practically the platform on which the so-called Mosque of Omar now stands, and there is nothing in the locality to contradict such an assumption (see *B. J*



No. 5.



No. 6.

vi. 5, § 4). On the contrary, the fact of the Sakhra being the highest rock in the immediate neighborhood would confirm all we are told of the situation of the Jewish citadel. There are, however, certain facts mentioned in the account of the siege which render such a view nearly if not quite untenable.

It is said that when Titus reviewed his army on Bezetha (*B. J.* v. 9, § 1), the Jews looked on from the north wall of the Temple. If Antonia, on higher ground, and probably with higher walls, had intervened, this could not have been possible; and the expression must have been that they looked on from the walls of Antonia. We have also a passage (*B. J.* v. 7, § 3) which makes this even clearer; it is there asserted that "John and his faction defended themselves from the tower Antonia, and from the northern cloisters of the Temple, and fought the Romans" (from the context evidently simultaneously) "before the monument of king Alexander." We are therefore forced to adopt the alternative, which the words of Josephus equally justify, that the Antonia was a tower or keep attached to the northwestern angle of the Temple, as shown in the plan. Indeed, the words of Josephus hardly justify any other interpretation; for he says (*B. J.* v. 5, § 8) that "it was situated at the corner of two cloisters of the court of the Temple — of that on the west, and that on the north." Probably it was surrounded by a wall, inclosing courts and other appurtenances of a citadel, and with its inclosing wall at least two stadia in circuit. It may have been two and a half, or even three, as shown in the diagram (wood cut No. 6), where C marks the size and position of the Antonia on the supposition that its entire circumference was two stadia, and D D the size it would attain if only three of its sides were counted, and if Josephus did not reckon the four stadia of the Temple as a fixed quantity, and deducted the part covered by the fortress from the whole sum; but in this instance we have no local indication to guide us. The question has become one of no very great importance, as it is quite certain that, if the Temple was only 600 feet square, it did not occupy the whole of the northern half of

[a] Josephus (*B. J.* v. 4, § 4, vi. 8, § 1) represents the old wall, with its towers, to have been carried along the brow of an eminence, increasing their apparent elevation. The course given in the preceding map (Plate I) could never have been the line which he describes.

This wall extended from Hippicus to the Xystus, which was an open place, used for popular assemblies, on the eastern brow of Zion, and connected by the bridge with the Temple. (*B. J.* ii. 16, § 3, vi. 6, § 2, 8, § 1.) A glance at the map will show that in this feature the line given does not correspond with the description.

The third wall, as above stated, joined the (southward part of the) old wall at the valley called the Valley of Kidron. It could not, then, have joined it at the point indicated in the text and map, for this point lies between the Kidron and the Tyropœon valleys, more than one third of the distance from the former. The specification which this writer considers "the most important point in the description," is claimed by Dr. Robinson in support of the theory which he seeks to displace. (*Bibl. Res* i. 461.) S. W

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the Haram area, and consequently that neither was the "pool of Bethesda" its northern ditch, nor the rock on which the governor's house now stands its rock foundation. With the Temple area fixed as above, by no hypothesis could it be made to stretch as far as that; and the object, therefore, which many topographers had in view in extending the dimensions, must now be abandoned.[a]

V. *Hills and Valleys.* — Notwithstanding the very great degree of certainty with which the site of the Temple, the position of the Hippicus, and the direction of the walls may be determined, there are still one or two points within the city, the positions of which have not yet been fixed in so satisfactory a manner. Topographers are still at issue as to the true direction of the upper part of the Tyropœon Valley, and, consequently, as to the position of Acra, and various smaller points dependent on the fixation of these two. Fortunately the determination of these points has no bearing whatever on any of the great historical questions arising out of the topography; and though it would no doubt be satisfactory if they could be definitively settled, they are among the least important points that arise in discussing the descriptions of Josephus.

The difficulty of determining the true course of the upper part of the Tyropœon valley is caused by our inability to determine whether Josephus, in describing the city (*B. J.* v. 4, § 1), limits his description to the city of Jerusalem, properly so called, as circumscribed by the first or old wall, or whether he includes the City of David also, and speaks of the whole city as inclosed by the third or great wall of Agrippa. In the first case the Tyropœon must have been the depression leading from a spot opposite the northwest angle of the Temple towards the Jaffa Gate; in the second it was the great valley leading from the same point northwards towards the Damascus Gate.

The principal reason for adopting the first hypothesis arises from the words of Josephus himself, who describes the Tyropœon as an open space or depression within the city, at "which the corresponding rows of houses on both hills end" (*B. J.* v. 4, § 1). This would exactly answer the position of a valley running to the Jaffa Gate, and consequently within the old walls, and would apply to such a ravine as might easily have been obliterated by accumulation of rubbish in after times; but it is not so easy to see how it can be made applicable to such a valley as that running towards the Damascus Gate, which must have had a wall on either side, and the slope of which is so gradual, that then, as now, the "rows of houses" might — though it by no means follows that they must — have run across it without interruption. We cannot indeed apply the description to this valley, unless we assume that the houses were built close up to the old wall, so as to leave almost no plain space in front of it, or that the formation of the bottom of the valley was originally steeper and narrower than it now is. On the whole, this view presents perhaps less difficulty than the obliteration of the other valley, which its most zealous advocates are now forced to admit, after the most patient search; added to the difficulty that must have existed in carrying the old wall across its gorge, which Josephus would have hinted at had it existed.

The direct evidence seems so nearly balanced, that either hypothesis might be adopted if we were content to fix the position of the hill Acra from that of this valley, as is usually done, instead of from extraneous evidence, as we fortunately are able to do with tolerable certainty in this matter.

In all the transactions mentioned in the 12th and 13th books of the *Antiquities*, Josephus commonly uses the word Ἄκρα as the corresponding term to the Hebrew word *Metzádah*, translated stronghold, fortress, and tower in the books of the Maccabees, when speaking of the fortress which adjoined the Temple in the north; and if we might assume that the hill Acra and the tower Acra were one and the same place, the question might be considered as settled.

It is more than probable that this was so, for in describing the "upper market place," which was called the "citadel" by David (*B. J.* v. § 1), Josephus uses the word φρούριον, which he also applies to the Acra after it was destroyed (*Ant.* xiii. 16, § 5), or Βάρις, as the old name apparently immediately before it was rebuilt by Herod, and by him called the Antonia (*Ant.* xviii. 4, § 3).

It is also only by assuming that the Acra was on the Temple Hill that we can understand the position of the valley which the Asmoneans filled up. It certainly was not the northern part of the Tyropœon which is apparent at the present day, nor the other valley to the westward, the filling up of which would not have joined the city to the Temple (*B. J.* v. 4, § 1). It could only have been a transverse valley running in the direction of, and nearly in the position of, the Via Dolorosa.

It is true that Josephus describes the citadel or Acra of Jerusalem (*Ant.* xiii. 4, 9) as situated in the "lower city" (ἐν τῇ κάτω πόλει, xii. 5, § 4, *B. J.* i. 1, § 4), which would equally apply to either of the assumed sites, were it not that he qualifies it by saying that it was built so high as to dominate the Temple, and at the same time lying close to it (*Ant.* xii. 9, § 3), which can only apply to a building situated on the Temple Hill. It must also be observed that the whole of the Temple Hill is very much lower than the hill on which the city itself was located, and, consequently, that the Temple and its adjuncts may, with great propriety, be called the lower city, as contradistinguished from the other half, which, from the superior elevation of the plateau on which it stands, is truly the upper city.

If we adopt this view, it will account for the great leveling operations which at one time have been carried on at the northwestern angle of the Haram area, and the marks of which have been always a puzzle to antiquaries. These are utterly unmeaning on any hypothesis yet suggested, for so far from contributing to the defense of any work erected here, their effect from their position must have been the very reverse. But if we admit that they were the works which occupied the Jews for three years of incessant labor (*Ant.* xiii. 7, § 6) after the destruction of the Acra, their appearance is at once accounted for, and the description of Josephus made plain.

If this view of the matter be correct, the word ἀμφίκυρτος (*B. J.* v. 6, § 1), about which so much controversy has been raised, must be translated

[a] The opposite view, namely, that the fortress Antonia apparently occupied the whole northern part of the present Haram area, is strongly presented by Dr. Robinson, in *Bibl. Sacra*, iii. 633–636. Also in *Bibl. Res.*, 1852, pp. 230–242. S. W.

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"sloping down on either side," a meaning which it will bear equally as well as "gibbous," which is usually affixed to it, and which only could be applied if the hill within the old wall were indicated.

On reviewing the whole question, the great preponderance of evidence seems to be in favor of the assumption that the hill Acra and the citadel Acra were one and the same place; that Acra was situated on the northern side of the Temple, on the same hill, and probably on the same spot, originally occupied by David as the stronghold of Zion (2 Sam. v. 7–9), and near where Baris and Antonia afterwards stood; and consequently that the great northern depression running towards the Damascus Gate is the Tyropœon valley, and that the Valley of the Asmoneans was a transverse cut, separating the hill Bezetha from the Acra or citadel on the Temple Hill.

If this view of the internal topography of the city be granted, the remaining hills and valleys fall into their places easily and as a matter of course. The citadel, or upper market-place of Josephus, was the *modern* Zion, or the city inclosed within the old wall; Acra was the *ancient* Zion, or the hill on which the Temple, the City of David, Baris, Acra, and Antonia, stood. It lay over against the other; and apparently between these two, in the valley, stood the lower city, and the place called Millo. Bezetha was the well-defined hill to the north of the Temple, just beyond the valley in which the Piscina Probatica was situated. The fourth hill which Josephus enumerates, but does not name, must have been the ridge between the last-named valley and that of the Tyropœon, and was separated from the Temple Hill by the Valley of the Asmoneans. The other minor localities will be pointed out in the sequel as they occur in order.[a]

VI. *Population.* — There is no point in which the exaggeration in which Josephus occasionally indulges is more apparent than in speaking of the population of the city. The inhabitants were dead; no record remained; and to magnify the greatness of the city was a compliment to the prowess of the conquerors. Still the assertions that three millions were collected at the Passover (*B. J.* vi. 9, § 3); that a million of people perished in the siege; that 100,000 escaped, etc., are so childish, that it is surprising any one could ever have repeated them. Even the more moderate calculation of Tacitus of 600,000 inhabitants, is far beyond the limits of probability.[b]

Placing the Hippicus on the farthest northern point possible, and consequently extending the walls as far as either authority or local circumstances will admit, still the area within the old walls never could have exceeded 180 acres. Assuming, as is sometimes done, that the site of the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre was outside the old walls, this area must be reduced to 120 or 130 acres; but taking it at the larger area, its power of accommodating such a multitude as Josephus describes may be illustrated by reference to a recent example. The great Exhibition Building of 1851 covered 18 acres — just a tenth of this. On three days near its closing 100,000 or 105,000 persons visited it; but it is not assumed that more than from 60,000 to 70,000 were under its roof at the same moment. Any one who was in the building on these days will recollect how impossible it was to move from one place to another; how frightful in fact the crush was both in the galleries and on the floor, and that in many places even standing room could hardly be obtained; yet if 600,000 or 700,000 people were in Jerusalem after the fall of the outer wall (almost at the beginning of the siege), the crowd there must have been denser than in the Crystal Palace; eating, drinking, sleeping, or fighting, literally impossible; and considering how the site of a town must be encumbered with buildings, 300,000 in Jerusalem would have been more crowded than were the sight-seers at the Crystal Palace in its most crowded moments.

But fortunately we are not left to such vague data as these. No town in the east can be pointed out where each inhabitant has not at least 50 square yards on an average allowed to him. In some of the crowded cities of the west, such as parts of London, Liverpool, Hamburg, etc., the space is reduced to about 30 yards to each inhabitant; but this only applies to the poorest and more crowded places, with houses many stories high, not to cities containing palaces and public buildings. London, on the other hand, averages 200 yards of superficial space for every person living within its precincts. But, on the lowest estimate, the ordinary population of Jerusalem must have stood nearly as follows: Taking the area of the city inclosed by the two old walls at 750,000 yards, and that inclosed by the wall of Agrippa at 1,500,000, we have 2,250,000 for the whole. Taking the population of the old city at the probable number of one person to 50 yards we have 15,000, and at the extreme limit of 30 yards we should have 25,000 inhabitants for the old city. And at 100 yards to each individual in the new city about 15,000 more; so that the population of Jerusalem, in its days of greatest prosperity, may have amounted to from 30,000 to 45,000 souls, but could hardly ever have reached 50,000; and assuming that in times of festival one half were added to this amount, which is an extreme estimate, there may have been 60,000 or 70,000 in the city when Titus came up against it. As no one would stay in a beleaguered city who had a home to flee to, it is hardly probable that the men who came up to fight for the defense of the city would equal the number of women and children who would seek refuge elsewhere; so that the probability is that about the usual population of the city were in it at that time.

It may also be mentioned that the army which Titus brought up against Jerusalem did not exceed from 25,000 to 30,000 effective men of all arms, which, taking the probabilities of the case, is about the number that would be required to attack a fortified town defended by from 8,000 to 10,000 men capable of bearing arms. Had the garrison been more numerous the siege would have been improbable, but taking the whole incidents of Josephus's narrative, there is nothing to lead us to suppose that the Jews ever could have mustered 10,000

[a] For an answer to the speculations under this head, see, in part, *Bibl. Sacra*, iii. 417–438, Rob. *Bibl. Res.* 1852, pp. 207–211, and, in part, section IV., below. S. W.

[b] It is instructive to compare these with the moderate figures of Jeremiah (lii. 28–30) where he enumerates the number of persons carried into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar in three deportations from both city and province as only 4,600, though they seem to have swept off every one who could go, nearly depopulating the place.

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inhabitants at any period of the siege; half that number is probably nearer the truth. The main interest this question has in a topographical point of view, is the additional argument it affords for placing Hippicus as far north as it has been placed above, and generally to extend the walls to the greatest extent justifiable, in order to accommodate a population at all worthy of the greatness of the city. It is also interesting as showing the utter impossibility of the argument of those who would except the whole northwest corner of the present city from the old walls, so as to accommodate the Holy Sepulchre with a site outside the walls, in accordance with the Bible narrative.

VII. *Zion.* — One of the great difficulties which has perplexed most authors in examining the ancient topography of Jerusalem, is the correct fixation of the locality of the sacred Mount of Zion. It cannot be disputed that from the time of Constantine downwards to the present day, this name has been applied to the western hill on which the city of Jerusalem now stands, and in fact always stood.

Notwithstanding this, it seems equally certain that up to the time of the destruction of the city by Titus, the name was applied exclusively to the eastern hill, or that on which the Temple stood.

Unfortunately the name Zion is not found in the works of Josephus, so that we have not his assistance, which would be invaluable in this case, and there is no passage in the Bible which directly asserts the identity of the hills Moriah and Zion, though many which cannot well be understood without this assumption. The cumulative proof, however, is such as almost perfectly to supply this want.

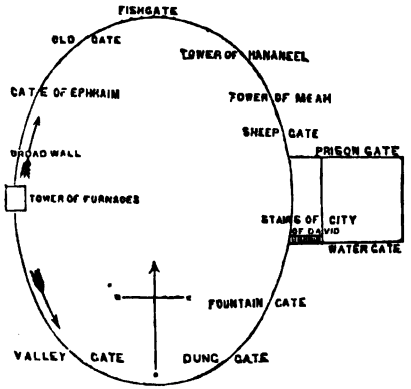
From the passages in 2 Sam. v. 7, and 1 Chr. xi. 5–8, it is quite clear that Zion and the city of David were identical, for it is there said, "David took the castle of Zion, which is the City of David." "And David dwelt in the castle, therefore they called it the City of David. And he built the city round about, even from Millo round about, and Joab repaired the rest of the city." This last expression would seem to separate the city of Jerusalem which was *repaired*, from that of David which was *built*, though it is scarcely distinct enough to be relied upon. Besides these, perhaps the most distinct passage is that in the 48th Psalm, verse 2, where it is said, "Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is Mount Zion, on the *sides of the north*, the city of the great King," which it seems almost impossible to apply to the modern Zion, the most southern extremity of the city. There are also a great many passages in the Bible where Zion is spoken of as a separate city from Jerusalem, as for instance, "For out of Jerusalem shall go forth a remnant, and they that escape out of Mount Zion" (2 K. xix. 31). "Do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion; build thou the walls of Jerusalem" (Ps. li. 18). "The Lord shall yet comfort Zion, and shall yet choose Jerusalem" (Zech. i. 17). "For the people shall dwell in Zion at Jerusalem" (Is. xxx. 19). "The Lord shall roar out of Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem" (Joel iii. 16; Am. i. 2). There are also numberless passages in which Zion is spoken of as a Holy place in such terms as are never applied to Jerusalem, and which can only be understood as applied to the Holy Temple Mount. Such expressions, for instance, as "I set my king on my holy hill of Zion" (Ps. ii. 6) — "The Lord loveth the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob" (Ps. lxxxvii. 2) — "The Lord has chosen Zion" (Ps. cxxxii. 13) — "The city of the Lord, the Zion of the Holy One of Israel" (Is. lx. 14) — "Arise ye, and let us go up to Zion to the Lord" (Jer. xxxi. 6) — "Thus saith the Lord, I am returned to Zion" (Zech. viii. 3) — "I am the Lord thy God, dwelling in Zion, my holy mountain" (Joel iii. 17) — "For the Lord dwelleth in Zion" (Joel iii. 21), and many others, which will occur to every one at all familiar with the Scriptures, seem to us to indicate plainly the hill of the Temple. Substitute the word Jerusalem for Zion in these passages, and we feel at once how it grates on the ear: for such epithets as these are never applied to that city; on the contrary, if there is a curse uttered, or term of disparagement, it is seldom applied to Zion, but always to her unfortunate sister, Jerusalem.. It is never said, — The Lord dwelleth in Jerusalem; or, loveth Jerusalem; or any such expression, which surely would have occurred, had Jerusalem and Zion been one and the same place, as they now are, and generally supposed to have been. Though these cannot be taken as absolute proof, they certainly amount to strong presumptive evidence that Zion and the Temple Hill were one and the same place. There is one curious passage, however, which is scarcely intelligible on any other hypothesis than this; it is known that the sepulchres of David and his successors were on Mount Zion, or in the City of David, but the wicked king Ahaz for his crimes was buried in Jerusalem, "in the city," and "not in the sepulchres of the kings" (2 Chr. xxviii. 27). Jehoram (2 Chr. xxi. 20) narrowly escaped the same punishment, and the distinction is so marked that it cannot be overlooked. The modern sepulchre of David (*Neby Daûd*) is, and always must have been in Jerusalem; not, as the Bible expressly tells us, in the city of David, as contradistinguished from the city of the Jebusites.

When from the Old Testament we turn to the Books of the Maccabees, we come to some passages written by persons who certainly were acquainted with the localities, which seem to fix the site of Zion with a considerable amount of certainty; as, for instance, "They went up into Mount Zion, and saw the sanctuary desolate and the altar profaned, and the shrubs growing in the courts as a forest" (1 Macc. iv. 37 and 60). "After this went Nicanor up to Mount Zion, and there came out of the sanctuary certain persons" (1 Macc. vii. 33), and several others, which seem to leave no doubt that at that time Zion and the Temple Hill were considered one and the same place. It may also be added that the Rabbis with one accord place the Temple on Mount Zion, and though their authority in matters of doctrine may be valueless, still their traditions ought to have been sufficiently distinct to justify their being considered as authorities on a merely topographical point of this sort. There is also a passage in Nehemiah (iii. 16) which will be alluded to in the next section, and which, added to the above, seems to leave very little doubt that in ancient times the name of Zion was applied to the eastern and not to the western hill of Jerusalem. [See § IV. Amer. ed.]

VIII. *Topography of the Book of Nehemiah.* — The only description of the ancient city of Jerusalem which exists in the Bible, so extensive in form as to enable us to follow it as a topographical description, is that found in the Book of Nehemiah, and although it is hardly sufficiently distinct to enable us to settle all the moot points, it contains

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such valuable indications that it is well worthy of the most attentive examination.



No 7. — Diagram of places mentioned in dedication of walls.

The easiest way to arrive at any correct conclusion regarding it, is to take first the description of the Dedication of the Walls in ch. xii. (31–40), and drawing such a diagram as this, we easily get at the main features of the old wall at least.

The order of procession was that the princes of Judah went up upon the wall at some point as nearly as possible opposite to the Temple, and one half of them, turning to the right, went towards the Dung Gate, "and at the Fountain Gate, which was *over against them*" (or, in other words, on the opposite or Temple side of the city), "went up by the stairs of the City of David at the going up of the wall, above the house of David, even unto the Water Gate eastward." The Water Gate, therefore, was one of the southern gates of the Temple, and the stairs that led up to it are here identified with those of the City of David, and consequently with Zion.

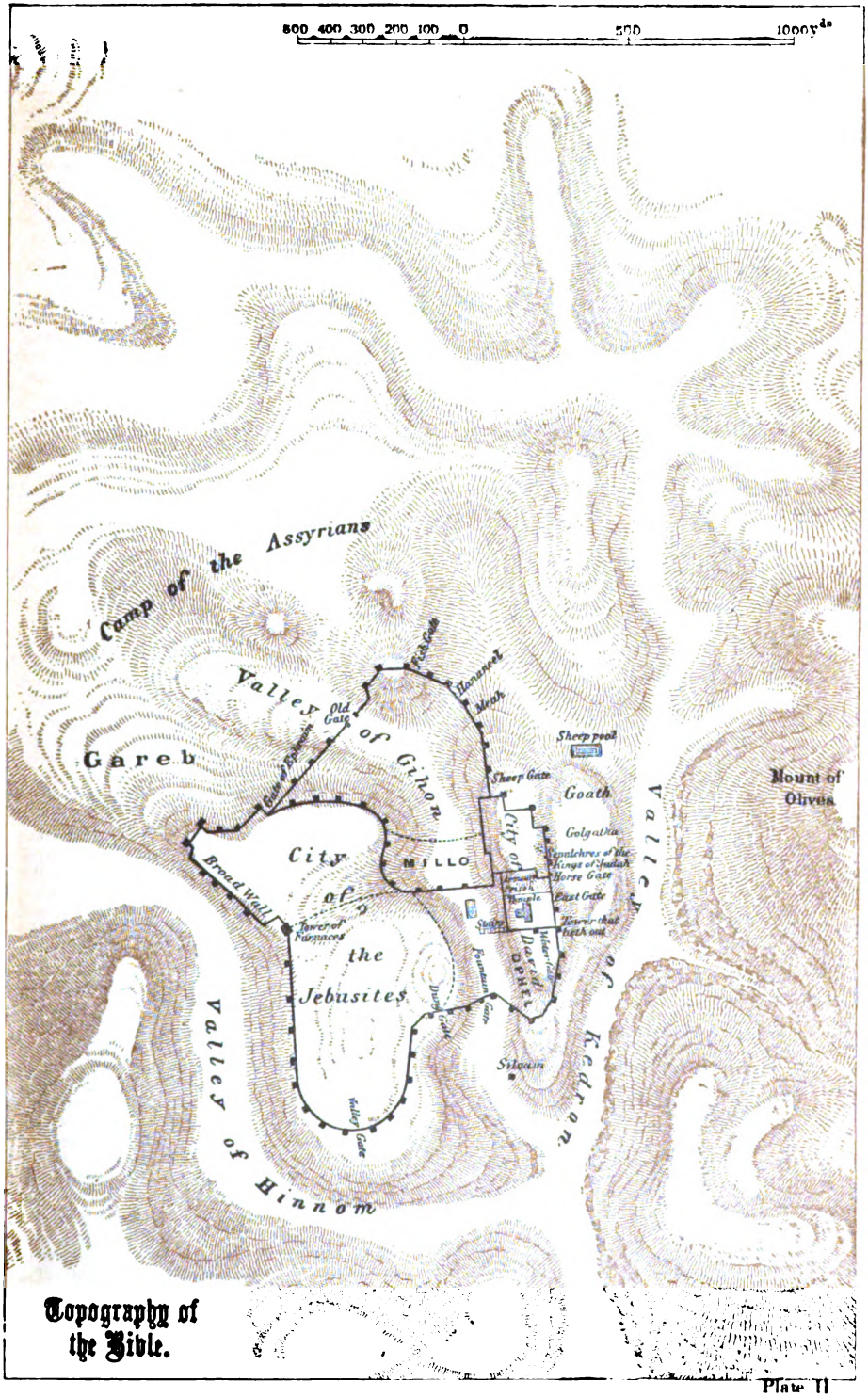
The other party turned to the left, or northwards, and passed from beyond the tower of the furnaces even "unto the broad wall," and passing the Gate of Ephraim, the Old Gate, the Fish Gate, the towers of Hananeel and Meah, to the Sheep Gate, "stood still in the Prison Gate," as the other party had in the Water Gate. "So stood the two companies of them that gave thanks in the house of God."

If from this we turn to the third chapter, which gives a description of the repairs of the wall, we have no difficulty in identifying all the places mentioned in the first sixteen verses, with those enumerated in the 12th chapter. The repairs began at the Sheep Gate on the north side, and in immediate proximity with the Temple, and all the places named in the dedication are again named, but in the reverse order, till we come to the Tower of the Furnaces, which, if not identical with the tower in the citadel, so often mistaken for the Hippicus, must at least have stood very near to it. Mention is then made, but now in the direct order of the dedication, of "the Valley Gate," the "Dung Gate," "the Fountain Gate," and lastly, the "stairs that go down from the City of David." Between these last two places we find mention made of the pool of Siloah and the king's garden, so that we have now passed the so-called sepulchre of David on the modern Zion, and are in the immediate proximity of the Temple; most probably in the valley between the City of David and the city of Jerusalem. What follows is most important (ver. 16), "After him repaired Nehemiah, the son of Azbuk, the ruler of the half part of Beth-zur, unto the place over against the sepulchres of David, and to the pool that was made, and unto the house of the mighty." This passage, when taken with the context, seems in itself quite sufficient to set at rest the question of the position of the City of David, of the sepulchres of the kings, and consequently of Zion, all which could not be mentioned after Siloah if placed where modern tradition has located them.

If the chapter ended with the 16th verse, there would be no difficulty in determining the sites mentioned above, but unfortunately we have, according to this view, retraced our steps very nearly to the point from which we started, and have got through only half the places enumerated. Two hypotheses may be suggested to account for this difficulty; the one that there was then, as in the time of Josephus, a second wall, and that the remaining names refer to it; the other that the first 16 verses refer to the walls of Jerusalem, and the remaining 16 to those of the City of David. An attentive consideration of the subject renders it almost certain that the latter is the true explanation of the case.

In the enumeration of the places repaired, in the last part of the chapter, we have two which we know from the description of the dedication really belonged to the Temple. The prison-court (iii. 25), which must have been connected with the Prison Gate, and, as shown by the order of the dedication, to have been on the north side of the Temple, is here also connected with the king's high house; all this clearly referring, as shown above, to the castle of David, which originally occupied the site of the Turris Antonia. We have on the opposite side the "Water Gate," mentioned in the next verse to Ophel, and consequently as clearly identified with the southern gate of the Temple. We have also the Horse Gate, that by which Athaliah was taken out of the Temple (2 K. xi. 16; 2 Chr. xxiii. 15), which Josephus states led to the Kedron (*Ant.* ix. 7, § 3), and which is here mentioned as connected with the priests' houses, and probably, therefore, a part of the Temple. Mention is also made of the house of Eliashib, the high-priest, and of the eastern gate, probably that of the Temple. In fact, no place is mentioned in these last verses which cannot be more or less directly identified with the localities on the Temple Hill, and not one which can be located in Jerusalem. The whole of the City of David, however, was so completely rebuilt and remodeled by Herod, that there are no local indications to assist us in ascertaining whether the order of description of the places mentioned after verse 16 proceeds along the northern face, and round by Ophel, and up behind the Temple back to the Sheep Gate; or whether, after crossing the causeway to the armory and prison, it does not proceed along the western face of the Temple to Ophel in the south, and then along the eastern face, back along the northern, to the place from which the description started. The latter seems the more probable hypothesis, but the determination of the point is not of very great consequence. It is enough to know that the description in the first 16 verses applies to Jerusalem, and in the last 16 to Zion, or the City of David; as this is sufficient to explain almost all the difficult

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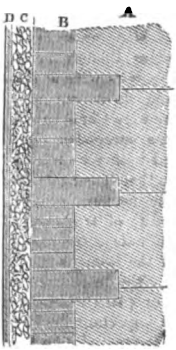
passages in the Old Testament which refer to the ancient topography of the city. [See § IV., Amer. ed.]

IX. *Waters of Jerusalem.* — The above determination explains most of the difficulties in understanding what is said in the Bible with regard to the water-supply of the city. Like Mecca, Jerusalem seems to have been in all ages remarkable for some secret source of water, from which it was copiously supplied during even the worst periods of siege and famine, and which never appears to have failed during any period of its history. The principal source of this supply seems to have been situated to the north; either on the spot known as the "camp of the Assyrians," or in the valley to the northward of it. The earliest distinct mention of these springs is in 2 Chr. xxxii. 4, 30, where Hezekiah, fearing an attack from the Assyrians, "stopped the upper water-course of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the City of David;" and again "he fortified the city, and brought in water into the midst thereof, and digged the rock with iron, and made wells for water" (Ecclus. xlviii. 17), in other words, he brought the waters under ground down the valley leading from the Damascus Gate, whence they have been traced at the present day "to a pool which he made" between "the two walls," namely, those of the cities of David and Jerusalem. Thanks to the researches of Drs. Robinson and Barclay, we know how correct the description of Tacitus is, when he describes the city as containing, "fons perennis aquæ et cavati sub terra montes," etc., for great rock-cut reservoirs have been found under the Temple area, and channels connecting them with the fountain of the Virgin, and that again with the pool of Siloam; and many others may probably yet be discovered.

It would appear that originally the overflow from the great reservoir under the Temple area must have been by some underground channels, probably alongside of the great tunnel under the Mosque el-Aksa. This may at least be inferred from the form of the ground, as well as from the fact of the southern gate of the Temple being called the Water Gate. This is further confirmed by the fact that when the Caliph Omar was searching for the Sakrah or Holy Rock, which was then covered with filth by the Christians (*Jelal Addin*, p. 174), he was impeded by the water which "ran down the steps of the gate, so that the greater part of the steps were under water:" a circumstance which might very well occur if these channels were obstructed or destroyed by the ruins of the Temple. Of course, if it is attempted to apply this tradition to the Sakrah under the "Dome of the Rock," it is simply absurd; as, that being the highest point in the neighborhood, no water could lie around it: but applying it to the real Sakrah under the Aksa, it is not only consistent with facts, but enables us to understand one more circumstance with regard to the waters of Jerusalem. It will require, however, a more critical examination than even that of Dr. Barclay before we can feel quite certain by which channel the underground waters were collected into the great "excavated sea" (wood-cut No. 4) under the Temple, or by what exact means the overflow was managed.

A considerable portion of these waters was at one time diverted to the eastward to the great reservoir known sometimes as the pool of Bethesda, but, from its probable proximity to the Sheep Gate, as shown above, more properly the "piscina probatica," and which, from the curiously elaborate character of its hydraulic masonry, must always have been intended as a reservoir of water, and never could have been the ditch of a fortification. From the wood-cut No. 8 it will be perceived that the masonry consists first of large blocks of stone, 18 or 20 inches square, marked A. The joints between their courses have been hollowed out to the depth of 8 inches, and blocks 16 inches deep inserted in them. The interstices are then filled up with smaller stones, 8 inches deep, B. These are covered with a layer of coarse plaster and concrete (C), and this again by a fine coating of plaster (D) half an inch in thickness. It is impossible to conceive such elaborate pains being taken with a ditch of a fortress, even if we had any reason to suppose that a wet ditch ever formed part of the fortifications of Jerusalem; but its locality, covering only one half of one side of the assumed fortress, is sufficient to dispose of that idea, even if no other reason existed against converting this carefully formed pool into a ditch of defense.

It seems, however, that even in very ancient times this northern supply was not deemed sufficient, even with all these precautions, for the supply of the city; and consequently large reservoirs were excavated from the rock, at a place near Etham, now known as Solomon's pools, and the water brought from them by a long canal which enters the city above Siloam, and, with the northern



No. 8. — Section of Masonry lining Pool of Bethesda (From Salzmann.)

supply, seems at all times to have been sufficient for the consumption of its limited population, aided of course by the rain water, which was probably always stored in cisterns all over the town. The tank now known as the pool of Hezekiah, situated near the modern church of the Holy Sepulchre, cannot possibly be the work referred to, as executed by him. It is merely a receptacle within the walls for the surplus rain water drained into the pool now known as the *Birket Mamilla*, and as no outlet eastwards or towards the Temple has been found, it cannot ever have been of the importance ascribed to the work of Hezekiah, even supposing the objections to the locality did not exist. These, however, cannot possibly be got over. [See § IV., Amer. ed.]

X. *Site of Holy Sepulchre.* — If the preceding investigations have rendered the topography of the ancient city at all clear, there ought to be no difficulty in determining the localities mentioned in the

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N. T. as those in which the various scenes of the Passion and Crucifixion of our Lord took place. There would in fact be none, were it not that, as will be shown hereafter, changes were made in the dark ages, which have confused the Christian topography of the city to even a greater extent than the change of the name of Zion from the eastern to the western hill did that of the Jewish description of the place.

As the question now stands, the fixation of the sites depends mainly on the answers that may be given to two questions: First, did Constantine and those who acted with him possess sufficient information to enable them to ascertain exactly the precise localities of the crucifixion and burial of Christ? Secondly, is the present church of the Holy Sepulchre that which he built, or does it stand on the same spot?

To the second question a negative answer must be given, if the first can be answered with any reasonable degree of probability. Either the localities could not have been correctly ascertained in the time of Constantine, or it must be that at some subsequent period they were changed. The site of the present church is so obviously at variance with the facts of the Bible narrative, that almost all the best qualified investigators have assumed that the means did not exist for ascertaining the localities correctly when the church was built, without its suggesting itself to them that subsequent change may perhaps contain the true solution of the difficulty. On the other hand everything seems to tend to confirm the probability of the first question being capable of being answered satisfactorily.

In the first place, though the city was destroyed by Titus, and the Jews were at one time prohibited from approaching it, it can almost certainly be proved that there were Christians always present on the spot, and the succession of Christian bishops can be made out with very tolerable certainty and completeness; so that it is more than probable they would retain the memory of the sacred sites in unbroken continuity of tradition. Besides this, it can be shown (Findlay, *On the Site of the Holy Sepulchre*) that the Romans recorded carefully all the principal localities in their conquered provinces, and had maps or plans which would enable them to ascertain any important locality with very tolerable precision. It must also be borne in mind that during the three centuries that elapsed between the crucifixion and the age of Constantine, the Christians were too important a sect, even in the eyes of the Romans, to be neglected, and their proceedings and traditions would certainly attract the attention of at least the Roman governor of Judæa; and some records must certainly have existed in Jerusalem, which ought to have been sufficient to fix the localities. Even if it is argued that this knowledge might not have been sufficient to identify the exact rock-cut sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathæa, it must have been sufficient to determine the site of such a place as Golgotha, and of the Prætorium; and as the scenes of the Passion all lay near one another, materials must have existed for fixing them with at least very tolerable approximate certainty. As the question now lies between two sites which are very far apart, one being in the town, the other on its eastern boundary, it is nearly certain that the authorities had the knowledge sufficient to determine at least which of the two was the most probable.

The account given by Eusebius of the *uncovering* of the rock, expresses no doubt or uncertainty about the matter. In order to insult the Christians according to his account (*Vita Const.* iii. 26), "impious persons had heaped earth upon it, and erected an idol temple on the site." The earth was removed, and he says (*Theophania*, Lee's *Translation*, p. 199), "it is astonishing to see even the rock standing out erect and alone on a level land, and having only one cave in it; lest, had there been many, the miracle of Him who overcame death might have been obscured;" and as if in order that there might be no mistake as to its position, he continues, "Accordingly on the very spot that witnessed our Saviour's sufferings a new Jerusalem was constructed *over against* the one so celebrated of old, which since the foul stain of guilt brought on it by the murder of the Lord has experienced the last extremity of desolation. It was *opposite* this city that the emperor began to rear a monument of our Saviour's victory over death with rich and lavish magnificence" (*Vita Const.* iii. 33). This passage ought of itself to be sufficient to set the question at rest, for it is minutely descriptive of the site of the building now known as the Mosque of Omar, but wholly inapplicable to the site of the present church, which was then, and must certainly in the time of Titus or of Herod have been within the walls of the city of Jerusalem, and neither opposite to nor over against it.

The buildings which Constantine or his mother, Helena, erected, will be more particularly described elsewhere [SEPULCHRE]; in the mean while it is sufficient to say that it will be proved by what follows, that two of them now remain — the one the Anastasis, a circular building erected over the tomb itself; the other the "Golden Gateway," which was the propylæa described by Eusebius as leading to the atrium of the basilica. He says it opened "ἐπὶ τῆς πλατείας ἀγορᾶς," in other words, that it had a broad market-place in front of it, as all sacred places or places of pilgrimage had, and have, in the East. Beyond this was an atrium leading to the basilica. This was destroyed in the end of the tenth century by el-Hakeem, the mad Khalif of Egypt; in the words of William of Tyre (lib. i. c. iv.), "usque ad solum diruta," or as it is more quaintly expressed by Albericus (Le Quien, *Oriens Christiana*, p. 475), "Solo cœquare mandavit." Fortunately, however, even the Moslems respected the tomb of Christ, whom they consider one of the seven prophets, inferior only to the Founder of their own religion; and they left the "Dome of the Rock" uninjured as we now see it.

In order to prove these assertions, there are three classes of evidence which may be appealed to, and which must coincide, or the question must remain still in doubt: —

First, it is necessary that the circumstances of the locality should accord with those of the Bible narrative.

Secondly, the incidental notices furnished by those travellers who visited Jerusalem between the time of Constantine and that of the Crusades must be descriptive of these localities; and,

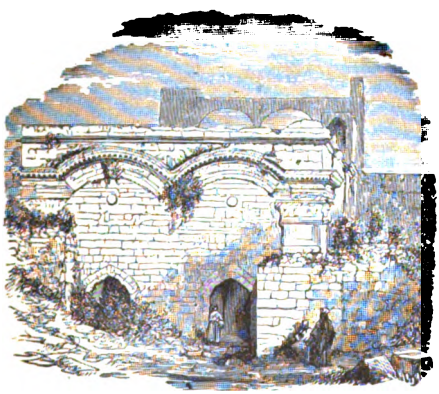
Thirdly, the architectural evidence of the buildings themselves must be that of the age to which they are assigned.

Taking the last first, it is hardly necessary to remark how important this class of evidence has become in all questions of this sort of late years. Before the gradation of styles had been properly investigated nothing could be more wild than the

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determination of the dates assigned to all the mediæval buildings of Europe. Now that the chronometric scale has been fixed, nothing is either so easy or so certain as to fix the date of any building, or any part of one, and it is admitted by all archæologists that it is the most sure and conclusive evidence that can be adduced on the subject.

In this country the progression of style is only generally understood as applied to mediæval buildings, but with sufficient knowledge it is equally applicable to Indian, Mohammedan, Classical, or Roman, in fact to all true styles, and no one who is familiar with the gradation of styles that took place between the time of Hadrian and that of Justinian can fail to see that the Golden Gateway and Dome of the Rock are about half-way in the series, and are in fact buildings which must have been erected within the century in which Constantine flourished. With regard to the Golden Gateway, which is practically unaltered, this is undoubted. It is precisely of that style which is found only in the buildings of the end of the third, or beginning of the fourth century, and accords so completely with those found at Rome, Spalatro, and elsewhere, as to leave no reasonable doubt on the subject. Had it been as early as the time of Hadrian, the bent entablature which covers both the external and internal openings could not have existed, while had it been as late as the age of Justinian, its classical features would have been exchanged for the peculiar incised style of his buildings. It may also be remarked that, although in the outer wall, it is a festal, not a fortified entrance, and never could have been intended as a city gate, but must have led to some sacred or palatial edifice. It is difficult, indeed, to suggest what that could have been, except the basilica described by Eusebius.



No. 9. — Interior of Golden Gateway. From a Photograph.

The exterior of the other building (the Anastasis) has been repaired and covered with colored tiles and inscriptions in more modern times; but the interior is nearly unaltered (vide Plates by Catherwood and Arundale, in Fergusson's *Topography of Ancient Jerusalem*), and even externally, wherever this coating of tiles has peeled off, the old Roman round arch appears in lieu of its pointed substitute. It must also be added that it is essentially a tomb-building, similar in form and arrangement, as it is in detail, to the Tomb of the Emperor Constantine at Rome, or of his daughter Constantia, outside the walls, and indeed more or less like all the tomb-buildings of that age.

Though the drawings of these buildings have been published for more than ten years, and photographs are now available, no competent archæologist or architect has ventured to deny that these are buildings of the age here ascribed to them; and we have therefore the pertinent question, which still remains unanswered, What tomb-like building did Constantine or any one in his age erect at Jerusalem, over a mass of the living rock, rising eight or nine feet above the bases of the columns, and extending over the whole central area of the church, with a sacred cave in it, unless it were the church of the Holy Anastasis, described by Eusebius?

Supposing it were possible to put this evidence aside, the most plausible suggestion is to appeal to the presumed historical fact that it was built by Omar, or by the Moslems at all events. There is, however, no proof whatever of this assumption. What Omar did build is the small mosque on the east of the Aksa, overhanging the southern wall and which still bears his name; and no Mohammedan writer of any sort, anterior to the recovery of the city from the Christians by Saladin, ventures to assert that his countrymen built the Dome of the Rock. On the contrary, while they are most minute in describing the building of the Aksa, they are entirely silent about this building, and only assume that it was theirs after they came into permanent possession of it after the Crusades. It may also be added that, whatever it is, it certainly is not a mosque. The principal and essential feature in all these buildings is the Kibleh, or niche pointing towards Mecca. No mosque in the whole world, of whatever shape or form, is without this; but in the place where it should be in this building is found the principal entrance, so that the worshipper enters with his back to Mecca — a sacrilege which to the Mohammedans, if this were a mosque, would be impossible. Had it been called the Tomb of Omar, this incongruity would not have been apparent, for all the old Moslem and Christian tombs adopt nearly the same ordinance; but no tradition hints that either Omar or any Moslem saint was ever buried within its precincts.

Nor will it answer to assume, as is generally done, that it was built in the first century of the Hegira over the Sacred Rock of the Temple; for from the account of the Moslem and Christian historians of the time it is quite evident that at that time the site and dimensions of the Jewish Temple could be ascertained, and were known. As shown above, this building certainly always was outside the limits of the Temple, so that this could not be the object of its erection. The Mosque of Omar properly so called, the great Mosque el-Aksa, the mosques of the Mogrebins and of Abu Bekr, are all within the limits of the old Temple, and were meant to be so (see wood-cut No. 4) They are so because in all ages the Mohammedans held the Jewish Temple to be a sacred spot, as certainly as the Christians held it to be accursed, and all their sacred buildings stand within its precincts. So far as we now know there was nothing in Jerusalem of a sacred character built by the Mohammedans outside the four walls of the Temple anterior to the recovery of the city by Saladin

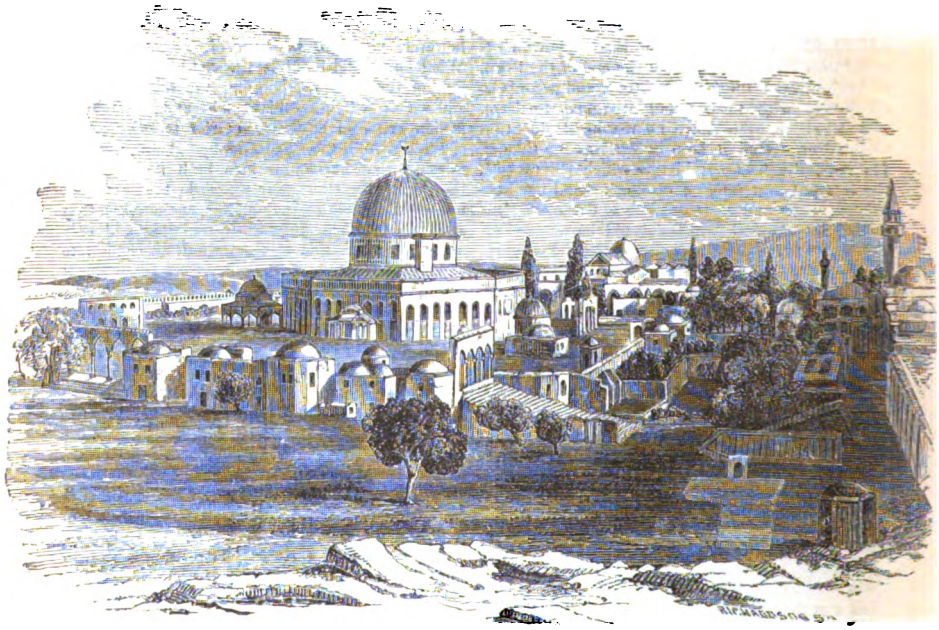
Irrefragable as this evidence appears to be, it would be impossible to maintain it otherwise than

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by assuming that Constantine blindly adopted a wrong locality, if the sites now assumed to be true were such as did not accord with the details of the Bible narratives: fortunately, however, they agree with them to the minutest detail.

To understand this it is necessary to bear in mind that at the time of the crucifixion the third wall, or that of Agrippa (as shown in Plate II.), did not exist, but was commenced twelve years afterwards: the spot where the Dome of the Rock therefore now stands was at that time outside the walls, and open to the country.

It was also a place where certainly tombs did exist. It has been shown above that the sepulchres of David and the other kings of Israel were in this neighborhood. We know from Josephus (*B. J.* v. 7, § 3) that "John and his faction defended themselves from the Tower of Antonia, and from the orthern cloister of the Temple, and fought the Romans before the monument of king Alexander;" so that there certainly were tombs hereabouts; and there is a passage in Jeremiah (xxxi. 38–40 [a], which apparently describes prophetically the building of the third wall and the inclosure of the northern parts of the city from Gareb — most probably the hill on which Psephinos stood — to Goath, which is mentioned as in immediate juxtaposition to the Horse Gate of the Temple, out of which the wicked queen Athaliah was taken to execution; and the description of "the whole valley of the dead bodies and of the ashes, and all the fields unto the brook of Kidron, and the corner of the horse-gate toward the east," is in itself sufficient to prove that this locality was then, as it is now, the great cemetery of Jerusalem; and as the sepulchre was nigh at hand to the place of execution (John xix. 42), every probability exists to prove that this may have been the scene of the Passion.



Jerusalem. The Mosques in the Holy Place from N. W

The Prætorium where Christ was judged was most probably the Antonia, which at that time, as before and afterwards, was the citadel of Jerusalem and the residence of the governors, and the Xystus and Council-house were certainly, as shown above, in this neighborhood. Leaving these localities the Saviour, bearing his cross, must certainly have gone towards the country, and might well meet Simon or any one coming towards the city; thus every detail of the description is satisfied, and none offended by the locality now assumed.

The third class of evidence is from its nature by no means so clear, but there is nothing whatever in it to contradict, and a great deal that directly confirms the above statements. The earliest of the travellers who visited Jerusalem after the discovery of the Sepulchre by Constantine is one known as the Bordeaux pilgrim; he seems to have visited the place about the year 333. In his Itinerary, after describing the palace of David, the Great Synagogue, and other objects inside the city, he adds, "Inde ut eas *foris murum* de Sione euntibus ad Portam Neopolitanam ad partem dextram deorsum in valle sunt parietes ubi domus fuit sive palatium Pontii Pilati. Ibi Dominus auditus est antequam pateretur. A sinistra autem parte est monticulus Golgotha, ubi Dominus crucifixus est. Inde quasi ad lapidem missum est cripta ubi corpus ejus posi-

[a] "Behold the day is come, saith the Lord, that the city shall be built to the Lord, from the tower of Hananeel unto the gate of the corner. And the measuring-line shall yet go forth over against it upon the hill Gareb, and shall compass about to Goath. And the whole valley of the dead bodies and of the ashes, and all the fields unto the brook of Kidron, unto the corner of the horse-gate toward the east shall be holy unto the Lord; it shall not be plucked up nor thrown down any more for ever."

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sum fuit, et tertia die resurrexit. Ibidem modo jussu Constantini Imperatoris Basilica facta est, id est Dominicum mirse pulchritudinis." From this it is evident that passing out of the modern Zion Gate he turned round the outside of the walls to the left. Had he gone to the right, past the Jaffa gate, both the ancient and modern Golgotha would have been on his right hand; but passing round the Temple area he may have had the house of Pilate on his right in the valley, where some traditions placed it. He must have had Golgotha and the Sepulchre on his left, as he describes them. In so far therefore as his testimony goes, it is clear he was not speaking of the modern Golgotha, which is inside the city, while the very expression "foris murum" seems to indicate what the context confirms, that it was a place on the verge of the city, and on the left hand of one passing round the walls, or in other words the place marked on the accompanying map.

Antoninus Martyr is the only other traveller whose works have come down to us, who visited the city before the Mohammedan conquest; his description is not sufficiently distinct for much reliance to be placed on it, though all it does say is more in accordance with the eastern than the western site; but he incidentally supplies one fact. He says, "Juxta ipsum altare est crypta ubi si ponas aurem audies flumen aquarum, et si jactas intus pomum aut quid natare potest et vade ad fontem Siloam et ibi illud suscipies" (Ant. Mart. *Itin.* p. 14). There is every reason to believe, from the researches of Drs. Robinson and Barclay, that the whole of the Haram area is excavated with subterranean water-channels, and that therefore if you place your ear almost anywhere you may hear the flowing of the water; and all these waters can only drain out towards Siloam. We also know that under the cave in the Dome of the Rock there is a well, called the *Bir Arruah*, and that it does communicate with the great excavated rea or cistern in front of the Aksa, and that its overflow is towards Siloam, so that if an apple were dropped into it, in so far as we now know, it would come out there. If we presume that Antoninus was speaking of the present sepulchre the passage is utterly unintelligible. There is no well, and no trace has ever been discovered of any communication with Siloam. As far as our present knowledge goes, this objection is in itself fatal to the modern site.

A third and most important narrative has been preserved to us by Adamnanus, an abbot of Iona, who took it down from the mouth of Arculfus, a French bishop who visited the Holy Land in the end of the seventh century. He not only describes, but gives from memory a plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but without any very precise indication of its locality. He then describes the Mosque el-Aksa as a square building situated on the site of the Temple of Solomon, and with details that leave no doubt as to its identity; but either he omits all mention of the Dome of the Rock, which certainly was then, as it is now, the most conspicuous and most important building in Jerusalem, or the inference is inevitable, that he has already described it under the designation of the Church of the Sepulchre, which the whole context would lead us to infer was really the case.

Besides these, there are various passages in the writings of the Fathers which are unintelligible if we assume that the present church was the one built by Constantine. Dositheus, for instance (ii. 1, § 7), says, that owing to the steepness of the ground, or to the hill or valley, to the westward of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre it had only its one wall on that side, Ἔχει ὁ ναὸς τὸ ἀγίου τάφου κατὰ μὲν τὴν δύσιν διὰ τὸ εἶναι ὄρος μόνον τὸν τοῖχον αὐτοῦ. This cannot be applied to the present church, inasmuch as towards the west in that locality there is space for any amount of building; but it is literally correct as applied to the so-called Dome of the Rock, which does stand so near the edge of the valley between the two towns that it would be impossible to erect any considerable building there.

The illuminated Cross, mentioned by St. Cyril (*Epist. ad Const.*) is unintelligible, unless we assume the Sepulchre to have been on the side of the city next to the Mount of Olives. But even more distinct than this is a passage in the writings of St. Epiphanius, writing in the 4th century, who, speaking of Golgotha, says, "It does not occupy an elevated position as compared with other places surrounding it. Over against it, the Mount of Olives is higher. Again, the hill that formerly existed in Zion, but which is now leveled, was once higher than the sacred spot." As we cannot be sure to which hill he applies the name, Zion, no great stress can be laid on that; but no one acquainted with the localities would speak of the modern Golgotha as over against the Mount of Olives. So far therefore, as this goes, it is in favor of the proposed view.

The slight notices contained in other works are hardly sufficient to determine the question one way or the other, but the mass of evidence adduced above would probably never have been questioned, were it not that from the time of the Crusades down to the present day (which is the period during which we are really and practically acquainted with the history and topography of Jerusalem), it is certain that the church in the Latin quarter of the city has always been considered as containing the Tomb of Christ, and as being the church which Constantine erected over the sacred cave; and as no record exists — nor indeed is it likely that it should — of a transference of the site, there is a difficulty in persuading others that it really took place. As however there is nothing to contradict, and everything to confirm, the assumption that a transference did take place about this time, it is not important to the argument whether or not we are able to show exactly how it took place, though nothing seems to be more likely or natural under the circumstances.

Architecturally, there is literally no feature or [and] no detail which would induce us to believe that any part of the present church is older than the time of the Crusades. The only things about it of more ancient date are the fragments of an old classical cornice, which are worked in as string courses with the Gothic details of the external façade, and singularly enough this cornice is identical in style with, and certainly belongs to the age of, the Golden Gateway and Dome of the Rock, and consequently can scarcely be anything else than a fragment of the old basilica, which el-Hakeem had destroyed in the previous century, and the remains of which must still have been scattered about when the Crusaders arrived.

It is well known that a furious persecution of the Christians was carried on, as above mentioned, at the end of the 10th century. Their great basilica was destroyed, their Tomb appropriated, they

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were driven from the city, and dared not approach the holy places under pain of death. As the persecution relaxed, a few crept back to their old quarter of the city, and there most naturally built themselves a church in which to celebrate the sacred mysteries of Easter. It is not necessary to assume fraud in this proceeding any more than to impute it to those who built sepulchral churches in Italy, Spain, or England. Thousands have prayed and wept in these simulated sepulchres all over the world, and how much more appropriately at Jerusalem! Being in the city, and so near the spot, it was almost impossible but that it should eventually come to be assumed that instead of a simulated, it was the true sepulchre, and it would have required more than human virtue on the part of the priests if they had undeceived the unsuspecting pilgrims, whose faith and liberality were no doubt quickened by the assumption. Had the Christians never recovered the city, the difference would never have been discovered in the dark ages: but when unexpectedly those who had knelt and prayed as pilgrims, came back as armed men, and actually possessed the city, it was either necessary to confess the deception or to persevere in it; and, as was too often the case, the latter course was pursued, and hence all the subsequent confusion.

Nothing, however, can be more remarkable than the different ways in which the Crusaders treated the Dome of the Rock and the Mosque el-Aksa. The latter they always called the "Templum seu palatium Solomonis," and treated it with the contempt always applied by Christians to anything Jewish. The Mosque was turned into a stable, the buildings into dwellings for knights, who took the title of Knights Templars, from their residence in the Temple. But the Dome of the Rock they called "Templum Domini." (Jacob de Vitry, c. 62; Sæwulf, *Rel. de Voyage*, iv. 833; Maundeville, *Voiage*, etc., 100, 105: Mar. Sanutus, iii. xiv. 9; Brocardus, vi. 1047.) Priests and a choir were appointed to perform service in it, and during the whole time of the Christian occupation it was held certainly as sacred, if not more so, than the church of the Holy Sepulchre in the town. (Will. of Tyre, viii. 3.) Had they believed or suspected that the rock was that on which the Jewish temple stood it would have been treated as the Aksa was, but they knew that the Dome of the Rock was a Christian building, and sacred to the Saviour; though in the uncritical spirit of the age they never seem exactly to have known either what it was, or by whom it was erected. [See § IV. Amer. ed.]

XI. *Rebuilding of the Temple by Julian.* — Before leaving the subject, it is necessary to revert to the attempt of Julian the Apostate to rebuild the Temple of the Jews. It was undertaken avowedly as a slight to the Christians, and with the idea of establishing a counterpoise to the influence and position they had attained by the acts of Constantine. It was commenced about six months before his death, and during that period the work seems to have been pushed forward with extraordinary activity under the guidance of his friend Alypius. Not only were large sums of money collected for the purpose, and an enormous concourse of the Jews assembled on the spot, but an immense mass of materials was brought together, and the works of the foundations at least carried vigorously on during this period of excitement, before the miracle occurred, which put a final stop to the undertaking. Even if we have not historical evidence of these facts, the appearance of the south wall of the Haram would lead us to expect that something of the sort had been attempted at this period. As before mentioned, the great tunnel-like vault under the Mosque el-Aksa, with its four-domed vestibule, is almost certainly part of the temple of Herod [see TEMPLE], and coeval with his period, but externally to this, certain architectural decorations have

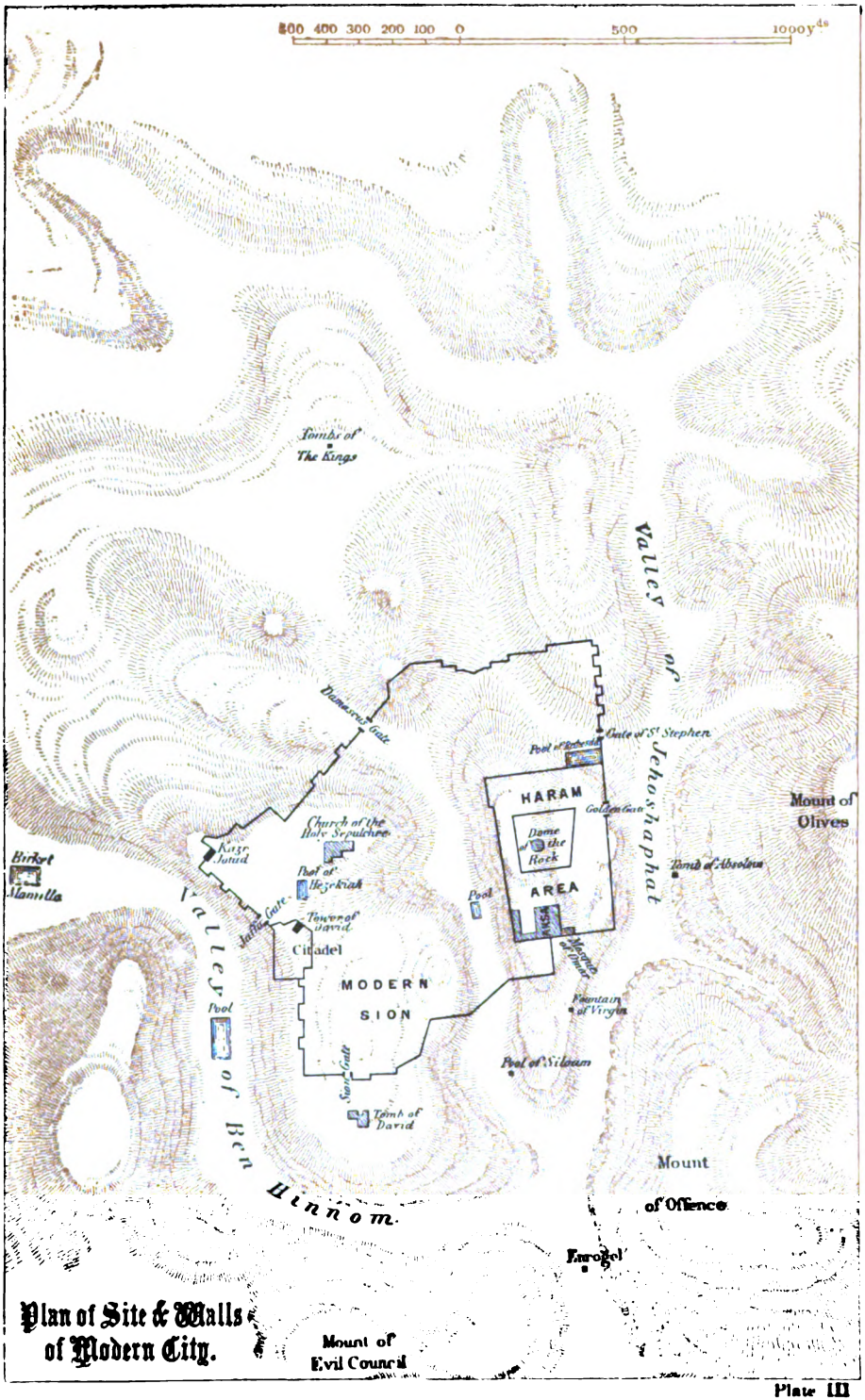


No. 10. — Frontispiece of Julian in south wall of Haram.

been added (wood-cut No. 10), and that so slightly, that daylight can be perceived between the old walls and the subsequent decorations, except at the points of attachment.[a] It is not difficult to ascertain, approximately at least, the age of these adjuncts. From their classical forms they cannot be so late as the time of Justinian; while on the other hand they are slightly more modern in style than the architecture of the Golden Gateway, or than any of the classical details of the Dome of the Rock. They may therefore with very tolerable certainty be ascribed to the age of Julian, while, from the historical accounts, they are just such as we would expect to find them. Above them an inscription bearing the name of Hadrian has been inserted in the wall, but turned upside down; and the whole of the masonry being of that intermediate character between that which we know to be ancient and that which we easily recognise as the

[a] This fact the writer owes, with many other valuable rectifications, to the observation of his friend Mr. G. Grove. The wood-cut, etc., is from a large photograph which, with many others, was taken especially for the writer on the spot, and to which he owes much of the information detailed above though it has been impossible to refer to it on all occasions

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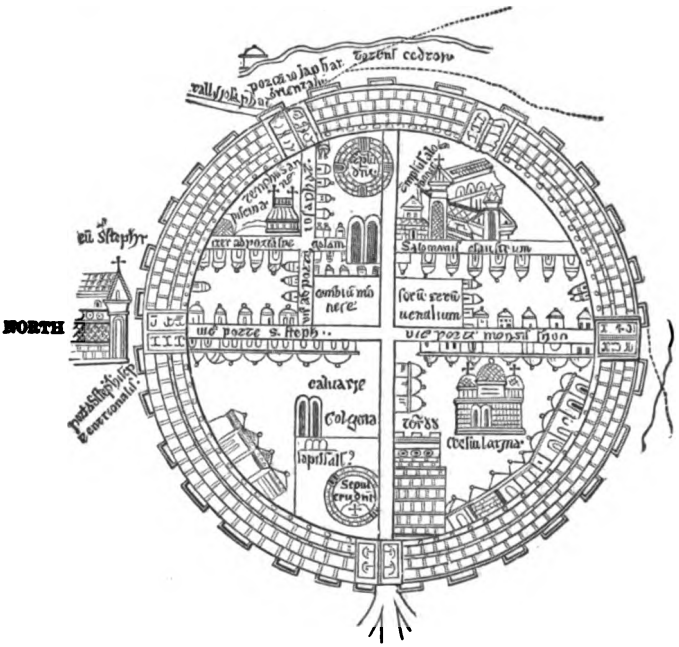
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work of the Mohammedans, there can be little doubt but that it belongs to this period.

Among the incidents mentioned as occurring at this time is one bearing rather distinctly on the topography of the site. It is said (Gregory Nazianzen, *ad Jud. et Gent.* 7, 1, and confirmed by Sozomen) that when the workmen were driven from their works by the globes of fire that issued from the foundations, they sought refuge in a neighboring church (ἐπί τι τῶν πλησίον ἱερῶν, or, as Sozomen has it, εἰς τὸ ἱερόν) — an expression which would be unintelligible did not the buildings of Constantine exist at that time on the spot: for, except these, there could not be any church or sacred place in the neighborhood to which the expression could be applied. The principal bearing, however, of Julian's attempt on the topography of Jerusalem consists in the fact of its proving not only that the site of the Jewish Temple was perfectly well known at this period — A. D. 362 — but that the spot was then, as always, held accursed by the Christians, and as doomed by the denunciation of Christ himself never to be reëstablished; and this consequently makes it as absurd to suppose that the Aksa is a building of Justinian as that the Dome of the Rock or the Golden Gateway — if Christian buildings — ever stood within its precincta.[a]

XII. *Church of Justinian.* — Nearly two centuries after the attempt of Julian, Justinian erected a church at Jerusalem; of which, fortunately, we have so full and detailed an account in the works of Procopius (*de Ædificiis Const.*) that we can have little difficulty in fixing its site, though no remains (at least above ground) exist to verify our conjectures. The description given by Procopius is so clear, and the details he gives with regard to the necessity of building up the substructure point so



No. 11. — Plan of Jerusalem in the 12th century.

unmistakably to the spot near to which it must have stood, that almost all topographers have jumped to the conclusion that the Mosque el-Aksa is the identical church referred to. Apart from the consideration already mentioned, the architecture of that building is alone sufficient to refute any such idea. No seven-aisled basilica was built in that age, and least of all by Justinian, whose favorite plan was a dome on pendentives, which in fact, in his age, had become the type of an Oriental Church. Besides, the Aksa has no apse, and, from its situation, never could have had either that or any of the essential features of a Christian basilica. Its whole architecture is that of the end of the 7th century, and its ordinance is essentially that of a mosque. It is hardly necessary to argue this point, however, as the Aksa stands on a spot which was perfectly known then, and ever afterwards, to be the very centre of the site of Solomon's Temple. Not only is this shown from Julian's attempt, but all the historians, Christian and Mohammedan, who refer to Omar's visit to Jerusalem, relate that the Sakhrah was covered with filth and abhorred by the Christians; and more than this, we have the direct testimony of Eutychius, writing in the 9th century, from Alexandria (*Annales*, ii. 289), "That the Christians had built no church within the area of the Temple on account of the denunciations of the Lord, and had left it in ruins."

Notwithstanding this there is no difficulty in fixing on the site of this church, inasmuch as the vaults that fill up the southeastern angle of the Haram area are almost certainly of the age of Justinian (wood-cuts Nos. 3, 4), and are just such as

a "The only authentic historical fact, under this head, is that the emperor Julian made an abortive attempt to rebuild the Temple. S. W

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Procopius describes; so that if it were situated at the northern extremity of the vaults, all the arguments that apply to the Aksa equally apply to this situation.

We have also direct testimony that a church did exist here immediately after Justinian's time in the following words of Ant. Martyr.: "Ante ruinas vero templi Solomonis aqua decurrit ad fontem Siloam, secus porticum Solomonis *in ecclesia* est sedes in qua sedit Pilatus quando audivit Dominum" (*Itin.* p. 16). As the portico of Solomon was the eastern portico of the Temple, this exactly describes the position of the church in question.

But whether we assume the Aksa, or a church outside the Temple, on these vaults, to have been the Mary church of Justinian, how comes it that Justinian chose this remote corner of the city, and so difficult a site, for the erection of his church? Why did he not go to the quarter where — if the modern theory be correct — all the sacred localities of the Christians were grouped together in the middle of the city? The answer seems inevitable: that it was because in those times the Sepulchre and Golgotha were *here, and not on the spot to which the Sepulchre with his Mary-church have subsequently been transferred.* It may also be added that the fact of Justinian having built a church in the neighborhood is in itself almost sufficient to prove that in his age the site and dimensions of the Jewish Temple were known, and also that the localities immediately outside the Temple were then considered as sacred by the Christians. [See § IV., Amer. ed.]

XIII. *Conclusion.* — Having now gone through all the principal sites of the Christian edifices, as they stood anterior to the destruction of the churches by el-Hakeem, the plan (No. 4) of the area of the Haram will be easily understood. Both Constantine's and Justinian's churches having disappeared, of course the restoration of these is partly conjectural. Nothing now remains in the Haram area but the Mohammedan buildings situated within the area of Solomon's Temple. Of the Christian buildings which once existed there, there remain only the great Anastasis of Constantine — now known as "the Mosque of Omar" and "the Dome of the Rock" — certainly the most interesting, as well as one of the most beautiful Christian buildings in the East, and a small but equally interesting little domical building called the Little Sakhrah at the north end of the inclosure, and said to contain a fragment of the rock which the angel sat upon, and which closed the door of the sepulchre (Ali Bey, i. 225). These two buildings are entire. Of Constantine's church we have only the festal entrance, known as the Golden Gateway, and of Justinian's only the substructions.

It is interesting to compare this with a plan of the city (wood-cut No. 11) made during the Crusades, and copied from a manuscript of the twelfth century, in the Library at Brussels. It gives the traditional localities pretty much as they are now; with the exception of St. Stephen's Gate, which was the name then applied to that now known as the Damascus Gate. The gate which now bears his name was then known as that of the Valley of Jehoshaphat. The "Temple of Solomon," *i. e.* the Mosque of el Aksa, is divided by a wide street from that of our Lord; and the Sepulchre is represented as only a smaller copy of its prototype within the Haram area, but very remarkably similar in design, to say the least of it.

Having now gone through the main outlines of the topography of Jerusalem, in so far as the limits of this article would admit, or as seems necessary for the elucidation of the subject, the many details which remain will be given under their separate titles, as TEMPLE, TOMB, PALACE, etc. It only remains, before concluding, to recapitulate here that the great difficulties which seem hitherto to have rendered the subject confused, and in fact inexplicable, were (1) the improper application of the name of Zion to the western hill, and (2) the assumption that the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre was that built by Constantine.

The moment we transfer the name, Zion, from the western to the eastern hill, and the scenes of the Passion from the present site of the Holy Sepulchre to the area of the Haram, all the difficulties disappear; and it only requires a little patience, and perhaps in some instances a little further investigation on the spot, for the topography of Jerusalem to become as well, or better established, than that of any city of the ancient world. J. F.

* IV. TOPOGRAPHY OF THE CITY.

It will be seen from the preceding that the two points in the topography of Jerusalem which Mr. Fergusson regarded as demanding special elucidation are the site of Mount Zion, and the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. With reference to both, he has advanced theories which are original — theories which not only have not been broached before, and are unsupported by a single tradition, but which, so far as is known, contradict the previous impressions of the Christian world. Speculations so novel respecting localities so prominent in the history of the sacred city, naturally awaken the reader's surprise and suspicion, and demand a candid scrutiny.

We will examine these points separately —

I. *Mount Zion.* — Mr. Fergusson's theory is, that the Mount Zion of the sacred writers is not "the western hill on which the city of Jerusalem now stands, and in fact always stood," but "the eastern hill, or that on which the Temple stood."

On this point we will consider —

(1.) *The testimony of the Sacred Scriptures.* — The sacred historian says, "As for the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the children of Israel could not drive them out, but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Judah at Jerusalem unto this day" (Josh. xv. 63). Four hundred years later, "David and all Israel went to Jerusalem, which is Jebus, where the Jebusites were, the inhabitants of the land. And the inhabitants of Jebus said to David, Thou shalt not come hither. Nevertheless, David took the castle of Zion, which is the City of David. And David dwelt in the castle; therefore they called it, The City of David" (1 Chr. xi. 4, 5, 7). Here was his citadel, and here his residence; and hence the frequent allusions in the Bible to the towers, bulwarks, and palaces of Zion. A few years later, "David made him houses in the City of David, and prepared a place for the ark of God, and pitched for it a tent." "So they brought the ark of God, and set it in the midst of the tent that David had pitched for it" (1 Chr. xv. 1). Thirty years after, "Solomon began to build the house of the Lord at Jerusalem, in Mount Moriah" (2 Chr. iii. 1). Seven years later, "Solomon assembled the elders of Israel unto Jerusalem, to bring up the ark of the covenant of the Lord, out of the City of David, which is Zion" (2 Chr. v. 2), and then fol-

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gives the account of their removing the ark and depositing it in the Temple.

From this it is clear that the Jebusite stronghold which David stormed, and where he dwelt, was Zion, or the City of David; that the ark of the covenant was brought to this spot, and from it was transferred to the Temple on Mount Moriah; and that Mount Moriah, the site of the Temple, could not have been identical with Zion, the City of David. This view appears on the face of the narrative, and there is not a passage of Scripture which conflicts with it, or which it renders difficult or obscure.

Mr. Fergusson says, "There are numberless passages in which Zion is spoken of as a holy place, in such terms as are never applied to Jerusalem, and which can only be applied to the holy Temple Mount." Surely, no strains could be too elevated to be applied to the mount on which the tabernacle was pitched, and where the ark of the covenant abode — the seat of the theocracy, the throne alike of David and of David's Lord, the centre of dominion and of worship. Indeed, the verse quoted, "Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion," could *only* be affirmed of that western hill which was the royal residence. The same may be said of the verse quoted as specially difficult, on the received theory, in its allusion to *the sides of the north*, the reference here being to the lofty site of the city; and to one who approaches it from the south, the precipitous brow of Zion invests the description with a force and beauty which would be lost by a transfer to the other eminence.

It is, moreover, a mistaken impression that greater sanctity is ascribed to Zion than to Jerusalem, or that the two names are, in this respect, carefully distinguished. What passage in the Bible recognizes greater sacredness in a locality than the plaintive apostrophe: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning; if I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy"? The Song of songs sets forth the divine beauty of the bride, or loved one, by the simile, "comely as Jerusalem"; and the call of the evangelical prophet is, "Awake, put on thy strength, O Zion, put on thy beautiful garments, O Jerusalem, the holy city." The localities are thus constantly identified, "To declare the name of the Lord in Zion and his praise in Jerusalem." The names are, and may be, used interchangeably, without "grating on the ear"; and the extraordinary assertion, "It is never said, The Lord dwelleth in Jerusalem, or loveth Jerusalem, or any such expression," we meet with the inspired declarations from the Chronicles, the Psalms, and the Prophets, "I have chosen Jerusalem that my name might be there"; "The God of Israel, whose habitation is in Jerusalem"; "Blessed be the Lord out of Zion, who dwelleth at Jerusalem"; "Thus saith the Lord, I am returned unto Zion, and will dwell in the midst of Jerusalem." Our Saviour expressly forbade the profanation of the name; and through the force of the same sacred associations, the beloved disciple could find no more fitting type of heaven itself, as he beheld it in vision — the New Jerusalem of the saints in glory.

Mr. Fergusson remarks "that the sepulchres of David and his successors were on Mount Zion, or in the City of David, but the wicked king Ahaz, for his crimes, was buried in Jerusalem, 'in the city,' and 'not in the sepulchres of the kings. Jehoram narrowly escaped the same punishment, and the distinction is so marked, that it cannot be overlooked." The burial of King Ahaz is thus recorded: "And they buried him in the city, in Jerusalem, but they brought him not into the sepulchres of the kings" (2 Chr. xxviii. 27). That of King Jehoram is as follows: "He departed without being desired, howbeit they buried him in the City of David, but not in the sepulchres of the kings" (2 Chr. xxi. 20). That of King Joash (which Mr. Fergusson overlooks) is as follows: "They buried him in the City of David, but they buried him not in the sepulchres of the kings" (2 Chr. xxiv. 25). Mr. Fergusson assumes that there is a "marked distinction" between the first and the last two records. We assume that the three accounts are, in substance, identical; and we submit the point to the judgment of the reader, merely adding, that of the three monarchs, Jehoram was apparently the most execrated, and Josephus, who is silent about the burial of Ahaz, describes that of Jehoram as ignominious.

Mr. Fergusson says, "There are a great many passages in which Zion is spoken of as a separate city from Jerusalem," and adduces instances in which the Hebrew scholar will recognize simply the *parallelism* of Hebrew poetry; no more proving that Zion was a separate city from Jerusalem, than the exclamation, "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel," proves that Jacob was a separate people from Israel.

The term *Zion* came, naturally, to be employed both by sacred and profane writers, as the representative of the whole city, of which it formed so prominent a part. It was thus used by the later prophets, quoted above, as also in the Book of the Maccabees, where it evidently *includes* the Temple and adjacent mount.

The passage cited by Mr. Fergusson from Nehemiah (iii. 16) which he pronounces "important,' is as follows: "After him repaired Nehemiah the son of Azbuk, the ruler of the half part of Beth-zur, unto the place over against the sepulchres of David, and to the pool that was made, and unto the house of the mighty." These localities, with many others named in the chapter, can only be fixed conjecturally. On the face of the passage they accord well with the received theory respecting Mount Zion, with which locality Dr. Barclay, after carefully examining the matter on the ground, associates them, and represents the wall here described as running "along the precipitous brow of Zion" (*City*, etc., pp. 126, 155). This interpretation has just received striking confirmation, and the verse preceding (Neh. iii. 15) becomes a proof-text in the argument which identifies the ancient City of David with the modern Zion. In this verse mention is made of "the stairs that go down from the City of David," and Mr. Tristram reports the interesting discovery of a flight of steps in the rock, in some excavations made by the Anglican Bishop below the English Cemetery on Mount Zion (*Land of Israel*).[a] From this, as from the previous Scripture quotations, Mr. Fergusson's theory derives no support. This disposes of the Biblical testimony

[a] "The southeast slope of Zion, down which these was, both at the time of Nehemiah (iii. 15) and of Josephus (Krafft, *Topographie*, pp. 61, 152), a flight of steps leading down from the 'City of David,' as well as the southwest slope down which another flight led, etc. (Ritter, *Geog. of Pal.* iv. 52)

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We will now consider —

(2.) *The testimony of Josephus.* — Josephus does not use the word *Zion;* but his paraphrase of the Scriptural narrative accords entirely with the above: 'David took the lower city by force, but the citadel held out still" (*Ant.* xiv. 4, § 2), with the other particulars as already given. He also says, "The city was built upon two hills, and that which contains the upper city, is much higher, and accordingly it was called *the citadel* by King David" (*Ant.* xiv. 15, § 2). In the siege by Pompey, one party within counseling resistance and the other submission, the former "seized upon the Temple and cut off the bridge which reached from it to the city, and prepared themselves to abide a siege, but the others admitted Pompey's army in, and delivered up both the city and the king's palace to him" (*Ant.* xiv. 4, § 2), and, having secured these, he laid siege to the Temple, and captured its occupants. In the siege by Herod, "When the outer court of the Temple and the lower city were taken, the Jews fled into the inner court of the Temple and into the upper city" (*Ant.* xiv. 16, § 2). In the siege by Titus, after the lower city had been taken, and it became necessary to raise an embankment against the upper city, "the works were erected on the west side of the city, over against the royal palace" (*B. J.* vi. 8, § 1). Describing the Temple, Josephus says, "In the western parts of the inclosure of the Temple were four gates, one leading over to the royal palace: the valley between being interrupted to form a passage" (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 5). He says that "king Agrippa built himself a very large dining-room in the royal palace," from which he 'could observe what was done in the Temple"; which so displeased the Jews, that they "erected a wall upon the uppermost building which belonged to the inner court of the Temple, to the west; which wall, when it was built, intercepted the prospect of the dining-room in the palace" (*Ant.* xx. 8, § 11).

Nothing can be plainer than that the upper city of Josephus is identical with the Zion, or City of David, of the sacred Scriptures; that the citadel and the royal palace were on this western hill; that the Temple was on the lower eastern hill, separated from the western by a deep valley, which was spanned by a bridge; and that the site of the Temple is identical with the Mount Moriah of the Bible, and distinct from Mount Zion. This view, which is in harmony with the Scriptural view already given, accords also with every other allusion in Josephus to these localities. And the substructions of the bridge above referred to, are the most striking feature in the remains of the modern city. With this, we take leave of Josephus.

(3.) *Christian Itineraries.* — This brings us to the Christian Itineraries, etc., and their testimony is uniform and unbroken. Except one or two wild speculations, no other Mount Zion has been known, from the days of Eusebius down, than the high western hill of Jerusalem which now bears the name. So late as 1852, Prof. Robinson referred to this as one of the few points "yet unassailed" (*Bibl. Res.* p. 206).

The careful reader of the preceding article, including the "Annals" of the city, will notice the confusion which has been introduced into it by this theory of its "Topography." The writers of the historical portions (Messrs. Grove and Wright), both eminent Biblical scholars, have passed over to their fellow-contributor (Mr. Fergusson) most of the topographical points; but it was impossible for them to write an intelligible narrative without contradicting him. From many sentences of the same kind, we select three or four which exhibit the necessary failure of the attempt to harmonize the theory with the facts of history and topography.

"As before, the lower city was immediately taken and, as before, the citadel held out. The unda unted Jebusites believed in the impregnability of their fortress. A crowd of warriors rushed forward, and the citadel, the fastness of Zion, was taken. It is the first time that that memorable name appears in the history. David at once proceeded to secure himself in his new acquisition. He inclosed the whole of the city with a wall, and connected it with the citadel. In the latter he took up his own quarters, and the Zion of the Jebusites became the City of David." — (pp. 1282, 1283.)

"The Temple was at last gained; but it seemed as if half the work remained to be done. The upper city, higher than Moriah, inclosed by the original wall of David and Solomon, and on all sides precipitous, except at the north, where it was defended by the wall and towers of Herod, was still to be taken. Titus first tried a parley, he standing on the east end of the bridge, between the Temple and the upper city, and John and Simon on the west end." — (p. 1307.)

"Acra was situated on the northern side of the Temple, on the same hill, and probably on the same spot occupied by David as the stronghold of Zion." — (p. 1320.)

"There is no passage in the Bible which directly asserts the identity of the hills Zion and Moriah, though [there are] many which cannot well be understood without this assumption. The cumulative proof, however, is such as almost perfectly to supply this want." — (p. 1321.)

The first two extracts are from the historical, and the last two from the topographical, portion of the article; and the reader will see that they are in irreconcilable conflict. Before quitting the theme, let us gather into one sentence such points as are consistent with each other and with known facts and probabilities.

The city or stronghold of the Jebusites was the southern portion of the western ridge, the highest, most inaccessible, and easily fortified ground in the city; conquered by David, it became his fortified abode; his castle or citadel was here, and remained here; his palace was built here, and through successive reigns and dynasties, down to the Christian era, it continued to be the royal residence; it was the ancient as it is the modern Zion, inclosed by the old wall, the original wall; it was the upper city, the upper market-place; it was here that the ark abode until its removal to the Temple; the royal sepulchres were here; and Moriah was the southern portion of the eastern ridge, and on this the Temple was built. This statement embodies, we believe, the truth of history, and with this we close the discussion of the site of Mount Zion.

We pass now to the other point:

II. *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre.* — Mr Fergusson's theory is, "that the building now known to Christians as the Mosque of Omar, but by Moslems called the Dome of the Rock, is the identical church which Constantine erected over the rock which contained the tomb of Christ.' Since the publication of the preceding article, he has renewed the discussion of this point in

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pamphlet,* from which we shall also quote, as it contains a more compact summary of his argument.

He concedes, above, the conclusiveness of the argument by which Dr. Robinson has shown that the present church does not cover "the place where the Lord lay." *This* has been the battle-ground of recent writers on the topography of the city, and the concession renders it unnecessary to adduce here the proofs which the Professor has brought together, and which may be found in his *Biblical Researches* (in 1838, ii. 64–80; in 1852, pp. 254–263, 631–633). The "power of logic" with which they are presented is not affected by any theory which may be held respecting the identity of any other spot. The argument reaches "its legitimate conclusion," alike whether the reader accepts some other site, or whether he regards the true site as beyond the reach of modern discovery. The theory here offered, like the one which we have examined, is novel and startling, and like that, is put forth with much confidence by a writer who has never examined the localities. We submit our reasons for rejecting it; and as we agree with Mr. Fergusson that the site of the church is not the place of our Lord's burial, our interest in the question is purely historical.

Mr. Fergusson's theory fails to explain the present church, a building of great intrinsic and historic interest. When, and by whom were its early foundations laid? Who built up its original walls? For how many centuries has it been palmed upon the public as the Church of the Sepulchre? Has the largest and most remarkable Christian sanctuary in the East, planted in the very centre and confluence of Christian devotion, come down to us without a chronicle or even an intimation of its origin? We repeat that the early history of such an edifice could not, since the Christian era, and in the most conspicuous spot in Christendom, have faded into utter oblivion, like that of some temple of the Old World, around which the sands of the desert had gathered for ages before Christ.

Mr. Fergusson's theory, while failing to account for the existence of the most imposing church in the East, fails also to account for the disappearance of every vestige of another church of imperial magnificence. This argument, like the preceding, is collateral, and we do not offer it as independent proof. Church edifices in Palestine, large and small, have been destroyed by violence, or have crumbled by decay. Some of them have been rebuilt or repaired, and perpetuated on their present sites, like that of the Nativity in Bethlehem, or that of the Sepulchre in Jerusalem; and others are clearly traceable, if not impressive, in their ruins, like that of the Baptist in Samaria, that of St. George in Lydda, that of St. Anne in Eleutheropolis, and the ancient cathedral church in Tyre. But what church of the largest class has had a history which corresponds with this theory? The emperor Justinian had a passion for church-building, and decorated his metropolis with a majestic temple, which is still its boast. He erected another in Jerusalem, which he designed to be worthy of "the City of the Great King," and of the Virgin Mother, in whose special honor it was built, "on which great expense and labor were bestowed to make it one of the most splendid in the world." It does not appear to have been disturbed by the subsequent convulsions of the country; writers who describe the injury done to the Church of the Sepulchre in the sack of the city by the Persians, and under the Fatimite Khalifs of Egypt, so far as we know, are silent respecting this edifice. The Mosque el-Aksa, which in accordance with prevalent tradition, is almost universally regarded as the original church of Justinian, Mr. Fergusson appropriates as the Mosque of Abd el-Melek. This leaves the church to be provided for, and in the plan of the Haram area, which he has introduced into the Dictionary and republished in his Notes, he places the church of Justinian, and sketches its walls, where not the slightest trace appears of a foundation ancient or modern. It is purely a conjectural site, demanded by the exigencies of his theory, according to which the solid walls, pillars, and arches of a church described by a contemporary historian, and sketched by Mr. Fergusson as four hundred feet in length and one hundred and more in breadth, have vanished as utterly as if they had been pulverized and scattered to the winds. It has disappeared, withal, from a quarter of the city which was never needed nor used for other purposes, where no dwellings could have encroached upon it, and where no rubbish has accumulated. Considering the character, the location, and the dimensions of this building, and the date of its erection, we hazard the assertion that no parallel to such complete annihilation can be found in the East.

The Mosque of Omar near it, Mr. Fergusson claims to have been converted by the Muslim conquerors into a mosque from a church; we advance the same claim for the Mosque el-Aksa; and there were similar transformations, as is well known, of the Church of St. John in Damascus, and of the Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople, built also by Justinian. Instead of converting to the same use the substantial and splendid church which the same emperor had erected here, what could have prompted the Moslems to obliterate every memorial of it? Within the same inclosure, according to Mr. Fergusson, the "great Anastasis of Constantine," the present Mosque of Omar, built two centuries earlier, survives in all its essential features. "The walls of the octagon still remain untouched in their lower parts; the circle of columns and piers that divide the two aisles, with the entablatures, discharging arches, and cornices, still remain entirely unchanged and untouched; the pier arches of the dome, the triforium belt, the clere-story, are all parts of the unaltered construction of the age of Constantine" (*Notes*, p. 29). The Mosque of Abd el-Melek, the present el-Aksa, abides within the same inclosure in its original strength. "Its whole architecture is that of the end of the seventh century" (p. 1339.) But the church of Justinian, standing by their side in rival glory, mysteriously passed away from that open area — wall and column and arch and architrave — from foundation to top-stone, smitten like the psalmist's bay-tree:

> "And lo, it vanished from the ground,
> Destroyed by hands unseen;
> Nor root, nor branch, nor leaf was found,
> Where all that pride had been."

Mr. Fergusson's theory leaves the later history of the church of Justinian enveloped in the same darkness as the earlier history of the Church of the Sepulchre.

* "Notes on the Site of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, in answer to the *Edinburgh Review*."

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The rejecters of his theory recognize this ancient house of worship in the building adjacent to the southern wall of the Haram, two hundred and eighty feet long by one hundred and ninety broad, and which, with later appendages, both Christian and Saracenic, answers to the description of Justinian's Mary Church, and whose vaulted passages below, from which Christian visitors had long been excluded, were among the impressive objects which it was our fortune to examine in Jerusalem.

What has been said of Justinian's church may be repeated on his theory respecting the church which he affirms that Constantine built within the same inclosure, whose walls he conjecturally traces in the same way, with no more signs of a foundation or site, and which has vanished in like manner, except a festal entrance which he identifies with the present Golden Gateway in the eastern wall of the Haram area.

On the hypothesis of a transfer of site, not the Christian world alone, but the Moslem world likewise, has been imposed upon, and by parties who could not have concocted the fraud together. And all this has been done subsequent to the seventh century. So late as the close of that century, if this theory is true, all Christians and all Moslems, who knew anything about Jerusalem, knew that the present Mosque of Omar was not then a mosque, and never had been; and that the present Church of the Sepulchre, or one on its site, was not *the* Church of the Sepulchre. On both sides they have since that date been misled by designing men. All Christians, residents in Jerusalem, and visitors, so far as is known, have from the first ascribed the site of the present church to the emperor, and all Moslems, residents in Jerusalem and visitors, so far as is known, have from the first ascribed the present mosque to the Khalif. and yet in all these centuries they have alike been the dupes and victims of a double delusion and imposition, commencing we know not when. Can this fact be matched, either in historic annals, or in the fabulous legends of the Dark Ages?

An incident in the Mohammedan conquest of the city, narrated by both Christian and Arabian writers, may properly be cited in this connection. We quote from the historic portion of the article: "The Khalif, after ratifying the terms of capitulation, which secured to the Christians liberty of worship in the churches which they had, but prohibited the erection of more, entered the city and was met at the gates by the patriarch. Omar then, in company with the patriarch, visited the Church of the Resurrection, and at the Muslim time of prayer knelt down on the eastern steps of the basilica, refusing to pray within the buildings, in order that the possession of them might be secured to the Christians. Tradition relates that he requested a site whereon to erect a mosque for the Mohammedan worship, and that the patriarch offered him the spot occupied by the reputed stone of Jacob's vision," etc. (p. 1310). Passing by the tradition, we have the historic fact that the Khalif declined entering the church, for the reason above given, stated in almost the same words by another writer: "In order that his followers might have no pretext to claim possession of the church after his departure, under the pretense that he had worshipped in it" (*Bibl. Res.* ii. 37). Yet if we may believe Mr. Fergusson, this plighted faith, understood alike by both parties, and on the testimony of both scrupulously respected at the outset, was afterwards violated without any known protest or remonstrance on the part of Christians, we know not when, history and tradition being both as silent respecting this transaction as in regard to the "pious fraud" by which the homage of Christendom was subsequently transferred to another locality.

We pass now to the testimony of early visitors and writers.

Eusebius, who was contemporary with Constantine, and his biographer, represents the church which he built over the supposed sepulchre, as having an open court on the east, towards the entrances, with cloisters on each side and gates in front, "after which, in the very midst of the street of the market (or in the middle of the broad market-place) the beautiful propylæa (vestibule) of the whole structure presented to those passing by on the outside the wonderful view of the things seen within" (*Vit. Const.* iii. 39). Along the street of the bazaars, east of the present church, which would make their site identical with "the market-place" of Eusebius, and correspond with the position of the propylæa, are three granite columns, the apparent remains of an ancient portico, and which can be referred to no other structure than the church of Constantine. Mr. Fergusson admits that the propylæa of the church "had a broad market-place in front of it," and to Professor Willis's criticism that this would be "ludicrously impossible" where he locates the building, he replies: "There is now an extensive cemetery on the spot in front of this gateway; and where men can bury they can buy; where there is room for tombs, there is room for stalls" (*Notes*, p. 50). With reference to this locality, we quote Mr. Grove: "The main cemetery of the city seems from an early date to have been where it is still, on the steep slopes of the Valley of the Kidron. Here it was that the fragments of the idol abominations, destroyed by Josiah, were cast out on the 'graves of the children of the people' (2 K. xxiii. 6), and the valley was always the receptacle for impurities of all kinds" (p. 1279). Connect with this the fact that the spot was then, as it is now, outside the city, and on its least populous side, and we leave the reader to judge what element of absurdity is lacking in Mr. Fergusson's supposition.

The testimony of Eusebius on another point, and that of all the other writers whom Mr. Fergusson depends upon, is thus summed up in his *Notes:*—

"In so far as the argument is concerned I would be prepared, if necessary, to waive the architectural evidence altogether, and to rest the proof of what is advanced above on any one of the following four points:—

"1. The assertion of Eusebius that the new Jerusalem, meaning thereby the buildings of Constantine, was opposite to, and over against, the old city.

"2. The position assigned to the Holy Places by the Bordeaux Pilgrim.

"3. The connection pointed out by Antoninus between the Bir Arroah and Siloam.

"4. The assumed omission by Arculfus of all mention of the Dome of the Rock, and, I may add, the building of a Mary Church by Justinian within the precincts of the Haram area." — (p. 55.)

We will take up in their order and fairly examine the "four points" here named, with which Mr. Fergusson agrees to stand or to fall.

"1. The assertion of Eusebius that the new

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Jerusalem, meaning thereby the buildings of Constantine, was opposite to, and over against, the old city."

The assertion referred to, he quotes as follows: —

"Accordingly on the very spot which witnessed the Saviour's sufferings a new Jerusalem was constructed, over against the one so celebrated of old, which, since the foul stain of guilt brought upon it by the murder of the Lord, had experienced the extremity of desolation. It was opposite the city that the emperor began to rear a monument to the Saviour's victory over death, with rich and lavish magnificence."

To this he adds the following passage from Socrates: —

"The mother of the emperor built a magnificent house of prayer on the place of the sepulchre, founding a new Jerusalem opposite to the old and deserted city."

"The old city," in respect to its dwellings, was divided into two parts, "the upper" and "the lower." The former was on Mount Zion and the latter on Mount Akra, and in the adjacent valleys. The site of the Mosque of Omar is directly opposite to the latter, or to the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which "stands directly on the ridge of Akra" (*Bibl. Res.* i. 391). The site of the Temple and that of the church lie "over against" each other. These are the points which Eusebius is comparing. He does not refer directly to the ruined dwellings of either the upper or the lower city; he refers especially to the deserted ruins of the Temple. By "the new Jerusalem," says Mr. Fergusson, he means "the buildings of Constantine." Exactly — he means these and nothing else. And by "the old Jerusalem" he means the buildings of the Temple, neither more or less. Or rather, while the primary meaning is on each side thus restricted, he intends to designate by the latter the ancient city, of which the Temple was the crown, and by the former, the modern city, of which the church was to be the future glory. The antithesis is complete. The other interpretation makes the comparison incongruous — the old city meaning a collection of dwellings, and the new city meaning simply a church. Dr. Stanley has justly observed: "Whatever differences of opinion have arisen about the other hills of Jerusalem, there is no question that the mount on which the Mosque of Omar stands, overhanging the valley of the Kidron, has from the time of Solomon, if not of David, been regarded as the most sacred ground in Jerusalem" (*S. & P.* p. 177, Amer. ed.). This is the fact which the Christian Fathers recognize, using each locality as, in a religious sense, the representative of the city, when they say that the emperor Constantine "founded a new Jerusalem, opposite to the old and deserted city," a phrase, withal, more applicable to the eastern hill, which was burned over, swept "clear of houses," and was still forsaken, than to the western hill, which had never been thus completely desolated, and was still inhabited. Opposite the deserted site of the Hebrew Temple Constantine reared the Christian sanctuary. This is our interpretation of Eusebius and Socrates: and this disposes of the first point.

"2. The position assigned to the Holy Places by the Bordeaux Pilgrim."

His testimony is: —

"Inde ut eas foris murum de Sione euntibus ad partem Neopolitanam ad partem dextram deorsum in valle sunt parietes ubi domus fuit sive palatium Pontii Pilati. Ibi Dominus auditus est antequam pateretur. A sinistra autem parte est monticulus Golgotha, ubi Dominus crucifixus est. Inde quasi ad lapidem missum est cripta ubi corpus ejus positum fuit, et tertia die resurrexit. Ibidem modo jussu Constantini Imperatoris Basilica facta est, id est Dominicum mirse pulchritudinis."

There is no allusion here to a "Zion *Gate*," and none then existed. (*Arculf.* i. 1.) Had the modern gate been there, no visitor would have passed out of it to go to the opposite side of the city, either to the right or the left, and especially not to the left. It involves, further, the absurd supposition that the governor's house, where the Saviour was arraigned, was in a valley, unprotected, outside of the city, when in the preceding paragraph the writer has asserted that the residence of the governor and the probable scene of the trial was the castle of Antonia.

The natural course of one who passed out of the city northward, going from Zion to the Neapolis Gate, would have been formerly, as now, between the Temple area and the site of the Church of the Sepulchre, near to the latter, and the objects seen would have been in just the relative position in which this traveller describes them.

Mr. Fergusson assumes that the phrase "foris murum" requires us to believe that the visitor's course, here described, from Zion to the Neapolis Gate (called Neapolis then, for the same reason that it is now called Damascus), lay outside of the wall. If so, the reference is to the inner wall along the brow of Zion, the first of the "three walls" which surrounded this part of the city. This may be the meaning of the barbarous Latin of the old Pilgrim, but far more probably, we think, he means simply what we have indicated above. There never was a road from Zion southward, and no suggestion could be more improbable than that of plunging from Zion into the lower Tyropœon, outside the city, ascending the opposite slope, and making the long detour by the northeast corner of the city to reach the gate named. The point of destination was northward from Zion, and the Pilgrim says that one who would go beyond the wall, or outside of the city, passing from Zion to the Neapolis Gate, would see the objects described, on the right and left. The peculiar construction of the sentence favors this rendering of "foris murum," and we have an authority for it, exactly in point. "*Foris*; in late Latin, with the accusative = *beyond*. 'Constitutus si sit fluvius, qui foris agrum non vagatur'" (Andrews's Lex. *in loc.*). Either of these interpretations we claim to be more natural and probable than Mr. Fergusson's, for the reasons already given; and this disposes of the second point.

"3. The connection pointed out by Antoninus between the Bir Arroah and Siloam."

This testimony is: —

"Near the altar is a crypt, where, if you place your ear, you will hear the flowing of water; and if you throw in an apple, or anything that will swim, and go to Siloam you will find it there." In the preceding article, Mr. Fergusson says: "In so far as we know," the connection exists; meaning merely, We do not know that it does not exist. In the Notes he says: "It is, therefore, a fact at this hour," that the connection exists. This is an unsupported assertion. The connection has not been established, and the subterranean watercourses of Jerusalem are still involved in much uncertainty

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The witness cited in support of the alleged fact pronounces directly against its probability, and in favor of the opposite theory. Dr. Barclay gives his reasons for believing that the subterranean conduit of Hezekiah was brought down on the west side of the valley running south from the Damascus Gate, and says that on this hypothesis "it would pass just by the rock Golgotha," the traditionary site of the sepulchre, as described by Antoninus (*City*, etc., pp. 94, 300). Furthermore, in examining the fountain of Siloam, he found a subterranean channel which supplied it, and which he traversed for nearly a thousand feet; and on locating its course, he was "perfectly satisfied that this subterraneous canal derived its former supply of water, not from Moriah, but from Zion" (*ib.* p. 523). He also says: "If this channel was not constructed for the purpose of conveying to Siloam the surplus waters of Hezekiah's aqueduct, then I am unable to suggest any purpose to which it could have been applied" (*ib.* p. 309). [SILOAM, Amer. ed.] So little countenance, so palpable a contradiction, rather, is given to the "fact" by the witness cited to corroborate it; and this disposes of the third point.

"4. The assumed omission by Arculfus of all mention of the Dome of the Rock, and, I may add, the building of a Mary Church by Justinian within the precincts of the Haram area."

We do not see the bearing of the last-named particular. Churches in honor of the Virgin were erected in many localities, and it is not necessary to account for the selection of this site, though it were easy to conjecture a reason. It proves nothing.

The remaining specification, like the other, is an argument drawn from silence and conjecture, and rates no higher as proof. It runs thus: If this building were then in existence, this visitor must have described it; the building was in existence, and the opposite theory assumes that he did not allude to it; therefore, the current theory is false. We cannot but be struck with the difference between this position and the principle with which Mr. Fergusson professedly started, of "admitting nothing which cannot be proved, either by direct testimony or by local indications" (p. 1312). There is no pretense that this argument rests on either of these: it rests on nothing but an unaccountable "omission." And this silence is offered as not merely corroborative evidence, but as vital proof. Mr. Fergusson adduces this as one of four points, "any one" of which establishes his theory beyond question. As if the existence of St. Paul's in London, or of St. Peter's in Rome, at any period, would be absolutely disproved by the silence of a visitor respecting either, in a professed description of the objects of interest in the city. At the best, it could only be a natural inference; it could never be proof positive. And here we might rest; for if we proceed no further, Mr. Fergusson's last point is disposed of, and his claim is prostrate.

But we join issue with him, and affirm that what Arculfus describes as the Church of the Sepulchre, was the building standing on the site of the present church, and not the Mosque of Omar, or any part of it. Neither could "the square house of prayer erected on the site of the Temple," have been, as he alleges, the Mosque el-Aksa. The phrase "ubi fabricati sunt opere," could never have been applied to this structure. The immense quadrangle, rudely built with beams and planks over the remains of ruins, as described by the bishop, would seem to be a natural account of the building erected by the Khalif Omar over the rock es-Sûkhrah, as Dr. Barclay suggests, "which in the course of half a century gave place to the present elegant octagonal edifice, erected by Abd el-Melek" (*City*, etc., p. 336) If the assigned date of the completion of the latter edifice is correct, this would serve to fix more definitely the date of Arculfus's visit, which is only known to have been "in the latter part of the seventh century" (Wright's *Introduction*, p. xii. Bohn's ed.).

In the Bishop's description of "the Church of the Holy Sepulchre," whatever other changes may have taken place, we have a crucial test of the identity of the building described with the church or the mosque, in the account of the cave which was the reputed tomb of the Saviour. For this, together with that of Willibald, a few years later, and that of Sæwulf, still later, we refer the reader to *Bibl. Sacra*, xxiv. 137, 138.

The sepulchral cave of the church, described by these writers, Mr. Fergusson claims to have been the cave in the rock es-Sûkhrah, beneath the dome of the present Mosque of Omar. This rock has been the most stationary landmark in Jerusalem, and has probably changed as little as any other object. For such accounts as have reached us of the cave within it, we refer the reader to *Bibl. Sacra*, xxiv. 138. 139.

It is not credible that these and the preceding all refer to the same excavation. The narrative of Arculfus can be adjusted to the present Church of the Sepulchre and its reputed tombs, making due allowance for the changes wrought by the destruction of the building. But by no practicable change, by no possibility, can it be adjusted to the rock es-Sûkhrah and the cave beneath it; and this disposes of the fourth point.

We have now completed our examination of Mr. Fergusson's "four points." He offered to "rest the proof" of his theory "on any one" of them; and we have shown that on a fair investigation not one of them sustains his theory in a single particular, and for the most part they pointedly refute it.

There remains an objection to this theory, as decisive as any, which can be best appreciated by those who have been on the ground. The site of the so-called Mosque of Omar could not have been, in our Saviour's day, outside of the walls. The theory would break up the solid masonry of the ancient substructions of the Temple area, still existing, making one portion modern and the other ancient, leaving one without the city, and retaining the other within it, in a way which is simply incredible. Whatever may have been the bearings and dimensions of the Temple, with its courts and porticoes, in the inclosure above, the massive foundations of the area are one work, and that a work of high antiquity. The immense beveled stones in the southeast corner were laid at the same time with the stones in the southwest corner. They are of the same magnitude, and it does not need the eye of an architect to assure us that they are of the same age and style of workmanship. They were the two extremities of the ancient southern wall as they are of the modern, stretching, as Josephus informs us, from valley to valley, and laid with stones "immovable for all time;" and to-day they confirm his testimony, and contradict this theory "We are led irresistibly to the conclusion," said Dr. Robinson, on his first visit, "that the area of the Jewish temple was identical on its western

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eastern, and southern sides with the present enclosure of the Haram." "Ages upon ages have rolled away, yet these foundations endure, and are immovable as at the beginning" (*Bibl. Res.* i. 427). The investigations of his second visit confirmed the conclusion of his first, — from which we see not how any visitor who has inspected this masonry can withhold his assent — that in the southwest corner, in the southern part of the western wall, in the southeast corner on both sides, and along the southern wall, we have before us "the massive substructions of the ancient Jewish Temple. Such has been the impression received by travellers for centuries, and such it will probably continue to be so long as these remains endure" (*Bibl. Res.* (1852) 220).

These are our main reasons for rejecting Mr Fergusson's theory of the Topography of Jerusalem, in its two principal points; and if these points are untenable, almost the entire reasoning of his section of the article falls with them. S. W.

* V. MODERN JERUSALEM. — *Walls and Gates.* — The present walls of Jerusalem are not older than the 16th century, though the materials of which they are built belonged to former walls and are much more ancient. They consist of hewn stones of a moderate size, laid in mortar. They are "built for the most part with a breastwork; that is, the exterior face of the wall is carried up several feet higher than the interior part of the wall, leaving a broad and convenient walk along the top of the latter for the accommodation of the defenders. This is protected by the parapet or breastwork, which has battlements and loopholes. There are also flights of steps to ascend or descend at convenient distances on the inside" (Rob. *Bibl. Res.* i. 352). The walls embrace a circuit of about 2½ miles. On the west, south, and east sides they stand generally as near the edge of the valleys as the ground will allow; except that the southern extremity of Zion and a part of Moriah (known as Ophel) being outside of the city, the walls there run across the ridge of those hills. They vary in height from 20 to 50 feet, according to the depth of the ravines below, which formed an important part of the natural defenses of the city. The walls on the north side, where the ground is more open and level, are protected to some extent by ditches or trenches. It is a peculiarity of a part of this northern wall that it consists of a mass of natural rock, 75 feet high, with strata so exactly corresponding with those of the opposite ledge that the passage between them must be artificial. It may have been a quarry for obtaining stones for the walls of the city. Fortifications of this character, surrounded as they are by higher positions in the vicinity, would be utterly useless against European tactics. Yet, imperfect as they are in this respect, these walls so notched with battlements and seeming to rise and fall (like a waving line) with the declivities of the ground, especially as they suddenly show themselves to the traveller approaching the city from the west, form a picturesque oriental sight never to be forgotten.

The city has four gates at present in use, which look towards the cardinal points. Though they bear other names among the natives, they are known to travellers as the *Yâfa* (Joppa) Gate on the west side, the Damascus Gate on the north side, the Gate of St. Stephen on the east, and of Zion on the south. The first two are so called after the places to which the roads starting from them lead: that of St. Stephen from a popular belief that this martyr was put to death in that quarter, and that of Zion from its situation on the hill of this name. Near the Damascus Gate are the remains of towers, supposed by Robinson to have been the guard-houses of a gate which stood there as early as the age of Herod. The *Yâfa* Gate forms the main entrance, and on that account is kept open half an hour later than the other gates. The custom of shutting the gates by night (see Rev. xxi. 23–25) is common in eastern cities at the present day. Three or four smaller gates occur in the walls, but have been closed up, and are now seldom or never used. The most remarkable of these is the Golden Gate in the eastern wall which overlooks the Valley of the Kedron. "It is in the centre of a projection 55 feet long and standing out 6 feet. Its portal is double, with semicircular arches profusely ornamented. The Corinthian capitals which sustain the entablature spring like corbels from the wall, and the whole entablature is bent round the arch. The exterior appearance, independently of its architecture, bears no mark of high antiquity for it bears no resemblance to the massive stones along the lower part of the wall on each side, and indeed the new masonry around is sufficiently apparent" (Porter, *Handbook*, i. 115 f.). The style of architecture, whether the structure occupies its original place or not, must be referred to an early Roman period. [Wood-cut, p. 1325.] It is a saying of the Franks that the Mohammedans have walled up this gate because they believe that a king is to enter by it who will take possession of the city and become Lord of the whole earth (Rob. *Bibl. Res.* i. 323). It may be stated that the largest stones in the exterior walls, bearing incontestable marks of a Hebrew origin, and occupying their original places, are found near the southeast angle of the city and in the substructions of the Castle of David so called, not far from the Yâfa Gate, near the centre of the western wall of the city. Some of the alternate courses at the former point measure from 17 to 19 feet in length by 3 or 4 feet in height. One of the stones there is 24 feet in length by 3 feet in height and 6 in breadth. This part of the wall is common both to the city and the Temple area. One of the stones in the foundations of the Castle is 12½ feet long and 3 feet 5 inches broad; though most of them are smaller than those at the southeast angle. The upper part of this Castle or Tower, one of the most imposing structures at Jerusalem, is comparatively modern; but the lower part exhibits a different style of workmanship and is unquestionably ancient, though whether a remnant of Herod's Hippic tower (as Robinson supposes) or not, is still disputed. [PRÆTORIUM.] The Saviour's language that "not one stone should be left on another" (Matt. xxiv. 2) is not contradicted by such facts. In the first place the expression may be a proverbial one for characterizing the overthrow as signal, the destruction as desolating, irresistible. In the next place this was spoken in reality not of the city and its walls, but of "the buildings of the temple," and in that application was fulfilled in the strictest manner.

Area, Streets, etc. — The present circumference of the city includes 209.5 acres, or one third of a square mile. Its longest line extends from N. E. to S. W., somewhat less than a mile in length [See Plate III.] But this space is not all built upon; for the inclosure of the *Haram esh-Sherîf* (Moriah or the site of the Temple) contains 38

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acres (almost one sixth of the whole), and large spaces, especially on Mount Zion and the hill Bezetha at the north end, are unoccupied. Just within the Gate of St. Stephen is an open tract where two or three Arab tents may often be seen, spread out and occupied after the manner of the desert. To what extent the territory of the ancient city coincided with the modern city is not altogether certain. The ancient city embraced the whole of Zion beyond question, the southern projection of Moriah or Ophel, and possibly a small tract on the north, though the remains of the cisterns there are too modern to be alleged as proof of this last addition. On the other hand, those who maintain the genuineness of the Holy Sepulchre must leave that section of the city out of the Jerusalem of the Saviour's day.

"The city is intersected from north to south by its principal street, which is three fifths of a mile long, and runs from the Damascus Gate to Zion Gate. From this principal street, the others, with the exception of that from the Damascus Gate to the Tyropœon Valley, generally run east and west, at right angles to it; amongst these is the 'Via Dolorosa' along the north of the Haram, in which is the Roman archway, called Ecce Homo. The city is divided into quarters, which are occupied by the different religious sects. The boundaries of these quarters are defined by the intersection of the principal street, and that which crosses it at right angles from the Jaffa Gate to the Gate of the Haram, called *Bâb as-Silsilé*, or Gate of the Chain. The Christians occupy the western half of the city, the northern portion of which is called the Christian quarter, and contains the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; the southern portion is the Armenian quarter, having the Citadel at its northwest angle. The Mohammedan quarter occupies the northeast portion of the city, and includes the *Haram esh-Sherîf*. The Jewish quarter is on the south, between the Armenian quarter and the Haram." (*Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, p. 9, Lond. 1865.)

It has been stated that the streets are not known by any particular names. A detailed report of inquiries on this subject (appended to the *Ordnance Survey*) shows that most of them are thus known: being distinguished by the names of persons or families, from trades carried on in them, or from the places to which the streets or alleys lead. The streets are narrow, uneven, and badly paved, for the most part with a gutter or channel in the middle for beasts of burden. Some of them, those most frequented, are darkened with mats or stone arches for the purpose of excluding the heat. The houses are built of limestone, many of them mere hovels, others more substantial, but seldom with any pretension to elegance. The low windows guarded with iron grates give to many of them a dreary, prison-like appearance. Some of them have lattice windows toward the street; but generally, these open toward the inner courts on which the houses stand.

Population. — In proportion to the extent of the place, the population of Jerusalem is very dense. The houses in general are closely tenanted, and in some quarters they are piled upon one another, so as to extend across the streets, and make them appear almost like subterranean passages. It is difficult (as no proper system of registration exists) to fix the precise number of the inhabitants. Dr. Schultz, formerly Prussian Consul at Jerusalem, placed it in 1845 at 7:,000. The following table exhibits the different classes of this population according to their nationalities and religious confessions: —

I. Mohammedans			5,000
II. Christians			
(*a*) Greeks	2,000		
(*b*) Roman Catholics	900		
(*c*) Armenians	350		
(*d*) Copts	100		
(*e*) Syrians	20		
(*f*) Abyssinians	20		
		3,390	
		8,390	
III. Jews			
(*a*) Turkish subjects (*Sephardim*)	6,000		
(*b*) Foreigners (*Ashkenazim*) Poles, Russians, Germans, etc.	1,100		
(*c*) Caraites	20		
		7,120	
		15,510	

To the foregoing we are to add the 65 or 7[illegible] persons, European Protestants or Catholics, connected with consulates or ecclesiastical establishments, and the Turkish garrison of 800 or 1,000 men; and we have then the aggregate (as stated above) of about 17,000. The number of pilgrims, greatest at Easter, varies from time to time; the maximum may be 10,000. It was about 5,000 in 1843, and about 3,000 in 1844 (Schultz, *Jerusalem, Eine Vorlesung*, pp. 33, 34). The estimate in the *Ordnance Survey* (1865) — 16,000 — shows that hardly any change has taken place in the population during the last twenty years. The statement (in this latter work) that the travellers and pilgrims at Easter swell the sum to 30,000, seems almost incredible, unless it be understood of some altogether exceptional year. Tobler complains (*Denkblätter aus Jerusalem*, p. 353) that the Turkish statistics are extremely uncertain. It is generally allowed that the Christian inhabitants slowly increase at the expense of the Mohammedans.

Water Supply. — Most of the houses are furnished with cisterns in which the rain-water is collected by means of gutters during the rains from December to March. The better houses often have two or three such cisterns, so arranged that when one is full the water flows into another. "As the water which runs through the filthy streets is also collected in some of these cisterns, it can only be drunk with safety after it is filtered and freed from the numerous worms and insects which are bred in it." Some water is obtained from Joab's Well [EN-ROGEL], whence it is brought in goat-skins on donkeys and sold to the inhabitants. The ancient city was supplied with an abundance of pure water from the three Pools of Solomon near Bethlehem. The works constructed for this purpose, "in boldness of design and skill in execution, rival even the most approved system of modern engineers" (*Ordnance Survey*, p. 10). The Pacha of Jerusalem has recently repaired the conduit from Solomon's Pools to Jerusalem, which is now supplied from *Ain Etam*, and "the sealed fountain" above the upper pool.

Jews. — The Jews constitute an interesting class of the inhabitants. Very many of them are pilgrims who have come to Jerusalem to fulfill a vow and then return to the countries where they were born, or aged persons who desire to spend their

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last days in the holy city, and be buried in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which according to their traditions is to be the scene of the last judgment. For the privilege of being buried there they are obliged to pay a large sum; but if any one is too poor to incur this expense, the body is taken to the slope on Mount Zion where the Tomb of David is situated. Among them are representatives from almost every land, though the Spanish, Polish, and German Jews compose the greater number. Like their brethren in other parts of Palestine, with the exception of a few in commercial places, they are wretchedly poor, and live chiefly on alms contributed by their countrymen in Europe and America. They devote most of their time to holy employments, as they are called. They frequent the synagogues, roam over the country to visit places memorable in their ancient history, and read assiduously the Old Testament and the Talmudic and Rabbinic writings. Those of them who make any pretension to learning understand the Hebrew and Rabbinic, and speak as their vernacular tongue the language of the country where they formerly lived, or whence their fathers emigrated. As would be expected, from the character of the motive which brings them to the Holy Land, they are distinguished, as a class, for their bigoted attachment to Judaism. The Jews at Jerusalem have several synagogues which they attend, not promiscuously, but according to their national or geographical affinities. The particular bond which unites them in this religious association is that of their birth or sojourn in the same foreign land, and their speaking the same language (Comp. Acts vi. 9 ff.). For information respecting the Jews in Palestine, the reader may see especially Wilson's *Land of the Bible* (2 vols. Edinb. 1847) and Bonar and M'Cheyne's *Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews*, in 1839 (29th thousand, Edinb. 1852). The statements in these works remain substantially correct for the present time.

Burial Places. — Modern burial places surround the city on all sides. Thus, on our right as we go out of St. Stephen's Gate is a Mohammedan cemetery, which covers a great part of the eastern slope of Moriah, extending to near the southeast angle of the Haram. This cemetery, from its proximity to the sacred area, is regarded as specially sacred. The largest cemetery of the Mohammedans is on the west side of the city, near the *Birket Mamilla*, or Upper Gihon, a reservoir so named still in use. "The Moslem Sheikhs or 'Saints' are buried in various parts of the city and neighborhood, especially along the western wall of the Haram. The Moslems are buried without coffins, being simply wrapped in a sheet, and are carried to the grave in a sort of wooden box, borne on the shoulders of six men. The body is preceded by a man bearing a palm branch and followed by the mourners. Prayers are offered up in the mosque whilst the body is there, and at the grave the Koran is recited, and the virtues of the deceased extolled." The outside portion of Mount Zion is occupied chiefly as a place of burial for the Christian communities, *i. e.*, Catholics, Greeks, Armenians, and Protestants. Not far from David's Tomb there is a little cemetery which contains the remains of several Americans who have died at Jerusalem. One of the graves is that of the late Prof. Fiske of Amherst College, whose memory is still cherished among us by so many pupils and friends. The great Jewish cemetery, as already mentioned, lies along the base and up the sides of Olivet. The white slabs which cover the graves are slightly elevated and marked with Hebrew inscriptions. It should be stated that the Caraite Jews have a separate place of burial on the southwest side of Hinnom, near the intersection of the road which crosses the valley to the tombs of Aceldama.

Churches. — It is impossible to do more than glance at this branch of the subject. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in the northwest part of the city, stands over the reputed place of the Saviour's tomb, mentioned in the history of the Passion. It is the most imposing edifice in Jerusalem, after the Mosque of Omar. It was built in 1808, on the site of a more ancient one destroyed by fire. Some monument of this kind has marked the spot ever since the time of the Empress Helena, about A. D. 326, and perhaps earlier still. It does not belong to this place to discuss the question of the genuineness of the site. For a convenient *resume* of the arguments on both sides, Stanley refers to the *Museum of Classical Antiquities*, April, 1853. Nothing decisive has more recently been brought to light. This church is in reality not so much a single church as a cluster of churches or chapels. The church is entered by a door leading out of an open court on the south, never opened except by a member of the Moslem family. It is always open for a few hours in the morning and again in the afternoon. The open court is paved with limestone and worn as smooth as glass by the feet of pilgrims. Here the venders of souvenirs of the Holy Land from Bethlehem expose their wares and drive a thriving trade. On the east side are the Greek convent of Abraham, the Armenian church of St. John, and the Coptic church of the Angel; on the west side are three Greek chapels, that of St. James, that of the Forty Martyrs, in which is a very beautiful font, and that of St. John; at the eastern end of the south side of the court is a Greek chapel, dedicated to the Egyptian Mary, and east of the entrance a flight of steps leads to the small Latin Chapel of the Agony. The Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre is in the centre of the Rotunda, built principally of the limestone known as "Santa Croce marble." What is shown as the Tomb of our Lord is a raised bench, 2 feet high, 6 feet 4 inches long, covered on the top by a marble slab. "No rock is visible at present," says Capt. Wilson, "but may exist below the marble slab, as in forming the level floor of the Rotunda a great quantity of rock must have been cut away, and the portion containing the tomb would naturally be left intact." The church is at present undergoing important repairs.

Near St. Stephen's Gate is the Church of St. Anne, built over a grotto, which looks like an ancient cistern. The church belongs to France, and is being almost rebuilt at great expense. It shows the scarcity of wood that the timber required in these repairs has to be imported at *Yâfa*, and then transported over the heavy roads to Jerusalem. The Church of St. James in the Armenian convent is one of the richest in gilding, decorations and pictures in the city. Nearly opposite the Pool of Hezekiah is the Greek church and convent of "the Forerunner," comparatively modern and dressed out with gilding and paintings in the usual Greek style.[a] The church of the Anglo-Prussian

[a] We have taken these brief statements (to some extent, verbally), from the *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, our best recent authority (1865). It may be in place to say here that Col. James, the Director of the

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episcopate on Mount Zion, though not large, is a neat edifice, built of limestone, in the form of a cross. The preaching in this church on the Sabbath and at other times is in German and in English. See an interesting sketch of the origin and objects of this episcopate by Güder in Herzog's *Real-Encykl.* vi. 503–505. The London Jews' Society expends large sums of money for the benefit of the Palestine Jews, through the agency of this Jerusalem bishopric. On the rising ground west of the city stands "the immense Russian pile, a new building, which completely overshadows every other architectural feature. It combines in some degree the appearance and the uses of cathedral close, public offices, barracks, and hostelry; the flag of the Russian consulate floats over one part, while the tall cupola of the church commands the centre. There are many Russian priests and monks, and shelter is provided for the crowds of Muscovite pilgrims" (Tristram, *Land of Israel*, p. 174, 2d ed.). All recent travellers testify that the distinctive oriental character of Jerusalem is rapidly fading away and a European coloring taking its place.

Subterranean Quarry. — It is ascertained that a labyrinth of great extent and of complicated intricacy exists under the present Jerusalem. It is unquestionably very ancient, but having been so recently discovered or rediscovered, belongs in that point of view to our own times, quite as much as to its own proper antiquity. Dr. Barclay has the merit of bringing this wonderful excavation to the knowledge of European and American travellers. We insert an abridged account of this discovery in the words of Dr. R. G. Barclay (in the *City of the Great King*, pp. 460–463, 1st ed.): —

"Having provided ourselves with all the requisites for such a furtive adventure — matches, candles, compass, tape-line, paper, and pencils — a little previous to the time of closing the gates of the city, we sallied out at different points, the better to avoid exciting suspicion, and rendezvoused at Jeremiah's Pool, near to which we secreted ourselves within a white enclosure surrounding the tomb of a departed Arab Sheik, until the shades of darkness enabled us to approach unperceived, when we issued from our hiding-place, amid the screeching of owls, screaming of hawks, howling of jackals, and the chirping of nocturnal insects. The mouth of the cavern being immediately below the city wall, and the houses on Bezetha, we proceeded cautiously in the work of removing the dirt, mortar, and stones; and, after undermining and picking awhile, a hole (commenced a day or two previous by our dog) was made, though scarcely large enough for us to worm our way serpentinely through the ten foot wall.

"On scrambling through and descending the inner side of the wall, we found our way apparently obstructed by an immense mound of soft dirt, which had been thrown in, the more effectually to close up the entrance; but, after examining awhile, discovered that it had settled down in some places sufficiently to allow us to crawl over it on hand and knee; which having accomplished, we found ourselves enveloped in thick darkness, that might be felt, but not penetrated by all our lights, so vast is the hall.

"For some time we were almost overcome with feelings of awe and admiration (and I must say apprehension, too, from the immense impending vaulted roof), and felt quite at a loss to decide in which direction to wend our way. There is a constant and in many places very rapid descent from the entrance to the termination, the distance between which two points, in a nearly direct line, is 750 feet; and the cave is upwards of 3,000 feet in circumference, supported by great numbers of rude natural pillars. At the southern extremity there is a very deep and precipitous pit, in which we received a very salutary warning of caution from the dead — a human skeleton! supposed to be that of a person who, not being sufficiently supplied with lights, was precipitated headlong and broke his neck.

"We noticed bats clinging to the ceiling in several places, in patches varying from fifty to a hundred and fifty, hanging together, which flew away at our too near approach, and for some time continued to flit and scream round and about our heads in rather disagreeable propinquity. Numerous crosses marked on the wall indicated that, though unknown to Christendom of the present day, the devout Pilgrim or Crusader had been there; and a few Arabic and Hebrew inscriptions (though too much effaced to be deciphered) proved that the place was not unknown to the Jew and Arab. Indeed, the manner in which the beautiful white solid limestone rock was everywhere carved by the mason's rough chisel into regular pillars, proved that this extensive cavern, though in part natural, was formerly used as the grand quarry of Jerusalem. . . . There are many intricate meandering passages leading to immense halls, as white as the driven snow, and supported by colossal pillars of irregular shape — some of them placed there by the hand of nature, to support the roof of the various grottos, others evidently left by the stone quarrier in quarrying the rock to prevent the intumbling of the city. Such reverberations I never heard before.

"What untold toil was represented by the vast piles of blocks and chippings, over which we had to clamber, in making our exploration! A melancholy grandeur — at once exciting and depressing — pervaded these vast saloons. This, without doubt, is the very magazine from which much of the Temple rock was hewn — the pit from which was taken the material for the silent growth of the Temple. How often, too, had it probably been the last place of retreat to the wretched inhabitants of this guilty city in the agonizing extremities of her various overthrows! It will probably yet form the grave of many that are living over it! for the work of disintegration and undermining is going on surely, though slowly."

More recent explorers confirm this report, and supply other information. "The roof of rock,"

survey, avows his belief "that the traditional sites are the true sites of Mount Zion, and the Holy Sepulchre, and Mount Moriah and the Temple" (*Preface*, p. 16). He says that an examination of the ground confirms the report that Constantine "caused the rock all round the Sepulchre to be cut away to form a spacious inclosure round it, leaving the Sepulchre itself standing in the midst" (p. 11). For the traditions, sacred localities, and ecclesiastical establishments, as far as relates to Jerusalem, Dr. Sepp's *Jerusalem und das Heil. Land* (1863), deserves to be consulted. From Tobler's *Denkblätter aus Jerusalem* (1853) we learn much respecting the religious cultus, employments and domestic life of the inhabitants. See also Porter's *Handbook*, i. 75 ff. E.

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says Thomson, "is about 30 feet high, even above the huge heaps of rubbish, and is sustained by large, shapeless columns of the original rock, left for that purpose by the quarriers, I suppose. . . . In some places we climbed with difficulty over large masses of rock, which appear to have been shaken down from the roof, and suggest to the nervous the possibility of being ground to powder by similar masses which hang overhead. The general direction of these excavations is southeast, and about parallel with the valley which descends from the Damascus Gate. I suspect that they extend down to the Temple area, and also that it was into these caverns that many of the Jews retired when Titus took the Temple, as we read in Josephus. The whole city might be stowed away in them; and it is my opinion that a great part of the very white stone of the Temple must have been taken from these subterranean quarries" (*Land and Book*, ii. 491 f.).

Capt. Wilson says further: "In places the stones have been left half cut out, and the marks of the chisel and pick are as fresh as if the workmen had just left, and even the black patches made by the smoke of the lamps remain. The tools employed seem to have been much the same as those now in use, and the quarrymen to have worked in gangs of 5 or 6, each man carrying in a vertical cut 4 inches broad till he had reached the required depth. The height of the course would determine the distance of the workmen from each other; in these quarries it was found to be about 1 foot 7 inches. When the cuts had all obtained the required depth, the stones were got out by working in from the end. The cuts were apparently made with a two-handed pick, and worked down from above. . . . In one part of the quarry is the so-called well, which is nothing more than the leakage from the cisterns above, and the constant dripping has worn away the rock into the form of a basin. . . . The steps left by the quarrymen for getting about can be easily traced. On the opposite side of the road is another old quarry, worked in a similar manner, but not to the same extent, to which the name of Jeremiah's Grotto has been given" (*Ordnance Survey*, p. 63 *b*). "In many places," says Mr. Tristram (*Land of Israel*, p. 191, 2d ed.), "the very niches remained out of which the great blocks had been hewn which form the Temple wall. There lay on the ground in one corner a broken monolith, which had evidently split in the process of removal, and had been left where it fell. The stone here is very soft, and must easily have been sawn, while, like some other limestones, it hardens almost to marble on exposure."

Antiquities in and around the City. — Some account has been given of these in previous sections of this article. The only point on which we propose to remark here, is that of the obscurity still resting on some of these questions connected with the ancient topography of the city and the impossibility of identifying the precise scene of many of the events of the Old and the New Testament history. Traditions, it is true, are current among the oriental Christians, which profess to give us all the information on this subject that one could desire. But, in general, such traditions are nothing more than vague conjectures; they are incapable of being traced back far enough to give them the value of historical testimony, and often are contradicted by facts known to us from the Bible, or clash with other traditions maintained with equal confidence. Even conclusions once admitted as facts into our manuals of geography and archæology have been from time to time drawn into question or disproved by the results of further study and research.

But this state of our knowledge should not disappoint or surprise the reader. It admits of a ready and satisfactory explanation. "No ancient city," says Raumer, "not excepting Rome itself, has undergone (since the time of Christ) so many changes as Jerusalem. Not only houses, palaces temples, have been demolished, rebuilt, and destroyed anew, but entire hills on which the city stood have been dug down, and valleys filled up" (*Palästina*, p. 253, 3te Aufl.). When, a few years ago, the Episcopal Church was erected on Mount Zion, it was found necessary to dig through the accumulated rubbish to the depth of 50 feet or more, in order to obtain a proper support for the foundations. In some more recent excavations the workmen struck on a church embedded 40 feet below the present surface. Capt. Wilson makes some statements on this subject so instructive that they deserve to be mentioned. "We learn from history, and from actual exploration under ground, that the Tyropœon Valley has been nearly filled up, and that there is a vast accumulation of ruins in most parts of the city. Thus, for example, it has been found, by descending a well to the south of the central entrance to the Haram, that there is an accumulation of ruins and rubbish to the extent of 84 feet; and that originally there was a spring there, with steps down to it cut in the solid rock." . . . The stairs cut in the rock on the northern slope of Mount Zion "were covered up by about 40 feet of rubbish." [a] . . . "There was not less than 40 feet of rubbish in the branch of the Valley of the Cheesemongers (Tyropœon) near the citadel. . . . In fact, we know that it was part of the settled policy of the conquerors of the city to obliterate, as far as possible, those features upon the strength of which the upper city and the Temple mainly depended. The natural accumulation of rubbish for the last 3,000 years has further contributed to obliterate, to a great extent, the natural features of the ground within the city" (*Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, p. 7 f.). The latest excavations by Lieut. Warren near "Robinson's Arch" have gone to a depth of 55 feet below the surface before coming to the bottom of the valley between Zion and Moriah (*The Quiver*, p. 619, June, 1868, Lond.). In many places the present level of the "Via Dolorosa" is not less than 30 or 40 feet above its original level; disproving, by the way, the claim set up for the antiquity of its sites. In digging for the foundations of the house of the Prussian Deaconesses, a subterranean street of houses was found several feet below the street above it. (*Survey*, p. 56.)

Views of Jerusalem. — The summit of Olivet furnishes, on the whole, the best look-out in the vicinity of Jerusalem. Yet the view of the city from this point is too distinct to be very imposing, for, having few edifices that will bear inspection, it must be seen, like Damascus, at a distance and in the mass, in order to produce the best effect. The vaulted domes surmounting the roofs of the better houses, and giving to them solidity and support, serve also as ornaments, and are striking objects as

[a] For an account of these stairs see vol. ii. p. 971, note a, Amer. ed. H.

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seen from this direction. Such domes are said to be peculiar to a few towns in the south of Palestine. The want of foliage and verdure is a very noticeable defect. A few cypresses and dwarfish palms are the only trees to be discovered within the city itself. The minarets, only 8 or 10 in number, which often display elsewhere a graceful figure, are here very ordinary, and add little or nothing to the scene. On the other hand, the buildings which compose the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, arrest attention at once, on account of their comparative size and elegance. But more conspicuous than all is the Mosque of Omar, which being so near at hand, on the east side of the city, can be surveyed here with great advantage. It stands near the centre of an inclosure which coincides very nearly with the court of the ancient Temple. It is built on a platform, 450 feet from east to west, and 550 from north to south, elevated about 15 feet, and paved in part with marble. It is approached on the west side by three flights of stairs, on the north by two, on the south by two, and on the east by one. The building itself is an octagon of 67 feet on a side, the walls of which are ornamented externally with variegated marbles, arranged in elegant and intricate patterns. The lower story of this structure is 46 feet high. From the roof of this story, at the distance of about one half of its diameter from the outer edge, rises a wall 70 feet higher, perforated, towards the top, with a series of low windows. Above this wall rises a dome of great beauty, 40 feet high, surmounted by a gilt crescent. The entire altitude, therefore, including the platform, is 170 feet. The dome is covered with lead, and the roof of the first story with tiles of glazed porcelain. The Mosque has four doors, which face the cardinal points, guarded by handsome porches. The Mohammedans regard it as their holiest sanctuary after that of Mecca. (For these and other details see Williams's *Holy City*, ii. 301 ff.) The ample court which surrounds the Mosque, as seen from Olivet, appears as a grass-plot, shaded with a few trees, and intersected with walks.[a]

When about half way up this mount, the traveller finds himself, apparently, off against the level of Jerusalem. In accordance with this, the Evangelist represents the Saviour as being "over against the Temple" as he sat on the Mount of Olives, and foretold the doom of the devoted city (Mark xiii. 3). Hence the disciples, as they listened to him at that moment, had the massive "buildings of the Temple" in full view before them across the valley of the Kedron, to which they had just called his attention with so much pride, and of which they were told that soon "not one stone would be left on another."

Visitors to Jerusalem by the way of *Yáfa* (Joppa) and *Wady Aly*, usually obtain their first sight of the city from the northwest. Even from this side the view is not unimpressive. The walls with their battlements, — the entire circuit of which lies at once beneath the eye; — the bold form of Olivet; the distant hills of Moab in dim perspective; the turrets of the Church of the Sepulchre; the lofty cupola of the Mosque of Omar; the Castle of David, so antique and massive; — all come suddenly into view, and produce a startling effect.

Yet, as Dr. Robinson remarks, the traveller may do better to "take the camel-road from Ramleh to Jerusalem; or, rather, the road lying still further north by the way of Beth-horon. In this way he will pass near to Lydda, Gimzo, Lower and Upper Beth-horon, and Gibeon; he will see Ramah and Gibeah near at hand on his left; and he may pause on Scopus to gaze on the city from one of the finest points of view" (*Later Res.* iii. 160). Stanley prefers the approach from the Jericho road. "No human being could be disappointed who first saw Jerusalem from the east. The beauty consists in this, that you thus burst at once on the two great ravines which cut the city off from the surrounding table-land, and that then only you have a complete view of the Mosque of Omar" (*S. & P.* p. 167, Amer. ed.). Mr. Tristram coincides in this impression. "Let the pilgrim endeavor to enter from the east, the favorite approach of our Lord, the path of his last and triumphal entry. It is a glorious burst, as the traveller rounds the shoulder of Mount Olivet, and the Haram wall starts up before him from the deep gorge of the Kedron, with its domes and crescents sparkling in the sunlight — a royal city. On that very spot He once paused and gazed on the same bold cliffs supporting a far more glorious pile, and when He beheld the city He wept over it" (*Land of Israel*, p. 173 f. 2d ed.). The writer was so fortunate as to have this view of Jerusalem, and would add that no one has seen Jerusalem who has not had this view.

H.

JERU'SHA (יְרוּשָׁא [*possessed* or *possession*]: Ἰερουσά; [Vat. Ἐρους;] Alex. Ἰερους: *Jerusa*), daughter of Zadok, queen of Uzziah, and mother of Jotham king of Judah (2 K. xv. 33). In Chronicles the name is given under the altered form of —

JERU'SHAH (יְרוּשָׁה [as above]: Ἰερουσά; [Vat. -σσα:] *Jerusa*), 2 Chr. xxvii. 1. See the preceding article.

JESAI'AH [3 syl.] (יְשַׁעְיָה [*Jehovah saves*; or *his salvation*]: Ἰεσαΐας; [Vat. Ισαβα; Alex. Ιεσσεῖα:] *Jesecias*). 1. Son of Hananiah, brother of Pelatiah, and grandson of Zerubbabel (1 Chr. iii. 21). But according to the LXX. and the Vulgate, he was the son of Pelatiah. For an explanation of this genealogy, and the difficulties connected with it, see Lord A. Hervey's *Genealogies of our Lord*, ch. iv. § v.

2. (יְשַׁעְיָהוּ, *i. e.* Jeshaiah: Ἰεσαΐα; Alex. Ιεσσεια; [FA. Ιεσσια:] *Isaïa*.) A Benjamite, whose descendants were among those chosen by lot to reside in Jerusalem after the return from Babylon (Neh. xi. 7).

JESHAI'AH [3 syl.]. 1. (יִשַׁעְיָהוּ [*salvation of Jehovah*]: Ἰσαΐας [Vat. Ζαια] in 1 Chr. xxv. 3, and Ἰωσαΐα [Vat. -σεια] in ver. 15; in the former the Alex. MS. has Ιεσεῖα καὶ Ζεμεί, and in the latter Ισιας; [Comp. Ἰσαΐα:] the Vulg. has

[a] The *Ordnance Survey* (Lond. 1865) furnishes an elaborate description of the Haram with its mosques and various appurtenances, founded on careful inspection (pp. 29–46). On the premises were found 20 vaults or cisterns, varying in depth from 23 to 62½ feet; some containing water, others dry. They are now supplied by surface drainage. Some are of modern date, but in others the mouths of old conduits can be seen. The splendid photographic views of various sections of the Haram wall and other objects, add greatly to the value of this publication. H.

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Jesaias and *Jesaias*.) One of the six sons of Jeduthun, set apart for the musical service of the Temple, under the leadership of their father, the inspired minstrel: he was the chief of the eighth division of the singers. The Hebrew name is identical with that of the prophet Isaiah.

2. ('Ιωσίας; [Vat.] Alex. Ωσαιας: *Isaïas*.) A Levite in the reign of David, eldest son of Rehabiah, a descendant of Amram through Moses (1 Chr. xxvi. 25). He is called ISSHIAH in 1 Chr. xxiv. 21, in A. V., though the Hebrew is merely the shortened form of the name. Shebuel, one of his ancestors, appears among the Hemanites in 1 Chr. xxv. 4, and is said in Targ. on 1 Chr. xxvi. 24 to be the same with Jonathan the son of Gershom, the priest of the idols of the Danites, who afterwards returned to the fear of Jehovah.

3. (יְשַׁעְיָה: 'Ισαΐας; [Vat. Ιοσεια:] Alex. Ησαια: *Isaïas*.) The son of Athaliah and chief of the house of the Bene [sons of] Elam who returned with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 7). In 1 Esdr. viii. 33 he is called JOSIAS.

4. ('Ισαΐα; [Vat. Ωσαιας:] *Isaïas*.) A Merarite, who returned with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 19). He is called OSAIAS in 1 Esdr. viii. 48.

JESH'ANAH (יְשָׁנָה [*ancient*]: ἡ 'Ιεσανά; [Vat. Κανα;] Alex. Ανα; Joseph. ἡ 'Ισάνας: *Jesana*), a town which, with its dependent villages (Heb. and Alex. LXX. "daughters"), was one of the three taken from Jeroboam by Abijah (2 Chr. xiii. 19). The other two were Bethel and Ephraim, and Jeshanah is named between them. A place of the same name was the scene of an encounter between Herod and Pappus, the general of Antigonus's army, related by Josephus with curious details (*Ant.* xiv. 15, § 12), which however convey no indication of its position. It is not mentioned in the *Onomasticon*, unless we accept the conjecture of Reland (*Palaestina* p. 861) that "Jethaba, urbs antiqua Judææ," is at once a corruption and a translation of the name Jeshana, which signifies 'old." Nor has it been identified in modern times, save by Schwarz (p. 158), who places it at 'Al-Sanim, a village two miles W. of Bethel," but undiscoverable in any map which the writer has consulted. G.

JESHARE'LAH (יְשַׁרְאֵלָה [*upright toward God:* but see Fürst]: 'Ισραήλ; [Alex.] Ισενλα: *Israela*), head of the seventh of the 24 wards into which the musicians of the Levites were divided (1 Chr. xxv. 14). [HEMAN; JEDUTHUN.] He belonged to the house of Asaph, and had 12 of his house under him. At ver. 2 his name is written ASARELAH, with an initial א instead of ע; in the LXX. 'Εραήλ. A. C. H.

JESHE'BEAB (יֶשֶׁבְאָב [*a father's seat* or *abode*]: 'Ισεβαάλ; [Alex. Ισβααλ: Comp. 'Ισβαάβ:] *Isbaab*), head of the 14th course of priests (1 Chr. xxiv. 13). [JEHOIARIB.] A. C. H.

JE'SHER (יֶשֶׁר [*uprightness*]: 'Ιασάρ; [Vat.] Alex. Ιωασαρ: *Jaser*), one of the sons of Caleb the son of Hezron by his wife Azubah (1 Chr. ii. 18). In two of Kennicott's MSS. it is written יתר, *Jether*, from the preceding verse, and in one MS. the two names are combined. The Peshito Syriac has *Oshir*, the same form in which *Jasher* is represented in 2 Sam. i. 18.

JESHI'MON (הַיְשִׁימוֹן = *the waste*: ἡ ἔρημος; in [1] Sam. [xxiii.,] ὁ 'Ιεσσιμούς; [xxiv., Rom.] 'Ιεσσεμούς; Alex. Ειεσσαιμος *desertum, solitudo, Jesimon*), a name which occurs in Num. xxi. 20 and xxiii. 28, in designating the position of Pisgah and Peor: both described as "facing (עַל־פְּנֵי) the Jeshimon." Not knowing more than the general locality of either Peor or Pisgah, this gives us no clew to the situation of Jeshimon. But it is elsewhere used in a similar manner with reference to the position of two places very distant from both the above — the hill of Hachilah, "on the south of," or "facing, the Jeshimon" (1 Sam. xxiii. 19, xxvi. 1, 3), and the wilderness of Maon, also south of it (xxiii. 24). Ziph (xxiii. 15) and Maon are known at the present day. They lie a few miles south of Hebron, so that the district strictly north of them is the hill-country of Judah. But a line drawn between Maon and the probable position of Peor — on the high country opposite Jericho — passes over the dreary, barren waste of the hills lying immediately on the west of the Dead Sea. To this district the name, if interpreted as a Hebrew word, would be not inapplicable. It would also suit as to position, as it would be full in view from an elevated point on the highlands of Moab, and not far from north of Maon and Ziph. On the other hand, the use of the word *ha-Arâbâh*, in 1 Sam. xxiii. 24, must not be overlooked, meaning, as that elsewhere does, the sunk district of the Jordan and Dead Sea, the modern *Ghor*. Beth-Jeshimoth too, which by its name ought to have some connection with Jeshimon, would appear to have been on the lower level, somewhere near the mouth of the Jordan. [BETH-JESHIMOTH.] Perhaps it is not safe to lay much stress on the Hebrew sense of the name. The passages in which it is first mentioned are indisputably of very early date, and it is quite possible that it is an archaic name found and adopted by the Israelites. G.

* Mr. Tristram (*Land of Israel*, p. 540, 2d ed.) supposes Jeshimon to be used for "the barren plain of the *Ghor*," about the mouth of the Jordan. Assuming this, he makes it one of his proofs, that the brow of the Belka range "over against Jericho" (Deut. xxxiv. 1), ascended by him, is the Nebo or Pisgah of Moses. [NEBO, Amer. ed.] The article is always prefixed in the Hebrew, with the exception of a few poetic passages (Deut. xxxii. 10; Ps. lxviii. 7, lxxviii. 40, cvi. 14, cvii. 4; and Is xliii. 19, 20). It is really questionable whether the word should not be taken as appellative rather than a proper name. In the former case the particular desert meant must be inferred from the context, and may be a different one at different times. Lieut. Warren reports that after special inquiry on the ground he was unable to find any trace of the name of Beth-Jeshimoth (see above) in the vicinity of the mouth of the Jordan. He speaks, however, of a ruin at the northeast of the Dead Sea called *Swaimeh*, as if possibly the lost site may have been there (*Report*, etc., 1867–68, p. 13). H.

JESHI'SHAI [3 syl.] (יְשִׁישַׁי [*offspring of one old*]: 'Ιεσαί; [Vat. Ισαι:] Alex. Ιεσσαι: *Jesisi*), one of the ancestors of the Gadites who dwelt in Gilead, and whose genealogies were made out in the days of Jotham king of Judah (1 Chr. v. 14). In the Peshito Syriac the latter part of the verse is omitted.

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JESHOHA'IAH [4 syl.] (יְשׁוֹחָיָה [*bowed down by Jehovah*]: Ἰασουΐα: *Isuhaïa*), a chief of one of the families of that branch of the Simeonites, which was descended from Shimei, and was more numerous than the rest of the tribe (1 Chr. iv. 36). He was concerned in the raid upon the Hamites in the reign of Hezekiah.

JESH'UA [*Heb.* Jeshu'a] (יֵשׁוּעַ [*Jehovah helps, or saves*]: Ἰησοῦς: *Jesus*, [*Jesua,*] and *Josue*), a later Hebrew contraction for Joshua, or rather Jehoshua. [JEHOSHUA.]

1. [*Josue.*] Joshua, the son of Nun, is called Jeshua in one passage (Neh. viii. 17). [JOSHUA.]

2. [*Jesua, Josue.*] A priest in the reign of David, to whom the ninth course fell by lot (1 Chr. xxiv. 11). He is called Jeshuah in the A. V. One branch of the house, namely, the children of Jedaiah, returned from Babylon (Ezr. ii. 36; but see JEDAIAH).

3. [*Jesue.*] One of the Levites in the reign of Hezekiah, after the reformation of worship, placed in trust in the cities of the priests in their classes, to distribute to their brethren of the offerings of the people (2 Chr. xxxi. 15).

4. [*Josue.*] Son of Jehozadak, first high-priest of the third series, namely, of those after the Babylonish Captivity, and ancestor of the fourteen high-priests his successors down to Joshua or Jason, and Onias or Menelaus, inclusive. [HIGH-PRIEST.] Jeshua, like his contemporary Zerubbabel, was probably born in Babylon, whither his father Jehozadak had been taken captive while young (1 Chr. vi. 15, A. V.). He came up from Babylon in the first of Cyrus with Zerubbabel, and took a leading part with him in the rebuilding of the Temple, and the restoration of the Jewish commonwealth. Everything we read of him indicates a man of earnest piety, patriotism, and courage. One of less faith and resolution would never have surmounted all the difficulties and opposition he had to contend with. His first care on arriving at Jerusalem was to rebuild the altar, and restore the daily sacrifice, which had been suspended for some fifty years. He then, in conjunction with Zerubbabel, hastened to collect materials for rebuilding the Temple, and was able to lay the foundation of it as early as the second month of the second year of their return to Jerusalem. The services on this occasion were conducted by the priests in their proper apparel, with their trumpets, and by the sons of Asaph, the Levites, with their cymbals, according to the ordinance of king David (Ezr. iii.). However, the progress of the work was hindered by the enmity of the Samaritans, who bribed the counsellors of the kings of Persia so effectually to obstruct it that the Jews were unable to proceed with it till the second year of Darius Hystaspis — an interval of about fourteen years. In that year, B. C. 520, at the prophesying of Haggai and Zechariah (Ezr. v. 1, vi. 14; Hagg. i. 1, 12, 14, ii. 1–9; Zech. i.–viii.), the work was resumed by Jeshua and Zerubbabel with redoubled vigor, and was happily completed on the third day of the month Adar (= March), in the sixth of Darius.[a] The dedication of the Temple, and the celebration of the Passover, in the next month, were kept with great solemnity and rejoicing (Ezr. vi. 15–22), and especially "twelve he-goats, according to the number of the tribes of Israel," were offered as a sin-offering for all Israel. Jeshua's zeal in the work is commended by the Son of Sirach (Ecclus. xlix. 12). Besides the great importance of Jeshua as a historical character, from the critical times in which he lived, and the great work which he accomplished, his name Jesus, his restoration of the Temple, his office as high-priest, and especially the two prophecies concerning him in Zech. iii. and vi. 9–15, point him out as an eminent type of Christ. [HIGH-PRIEST.] Nothing is known of Jeshua later than the seventh year of Darius, with which the narrative of Ezr. i.–vi. closes. Josephus, who says the Temple was seven years in building, and places the dedication of it in the ninth of Darius, contributes no information whatever concerning him: his history here, with the exception of the 9th sect. of b. xi. ch. iv., being merely a paraphrase of Ezra and 1 Esdras, especially the latter. [ZERUBBABEL.] Jeshua had probably conversed often with Daniel and Ezekiel, and may or may not have known Jehoiachin at Babylon in his youth. He probably died at Jerusalem. It is written *Jehoshua* or *Joshua* in Zech. iii. 1, 3, &c.; Hagg. i. 1, 12, &c.

5. [In Ezr. ii. 40, Vat. Ιησουε; Neh. xii. 8, Alex. Ιησου: *Josue, Jesua*, once.] Head of a Levitical house, one of those which returned from the Babylonish Captivity, and took an active part under Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The name is used to designate either the whole family or the successive chiefs of it (Ezr. ii. 40, iii. 9; Neh. iii. 19,[b] viii. 7, ix. 4, 5, xii. 8, &c.). Jeshua, and Kadmiel, with whom he is frequently associated, were both "sons of Hodaviah" (called Judah, Ezr. iii. 9), but Jeshua's more immediate ancestor was Azaniah (Neh. x. 9). In Neh. xii. 24 "Jeshua the son of Kadmiel" is a manifest corruption of the text. The LXX. read καὶ υἱοὶ Καδμιήλ. It is more likely that יֵשׁוּעַ is an accidental error for וְ.

6. [*Josue.*] A branch of the family of Pahath-Moab, one of the chief families, probably, of the tribe of Judah (Neh. x. 14, vii. 11, &c.; Ezr. x. 30). His descendants were the most numerous of all the families which returned with Zerubbabel. The verse is obscure, and might be translated, "The children of Pahath-Moab, for (*i. e.* representing) the children of Jeshua and Joab;" so that Pahath-Moab would be the head of the family.

A. C. H.

JESH'UA [*Heb.* Jeshu'a] (יֵשׁוּעַ [see above]: Ἰησοῦ: *Jesue*), one of the towns re-inhabited by the people of Judah after the return from captivity (Neh. xi. 26). Being mentioned with Moladah, Beer-sheba, etc., it was apparently in the extreme south. It does not, however, occur in the original lists of Judah and Simeon (Josh. xv., xix.), nor is there any name in those lists of which this would be probably a corruption. It is not mentioned elsewhere.

G.

JESH'UAH [*Heb.* Jeshu'ah] (יֵשׁוּעָה, Ἰησουε: *Jesua*), a priest in the reign of David (1 Chr xxiv. 11), the same as JESHUA, No. 2.

JESHU'RUN, and once by mistake in A. V

[a] The 7th, after the Babylonian reckoning, according to Prideaux.

[b] The connection with Bani, Hashabiah (or Hashabniah), Henadad, and the Levites (17–19), indicates that Jeshua, the father of Ezer, is the same person as in the other passages cited

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JESHU'RUN, Is. xliv. 2 (יְשֻׁרוּן [see *infra*]: ὁ ἡγαπημένος, once with the addition of Ἰσραήλ, which the Arabic of the Lond. Polyglot adopts to the exclusion of the former: *dilectus, rectissimus*), a symbolical name for Israel in Deut. xxxii. 15, xxxiii. 5, 26; Is. xliv. 2, for which various etymologies have been suggested. Of its application to Israel there seems to be no division of opinion. The Targum and Peshito Syriac uniformly render Jeshurun by "Israel." Kimchi (on Is. xliv. 2) derives it from the root יָשַׁר, *yâshar*, "to be right or upright," because Israel was "upright among the nations;" as יְשָׁרִים, *yeshârîm*, "the upright" (Num. xxiii. 10; Ps. cxi. 1) is a poetical appellation of the chosen people, who did that which was right (הַיָּשָׁר, *hay-yâshâr*) in the eyes of Jehovah, in contradistinction from the idolatrous heathen who did that which was preëminently *the* evil (הָרַע, *hâ-r'a*), and worshipped false gods. This seems to have been the view adopted by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion — who, according to the account of their version given by Jerome (on Is. xliv. 2), must have had εὐθύς or εὐθύτατος — and by the Vulgate in three passages. Malvenda (quoted in Poole's *Synopsis*, Deut. xxxii. 15), taking the same root, applies it ironically to Israel. For the like reason, on the authority of the above-mentioned Father, the book of Genesis was called "the book of the just" (εὐθέων), as relating to the histories of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel. The termination ון is either intensive, as the Vulgate takes it, or in affectionate diminutive ("*Frömmchen*," Hitzig, and Fürst; "*Liebling*," Hendewerk, and Bunsen). Simonis (*Lex. Hebr.* s. v., and *Arc. Form. Nom.* p. 582) connects Jeshurun with the Arabic root يسر, *yasara*, which in the second conj. signifies "to prosper," and in the 4th "to be wealthy," and is thus cognate with the Hebrew אָשַׁר, *âshar*, which in Paul signifies "to be blessed." With the intensive termination Jeshurun would then denote Israel as supremely happy or prosperous, and to this signification it must be allowed the context in Deut. xxxii. 15 points. Michaelis (*Suppl. ad Lex. Heb.*) considers it as a diminutive of Israel, and would read יִשְׂרוֹן, *yisrôn*, contracted from יִשְׂרְאֵלוֹן, *yisrĕêlôn*. Such too was the opinion of Grotius and Vitringa, and of the author of the Veneto-Gk. version, who renders it Ἰσραελίσκος. For this theory, though supported by the weight of Gesenius' authority, it is scarcely necessary to say there is not the smallest foundation, either in analogy or probability. In the application of the name Jeshurun to Israel, we may discover that fondness for a play upon words of which there are so many examples, and which might be allowed to have some influence in the selection of the appellation. But to derive the one from the other is a fancy unworthy of a scholar.

Two other etymologies of the name may be noticed as showing to what lengths conjecture may go when not regulated by any definite principles. The first of these, which is due to Forster (quoted by Glassius, *Phil. Sacr.* lib. iv. tr. 2), connects it with שׁוֹר, *shôr*, "an ox," in consequence of the allusion in the context of Deut. xxxii. 15; the other with שׁוּר, *shûr*, "to behold," because Israel beheld the presence of God. W. A. W.

JESI'AH (יִשִּׁיָּה, *i. e.* Yisshiya'hu [*whom Jehovah lends*]: Ἰησουήλ [Vat. FA. -νει]; Alex Ἰεσια: *Jesia*). 1. A Korhite, one of the mighty men, "helpers of the battle," who joined David's standard at Ziklag during his flight from Saul (1 Chr. xii. 6).

2. (יִשִּׁיָּה: Ἰσιά; [Vat. Ισεια;] Alex. Ἰεσσια.) The second son of Uzziel, the son of Kohath (1 Chr. xxiii. 20). He is the same as JESHIAH, whose representative was Zechariah (1 Chr. xxiv. 25); but our translators in the present instance followed the Vulg., as they have too often done in the case of proper names.

JESIM'IEL (יְשִׁימִאֵל [*whom God sets up* or *places*]: Ἰσμαήλ; [Vat. omits:] *Ismiel*), a Simeonite, descended from the prolific family of Shimei, and a prince of his own branch of the tribe, whom he led against the peaceful Hamites in the reign of Hezekiah (1 Chr. iv. 36).

JES'SE (יִשַׁי, *i. e.* Ishai [perh. *strong*, Ges. or *gift*, i. e. *of God*, Dietr.]:[a] Ἰεσσαί; Joseph. Ἰεσσαῖος: *Isai*: in the margin of 1 Chr. x. 14, our translators have given the Vulgate form), the father of David, and thus the immediate progenitor of the whole line of the kings of Judah, and ultimately of Christ. He is the only one of his name who appears in the sacred records. Jesse was the son of OBED, who again was the fruit of the union of Boaz and the Moabitess Ruth. Nor was Ruth's the only foreign blood that ran in his veins; for his great-grandmother was no less a person than Rahab the Canaanite, of Jericho (Matt. i. 5). Jesse's genealogy[b] is twice given in full in the Old Testament, namely, Ruth iv. 18–22, and 1 Chr. ii. 5–12. We there see that, long before David had rendered his family illustrious, it belonged to the greatest house of Judah, that of Pharez, through Hezron his eldest son. One of the links in the descent was Nahshon (N. T. Naasson), chief man of the tribe at the critical time of the Exodus. In the N. T. the genealogy is also twice given (Matt. i. 3–5; Luke iii. 32–34).

He is commonly designated as "Jesse the Bethlehemite" (1 Sam. xvi. 1, 18). So he is called by his son David, then fresh from home (xvii. 58), but his full title is "the Ephrathite of Bethlehem Judah" (xvii. 12). The double expression and the use of the antique word Ephrathite perhaps imply that he was one of the oldest families in the place. He is an "old man" when we first meet with him (1 Sam. xvii. 12), with eight sons (xvi. 10, xvii. 12), residing at Bethlehem (xvi. 4, 5). It would appear, however, from the terms of xvi. 4, 5, and of Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 8, § 1), that Jesse was not one of the "elders" of the town. The few slight glimpses we can catch of him are soon recalled. According to

[a] Jerome (*Liber de Nominibus*) gives the strange interpretation of *insula libamen*.

[b] This genealogy is embodied in the "Jesse tree," not unfrequently to be found in the reredos and east windows of English churches. One of the finest is at Dorchester, Oxon. The tree springs from Jesse, who is recumbent at the bottom of the window, and contains 25 members of the line, culminating in our Lord

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an ancient Jewish tradition, recorded in the Targum on 2 Sam. xxi. 19, he was a weaver of the vails of the sanctuary, but as there is no contradiction, so there is no corroboration of this in the Bible, and it is possible that it was suggested by the occurrence of the word *orgim*, "weavers," in connection with a member of his family. [JAARE-OREGIM.] Jesse's wealth seems to have consisted of a flock of sheep and goats (צֹאן, A. V. "sheep"), which were under the care of David (xvi. 11, xvii. 34, 35). Of the produce of this flock we find him on two occasions sending the simple presents which in those days the highest persons were wont to accept — slices of milk cheese to the captain of the division of the army in which his sons were serving (xvii. 18), and a kid to Saul (xvi. 20); with the accompaniment in each case of parched corn from the fields of Boaz, loaves of the bread from which Bethlehem took its very name, and wine from the vineyards which still enrich the terraces of the hill below the village.

When David's rupture with Saul had finally driven him from the court, and he was in the cave of Adullam, "his brethren and all his father's house" joined him (xxii. 1). His "brother" (probably Eliab) is mentioned on a former occasion (xx. 29) as taking the lead in the family. This is no more than we should expect from Jesse's great age. David's anxiety at the same period to find a safe refuge for his parents from the probable vengeance of Saul is also quite in accordance with their helpless condition. He took his father and his mother into the country of Moab, and deposited them with the king, and there they disappear from our view in the records of Scripture. But another old Jewish tradition (Rabboth Seder, בְּשַׁלַּח, 256, col. 2) states that after David had quitted the hold, his parents and brothers were put to death by the king of Moab, so that there remained, besides David, but one brother, who took refuge with Nahash, king of the Bene-Ammon.

Who the wife of Jesse was we are not told. His eight sons will be found displayed under DAVID, i. 552. The family contained in addition two female members, Zeruiah and Abigail, but it is uncertain whether these were Jesse's daughters, for though they are called the sisters of his sons (1 Chr. ii. 16), yet Abigail is said to have been the daughter of Nahash (2 Sam. xvii. 25). Of this two explanations have been proposed. (1.) The Jewish — that NAHASH was another name for Jesse (Jerome, *Q. Hebr.* on 2 Sam. xvii. 25 [a]). (2.) Professor Stanley's — that Jesse's wife had been formerly wife or concubine to Nahash, possibly the king of the Ammonites (DAVID, i. 552).

An English reader can hardly fail to remark how often Jesse is mentioned long after the name of David had become famous enough to supersede that of his obscure and humble parent. While David was a struggling outlaw, it was natural that to friend and foe — to Saul, Doeg, and Nabal, no less than to the captains of Judah and Benjamin — he should be merely the "son of Jesse" (1 Sam. xxii. 9, 13; comp. xxiv. 16, xxv. 10; 1 Chr. xii. 18); but that Jesse's name should be brought forward in records of so late a date as 1 Chr. xxix. 26, and Ps. lxxii. 20, long after the establishment of David's own house, is certainly worthy of notice.[b] Especially is it to be observed that it is in his name — the "shoot out of the stump of Jesse the root of Jesse which should stand as an ensign to the people" (Is. xi. 1, 10), that Isaiah announces the most splendid of his promises, intended to rouse and cheer the heart of the nation at the time of its deepest despondency. G.

JESUE ('Ιησουῆς: Alex. 'Ιησουέ; [Ald. 'Ιεσσουέ:] *Jesus*), a Levite, the same as Jeshua (1 Esdr. v. 26; comp. Ezr. ii. 40).

JESU ('Ιησοῦς: *Jesu*), the same as Jeshua the Levite, the father of Jozabad (1 Esdr. viii. 63 see Ezr. viii. 33), also called JESSUE, and JESUS.

JESUI (יִשְׁוִי [*even, level*]: 'Ιεσσού; Alex. Ιεσουι: *Jesui*), the son of Asher, whose descendants THE JESUITES were numbered in the plains of Moab at the Jordan of Jericho (Num. xxvi. 44). He is elsewhere called ISUI (Gen. xlvi. 17) and ISHUAI (1 Chr. vii. 30).

JESUITES, THE (הַיִּשְׁוִי: ὁ 'Ιεσουί [Vat. -ει]: *Jesuitæ*). A family of the tribe of Asher (Num. xxvi. 44).

JESURUN. [JESHURUN.]

JESUS ('Ιησοῦς: *Jesu, Jesus, Josue*), the Greek form of the name Joshua or Jeshua, a contraction of Jehoshua (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ), that is, "help of Jehovah" or "Saviour" (Num. xiii. 16). [JEHOSHUA.]

1. Joshua the priest, the son of Jehozadak (1 Esdr. v. 5, 8, 24, 48, 56, 68, 70, vi. 2, ix. 19; Ecclus. xlix. 12). Also called Jeshua. [JESHUA, No. 4.]

2. (*Jesus.*) Jeshua the Levite (1 Esdr. v. 58, ix. 48).

3. Joshua the son of Nun (2 Esdr. vii. 37; Ecclus. xlvi. 1; 1 Macc. ii. 55; Acts vii. 45; Heb. iv. 8). [JOSHUA.]

JESUS THE FATHER OF SIRACH. [JESUS THE SON OF SIRACH.]

JESUS THE SON OF SIRACH ('Ιησοῦς υἱὸς Σειράχ [Alex. Σιραχ]: *Jesus filius Sirach*) is described in the text of Ecclesiasticus (l. 27) as the author of that book, which in the LXX., and generally, except in the Western Church, is called by his name the *Wisdom of Jesus the Son of*

[a] This is given also in the Targum to Ruth iv. 22. "And Obed begat Ishai (Jesse), whose name is Nachash, because there were not found in him iniquity and corruption, that he should be delivered into the hand of the Angel of Death that he should take away his soul from him; and he lived many days until was fulfilled before Jehovah the counsel which the Serpent gave to Chavvah the wife of Adam, to eat of the tree, of the fruit of which when they did eat they were able to discern between good and evil; and by reason of this counsel all the inhabiters of the earth became guilty of death, and in that iniquity only died Ishai the righteous."

[b] In the phraseology here referred to, the reader will recognise the taste of the oriental mind, which delights in a sort of poetic paraphrase. Hence the frequent phrase, "Son of David," "Seed of David," etc., as applied to Christ. The son is often designated by the father's name, as above, where the latter is known only through such association of his name as in the address to Barak: "Thou son of Abinoam" (Judg. v. 12), and the Saviour's appeal to Peter "Simon, son of Jonas" (John xxi. 15). S. W

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Sirach, or simply the *Wisdom of Sirach* (Ecclesiasticus, § 1). The same passage speaks of him as a native of Jerusalem (Ecclus. *l. c.*), and the internal character of the book confirms its Palestinian origin. The name Jesus was of frequent occurrence, and was often represented by the Greek Jason. In the apocryphal list of the LXXII commissioners sent by Eleazar to Ptolemy it occurs twice (Arist. *Hist.* ap. Hody, *De text.* p. vii.); but there is not the slightest ground for connecting the author of Ecclesiasticus with either of the persons there mentioned. The various conjectures which have been made as to the position of the son of Sirach from the contents of his book; as, for instance, that he was a priest (from vii. 29 ff., xlv., xlix., l.), or a physician (from xxxviii. 1 ff.), are equally unfounded.

Among the later Jews the "Son of Sirach" was celebrated under the name of Ben Sira as a writer of proverbs, and some of those which have been preserved offer a close resemblance to passages in Ecclesiasticus [Ecclesiasticus, § 4, vol. i. p. 651, note *a*]; but in the course of time a later compilation was substituted for the original work of Ben Sira (Zunz, *Gottesd. Vortr. d. Juden*, p. 100 ff.), and tradition has preserved no authentic details of his person or his life.

The chronological difficulties which have been raised as to the date of the Son of Sirach have been already noticed [Ecclesiasticus, § 4], and do not call for further discussion.

According to the first prologue to the book of Ecclesiasticus, taken from the *Synopsis* of the Pseudo-Athanasius (iv. p. 377, ed. Migne), the translator of the book bore the same name as the author of it. If this conjecture were true, a genealogy of the following form would result: 1. Sirach. 2. Jesus, son (father) of Sirach (*author* of the book). 3. Sirach. 4. Jesus, son of Sirach (*translator* of the book). It is, however, most likely that the last chapter, "*The prayer of Jesus the son of Sirach*," gave occasion to this conjecture. The prayer was attributed to the translator, and then the table of succession followed necessarily from the title attached to it. B. F. W.

JESUS [Ἰησοῦς], called **JUSTUS** [*just*], Christian who was with St. Paul at Rome, and joined him in sending salutations to the Colossians. He was one of the fellow-workers who were a comfort to the Apostle (Col. iv. 11). In the *Acta Sanct. Jun.* iv. 67, he is commemorated as bishop of Eleutheropolis. W. T. B.

* This Jesus or Justus cannot be identical with the Justus at Corinth (Acts xviii. 7). The one here mentioned was a Jewish Christian (one "of the circumcision," Col. iv. 11), but the other a Gentile who had been a Jewish proselyte (*σεβόμενος τὸν θεόν*) before he embraced the Gospel. [Justus.] H.

JESUS CHRIST. The name Jesus (Ἰησοῦς) signifies Saviour. Its origin is explained above, and it seems to have been not an uncommon name among the Jews. It is assigned in the New Testament (1) to our Lord Jesus Christ, who "saves His people from their sins" (Matt. i. 21); also (2) to Joshua the successor of Moses, who brought the Israelites into the land of promise (Num. xxvii. 18; Acts vii. 45; Heb. iv. 8); and (3) to Jesus surnamed Justus, a converted Jew, associated with St. Paul (Col. iv. 11).

The name of Christ (Χριστός from χρίω, I anoint) signifies *Anointed*. Priests were anointed amongst the Jews, as their inauguration to their office (1 Chr. xvi. 22; Ps. cv. 15), and kings also (2 Macc. i. 24; Ecclus. xlvi. 19). In the New Testament the name Christ is used as equivalent to Messiah (Greek Μεσσίας; Hebrew מָשִׁיחַ: John i. 41), the name given to the long promised Prophet and King whom the Jews had been taught by their prophets to expect; and therefore = *ὁ ἐρχόμενος* (Acts xix. 4; Matt. xi. 3). The use of this name as applied to the Lord has always a reference to the promises of the Prophets. In Matt. ii. 4, xi. 2, it is assumed that the Christ when He should come would live and act in a certain way, described by the Prophets. So Matt. xxii. 42, xxiii. 10, xxiv. 5, 23; Mark xii. 35, xiii. 21; Luke iii. 15, xx. 41; John vii. 27, 31, 41, 42, xii. 34, in all which places there is a reference to the Messiah as delineated by the Prophets. That they had foretold that Christ should suffer appears Luke xxiv. 26, 46. The name of Jesus is the proper name of our Lord, and that of Christ is added to identify Him with the promised Messiah. Other names are sometimes added to the names Jesus Christ, or Christ Jesus: thus "Lord" (frequently), "a King" (added as a kind of explanation of the word Christ, Luke xxiii. 2), "King of Israel" (Mark xv. 32), Son of David (Mark xii. 35; Luke xx. 41), chosen of God (Luke xxiii. 35).

Remarkable are such expressions as "the Christ of God" (Luke ii. 26, ix. 20; Rev. xi. 15, xii. 10); and the phrase "in Christ," which occurs about 78 times in the Epistles of St. Paul, and is almost peculiar to them. But the germ of it is to be found in the words of our Lord Himself, "Abide in me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine, no more can ye, except ye abide in me" (John xv. 4, also 5, 6, 7, 9, 10). The idea that all Christian life is not merely an imitation and following of the Lord, but a living and constant union with Him, causes the Apostle to use such expressions as "fallen asleep in Christ" (1 Cor. xv. 18), "I knew a man in Christ" (2 Cor. xii. 2), "I speak the truth in Christ" (1 Tim. ii. 7), and many others. (See Schleusner's *Lexicon*; Wahl's *Clavis*; Fritzsche *on St. Matthew*; De Wette's *Commentary*; Schmidt's *Greek Concordance*, etc.)

The Life, the Person, and the Work of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ occupy the whole of the New Testament. Of this threefold subject the present article includes the first part, namely, the Life and Teaching; the Person of our Lord will be treated under the article Son of God; and His Work will naturally fall under the word Saviour.

Towards the close of the reign of Herod the Great, arrived that "fullness of time" which God in His inscrutable wisdom had appointed for the sending of His Son; and Jesus was born at Bethlehem, to redeem a sinful and ruined world. According to the received chronology, which is in fact that of Dionysius Exiguus in the 6th century, this event occurred in the year of Rome 754. But modern writers, with hardly an exception, believe that this calculation places the nativity some years too late; although they differ as to the amount of error. Herod the Great died, according to Josephus, in the thirty-seventh year after he was appointed king (*Ant.* xvii. 8, § 1; *B. J.* i. 33, § 8). His elevation coincides with the consulship of Cn. Domitius Calvinus and C. Asinius Pollio, and this

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determines the date A. U. C. 714 (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 14, § 5). There is reason to think that in such calculations Josephus reckons the years from the month Nisan to the same month; and also that the death of Herod took place in the beginning of the thirty-seventh year, or just before the Passover (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 9, § 3); if then thirty-six complete years are added they give the year of Herod's death A. U. C. 750 (see Note on Chronology at the end of this article). As Jesus was born during the life of Herod, it follows from these data that the Nativity took place some time before the month of April 750, and if it took place only a few months before Herod's death, then its date would be four years earlier than the Dionysian reckoning (Wieseler).

Three other chronological data occur in the Gospels, but the arguments founded on them are not conclusive. 1. The Baptism of Jesus was followed by a Passover (John ii. 13), at which certain Jews mention that the restoration of their Temple had been in progress for forty-six years (ii. 20), Jesus himself being at this time "about thirty years of age" (Luke iii. 23). As the date of the Temple-restoration can be ascertained, it has been argued from these facts also that the nativity took place at the beginning of A. U. C. 750. But it is sometimes argued that the words that determine our Lord's age are not exact enough to serve as the basis for such a calculation. 2. The appearance of the star to the wise men has been thought likely, by the aid of astronomy, to determine the date. But the opinion that the star in the East was a remarkable conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the sign Pisces, is now rejected. Besides the difficulty of reconciling it with the sacred narrative (Matt. ii. 9) it would throw back the birth of our Lord to A. U. C. 747, which is too early. 3. Zacharias was "a priest of the course of Abia" (Luke i. 5), and he was engaged in the duties of his course when the birth of John the Baptist was foretold to him; and it has been thought possible to calculate, from the place which the course of Abia held in the cycle, the precise time of the Saviour's birth. All these data are discussed below (p. 1381).

In treating of the Life of Jesus, a perfect record of the events would be no more than a reproduction of the four Gospels, and a discussion of those events would swell to the compass of a voluminous commentary. Neither of these would be appropriate here, and in the present article a brief sketch only of the Life can be attempted, drawn up with a view to the two remaining articles, on the SON OF GOD and SAVIOUR.

The Man who was to redeem all men and do for the human race what no one could do for his brother, was not born into the world as others are. The salutation addressed by the Angel to Mary His mother, "Hail! Thou that art highly favored," was the prelude to a new act of divine creation; the first Adam, that sinned, was not born but created; the second Adam, that restored, was born indeed, but in supernatural fashion. "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God" (Luke i. 35). Mary received the announcement of a miracle, the full import of which she could not have understood, with the submission of one who knew that the message came from God; and the Angel departed from her. At first her betrothed husband, when he heard from her what had taken place, doubted her, but a supernatural communication convinced him of her purity and he took her to be his wife. Not only was the approaching birth of Jesus made the subject of supernatural communications, but that of John the Baptist the forerunner also. Thus before the birth of either had actually taken place, a small knot of persons had been prepared to expect the fulfillment of the divine promises in the Holy One that should be born of Mary (Luke i.).

The prophet Micah had foretold (v. 2) that the future king should be born in Bethlehem of Judæa, the place where the house of David had its origin; but Mary dwelt in Nazareth. Augustus, however, had ordered a general census of the Roman empire, and although Judæa, not being a province of the empire, would not necessarily come under such an order, it was included, probably because the intention was already conceived of reducing it after a time to the condition of a province (see Note on Chronology). That such a census was made we know from Cassiodorus (*Var.* iii. 52). That in its application to Palestine it should be made with reference to Jewish feelings and prejudices, being carried out no doubt by Herod the Jewish king, was quite natural; and so Joseph and Mary went to Bethlehem, the city of David, to be taxed. From the well-known and much-canvassed passage in St. Luke (ii. 2) it appears that the taxing was not completed till the time of Quirinus (Cyrenius), some years later; and how far it was carried now, cannot be determined; all that we learn is that it brought Joseph, who was of the house of David, from his home to Bethlehem, where the Lord was born. As there was no room in the inn, a manger was the cradle in which Christ the Lord was laid. But signs were not wanting of the greatness of the event that seemed so unimportant. Lowly shepherds were the witnesses of the wonder that accompanied the lowly Saviour's birth; an angel proclaimed to them "good tidings of great joy;" and then the exceeding joy that was in heaven amongst the angels about this mystery of love broke through the silence of night with the words — "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men" (Luke ii. 8–20). We need not suppose that these simple men were cherishing in their hearts the expectation of the Messiah which others had relinquished; they were chosen from the humble, as were our Lord's companions afterwards, in order to show that God "hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty" (1 Cor. i. 26–31), and that the poor and meek could apprehend the message of salvation to which kings and priests could turn a deaf ear.

The subject of the Genealogy of our Lord, as given by St. Matthew and St. Luke, is discussed fully in another article. [See GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST.]

The child Jesus is circumcised in due time, is brought to the Temple, and the mother makes the offering for her purification. That offering wanted its peculiar meaning in this case, which was an act of new creation, and not a birth after the common order of our fallen nature. But the seed of the new kingdom was to grow undiscernibly as yet; no exemption was claimed by the "highly favored" mother, and no portent intervened. She made her humble offering like any other Judæan mother, and would have gone her way unnoticed; but here too God suffered not His beloved Son to be without a

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witness, and Simeon and Anna, taught from God that the object of their earnest longings was before them, prophesied of His divine work: the one rejoicing that his eyes had seen the salvation of God, and the other speaking of Him "to all that looked for redemption in Jerusalem" (Luke ii. 28–38).

Thus recognized amongst His own people, the Saviour was not without witness amongst the heathen. "Wise men from the East" — that is, Persian magi of the Zend religion, in which the idea of a Zozioah or Redeemer was clearly known — guided miraculously by a star or meteor created for the purpose, came and sought out the Saviour to pay him homage. We have said that in the year 747 occurred a remarkable combination of the planets Jupiter and Saturn, and this is supposed to be the sign by which the wise men knew that the birth of some great one had taken place. But, as has been said, the date does not agree with this view, and the account of the Evangelist describes a single star moving before them and guiding their steps. We must suppose that God saw good to speak to the magi in their own way: they were seeking light from the study of the stars, whence only physical light could be found, and He guided them to the Source of spiritual light, to the cradle of his Son, by a star miraculously made to appear to them, and to speak intelligibly to them through their preconceptions. The offerings which they brought have been regarded as symbolical: the gold was tribute to a king, the frankincense was for the use of a priest, and the myrrh for a body preparing for the tomb —

"Aurea nascenti fuderunt munera regi,
Thura dedere Deo, myrrham tribuere sepulto,"

says Sedulius: but in a more general view these were at any rate the offerings made by worshippers, and in that light must the magi be regarded. The events connected with the birth of our Lord are all significant, and here some of the wisest of the heathen kneel before the Redeemer as the first-fruits of the Gentiles, and as a sign that his dominion was to be not merely Jewish, but as wide as the whole world. (See Matt. ii. 1–12; Münter, *Der Stern der Weisen*, Copenhagen, 1827; the Commentaries of Alford, Williams, Olshausen, and Heubner, where the opinions as to the nature of the star are discussed.)

A little child made the great Herod quake upon his throne. When he knew that the magi were come to hail their King and Lord, and did not stop at his palace, but passed on to a humbler roof, and when he found that they would not return to betray this child to him, he put to death all the children in Bethlehem that were under two years old. The crime was great; but the number of the victims, in a little place like Bethlehem, was small enough to escape special record amongst the wicked acts of Herod from Josephus and other historians, as it had no political interest. A confused indication of it, however, is found in Macrobius (*Saturn.* ii. 4).

Joseph, warned by a dream, flees to Egypt with the young child, beyond the reach of Herod's arm. This flight of our Lord from his own land to the land of darkness and idolatry — a land associated even to a proverb with all that was hostile to God and his people, impresses on us the reality of his humiliation. Herod's cup was well nigh full; and the doom that soon overtook him could have arrested him then in his bloody attempt; but Jesus, in accepting humanity, accepted all its incidents. He was saved, not by the intervention of God, but by the obedience of Joseph; and from the storms of persecution He had to use the common means of escape (Matt. ii. 13–23; Thomas à Kempis, iii. 15, and Commentaries). After the death of Herod, in less than a year, Jesus returned with his parents to their own land, and went to Nazareth, where they abode.

Except as to one event the Evangelists are silent upon the succeeding years of our Lord's life down to the commencement of his ministry. When He was twelve years old He was found in the temple, hearing the doctors and asking them questions (Luke ii. 40–52). We are shown this one fact that we may know that at the time when the Jews considered childhood to be passing into youth, Jesus was already aware of his mission, and consciously preparing for it, although years elapsed before its actual commencement. This fact at once confirms and illustrates such a general expression as "Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and man" (Luke ii. 52). His public ministry did not begin with a sudden impulse, but was prepared for by his whole life. The consciousness of his divine nature and power grew and ripened and strengthened until the time of his showing unto Israel.

Thirty years had elapsed from the birth of our Lord to the opening of his ministry. In that time great changes had come over the chosen people. Herod the Great had united under him almost all the original kingdom of David; after the death of that prince it was dismembered for ever. Archelaus succeeded to the kingdom of Judæa, under the title of Ethnarch; Herod Antipas became tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa, and Philip tetrarch of Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, Batanæa, and Paneas. The Emperor Augustus promised Archelaus the title of king, if he should prove worthy; but in the tenth year of his reign (U. C. 759) he was deposed in deference to the hostile feelings of the Jews, was banished to Vienne in Gaul, and from that time his dominions passed under the direct power of Rome, being annexed to Syria, and governed by a procurator. No king nor ethnarch held Judæa afterwards, if we except the three years when it was under Agrippa I. Marks are not wanting of the irritation kept up in the minds of the Jews by the sight of a foreigner exercising acts of power over the people whom David once ruled. The publicans (*portitores*) who collected tribute for the Roman empire were everywhere detested; and as a marked class is likely to be a degraded one, the Jews saw everywhere the most despised among the people exacting from them all, and more than all (Luke iii. 13), that the foreign tyrant required. Constant changes were made by the same power in the office of high priest, perhaps from a necessary policy. Josephus says that there were twenty-eight high-priests from the time of Herod to the burning of the Temple (*Ant.* xx. 10). The sect of Judas the Gaulonite, which protested against paying tribute to Cæsar, and against bowing the neck to an alien yoke, expressed a conviction which all Jews shared. The sense of oppression and wrong would tend to shape all the hopes of a Messiah, so far as they still existed, to the conception of a warrior who should deliver them from a hateful political bondage.

It was in the fifteenth year of Tiberius the Emperor, reckoning from his joint rule with Augustus (Jan. U. C. 765, and not from his sole rule (Aug

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B. C. 787), that John the Baptist began to teach. In this year (U. C. 779) Pontius Pilate was procurator of Judæa, the worldly and time-serving representative of a cruel and imperious master; Herod Antipas and Philip still held the tetrarchies left them by their father. Annas and Caiaphas are both described as holding the office of high-priest; Annas was deposed by Valerius Gratus in this very year, and his son-in-law Joseph, called also Caiaphas, was appointed, after some changes, in his room; but Annas seems to have retained after this time (John xviii. 13) much of the authority of the office, which the two administered together. John the Baptist, of whom a full account is given below under his own name, came to preach in the wilderness. He was the last representative of the prophets of the old covenant; and his work was twofold — to enforce repentance and the terrors of the old law, and to revive the almost forgotten expectation of the Messiah (Matt. iii. 1–10; Mark i. 1–8; Luke iii. 1–18). Both these objects, which are very apparent in his preaching, were connected equally with the coming of Jesus, since the need of a Saviour from sin is not felt but when sin itself is felt to be a bondage and a terror. The career of John seems to have been very short; and it has been asked how such great influence could have been attained in a short time (Matt. iii. 5). But his was a powerful nature which soon took possession of those who came within its reach; and his success becomes less surprising if we assume with Wieseler that the preaching took place in a sabbatical year (Baumgarten, *Geschichte Jesu*, 40). It is an old controversy whether the baptism of John was a new institution, or an imitation of the baptism of proselytes as practiced by the Jews. But at all events there is no record of such a rite, conducted in the name of and with reference to a particular person (Acts xix. 4), before the ministry of John. Jesus came to Jordan with the rest to receive this rite at John's hands; first, in order that the sacrament by which all were hereafter to be admitted into his kingdom might not want his example to justify its use (Matt. iii. 15); next, that John might have an assurance that his course as the herald of Christ was now completed by his appearance (John i. 33); and last, that some public token might be given that He was indeed the Anointed of God (Heb. v. 5). A supposed discrepancy between Matt. iii. 14 and John i. 31, 33, disappears when we remember that from the relationship between the families of John and our Lord (Luke i.), John must have known already something of the power, goodness, and wisdom of Jesus: what he did not know was, that this same Jesus was the very Messiah for whom he had come to prepare the world. Our Lord received the rite of baptism at his servant's hands, and the Father attested Him by the voice of the Spirit, which also was seen descending on Him in a visible shape: "This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased" (Matt. iii. 13–17; Mark i. 9–11; Luke iii. 21, 22).

Immediately after this inauguration of his ministry Jesus was led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the Devil (Matt. iv. 1–11; Mark i. 12, 13; Luke iv. 1–13). As the baptism of our Lord cannot have been for Him the token of repentance and intended reformation which it was for sinful men, so does our Lord's sinlessness affect the nature of his temptation: for it was the trial of one who could not possibly have fallen. This makes a complete conception of the temptation impossible for minds wherein temptation is always associated with the possibility of sin. But whilst we must be content with an incomplete conception we must avoid the wrong conceptions that are often substituted for it. Some suppose the account before us to describe what takes place in a vision or ecstasy of our Lord; so that both the temptation and its answer arise from within. Others think that the temptation was suggested from within, but in a state, not of sleep or ecstasy, but of complete consciousness. Others consider this narrative to have been a parable of our Lord, of which He has made Himself the subject. All these suppositions set aside the historical testimony of the Gospels: the temptation as there described arose not from the sinless mind of the Son of God, where indeed thoughts of evil could not have harbored, but from Satan, the enemy of the human race. Nor can it be supposed that this account is a mere parable, unless we assume that Matthew and Luke have wholly misunderstood their Master's meaning. The story is that of a fact, hard indeed to be understood, but not to be made easier by explanations such as would invalidate the only testimony on which it rests (Heubner's *Practical Commentary on Matthew*).

The three temptations are addressed to the three forms in which the disease of sin makes its appearance on the soul — to the solace of sense, and the love of praise, and the desire of gain (1 John ii. 16). But there is one element common to them all — they are attempts to call up a willful and wayward spirit in contrast to a patient self-denying one.

In the first temptation the Redeemer is an hungered, and when the Devil bids Him, if He be the Son of God, command that the stones may be made bread, there would seem to be no great sin in this use of divine power to overcome the pressing human want. Our Lord's answer is required to show us where the essence of the temptation lay. He takes the words of Moses to the children of Israel (Deut. viii. 3), which mean, not that men must dispense with bread and feed only on the study of the divine word, but that our meat and drink, our food and raiment, are all the work of the creating hand of God; and that a sense of *dependence on God* is the duty of man. He tells the tempter that as the sons of Israel standing in the wilderness were forced to humble themselves and to wait upon the hand of God for the bread from heaven which He gave them, so the Son of Man, fainting in the wilderness from hunger, will be humble and will wait upon his Father in heaven for the word that shall bring Him food, and will not be hasty to deliver Himself from that dependent state, but will wait patiently for the gifts of his goodness. In the second temptation, it is not probable that they left the wilderness, but that Satan was allowed to suggest to our Lord's mind the place, and the marvel that could be wrought there. They stood, as has been suggested, on the lofty porch that overhung the Valley of Kedron, where the steep side of the valley was added to the height of the Temple (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 11, § 5), and made a depth that the eye could scarcely have borne to look down upon. "Cast thyself down" — perform in the Holy City, in a public place, a wonder that will at once make all men confess that none but the Son of God could perform it. A passage from the 91st Psalm is quoted to give a color to

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the argument. Our Lord replies by an allusion to another text that carries us back again to the Israelites wandering in the wilderness: "Ye shall not tempt the Lord your God, as ye tempted Him in Massah" (Deut. vi. 16). Their conduct is more fully described by the Psalmist as a tempting of God: "They tempted God in their heart by asking meat for their lust; yea, they spake against God: they said, Can God furnish a table in the wilderness? Behold he smote the rock that the waters gushed out, and the streams overflowed. Can He give bread also? Can He provide flesh for his people?" (l's. lxxviii.) Just parallel was the temptation here. God has protected Thee so far, brought Thee up, put his seal upon Thee by manifest proofs of his favor. Can He do this also? Can He send the angels to buoy Thee up in Thy descent? Can He make the air thick to sustain, and the earth soft to receive Thee? The appropriate answer is, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." In the third temptation it is not asserted that there is any mountain from which the eyes of common men can see the world and its kingdoms at once displayed; it was with the mental vision of One who knew all things that these kingdoms and their glory were seen. And Satan has now begun to discover, if he knew not from the beginning, that One is here who can become the King over them all. He says, "All these things will I give Thee if Thou wilt fall down and worship me." In St. Luke the words are fuller: "All this power will I give Thee, and the glory of them, for that is delivered unto me, and to whomsoever I will I give it:" but these words are the lie of the tempter, which he uses to mislead. "Thou art come to be great — to be a King on the earth; but I am strong, and will resist Thee. Thy followers shall be imprisoned and slain; some of them shall fall away through fear; others shall forsake Thy cause, loving this present world. Cast in Thy lot with me; let Thy kingdom be an earthly kingdom, only the greatest of all — a kingdom such as the Jews seek to see established on the throne of David. Worship me by living as the children of this world live, and so honoring me in Thy life: then all shall be Thine." The Lord knows that the tempter is right in foretelling such trials to Him; but though clouds and darkness hang over the path of his ministry He must work the work of Him that sent Him, and not another work: He must worship God and none other. "Get thee hence, Satan; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve." As regards the order of the temptations, there are internal marks that the account of St. Matthew assigns them their historical order: St. Luke transposes the two last, for which various reasons are suggested by commentators (Matt. iv. 1–11; Mark i. 12, 13; Luke iv. 1–13).

Deserting for a time the historical order, we shall find that the records of this first portion of his ministry, from the temptation to the transfiguration, consist mainly — (1) of miracles, which prove his divine commission; (2) of discourses and parables on the doctrine of "the kingdom of heaven:" (3) of incidents showing the behavior of various persons when brought into contact with our Lord. The two former may require some general remarks, the last will unfold themselves with the narrative.

1. *The Miracles.* — The power of working miracles was granted to many under the Old Covenant: Moses (Ex. iii. 20, vii.-xi.) delivered the people of Israel from Egypt by means of them; and Joshua, following in his steps, enjoyed the same power for the completion of his work (Josh. iii. 13–16). Samson (Judg. xv. 19), Elijah (1 K. xvii. 10, &c.), and Elisha (2 K. ii.-vi.) possessed the same gift. The prophets foretold that the Messiah, of whom Moses was the type, would show signs and wonders as he had done. Isaiah, in describing his kingdom, says — "Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing" (xxxv. 5, 6). According to the same prophet, the Christ was called "to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison-house" (xlii. 7). And all who looked for the coming of the Messiah expected that the power of miracles would be one of the tokens of his commission. When John the Baptist, in his prison, heard of the works of Jesus, he sent his disciples to inquire, "Art Thou He that should come (ὁ ἐρχόμενος = the Messiah), or do we look for another?" Our Lord, in answer to this, only points to his miracles, leaving to John the inference from them, that no one could do such works except the promised One. When our Lord cured a blind and dumb demoniac, the people, struck with the miracle, said, "Is not this the Son of David?" (Matt. xii. 23). On another like occasion it was asked, "When Christ cometh will He do more miracles than these which this man hath done?" (John vii 31). So that the expectation that Messiah would work miracles existed amongst the people, and was founded on the language of prophecy. Our Lord's miracles are described in the New Testament by several names: they are signs (σημεῖα), wonders (τέρατα), works (ἔργα, most frequently in St. John), and mighty works (δυνάμεις), according to the point of view from which they are regarded. They are indeed astonishing works, wrought as signs of the might and presence of God; and they are powers or mighty works because they are such as no power short of the divine could have effected. But if the object had been merely to work wonders, without any other aim than to astonish the minds of the witnesses, the miracles of our Lord would not have been the best means of producing the effect, since many of them were wrought for the good of obscure people, before witnesses chiefly of the humble and uneducated class, and in the course of the ordinary life of our Lord, which lay not amongst those who made it their special business to inquire into the claims of a prophet. When requests were made for a more striking sign than those which He had wrought, for "a sign from heaven" (Luke xi. 16), it was refused. When the tempter suggested that He should cast Himself down from the pinnacle of the Temple before all men, the temptation was rejected. The miracles of our Lord were to be, not wonders merely, but signs: and not merely signs of preternatural power, but of the scope and character of his ministry, and of the divine nature of his Person. This will be evident from an examination of those which are more particularly described in the Gospels. Nearly forty cases of this kind appear; but that they are only examples taken out of a very great number, the Evangelists frequently remind us (John ii. 23; Matt. viii. 16 and parall.; iv. 23; xii. 15 and parall.; Luke vi. 19; Matt. xi. 5; xiii. 58: ix. 35, xiv. 14, 36; xv. 30; xix. 2; xxi. 14). These cases

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might be classified. There are three instances of restoration to life, each under peculiar conditions: the daughter of Jairus was lately dead; the widow's son at Nain was being carried out to the grave; and Lazarus had been four days dead, and was returning to corruption (Matt. ix. 18; Luke vii. 11, 12; John xi. 1, &c.). There are about six cases of demoniac possession, each with its own circumstances: one in the synagogue at Capernaum, where the unclean spirit bore witness to Jesus as "the holy one of God" (Mark i. 24); a second, that of the man who dwelt among the tombs in the country of the Gadarenes, whose state is so forcibly described by St. Mark (v. 2), and who also bore witness to Him as "the Son of the Most High God;" a third, the case of a dumb man (Matt. ix. 32); a fourth, that of a youth who was brought to Him as He came down from the Mount of Transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 15), and whom the disciples had vainly tried to heal; a fifth, that of another dumb man, whom the Jews thought he had healed "through Beelzebub the prince of the devils" (Luke xi. 15); and a sixth, that of the Syro-Phœnician girl whose mother's faith was so tenacious (Matt. xv. 22). There are about seventeen recorded cases of the cure of bodily sickness, including fever, leprosy, palsy, inveterate weakness, the maimed limb, the issue of blood of twelve years' standing, dropsy, blindness, deafness, and dumbness (John iv. 47; Matt. viii. 2, 14, ix. 2; John v. 5; Matt. xii. 10, viii. 5, ix. 20, 27; Mark viii. 22; John ix. 1; Luke xiii. 10, xvii. 11, xviii. 35, xxii. 51). These three groups of miracles all pertain to one class; they all brought help to the suffering or sorrowing, and proclaimed what love the Man that did them bore towards the children of men. There is another class, showing a complete control over the powers of nature; first by acts of creative power, as when in the beginning of his ministry He made the water wine; and when He fed at one time five thousand, and at another four, with bread miraculously provided (John ii. 7, vi. 10; Matt. xv. 32); secondly, by setting aside natural laws and conditions — now in passing unseen through a hostile crowd (Luke iv. 30); now in procuring miraculous draughts of fishes, when the fisher's skill had failed (Luke v. 4; John xxi. 6); now in stilling a tempest (Matt. viii. 26); now in walking to his disciples on the sea (Matt. xiv. 25); now in the transformation of his countenance by a heavenly light and glory (Matt. xvii. 1); and again in seeking and finding the shekel for the customary tribute to the Temple in the fish's mouth (Matt. xvii. 27). In a third class of these miracles we find our Lord overawing the wills of men; as when He twice cleared the Temple of the traders (John ii. 13; Matt. xxi. 12); and when his look staggered the officers that came to take Him (John xviii. 6). And in a fourth subdivision will stand one miracle only, where his power was used for destruction — the case of the barren fig-tree (Matt. xxi. 18). The destruction of the herd of swine does not properly rank here; it was a permitted act of the devils which he cast out, and is no more to be laid to the account of the Redeemer than are all the sicknesses and sufferings in the land of the Jews which He permitted to waste and destroy having, as He showed by his miracles, abundant power to prevent them. All the miracles of this latter class show our Lord to be one who wields the power of God. No one can suspend the laws of nature save Him who made them: when bread is wonderfully multiplied, and the fickle sea becomes a firm floor to walk on, the God of the universe is working the change, directly or through his deputy. Very remarkable, as a claim to divine power, is the mode in which Jesus justified acts of healing on the Sabbath — "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work" (John v. 17): which means, "As [illegible] the Father, even on the Sabbath-day, keeps all the laws of the universe at work, making the planets roll, and the grass grow, and the animal pulses beat, so do I my work; I stand above the law of the Sabbath, as He does." [a]

On reviewing all the recorded miracles, we see at once that they are signs of the nature of Christ's Person and mission. None of them are done merely to astonish: and hardly any of them, even of those which prove his power more than his love, but tend directly towards the good of men in some way or other. They show how active and unwearied was his love; they also show the diversity of its operation. Every degree of human need — from Lazarus now returning to dust — through the palsy that has seized on brain and nerves, and is almost death — through the leprosy which, appearing on the skin, was really a subtle poison that had tainted every drop of blood in the veins — up to the injury to the particular limb — received succor from the powerful word of Christ; and to wrest his buried friend from corruption and the worm was neither more nor less difficult than to heal a withered hand or restore to its place an ear that had been cut off. And this intimate connection of the miracles with the work of Christ will explain the fact that *faith* was in many cases required as a condition for their performance. According to the common definition of a miracle, any one would seem to be a capable witness of its performance: yet Jesus sometimes refrained from working wonders before the unbelieving (Mark vi. 5, 6), and sometimes did the work that was asked of him because of the faith of them that asked it (Mark vii. 29). The miracles were intended to attract the witnesses of them to become followers of Jesus and members of the kingdom of heaven. Where faith was already so far fixed on Him as to believe that He could do miracles, there was the fit preparation for a faith in higher and heavenly things. If they knew that He could heal the body, they only required teaching to enlarge their view of him into that of a healer of the diseased spirit, and a giver of true life to those that are dead in trespasses and sins. On the other hand, where men's minds were in a state of bitterness and antagonism against Him, to display miracles before them would but increase their condemnation. "If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin; but now have they both seen and hated both Me and my

[a] The Saviour's miracles are —

I. Of love { In raising the dead. In curing mental disease. In healing the body.

II. Of power { In creating. In destroying. In setting aside the ordinary laws of being. In overawing the opposing wills of men

In the account in the text, the miracles that took place after the Transfiguration have been included for the sake of completeness.

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Father" (John xv. 24). This result was inevitable: in order to offer salvation to those who are to be saved, the offer must be heard by some of those who will reject it. Miracles then have two purposes — the proximate and subordinate purpose of doing a work of love to them that need it, and the higher purpose of revealing Christ in his own Person and nature as the Son of God and Saviour of men. Hence the rejection of the demand for a sign from heaven — for some great celestial phenomenon which all should see and none could dispute. He refused to give such a sign to the "generation" that asked it: and once He offered them instead the fact that Jonah was a *type* of Him as to his burial and resurrection: thus refusing them the kind of sign which they required. So again, in answer to a similar demand, He said, "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up" — alluding to his death and resurrection. It is as though He had said, "All the miracles that I have been working are only intended to call attention to the one great miracle of My presence on earth in the form of a servant. No other kind of miracle will I work. If you wish for a greater sign, I refer you to the great miracle about to be wrought in Me — that of My resurrection." The Lord's words do not mean that there shall be no sign; He is working wonders daily: but that He will not travel out of the plan He has proposed for Himself. A sign in the sun and moon and stars would prove that the power of God was there; but it would not teach men to understand the mission of God Incarnate, of the loving and suffering friend and brother of men. The miracles which He wrought are those best suited to this purpose; and those who had faith, though but in small measure, were the fittest to behold them. They knew Him but a little; but even to think of Him as a Prophet who was able to heal their infirmity was a germ of faith sufficient to make them fit hearers of his doctrine and spectators of His deeds. But those gained nothing from the Divine work who, unable to deny the evidence of their eyes and ears, took refuge in the last argument of malice, "He casteth out devils through Beelzebub the prince of the devils."

What is a miracle? A miracle must be either something done in contravention of all law, or it is a transgression of all the laws known to us, but not of some law which further research may discover for us, or it is a transgression of all natural laws, whether known now or to be known hereafter, on account of some higher law whose operation interferes with them. Only the last of these definitions could apply to the Christian miracles. God having chosen to govern the world by laws, having impressed on the face of nature in characters not to be mistaken the great truth that He rules the universe by law and order, would not adopt in the kingdom of grace a different plan from that which in the kingdom of nature He has pursued. If the seen universe requires a scheme of order, and the spiritual world is governed without a scheme (so to speak), by caprice, then the God of Nature appears to contradict the God of Grace. Spinoza has not failed to make the most of this argument; but he assails not the true Christian idea of a miracle, but one which he substitutes for it (*Tract. Theol. Polit.* 6). Nor can the Christian miracles be regarded as cases in which the wonder depends on the anticipation only of some law that is not now understood, but shall be so hereafter. In the first place many of them go beyond, in the amount of their operation, all the wildest hopes of the scientific discoverer. In the second place, the very conception of a miracle is vitiated by such an explanation. All distinction in kind between the man who is somewhat in advance of his age in physical knowledge, and the worker of miracles, would be taken away; and the miracles of one age, as the steam-engine, the telegraph-wire, become the tools and toys of the next. It remains then that a miracle is to be regarded as the overruling of some physical law by some higher law that is brought in. We are invited in the Gospels to regard the miracles not as wonders, but as the wonderful acts of Jesus of Nazareth. They are identified with the work of redemption. There are even cautions against teaching them separately — against severing them from their connection with his work. Eye-witnesses of his miracles were strictly charged to make no report of them to others (Matt. ix. 30; Mark v. 43, vii. 36). And yet when John the Baptist sent his disciples to ascertain whether the Messiah were indeed come or not, the answer they took back was the very thing which was forbidden to others — a report of miracles. The explanation of this seeming contradiction is that wherever a report of the signs and wonders was likely to be conveyed without a right conception of the Person of Christ and the kind of doctrine which He taught, there He suffered not the report to be carried. Now had the purpose been to reveal his divine nature only, this caution would not have been needed, nor would faith have been a needful preliminary for the apprehension of miracles, nor would the temptations of Satan in the wilderness have been the cunning snares they were intended to be, nor would it have been necessary to refuse the convincing sign from heaven to the Jews that asked it. But the part of his work to which attention was to be directed in connection with the miracles, was the mystery of our redemption by One "who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: and being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross" (Phil. ii. 5–8). Very few are the miracles in which divine power is exercised without a manifest reference to the purpose of assisting men. He works for the most part as the Power of God in a state of humiliation for the good of men. Not insignificant here are the cases in which He condescends to use means, wholly inadequate indeed in any other hands than his; but still they are a token that He has descended into the region where means are employed, from that in which even the spoken word can control the subservient agents of nature. He laid his hand upon the patient (Matt. viii. 3, 15, ix. 29, xx. 34; Luke vii. 14; xxii. 51). He anointed the eyes of the blind with clay (John ix. 6). He put his finger into the ear and touched the tongue of the deaf and dumb sufferer in Decapolis (Mark vii. 33, 34). He treated the blind man at Bethsaida in like fashion (Mark viii. 23). Even where He fed the five thousand and the four, He did not create bread out of nothing, which would have been as easy for Him, but made bread out of little; and He looked up to heaven and blessed the meat as a thankful man would do (Matt. xiv. 19; John vi. 11; Matt. xv. 36). At the grave of Lazarus He lifted up his eyes and gave thanks that the Father had heard

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Him (John xi. 41, 42), and this great miracle is accompanied by tears and groanings, that show how One so mighty to save has truly become a man with human soul and sympathies. The worker of the miracles is God become Man; and as signs of his Person and work are they to be measured. Hence, when the question of the credibility of miracles is discussed, it ought to be preceded by the question, Is redemption from the sin of Adam a probable thing? Is it probable that there are spiritual laws as well as natural, regulating the relations between us and the Father of our spirits? Is it probable that, such laws existing, the needs of men and the goodness of God would lead to an expression of them, complete or partial, by means of revelation? If these questions are all decided in the affirmative, then Hume's argument against miracles is already half overthrown. "No testimony," says Hume, "is sufficient to establish a miracle, unless the testimony be of such a kind that its falsehood would be more miraculous than the fact which it endeavors to establish; and even in that case there is a mutual destruction of arguments, and the superior only gives us an assurance suitable to that degree of force which remains after deducting the inferior" (*Essays*, vol. ii. p. 130). If the Christian miracles are parts of a scheme which bears other marks of a divine origin, they point to the existence of a set of spiritual laws with which Christianity is connected, and of which it is the expression; and then the difficulty of believing them disappears. They are not "against nature," but above it; they are not the few caprices of Providence breaking in upon ages of order, but they are glimpses of the divine spiritual *cosmos* permitted to be seen amidst the laws of the natural world, of which they take precedence, just as in the physical world one law can supersede another. And as to the testimony for them let Paley speak: "If twelve men, whose probity and good sense I had long known, should seriously and circumstantially relate to me an account of a miracle wrought before their eyes, and in which it was impossible they should be deceived; if the governor of the country, hearing a rumor of this account, should call those men into his presence, and offer them a short proposal, either to confess the imposture or submit to be tied up to a gibbet; if they should refuse with one voice to acknowledge that there existed any falsehood or imposture in the case; if this threat were communicated to them separately, yet with no different effect; if it was at last executed, if I myself saw them one after another consenting to be racked, burnt, or strangled, rather than give up the truth of their account; . . . there exists not a skeptic in the world who would not believe them, or who would defend such incredulity" (*Evidences, Introduction*, p. 6). In the theory of a "mutual destruction" of arguments so that the belief in miracles would represent exactly the balance between the evidence for and against them, Hume contradicts the commonest religious, and indeed worldly, experience; he confounds the state of deliberation and examination with that of conviction. When Thomas the Apostle, who had doubted the great central miracle of the resurrection, was allowed to touch the Saviour's wounded side, and in an access of undoubting faith exclaimed, "My Lord, and my God!" who does not see that at that moment all the former doubts were wiped out, and were as though they had never been? How could he carry about those doubts or any recollection of them, to be a set-off against the complete conviction that had succeeded them? It is so with the Christian life in every case; faith, which is "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen," could not continue to weigh and balance evidence for and against the truth; the conviction either rises to a perfect moral certainty, or it continues tainted and worthless as a principle of action.

The lapse of time may somewhat alter the aspect of the evidence for miracles, but it does not weaken it. It is more difficult (so to speak) to cross-examine witnesses who delivered their testimony ages ago; but another kind of evidence has been gathering strength in successive ages. The miracles are all consequences and incidents of one great miracle, the Incarnation; and if the Incarnation is found true, the rest become highly probable. But this very doctrine has been thoroughly proved through all these ages. Nations have adopted it, and they are the greatest nations of the world. Men have lived and died in it, have given up their lives to preach it; have found that it did not disappoint them, but held true under them to the last. The existence of Christianity itself has become an evidence. It is a phenomenon easy to understand if we grant the miracle of the Incarnation, but is an effect without an adequate cause if that be denied.

Miracles then are offered us in the Gospels, not as startling violations of the order of nature, but as consequences of the revelation of Himself made by Jesus Christ for men's salvation, and as such they are not violations of order at all, but interferences of the spiritual order with the natural. They are abundantly witnessed by earnest and competent men, who did not aim at any earthly reward for their teaching; and they are proofs, together with his pure life and holy doctrine, that Jesus was the Son of God. (See Dean Trench *On the Miracles*, an important work; [Mozley, *Bampton Lectures*, 1865;] Baumgarten, *Leben Jesu;* Paley's *Evidences;* Butler's *Analogy;* Hase, *Leben Jesu;* with the various Commentaries on the New Testament.)

2. *The Parables.* — In considering the Lord's teaching we turn first to the parables. In all ages the aid of the imagination has been sought to assist in the teaching of abstract truth, and that in various ways: in the parable, where some story of ordinary doings is made to convey a spiritual meaning, beyond what the narrative itself contains, and without any assertion that the narrative does or does not present an actual occurrence: in the fable, where a story, for the most part an impossible one, of talking beast and reasoning bird, is made the vehicle of some shrewd and prudent lesson of worldly wisdom: in the allegory, which is a story with a moral or spiritual meaning, in which the lesson taught is so prominent as almost wholly to supersede the story that clothes it, and the names and actions are so chosen that no interpreter shall be required for the application: and lastly, in the proverb, which is often only a parable or a fable condensed into a few pithy words [PARABLE] (Ernesti, *Lex. Tech. Graecum*, under παραβολή, λόγος, ἀλληγορία; Trench, *On the Parables;* Alford on Matt. xiii. 1, and other Commentators; Hase, *Leben Jesu* § 67, 4th ed.; Neander, *Leben Jesu*, p. 568, foll.). Nearly fifty parables are preserved in the Gospels, and they are only selected from a larger number (Mark iv. 33). Each Evangelist, even St. Mark has preserved some that are peculiar to himself

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St. John never uses the word parable, but that of *proverb* (παροιμία), which the other Evangelists nowhere employ. In reference to this mode of teaching, our Lord tells the disciples, "Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God; but to others in parables, that seeing they might not see, and hearing they might not understand" (Luke viii. 10); and some have hastily concluded from this that the parable — the clearest of all modes of teaching — was employed to conceal knowledge from those who were not susceptible of it, and that this was its chief purpose. But it was chosen not for this negative object, but for its positive advantages in the instruction of the disciples. The nature of the kingdom of heaven was not understood even by disciples; hard even to them were the sayings that described it, and the hearing of them caused many to go back and walk no more with Him (John vi. 66). If there was any mode of teaching better suited than another to the purpose of preserving truths for the memory that were not yet accepted by the heart — for keeping the seed safe till the time should arrive for the quickening Spirit to come down and give it growth — that mode would be the best suited to the peculiar position of the disciples. And any means of translating an abstract thought into sensuous language has ever been the object of poet and teacher in all countries. He who can best employ the symbols of the visible world for the deeper acts of thought has been the clearest and most successful expositor. The parable affords just such an instrument as was required. Who could banish from his mind, when once understood, the image of the house built on the sand, as the symbol of the faithless soul unable to stand by the truth in the day of temptation? To whom does not the parable of the prodigal son bring back the thought of God's merciful kindness towards the erring? But without such striking images it would have been impossible (to use mere human language) to make known to the disciples in their half-enlightened state the mysteries of faith in the Son of God as a principle of life, of repentance from sin, and of an assurance of peace and welcome from the God of mercy. Eastern teachers have made this mode of instruction familiar; the originality of the parables lay not in the method of teaching by stories, but in the profound and new truths which the stories taught so aptly. And Jesus had another purpose in selecting this form of instruction: He foresaw that many would reject Him, and on them He would not lay a heavier burden than they needs must bear. He did not offer them daily and hourly, in their plainest form, the grand truths of sin and atonement, of judgment and heaven and hell, and in so doing multiply occasions of blaspheming. "Those that were without" heard the parable; but it was an aimless story to them if they sought no moral purpose under it, and a dark saying, passing comprehension, if they did so seek. When the Lord gathered round Him those that were willing to be his, and explained to them at length the parable and its application (Matt. xiii. 10–18), then the light thus thrown on it was not easy to extinguish in their memory. And amongst those without there was no doubt a difference; some listened with indifferent, and some with unbelieving and resisting minds; and of both minds some remained in their aversion, more or less active, from the Son of God unto the end, and some were converted after He was risen. To these we may suppose that the parables which had rested in their memories as vivid pictures, yet still a dead letter, so far as moral import is concerned, became by the Holy Spirit, whose business it was to teach men all things and to bring all things to their remembrance (John xiv. 26), a quick and powerful light of truth, lighting up the dark places with a brightness never again to fade from their eyes. The parable unapplied is a dark saying; the parable explained is the clearest of all teaching. When language is used in Holy Scripture which would seem to treat the parables as means of concealment rather than of instruction, it must be taken to refer to the unexplained parable — to the cypher without the key — the symbol without the interpretation.

Besides the parables, the more direct teaching of our Lord is conveyed in many discourses, dispersed through the Gospels; of which three may be here selected as examples, the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v.–vii.), the discourse after the feeding of the five thousand (John vi. 22–65), and the final discourse and prayer which preceded the Passion (John xiv.–xvii.). These are selected principally because they mark three distinct periods in the ministry of Jesus, the opening of it, the principal change in the tone of its teaching, and the solemn close.

Notwithstanding the endeavor to establish that the *Sermon on the Mount* of St. Matthew is different from the *Sermon on the Plain* of St. Luke, the evidence for their being one and the same discourse greatly preponderates. If so, then its historical position must be fixed from St. Luke; and its earlier place in St. Matthew's Gospel must be owing to the Evangelist's wish to commence the account of the ministry of Jesus with a summary of his teaching; an intention further illustrated by the mode in which the Evangelist has wrought in with his report of the discourse several sayings which St. Luke connects with the various facts which on different occasions drew them forth (comp. Luke xiv. 34, xi. 33, xvi. 17, xii. 58, 59, xvi. 18, with places in Matt. v.; also Luke xi. 1–4, xii. 33, 34, xi. 34–36, xvi. 13, xii. 22–31, with places in Matt. vi.; also Luke xi. 9–13, xiii. 24, 25–27, with places in Matt. vii.). Yet this is done without violence to the connection and structure of the whole discourse. Matthew, to whom Jesus is ever present as the Messiah, the Anointed Prophet of the chosen people, the successor of Moses, sets at the head of his ministry the giving of the Christian law with its bearing on the Jewish. From Luke we learn that Jesus had gone up into a mountain to pray, that on the morning following He made up the number of his twelve Apostles, and solemnly appointed them, and then descending He stood upon a level place (καταβὰς μετ' αὐτῶν ἔστη ἐπὶ τόπου πεδινοῦ, Luke vi. 17), not necessarily at the bottom of the mountain, but where the multitude could stand round and hear; and there he taught them in a solemn address the laws and constitution of his new kingdom, the kingdom of Heaven. He tells them who are meet to be citizens of that heavenly polity, and in so doing rebukes almost every quality on which the world sets a value. The poor in spirit, that is the lowly-minded, the mourners and the meek, those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, the merciful, the pure, and the peacemakers, are all "blessed," are all possessed of the temper which will assort well with that heavenly kingdom, in contrast to the proud, the confident, the great and successful, whom the world honors.

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(St. Luke adds denunciations of woe to the tempers which are opposed to the Gospel, which St. Matthew omits.) This novel exordium startles all the hearers, for it seems to proclaim a new world, new hopes, and new virtues; and our Lord then proceeds to meet the question that rises up in their minds — "If these dispositions and not a literal obedience to minute precepts constitute a Christian, what then becomes of the law?" Answering this tacit objection, the Lord bids them "think not that I am come to destroy (καταλῦσαι, *abolish*) the law and the prophets, I am not come to destroy but to fulfill" (πληρῶσαι, *complete*, Matt. v. 17). He goes on to tell them that not one point or letter of the Law was written in vain; that what was temporary in it does not fall away till its purpose is answered, what was of permanent obligation shall never be lost. He then shows how far more deep and searching a moral lawgiver He is than was Moses his prototype, who like Him spoke the mind of God. The eternal principles which Moses wrote in broad lines, such as a dull and unspiritual people *must* read, He applies to deeper seated sins and to all the finer shades of evil. Murder was denounced by the Law; but anger and provoking speech are of the same stock. It is not only murder, but hate, that is the root of that poisonous fruit which God abhors. Hate defiles the very offering that a man makes to God; let him leave his gift unoffered, and get the hate cast out, and not waste his time in an unacceptable sacrifice. Hate will affect the soul forever, if it goes out of the world to meet its Judge in that defiling garment; "agree with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou art in the way with him" (ver. 25). The act of adultery is deadly, and Moses forbade it. But to permit the thought of lust to rest in the heart, to suffer the desire to linger there without combating it (βλέπειν πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι) is of the same nature, and shares the condemnation. The breach of an oath (Lev. xix. 12) was forbidden by the Law; and the rabbinical writers had woven a distinction between oaths that were and oaths that were not binding (Maimonides in Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* ii. p. 127). Jesus shows that all oaths, whether they name the Creator or not, are an appeal to Him, and all are on that account equally binding. But the need of an oath "cometh of evil;" the bare asseveration of a Christian should be as solemn and sacred to him as the most binding oath. That this in its simple literal application would go to abolish all swearing is beyond a question; but the Lord is sketching out a perfect Law for a perfect kingdom; and this is not the only part of the sermon on the Mount which in the present state of the world cannot be carried out completely. Men there are on whom a word is less binding than an oath: and in judicial proceedings the highest test must be applied to them to elicit the truth: therefore an oath must still form part of a legal process, and a good man may take what is really kept up to control the wicked. Jesus Himself did not refuse the oath administered to Him in the Sanhedrim (Matt. xxvi. 63). And yet the need of an oath "cometh of evil," for among men who respect the truth it would add nothing to the weight of their evidence. Almost the same would apply to the precepts with which our Lord replaces the much-abused law of retaliation, "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth" (Ex. xxi. 24). To conquer an enemy by submission where he expected resistance is of the very essence of the Gospel; it is an exact imitation of our Lord's own example, who, when He might have summoned more than twelve legions of Angels to his aid allowed the Jews to revile and slay Him. And yet it is not possible at once to wipe out from our social arrangements the principle of retribution. The robber who takes a coat must not be encouraged to seize the cloak also; to give to every one that asks all that he asks would be an encouragement to sloth and shameless importunity. But yet the awakened conscience will find out a hundred ways in which the spirit of this precept may be carried out, even in our imperfect social state; and the power of this loving policy will be felt by those who attempt it. Finally, our Lord sums up this portion of his divine law by words full of sublime wisdom. To the cramped and confined love of the Rabbis, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy," He opposes this nobler rule — "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; for He maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. . . . Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect" (Matt. v. 44, 45, 48). To this part of the sermon, which St. Luke has not preserved, but which St. Matthew, writing as it were with his face turned towards his Jewish countrymen, could not pretermit, succeed precepts on almsgiving, on prayer, on forgiveness, on fasting, on trust in God's providence, and on tolerance; all of them tuned to one of two notes: that a man's whole nature must be offered to God, and that it is man's duty to do to others as he would have them do to him. An earnest appeal on the difficulty of a godly life, and the worthlessness of mere profession, cast in the form of a parable, concludes this wonderful discourse. The differences between the reports of the two Evangelists are many. In the former Gospel the sermon occupies one hundred and seven verses: in the latter, thirty. The longer report includes the exposition of the relation of the Gospel to the Law: it also draws together, as we have seen, some passages which St. Luke reports elsewhere and in another connection; and where the two contain the same matter, that of Luke is somewhat more compressed. But in taking account of this, the purpose of St. Matthew is to be borne in mind: the morality of the Gospel is to be fully set forth at the beginning of our Lord's ministry, and especially in its bearing on the Law as usually received by the Jews, for whose use especially this Gospel was designed. And when this discourse is compared with the later examples to which we shall presently refer, the fact comes out more distinctly, that we have here the Code of the Christian Lawgiver, rather than the whole Gospel; that the standard of Christian duty is here fixed, but the means for raising men to the level where the observance of such a law is at all possible are not yet pointed out. The hearers learned how Christians would act and think, and to what degree of moral purity they would aspire, in the state of salvation; but how that state was to be purchased for them, and conveyed over to them, is not yet pointed out.

The next example of the teaching of Jesus must be taken from a later epoch in his ministry. It is probable that the great discourse in John vi. took place about the time of the Transfiguration, just before which He began to reveal to the disciples the

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story of his sufferings (Matt. xvi. and parallels), which was the special and frequent theme of his teaching until the end. The effect of his personal work on the disciples now becomes the prominent subject. He had taught them that He was the Christ, and had given them his law, wider and deeper far than that of Moses. But the objection to every law applies more strongly the purer and higher the law is; and "how to perform that which I will" is a question that grows more difficult to answer as the standard of obedience is raised. It is that question which our Lord proceeds to answer here. The feeding of the five thousand had lately taken place; and from this miracle He preaches yet a greater, namely, that all spiritual life is imparted to the disciples from Him, and that they must feed on Him that their souls may live. He can feed them with something more than manna, even with Himself; "for the bread of God is He which cometh down from heaven and giveth life unto the world" (John vi. 26–40). The Jews murmur at this hard doctrine, and He warns them that it is a kind of test of those who have been with Him: "No man can come to Me except the Father which hath sent Me draw him." He repeats that He is the bread of life; and they murmur yet more (vers. 41–52). He presses it on them still more strongly: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him. As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father, so he that eateth me, even he shall live by me" (vv. 53–57). After this discourse many of the disciples went back and walked no more with Him. They could not conceive how salvation could depend on a condition so strange, nay, even so revolting. However we may blame them for their want of confidence in their Teacher, it is not to be imputed to them as a fault that they found a doctrine, which in itself is difficult, and here was clothed in dark and obscure expressions, beyond the grasp of their understanding at that time. For that doctrine was, that Christ had taken our fleshly nature, to suffer in it, and to shed his blood in it; and that those to whom the benefits of his atoning death are imparted find it to be their spiritual food and life, and the condition of their resurrection to life everlasting.

Whether this passage refers, and in what degree, to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, is a question on which commentators have been much divided, but two observations should in some degree guide our interpretation: the one, that if the *primary* reference of the discourse had been to the Lord's Supper, it would have been uttered at the institution of that rite, and not before, at a time when the disciples could not possibly make application of it to a sacrament of which they had never even heard; the other, that the form of speech in this discourse comes so near that which is used in instituting the Lord's Supper, that it is impossible to exclude all reference to that Sacrament. The Redeemer here alludes to his death, to the body which shall suffer on the Cross, and to the blood which shall be poured out. This great sacrifice is not only to be looked on, but to be believed: and not only believed, but appropriated to the believer, to become part of his very heart and life. Faith, here as elsewhere, is the means of apprehending it, but when it is once laid hold of, it will be as much a part of the believer as the food that nourishes the body becomes incorporated with the body. In three passages in the other Evangelists, in which our Lord about this very time prepares them for his sufferings, He connects with the announcement a warning to the disciples that all who would come after Him must show the fruit of his death in their lives (Matt. xvi., Mark viii., Luke ix.). And this new principle, infused into them by the life and death of the Redeemer, by his taking our flesh and then suffering in it (for neither of these is excluded), is to believers the seed of eternal life. The believer "hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day" (John vi. 54). Now the words of Jesus in instituting the Lord's Supper come very near to the expressions in this discourse: "This is my body which is given for you (ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν) . . . This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you" (Luke xxii. 19, 20). That the Lord's Supper is a means of applying to us through faith the fruits of the incarnation and the atonement of Christ, is generally admitted; and if so, the discourse before us will apply to that sacrament, not certainly to the exclusion of other means of appropriating the saving death of Christ, but still with great force, inasmuch as the Lord's Supper is the most striking symbol of the application to us of the Lord's body. Here in a bold figure the disciples are told that they must eat the flesh of Christ and drink his blood; whilst in the sacrament the same figure becomes an act. Here the language is meant to be general; and there it finds its most striking special application, but not its only one. And the uttering of these words at an epoch that preceded by some months the first celebration of the Lord's Supper was probably intended to preclude that special and limited application of it which would narrow it down to the sacrament only, and out of which much false and even idolatrous teaching has grown. (Compare Commentaries of Alford, Lücke, Meyer, Stier, Heubner, Williams, Tholuck, and others, on this passage.) It will still be asked how we are to account for the startling form in which this most profound Gospel-truth was put before persons to whom it was likely to prove an offense. The answer is not difficult. Many had companied with the Lord during the early part of his ministry, to see his miracles, perhaps to derive some fruit from them, to talk about Him, and to repeat his sayings, who were quite unfit to go on as his followers to the end. There was a wide difference between the two doctrines, that Jesus was the Christ, and that the Christ must hang upon the tree, as to their effects on unregenerate and worldly minds. For the latter they were not prepared: though many of them could possibly accept the former. Now this discourse belongs to the time of transition from the easier to the harder doctrine. And we may suppose that it was meant to sift the disciples, that the good grain might remain in the garner and the chaff be scattered to the wind. Hence the hard and startling form in which it was cast; not indeed that this figure of eating and drinking in reference to spiritual things was wholly unknown to Jewish teachers, for Lightfoot, Schöttgen, and Wetstein, have shown the contrary. But hard it doubtless was; and if the condition of discipleship had been that they should then and there understand what they heard, their turning back at this time would have been inevit-

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able. But even on the twelve Jesus imposes no such condition. He only asks them, "Will ye also go away?" If a beloved teacher says something which overturns the previous notions of the taught, and shocks their prejudices, then whether they will continue by his side to hear him explain further what they find difficult, or desert him at once, will depend on the amount of their confidence in him. Many of the disciples went back and walked no more with Jesus, because their conviction that He was the Messiah had no real foundation. The rest remained with Him for the reason so beautifully expressed by Peter: "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe and are sure that Thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God" (John vi. 68, 69). The sin of the faint-hearted followers who now deserted Him was not that they found this difficult; but that finding it difficult they had not confidence enough to wait for light.

The third example of our Lord's discourses which may be selected is that which closes his ministry — "Now is the Son of Man glorified, and God is glorified in Him. If God be glorified in Him, God shall also glorify Him in Himself, and shall straightway glorify Him" (John xiii. 31, 32). This great discourse, recorded only by St. John, extends from the thirteenth to the end of the seventeenth chapter. It hardly admits of analysis. It announces the Saviour's departure in the fulfillment of his mission; it imposes the "new commandment" on the disciples of a special love towards each other which should be the outward token to the world of their Christian profession; it consoles them with the promise of the Comforter who should be to them instead of the Saviour; it tells them all that He should do for them, teaching them, reminding them, reproving the world and guiding the disciples into all truth. It offers them, instead of the bodily presence of their beloved Master, free access to the throne of his Father, and spiritual blessings such as they had not known before. Finally, it culminates in that sublime prayer (ch. xvii.) by which the High-priest as it were consecrates Himself the victim; and so doing, prays for those who shall hold fast and keep the benefits of that sacrifice, offered for the whole world, whether his disciples already, or to be brought to Him thereafter by the ministry of Apostles. He wills that they shall be with Him and behold his glory. He recognizes the righteousness of the Father in the plan of salvation, and in the result produced to the disciples; in whom that highest and purest love wherewith the Father loved the Son shall be present, and with and in that love the Son Himself shall be present with them. "With this elevated thought," says Olshausen, "the Redeemer concludes his prayer for the disciples, and in them for the Church through all ages. He has compressed into the last moments given Him for intercourse with his own the most sublime and glorious sentiments ever uttered by human lips. Hardly has the sound of the last word died away when Jesus passes with his disciples over the brook Kedron to Gethsemane; and the bitter conflict draws on. The seed of the new world must be sown in death that thence life may spring up."

These three discourses are examples of the Saviour's teaching — of its progressive character from the opening of his ministry to the close. The first exhibits his practical precepts as Lawgiver of his people; the second, an exposition of the need of his sacrifice, but addressed to the world without, and intended to try them rather than to attract; and the third, where Christ, the Lawgiver and the High-priest, stands before God as the Son of God, and speaks to Him of his inmost counsels, as one who had known them from the beginning. They will serve as illustrations of the course of his doctrine; whilst others will be mentioned in the narrative as it proceeds.

The Scene of the Lord's Ministry. — As to the scene of the ministry of Christ, no less than as to its duration, the three Evangelists seem at first sight to be at variance with the fourth. Matthew, Mark, and Luke record only our Lord's doings in Galilee; if we put aside a few days before the Passion, we find that they never mention his visiting Jerusalem. John, on the other hand, whilst he records some acts in Galilee, devotes the chief part of his Gospel to the transactions in Judæa. But when the supplemental character of John's Gospel is borne in mind there is little difficulty in explaining this. The three Evangelists do not profess to give a chronology of the ministry, but rather a picture of it: notes of time are not frequent in their narrative. And as they chiefly confined themselves to Galilee, where the Redeemer's chief acts were done, they might naturally omit to mention the feasts, which being passed by our Lord at Jerusalem, added nothing to the materials for his Galilean ministry. John, on the other hand, writing later, and giving an account of the Redeemer's life which is still less complete as a history (for more than one half of the fourth Gospel is occupied with the last three months of the ministry, and seven chapters out of twenty-one are filled with the account of the few days of the Passion), vindicates his historical claim by supplying several precise notes of time: in the occurrences after the baptism of Jesus, days and even hours are specified (i. 29, 35, 39, 43, ii. 1); the first miracle is mentioned, and the time at which it was wrought (ii. 1–11). He mentions not only the Passovers (ii. 13, 23; vi. 4; xiii. 1, and perhaps v. 1), but also the feast of Tabernacles (vii. 2) and of Dedication (x. 22); and thus it is ordered that the Evangelist who goes over the least part of the ground of our Lord's ministry is yet the same who fixes for us its duration, and enables us to arrange the facts of the rest more exactly in their historical places. It is true that the three Gospels record chiefly the occurrences in Galilee: but there is evidence in them that labors were wrought in Judæa. Frequent teaching in Jerusalem is implied in the Lord's lamentation over the lost city (Matt. xxiii. 37). The appearance in Galilee of scribes and Pharisees and others from Jerusalem (Matt. iv. 25, xv. 1) would be best explained on the supposition that their enmity had been excited against Him during visits to Jerusalem. The intimacy with the family of Lazarus (Luke. x. 38 ff.), and the attachment of Joseph of Arimathæa to the Lord (Matt. xxvii. 57), would imply, most probably, frequent visits to Jerusalem. But why was Galilee chosen as the principal scene of the ministry? The question is not easy to answer. The prophet would resort to the Temple of God; the King of the Jews would go to his own royal city; the Teacher of the chosen people would preach in the midst of them. But their hostility prevented it. The Saviour, who, accepting all the infirmities of "the form of a servant," which He had taken, fled in his childhood to Egypt, betakes Himself to Gal-

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flee to avoid Jewish hatred and machinations, and lays the foundations of his church amid a people of impure and despised race. To Jerusalem He comes occasionally, to teach and suffer persecution, and finally to die: "for it cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem" (Luke xiii. 33). It was upon the first outbreak of persecution against Him that He left Judæa: "When Jesus had heard that John was cast into prison, He departed into Galilee" (Matt. iv. 12). And that this persecution aimed at Him also we gather from St. John: "When therefore the Lord knew how that the Pharisees had heard that Jesus made and baptized more disciples than John . . . He left Judæa and departed into Galilee" (iv. 1, 3). If the light of the Sun of Righteousness shone on the Jews henceforward from the far-off shores of the Galilean lake, it was because they had refused and abhorred that light.

Duration of the Ministry. — It is impossible to determine exactly from the Gospels the number of years during which the Redeemer exercised his ministry before the Passion; but the doubt lies between two and three; for the opinion, adopted from an interpretation of Isaiah lxi. 2 by more than one of the ancients, that it lasted only one year, cannot be borne out (Euseb. iii. 24; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* lib. i. c. 21; Origen, *Princ.* iv. 5). The data are to be drawn from St. John. This Evangelist mentions six feasts, at five of which Jesus was present; the Passover that followed his baptism (ii. 13); "a feast of the Jews" (ἑορτή without the article, v. 1), a Passover during which Jesus remained in Galilee (vi. 4); the feast of Tabernacles to which the Lord went up privately (vii. 2); the feast of Dedication (x. 22); and lastly the feast of Passover, at which He suffered (xii., xiii.). There are certainly three Passovers, and it is possible that "a feast" (v. 1) may be a fourth. Upon this possibility the question turns. Lücke in his Commentary (vol. ii. p. 1), in collecting with great research the various opinions on this place, is unable to arrive at any definite conclusion upon it, and leaves it unsolved. But if this feast is not a Passover, then no Passover is mentioned by John between the first (ii. 13), and that which is spoken of in the sixth chapter; and the time between those two must be assumed to be a single year only. Now, although the record of John of this period contains but few facts, yet when all the Evangelists are compared, the amount of labor compressed into this single year would be too much for its compass. The time during which Jesus was baptizing (by his disciples) near the Jordan was probably considerable, and lasted till John's imprisonment (John iii. 22–36, and see below). The circuit round Galilee, mentioned in Matt. iv. 23–25, was a missionary journey through a country of considerable population, and containing two hundred towns; and this would occupy some time. But another such journey, of the most comprehensive kind, is undertaken in the same year (Luke viii. 1), in which He "went throughout every city and village." And a third circuit of the same kind, and equally general (Matt. ix. 35–38), would close the same year. Is it at all probable that Jesus, after spending a considerable time in Judæa, would be able to make three circuits of Galilee in the remainder of the year, preaching and doing wonders in the various places to which He came? This would be more likely if the journeys were hurried and partial; but all three are spoken of as though they were the very opposite. It is, to say the least, easier to suppose that the "feast" (John v. 1) was a Passover, dividing the time into two, and throwing two of these circuits into the second year of the ministry; provided there be nothing to make this interpretation improbable in itself. The words are, "After this there was a feast of the Jews; and Jesus went up to Jerusalem." These two facts are meant as cause and effect; the feast caused the visit. If so, it was probably one of the three feasts at which the Jews were expected to appear before God at Jerusalem. Was it the Passover, the Pentecost, or the Feast of Tabernacles? In the preceding chapter the Passover has been spoken of as "the feast" (ver. 45); and if another feast were meant here the name of it would have been added, as in vii. 2, x. 22. The omission of the article is not decisive,[a] for it occurs in other cases where the Passover is certainly intended (Matt. xxvii. 15; Mark xv. 6); nor is it clear that the Passover was called *the* feast, as the most eminent, although the Feast of Tabernacles was sometimes so described. All that the omission could prove would be that the Evangelist did not think it needful to describe the feast more precisely. The words in John iv. 35, "There are yet four months and then cometh harvest," would agree with this, for the barley harvest began on the 16th Nisan, and reckoning back four months would bring this conversation to the beginning of December, i. e. the middle of Kisleu. If it be granted that our Lord is here merely quoting a common form of speech (Alford), still it is more likely that He would use one appropriate to the time at which He was speaking. And if these words were uttered in December, the next of the three great feasts occurring would be the Passover. The shortness of the interval between v. 1 and vi 4, would afford an objection, if it were not for the scantiness of historical details in the early part of the ministry in St. John: from the other Evangelists it appears that two great journeys might have to be included between these verses. Upon the whole, though there is nothing that amounts to proof, it is probable that there were four Passovers, and consequently that our Lord's ministry lasted somewhat more than three years, the "beginning of miracles" (John ii.) having been wrought before the first Passover. On data of calculation that have already been mentioned, the year of the first of these Passovers was U. C. 780, and the Baptism of our Lord took place either in the beginning of that year or the end of the year preceding. The ministry of John the Baptist began in U. C. 779. (See Commentaries on John v. 1, especially Kuinöl and Lücke. Also Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, Art. *Jesus Christ;* Greswell, *Dissertations*, vol. i. *Diss.* 4, vol. ii. *Diss.* 22.)

After this sketch of the means, the scene, and the duration of the Saviour's ministry, the historical order of the events may be followed without interruption.

Our Lord has now passed through the ordeal of temptation, and his ministry is begun. At Bethabara, to which He returns, disciples begin to be drawn towards Him; Andrew and another, probably John, the sole narrator of the fact, see Jesus,

[a] The article is inserted in many manuscripts, including the Sinaitic, and this reading is adopted by Tischendorf in the 2d ed. of his *Synopsis Evangelica* (1864). A.

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and hear the Baptist's testimony concerning Him. Andrew brings Simon Peter to see Him also; and He receives from the Lord the name of Cephas. Then Philip and Nathanael are brought into contact with our Lord. All these reappear as Apostles, if Nathanael be, as has often been supposed, the same as Bartholomew; but the time of their calling to that office was not yet. But that their minds, even at this early time, were wrought upon by the expectation of the Messiah appears by the confession of Nathanael: "Thou art the Son of God; Thou art the King of Israel" (John i. 35–51). The two disciples last named saw Him as He was about to set out for Galilee, on the third day of his sojourn at Bethabara. The third day[a] after this interview Jesus is at Cana in Galilee, and works his first miracle, by making the water wine (John i. 29, 35, 43; ii. 1). All these particulars are supplied from the fourth Gospel, and come in between the 11th and 12th verses of the 4th chapter of St. Matthew. They show that our Lord left Galilee expressly to be baptized and to suffer temptation, and returned to his own country when these were accomplished. He now betakes Himself to Capernaum, and after a sojourn there of "not many days," sets out for Jerusalem to the Passover, which was to be the beginning of his ministry in Judæa (John ii. 12, 13).

The cleansing of the Temple is associated by St. John with this first Passover (ii. 12–22), and a similar cleansing is assigned to the last Passover by the other Evangelists. These two cannot be confounded without throwing discredit on the historical character of one narrative or the other; the notes of time are too precise. But a host of interpreters have pointed out the probability that an action symbolical of the power and authority of Messiah should be twice performed, at the opening of the ministry and at its close. The expulsion of the traders was not likely to produce a permanent effect, and at the end of three years Jesus found the tumult and the traffic defiling the court of the Temple as they had done when He visited it before. Besides the difference of time, the narrative of St. John is by no means identical with those of the others; he mentions that Jesus made a scourge of small cords (φραγέλλιον ἐκ σχοινίων, ii. 15) as a symbol — we need not prove that it could be no more — of his power to punish; that here He censured them for making the Temple "a house of merchandise," whilst at the last cleansing it was pronounced "a den of thieves," with a distinct reference to the two passages of Isaiah and Jeremiah (Is. lvi. 7; Jer. vii. 11). Writers like Strauss would persuade us that "tact and good sense" would prevent the Redeemer from attempting such a violent measure at the beginning of his ministry, before his authority was admitted. The aptness and the greatness of the occasion have no weight with such critics. The usual sacrifices of the law of Jehovah, and the usual half-shekel paid for tribute to the Temple, the very means that were appointed by God to remind them that they were a consecrated people, were made an excuse for secularizing even the Temple; and in its holy precincts all the business of the world went on. It was a time when "the zeal of God's house" might well supersede the "tact" on which the German philosopher lays stress; and Jesus failed not in the zeal, nor did the accusing consciences of the traders fail to justify it for at the rebuke of one man they retreated from the scene of their gains. Their hearts told them even though they had been long immersed in hardening traffic, that the house of God could belong to none other but God; and when a Prophet claimed it for Him, conscience deprived them of the power to resist. Immediately after this, the Jews asked of Him a sign or proof of his right to exercise this authority. He answered them by a *promise* of a sign by which He would hereafter confirm his mission, "Destroy this Temple and in three days I will raise it up" (John ii. 19), alluding, as the Evangelist explains, to his resurrection. But why is the name of the building before them applied by our Lord so darkly to Himself? There is doubtless a hidden reference to the Temple as a type of the Church, which Christ by his death and resurrection would found and raise up. He who has cleared of buyers and sellers the courts of a perishable Temple made with hands, will prove hereafter that He is the Founder of an eternal Temple made without hands, and your destroying act shall be the cause. The reply was indeed obscure; but it was meant as a refusal of their demand, and to the disciples afterwards it became abundantly clear. At the time of the Passion this saying was brought against Him, in a perverted form — "At the last came two false witnesses, and said, This fellow said, I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days" (Matt. xxvi. 61). They hardly knew perhaps how utterly false a small alteration in the tale had made it. They wanted to hold him up as one who dared to think of the destruction of the Temple; and to change "destroy" into "I can destroy," might seem no great violence to do to the truth. But those words contained not a mere circumstance but the very essence of the saying, "*you* are the destroyers of the Temple; you that were polluting it now by turning it into a market-place shall destroy it, and also your city, by staining its stones with my blood." Jesus came not to destroy the Temple but to widen its foundations; not to destroy the law but to complete it (Matt. v. 17). Two syllables changed their testimony into a lie.

The visit of Nicodemus to Jesus took place about this first Passover. It implies that our Lord had done more at Jerusalem than is recorded of Him even by John; since we have here a Master of Israel (John iii. 10), a member of the Sanhedrim (John vii. 50), expressing his belief in Him, although too timid at this time to make an open profession. The object of the visit, though not directly stated, is still clear: he was one of the better Pharisees, who were expecting the kingdom of Messiah, and having seen the miracles that Jesus did, he came to inquire more fully about these signs of its approach. This indicates the connection between the remark of Nicodemus and the Lord's reply: "You recognize these miracles as signs of the kingdom of God; verily I say unto you, no one can truly see and know the kingdom of God, unless he be born again (ἄνωθεν, *from above;* see Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. in loc.*, vol. iv.). The visitor boasted the blood of Abraham, and expected to stand high in the new kingdom in virtue of that birthright. He did not wish to surrender it, and set his hopes upon some other birth (comp. Matt. iii. 9); and there is something of willfulness in the question — "How can a man be born when he is old?" (ver 4). Our Lord again insists on the necessity of the

[a] This third day may be reckoned from different points. [BETHABARA, Amer. ed.] H.

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renewed heart, in him who would be admitted to the kingdom of heaven. The new birth is real though it is unseen, like the wind which blows hither and thither though the eye cannot watch it save in its effects. Even so the Spirit sways the heart towards good, carries it away towards heaven, brings over the soul at one time the cloud, at another the sunny weather. The sound of Him is heard in the soul, now as the eager east wind bringing pain and remorse; now breathing over it the soft breath of consolation. In all this He is as powerful as the wind; and as unseen is the mode of his operations. For the new birth, of water and of the Holy Ghost, without which none can come to God, faith in the Son of God is needed (ver. 18); and as implied in that, the renouncing of those evil deeds that blind the eyes to the truth (vv. 19, 20). It has been well said that this discourse contains the whole Gospel in epitome; there is the kingdom of grace into which God will receive those who have offended Him, the new truth which God the Holy Spirit will write in all those who seek the kingdom; and God the Son crucified and slain that all who would be saved may look on Him when He is lifted up, and find health thereby. The three Persons of the Trinity are all before us carrying out the scheme of man's salvation. If it be asked how Nicodemus, so timid and half-hearted as yet, was allowed to hear thus early in the ministry what our Lord kept back even from his disciples till near the end of it, the answer must be, that, wise as it was to keep back from the general body of the hearers the doctrine of the Crucifixion, the Physician of souls would treat each case with the medicine that it most required. Nicodemus was an inquiring spirit, ready to believe all the Gospel, but for his Jewish prejudices and his social position. He was one whom even the shadow of the Cross would not estrange; and the Lord knew it, and laid open to him all the scheme of salvation. Not in vain. The tradition, indeed, may not be thoroughly certain, which reports his open conversion and his baptism by Peter and John (Phot. *Biblioth. Cod.* 171). But three years after this conversation, when all the disciples have been scattered by the death of Jesus, he comes forward with Joseph of Arimathæa, at no little risk, although with a kind of secrecy still, to perform the last offices for the Master to whom his soul cleaves (John xix. 39).

After a sojourn at Jerusalem of uncertain duration, Jesus went to the Jordan with his disciples; and they there baptized in his name. The Baptist was now at Ænon near Salim; and the jealousy of his disciples against Jesus drew from John an avowal of his position, which is remarkable for its humility (John iii. 27–30), "A man can receive nothing except it be given him from heaven. Ye yourselves bear me witness, that I said, I am not the Christ, but that I have been sent before Him He that hath the bride is the bridegroom; but the friend of the bridegroom, which standeth and heareth him, rejoiceth greatly because of the bridegroom's voice: this my joy therefore is fulfilled. He must increase, but I must decrease." The speaker is one who has hitherto enjoyed the highest honor and popularity, a prophet extolled by all the people. Before the Sun of Righteousness his reflected light is turning pale; it shall soon be extinguished. Yet no word of reluctance, or of attempt to cling to a temporary and departing greatness, escapes him. "He must increase, but I must decrease." It had been the same before; when the Sanhedrim sent to inquire about him he claimed to be no more than "the voice of One crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord, as said the prophet Esaias" (John i. 23); there was one "who coming after me is preferred before me, whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose" (i. 27). Strauss thinks this height of self-renunciation beautiful, *but impossible* (*Leben Jesu*, ii. 1, § 46); but what divine influence had worked in the Baptist's spirit, adorning that once rugged nature with the grace of humility, we do not admit that Dr. Strauss is in a position to measure.

How long this sojourn in Judæa lasted is uncertain.[a] But in order to reconcile John iv. 1 with Matt. iv. 12, we must suppose that it was much longer than the "twenty-six or twenty-seven" days, to which the learned Mr. Greswell upon mere conjecture would limit it. From the two passages together it would seem that John was after a short time cast into prison (Matt.), and that Jesus, seeing that the enmity directed against the Baptist would now assail Him, because of the increasing success of his ministry (John), resolved to withdraw from its reach.

In the way to Galilee Jesus passed by the shortest route, through Samaria. This country, peopled by men from five districts, whom the king of Assyria had planted there in the time of Hoshea (2 K. xvii. 24, &c.), and by the residue of the ten tribes that was left behind from the Captivity, had once abounded in idolatry, though latterly faith in the true God had gained ground. The Samaritans even claimed to share with the people of Judæa the restoration of the Temple at Jerusalem, and were repulsed (Ezra iv. 1–3). In the time of our Lord they were hated by the Jews even more than if they had been Gentiles. Their corrupt worship was a shadow of the true; their temple on Gerizim was a rival to that which adorned the hill of Zion. "He that eats bread from the hand of a Samaritan," says a Jewish writer, "is as one that eats swine's flesh." Yet even in Samaria were souls to be saved;

[a] "We have the data, on the whole, for a probable conclusion in regard to this question. If the Saviour passed through Samaria near the end of November or the beginning of December (about 4 months before the time of harvest) he must have spent the interval between the Passover and that time (John ii. 13 and iv. 35) at Jerusalem and in Judæa, *i. e.*, about 8 months. Of course there is some doubt whether in speaking of the interval between sowing and reaping as "four months" He employed the language of a proverb merely, or meant that this was the actual time to elapse before the fields around them just sown would yield a harvest. Even if such a proverb was in use (which has not been shown) his availing Himself of it would be the more significant if the 4 months of the proverb happened on this occasion to coincide with the season of the year.

It may be added that so prolonged a sojourn of the Saviour in Judæa at this time accounts best for his having so many friends and followers in that province who are mentioned quite abruptly in the later parts of the history. The Bethany family (John xi. 1 ff.), the owner of the guest-chamber (Luke xxii. 10 ff.), the owner of Gethsemane (which must have belonged to some one friendly to Him), Joseph of Arimathæa (Luke xxiii. 50), and others (Luke xix. 33 ff.), are examples of this discipleship, more or less intimate, the origin of which presupposes some such sojourn in Judæa at this early period of Christ's ministry. A.

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and Jesus would not shake off even that dust from his feet. He came in his journey to Sichem, which the Jews in mockery had changed to Sychar, to indicate that its people were *drunkards* (Lightfoot), or that they followed idols (שָׁכַר, Reland, see Hab. ii. 18). Wearied and athirst He sat on the side of Jacob's well. A woman from the neighboring town came to draw from the well, and was astonished that a Jew should address her as a neighbor, with a request for water. The conversation that ensued might be taken for an example of the mode in which Christ leads to Himself the souls of men. The awakening of her attention to the privilege she is enjoying in communing with Him (John iv. 10–15); the self-knowledge and self-conviction which He arouses (vv. 15–19), and which whilst it pains does not repel; the complete revelation of Himself, which she cannot but believe (vv. 19–29), are effects that He has wrought in many another case. The woman's lightness and security, until she finds herself in the presence of a Prophet, who knows all her past sins; her readiness afterwards to enter on a religious question, which perhaps had often been revolved in her mind in a worldly and careless way, are so natural that they are almost enough of themselves to establish the historical character of the account.

In this remarkable dialogue are many things to ponder over. The living water which Christ would give; the announcement of a change in the worship of Jew and Samaritan; lastly, the confession that He who speaks is truly the Messiah, are all noteworthy. The open avowal that He is the Messiah, made to the daughter of an abhorred people, is accounted for if we remember that this was the first and last time when He taught personally in Samaria, and that the woman showed a special fitness to receive it, for she expected in the Christ a spiritual teacher, not a temporal prince: "When He is come He will tell us all things" (ver. 25). The very absence of national pride, which so beset the Jews, preserved in her a right conception of the Christ. Had she thought — had she said, "When He is come He will restore the kingdom to Israel, and set his followers in high places, on his right and on his left," then He could not have answered, as now, "I that speak unto thee am He." The words would have conveyed a falsehood to her. The Samaritans came out to Him on the report of the woman; they heard Him and believed: "We have heard Him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world" (ver. 42). Was this great grace thrown away upon them? Did it abide by them, or was it lost? In the persecution that arose about Stephen, Philip "went down to a city of Samaria (not "*the* city," as in the English version), and preached Christ unto them" (Acts viii. 5). We dare not pronounce as certain that this city was Sychar: but the readiness of the Samaritans to believe (viii. 6) recalls the candor and readiness of the men of Sychar, and it is difficult not to connect the two events together.

Jesus now returned to Galilee, and came to Nazareth, his own city. In the Synagogue He expounded to the people a passage from Isaiah (lxi. 1), telling them that its fulfillment was now at hand in his person. The same truth that had filled the Samaritans with gratitude, wrought up to fury the men of Nazareth, who would have destroyed Him if He had not escaped out of their hands (Luke iv. 16–30). He came now to Capernaum. On his way hither, when He had reached Cana, He healed the son of one of the courtiers of Herod Antipas (John iv. 46–54), who "himself believed, and his whole house." This was the second Galilean miracle. At Capernaum He wrought many miracles for them that needed. Here two disciples who had known Him before, namely, Simon Peter and Andrew, were called from their fishing to become "fishers of men" (Matt. iv. 19), and the two sons of Zebedee received the same summons. After healing on the Sabbath a demoniac in the Synagogue, a miracle which was witnessed by many, and was made known everywhere, He returned the same day to Simon's house, and healed the mother-in-law of Simon, who was sick of a fever. At sunset, the multitude, now fully aroused by what they had heard, brought their sick to Simon's door to get them healed. He did not refuse his succor, and healed them all (Mark i. 29–34). He now, after showering down on Capernaum so many cures, turned his thoughts to the rest of Galilee, where other "lost sheep" were scattered: "Let us go into the next towns (κωμοπόλεις) that I may preach there also, for therefore came I forth" (Mark i. 38). The journey through Galilee, on which He now entered, must have been a general circuit of that country. His object was to call on the Galileans to repent and believe the Gospel. This could only be done completely by taking such a journey that his teaching might be accessible to all in turn at some point or other. Josephus mentions that there were two hundred and four towns and villages in Galilee (*Vita*, 45): therefore such a circuit as should in any real sense embrace the whole of Galilee would require some months for its performance. "The course of the present circuit," says Mr. Greswell (*Dissertations*, vol. ii. 293), "we may conjecture, was, upon the whole, as follows: First, along the western side of the Jordan, northward, which would disseminate the fame of Jesus in Decapolis; secondly, along the confines of the tetrarchy of Philip, westward, which would make Him known throughout Syria; thirdly, by the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, southward; and, lastly, along the verge of Samaria, and the western region of the Lake of Galilee — the nearest points to Judæa proper and to Peræa — until it returned to Capernaum." In the course of this circuit, besides the works of mercy spoken of by the Evangelists (Matt. iv. 23–25; Mark i. 32–34; Luke iv. 40–44), He had probably called to Him more of his Apostles. Four at least were his companions from the beginning of it. The rest (except perhaps Judas Iscariot) were Galileans, and it is not improbable that they were found by their Master during this circuit. Philip of Bethsaida and Nathanael or Bartholomew were already prepared to become his disciples by an earlier interview. On this circuit occurred the first case of the healing of a leper; it is selected for record by the Evangelists, because of the incurableness of the ailment. So great was the dread of this disorder — so strict the precautions against its infection — that even the raising of Jairus' daughter from the dead, which probably occurred at Capernaum about the end of this circuit, would hardly impress the beholders more profoundly.

Second Year of the Ministry. — Jesus went up to Jerusalem to "a feast of the Jews," which we have shown (p. 1359) to have been probably the Passover. At the pool Bethesda (= house *of* mercy), which was near the Sheep Gate (Neh. iii. 1

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on the northeast side of the Temple, Jesus saw many infirm persons waiting their turn for the healing virtues of the water. (John v. 1–18. On the genuineness of the fourth verse, see Scholz, *N. T.*; Tischendorf, *N. T.*; and Lücke, *in loc.* It is wanting in three out of the four chief MSS. [and in Sin.]; it is singularly disturbed with variations in the MSS. that insert it, and it abounds in words which do not occur again in this Gospel.) Among them was a man who had had an infirmity thirty-eight years: Jesus made him whole by a word, bidding him take up his bed and walk. The miracle was done on the Sabbath; and the Jews, by which name in St. John's Gospel we are to understand the Jewish authorities, who acted against Jesus, rebuked the man for carrying his bed. It was a labor, and as such forbidden (Jer. xvii. 21). The answer of the man was too logical to be refuted: "He that made me whole, the same said unto me, Take up thy bed and walk" (v. 11). If He had not authority for the latter, whence came his power to do the former? Their anger was now directed against Jesus for healing on the Sabbath, even for well-doing. They sought to put Him to death. In our Lord's justification of Himself, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work" (v. 17), there is an unequivocal claim to the Divine nature. God the Father never rests: if sleep could visit his eyelids for an instant; if his hand could droop for a moment's rest, the universe would collapse in ruin. He rested on the seventh day from the creation of new beings; but from the maintenance of those that exist He never rests. His love streams forth on every day alike; as do the impartial beams from the sun that he has placed in the heavens. The Jews rightly understood the saying: none but God could utter it; none could quote God's example, as setting Him over and above God's law, save One who was God Himself. They sought the more to kill Him. He expounded to them more fully his relation to the Father. He works with the strength of the Father and according to his will. He can do all that the Father does. He can raise men out of bodily and out of spiritual death; and He can judge all men. John bore witness to Him; the works that He does bear even stronger witness. The reason that the Jews do not believe is their want of discernment of the meaning of the Scriptures; and that comes from their worldliness, their desire of honor from one another. Unbelief shall bring condemnation; even out of their Law they can be condemned, since they believe not even Moses, who foretold that Christ should come (John v. 19–47).

Another discussion about the Sabbath arose from the disciples plucking the ears of corn as they went through the fields (Matt. xii. 1–8). The time of this is somewhat uncertain: some would place it a year later, just after the third Passover (Clausen); but its place is much more probably here (Newcome, Robinson, etc.). The needy were permitted by the Law (Deut. xxiii. 25) to pluck the ears of corn with their hand, even without waiting for the owner's permission. The disciples must have been living a hard and poor life to resort to such means of sustenance. But the Pharisees would not allow that it was lawful on the Sabbath-day. Jesus reminds them that David, whose example they are not likely to challenge, ate the sacred shewbread in the tabernacle, which it was not lawful to eat. The priests might partake of it, but not a stranger (Ex. xxix. 33; Lev. xxiv. 5, 9). David, on the principle that mercy was better than sacrifice (Hos. vi. 6) took it and gave to the young men that were with him that they might not perish for hunger. In order further to show that a literal mechanical observance of the law of the Sabbath would lead to absurdities, Jesus reminds them that this law is perpetually set aside on account of another: "The priests profane the Sabbath and are blameless" (Matt. xii. 5). The work of sacrifice, the placing of the shewbread, go on on the Sabbath, and *labor* even on that day may be done by priests, and may please God. It was the root of the Pharisees' fault that they thought sacrifice better than mercy, ritual exactness more than love: "If ye had known what this meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless. For the Son of Man is Lord even of the Sabbath-day" (Matt. xii. 7, 8). These last words are inseparable from the meaning of our Lord's answer. In pleading the example of David, the king and prophet, and of the priests in the Temple, the Lord tacitly implies the greatness of his own position. He is indeed Prophet, Priest, and King; and had he been none of these, the argument would have been not merely incomplete, but misleading. It is undeniable that the law of the Sabbath was very strict. Against labors as small as that of winnowing the corn a severe penalty was set. Our Lord quotes cases where the law is superseded or set aside, because He is One who has power to do the same. And the rise of a new law is implied in those words which St. Mark alone has recorded: "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." The law upon the Sabbath was made in love to men, to preserve for them a due measure of rest, to keep room for the worship of God. The Son of Man has power to readjust this law, if its work is done, or if men are fit to receive a higher.

This may have taken place on the way from Jerusalem after the Passover. On another Sabbath, probably at Capernaum, to which Jesus had returned, the Pharisees gave a far more striking proof of the way in which their hard and narrow and unloving interpretation would turn the beneficence of the Law into a blighting oppression. Our Lord entered into the synagogue, and found there a man with a withered hand — some poor artisan, perhaps, whose handiwork was his means of life. Jesus was about to heal him — which would give back life to the sufferer — which would give joy to every beholder who had one touch of pity in his heart. The Pharisees interfere: "Is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath-day?" Their doctors would have allowed them to pull a sheep out of a pit; but they will not have a man rescued from the depth of misery. Rarely is that loving Teacher wroth, but here his anger, mixed with grief, showed itself: He looked round about upon them "with anger, being grieved at the hardness of their hearts," and answered their cavils by healing the man (Matt. xii. 9–14; Mark iii. 1–6; Luke vi. 6–11).

In placing the ordination or calling of the Twelve Apostles just before the Sermon on the Mount, we are under the guidance of St. Luke (vi. 13, 17). But this more solemn separation for their work by no means marks the time of their first approach to Jesus. Scattered notices prove that some of them at least were drawn gradually to the Lord, so that it would be difficult to identify the moment when they earned the name of disciples. In the case of St. Peter, five degrees or stages might be traced

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(John i. 41–43; Matt. iv. 19, xvi. 17–19; Luke xxii. 31, 32; John xxi. 15–19), at each of which he came somewhat nearer to his Master. That which takes place here is the appointment of twelve disciples to be a distinct body, under the name of Apostles. They are not sent forth to preach until later in the same year. The number twelve must have reference to the number of the Jewish tribes; it is a number selected on account of its symbolical meaning, for the work confided to them might have been wrought by more or fewer. Twelve is used with the same symbolical reference in many passages of the O. T. Twelve pillars to the altar which Moses erected (Ex. xxiv. 4); twelve stones to commemorate the passing of the ark over Jordan (Josh. iv. 3); twelve precious stones in the breastplate of the priest (Ex. xxviii. 21); twelve oxen bearing up the molten sea in the Temple of Solomon (1 K. vii. 25); twelve officers over Solomon's household (1 K. iv. 7): all these are examples of the perpetual repetition of the Jewish number. Bähr (*Symbolik*, vol. i.) has accumulated passages from various authors to show that twelve, the multiple of four and three, is the type or symbol of the universe; but it is enough here to say that the use of the number in the foundation of the Christian Church has a reference to the tribes of the Jewish nation. Hence the number continues to be used after the addition of Paul and Barnabas had made it inapplicable. The Lord Himself tells them that they "shall sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (Matt. xix. 27, 28). When He began his ministry in Galilee, He left his own home at Nazareth, and separated himself from his kinsmen after the flesh, in order to devote Himself more completely to his prophetical office; and these Twelve were "to be with Him" (Mark), and to be instead of family and friends. But the enmity of the Jews separated Him also from his countrymen. Every day the prospect of the Jews receiving Him as their Messiah, to their own salvation, became more faint; and the privileges of the favored people passed gradually over to the new Israel, the new Church, the new Jerusalem, of which the Apostles were the foundation. The precise day in which this defection was completed could not be specified. The Sun of Righteousness rose on the world, and set for the Jews, through all the shades of twilight. In the education of the Twelve for their appointed work, we see the supersedure of the Jews; in the preservation of the symbolical number we see preserved a recognition of their original right.

In the four lists of the names of the Apostles preserved to us (Matt. x., Mark iii., Luke vi., Acts i.), there is a certain order preserved, amidst variations. The two pairs of brothers, Simon and Andrew, and the sons of Zebedee, are always named the first; and of these Simon Peter ever holds the first place. Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas and Matthew, are always in the next rank; and of them Philip is always the first. In the third rank James the son of Alphæus is the first, as Judas Iscariot is always the last, with Simon the Zealot and Thaddæus between. The principle that governs this arrangement cannot be determined very positively; but as no doubt Simon Peter stands first because of his zeal in his Master's service, and Judas ranks last because of his treason, it is natural to suppose that they are all arranged with some reference at least to their zeal and fitness for the apostolic office. Some of the Apostles were certainly poor and unlearned men; it is probable that the rest were of the same kind. Four of them were fishermen, not indeed the poorest of their class; and a fifth was a "publican," one of the *portitores*, or tax-gatherers, who collected the taxes farmed by Romans of higher rank. Andrew, who is mentioned with Peter, is less conspicuous in the history than he, but he enjoyed free access to his Master, and seems to have been more intimate with him than the rest (John vi. 8, xii. 22, with Mark xiii. 3). But James and John, who are sometimes placed above him in the list, were especially distinguished by Jesus. They were unmarried; and their mother, of whose ambition we have a well-known instance, seems to have had much influence over them. The zeal and fire of their disposition is indicated in the name of Boanerges bestowed upon them. One seems hardly to recognize in the fierce enthusiasts who would have called down fire from heaven to consume the inhospitable Samaritans (Luke ix. 52–56) the Apostle of Love and his brother. It is probable that the Bartholomew of the Twelve is the same as Nathanael (John i.); and the Lebbæus or Thaddæus the same as Judas the brother of James. Simon the Zealot was so called probably from his belonging to the sect of Zealots, who, from Num. xxv. 7, 8, took it on themselves to punish crimes against the law. If the name Iscariot (= man of Cariot = Kerioth) refers the birth of the traitor to KERIOTH in Judah (Josh. xv. 25), then it would appear that the traitor alone was of Judæan origin, and the eleven faithful ones were despised Galileans.

From henceforth the education of the Twelve Apostles will be one of the principal features of the Lord's ministry. First He instructs them then He takes them with Him as companions of his wayfaring; then He sends them forth to teach and heal for Him. The *Sermon on the Mount*, although it is meant for all the disciples, seems to have a special reference to the chosen Twelve (Matt v. 11 ff.). Its principal features have been sketched already; but they will miss their full meaning if it is forgotten that they are the first teaching which the Apostles were called on to listen to after their appointment.

About this time it was that John the Baptist, long a prisoner with little hope of release, sent his disciples to Jesus with the question, "Art thou He that should come, or do we look for another?" In all the Gospels there is no more touching incident. Those who maintain that it was done solely for the sake of the disciples, and that John himself needed no answer to support his faith, show as little knowledge of the human mind as exactness in explaining the words of the account. The great privilege of John's life was that he was appointed to recognize and bear witness to the Messiah (John i. 31). After languishing a year in a dungeon, after learning that even yet Jesus had made no steps towards the establishment of his kingdom of the Jews, and that his following consisted of only twelve poor Galileans, doubts began to cloud over his spirit. Was the kingdom of Messiah as near as he had thought? Was Jesus not the Messiah, but some forerunner of that Deliverer, as he himself had been? There is no unbelief; he does not suppose that Jesus has deceived; when the doubts arise, it is to Jesus that he submits them. But it was not without great depression and perplexity that he put the question, "Art thou He that should come?" The scope of the answer given lies in its

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wailing John to the grounds of his former confidence. The very miracles are being wrought that were to be the signs of the kingdom of heaven; and therefore that kingdom is come (Is. xxxv. 5, xlii. 6, 7). There is more of grave encouragement than of rebuke in the words, "Blessed is he who shall not be offended in me" (Matt. xi. 6). They bid the Forerunner to have a good heart, and to hope and believe to the end. He has allowed sorrow, and the apparent triumph of wickedness, which is a harder trial, to trouble his view of the divine plan; let him remember that it is blessed to attain that state of confidence which these things cannot disturb; and let the signs which Jesus now exhibits suffice him to the end (Matt. xi. 1–6; Luke vii. 18–23).

The testimony to John which our Lord graciously adds is intended to reinstate him in that place in the minds of his own disciples which he had occupied before this mission of doubt. John is not a weak waverer; not a luxurious courtier, attaching himself to the new dispensation from worldly motives; but a prophet, and more than a prophet, for the prophets spoke of Jesus afar off, but John stood before the Messiah, and with his hand pointed Him out. He came in the spirit and power of Elijah (Mal. iii. 1, iv. 5), to prepare for the kingdom of heaven. And yet, great as he was, the least of those in the kingdom of heaven when it is completely planted should enjoy a higher degree of religious illumination than he (Matt. xi. 7–11; Luke vii. 24–28).

Now commences the second circuit of Galilee (Luke viii. 1–3), to which belong the parables in Matt. xiii., the visit of our Lord's mother and brethren (Luke viii. 19–21), and the account of his reception at Nazareth (Mark vi. 1–6).

During this time the twelve have journeyed with Him. But now a third circuit in Galilee is recorded, which probably occurred during the last three months of this year (Matt. ix. 35–38); and during this circuit, after reminding them how great is the harvest and how pressing the need of laborers, He carries the training of the disciples one step further by sending them forth by themselves to teach (Matt. x., xi.). Such a mission is not to be considered as identical in character with the mission of the Apostles after the Resurrection. It was limited to the Jews; the Samaritans and heathen were excluded; but this arose, not from any narrowness in the limits of the kingdom of heaven (Matt. xxviii. 19; Mark xvi. 15), but from the limited knowledge and abilities of the Apostles. They were sent to proclaim to the Jews that "the kingdom of heaven," which their prophets taught them to look for, was at hand (Matt. x. 7); but they were unfit as yet for the task of explaining to Jews the true nature of that kingdom, and still more to Gentiles who had received no preparation for any such doctrine. The preaching of the Apostles whilst Jesus was yet on earth was only ancillary to his and a preparation of the way for Him. It was probably of the simplest character. "As ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of Heaven is at hand." Power was given them to confirm it by signs and wonders; and the purpose of it was to throw the minds of those who heard it into an inquiring state, so that they might seek and find the Lord Himself. But whilst their instructions as to the matter of their preaching were thus brief and simple, the cautions, warnings, and encouragements as to their own condition were far more full. They were to do their work without anxiety for their welfare. No provision was to be made for their journey; in the house that first received them in any city they were to abide, not seeking to find the best. Dangers would befall them, for they were sent forth "as sheep in the midst of wolves" (Matt. x. 16); but they were not to allow this to disturb their thoughts. The same God who wrought their miracles for them would protect them; and those who confessed the name of Christ before men would be confessed by Christ before the Father as his disciples. These precepts for the Apostles even went somewhat beyond what their present mission required; it does not appear that they were at this time delivered up to councils, or scourged in synagogues. But in training their feeble wings for their first flight the same rules and cautions were given which would be needed even when they soared the highest in their zeal and devotion to their crucified Master. There is no difficulty here, if we remember that this sending forth was rather a training of the Apostles than a means of converting the Galilean people.

They went forth two and two; and our Lord continued his own circuit (Matt. xi. 1), with what companions does not appear. By this time the leaven of the Lord's teaching had begun powerfully to work among the people. Herod, we read, "was perplexed, because that it was said of some, that John was risen from the dead, and of some that Elijah had appeared; and of others, that one of the old prophets was risen again" (Luke ix. 7, 8). The false apprehensions about the Messiah, that he should be a temporal ruler, were so deep-rooted, that whilst all the rumors concurred in assigning a high place to Jesus as a prophet, none went beyond to recognize Him as the King of Israel — the Saviour of his people and the world.

After a journey of perhaps two months' duration the twelve return to Jesus, and give an account of their ministry. The third Passover was now drawing near; but the Lord did not go up to it, because his time was not come for submitting to the malice of the Jews against Him; because his ministry in Galilee was not completed; and especially, because He wished to continue the training of the Apostles for their work, now one of the chief objects of his ministry. He wished to commune with them privately upon their work, and, we may suppose, to add to the instruction they had already received from Him (Mark vi. 30, 31). He therefore went with them from the neighborhood of Capernaum to a mountain on the eastern shore of the Sea of Tiberias, near Bethsaida Julias, not far from the head of the sea. Great multitudes pursued them; and here the Lord, moved to compassion by the hunger and weariness of the people, wrought for them one of his most remarkable miracles. Out of five barley loaves and two small fishes, He produced food for five thousand men besides women and children. The act was one of creation, and therefore was both an assertion and a proof of divine power; and the discourse which followed it, recorded by John only, was an important step in the training of the Apostles, for it hinted to them for the first time the unexpected truth that the body and blood of Christ, that is, his Passion, must become the means of man's salvation. This view of the doctrine of the kingdom of heaven which they had been preaching, could not have been understood: but it would prepare those who still clave to Jesus to expect the hard *facts* that were to follow

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these hard words. The discourse itself has already been examined (p. 1356). After the miracle, but before the comment on it was delivered, the disciples crossed the sea from Bethsaida Julias to Bethsaida of Galilee, and Jesus retired alone to a mountain to commune with the Father. They were toiling at the oar, for the wind was contrary, when, as the night drew towards morning, they saw Jesus walking to them on the sea, having passed the whole night on the mountain. They were amazed and terrified. He came into the ship and the wind ceased. They worshipped Him at this new proof of divine power — "Of a truth thou art the Son of God" (Matt. xiv. 33). The storm had been another trial of their faith (comp. Matt. viii. 23–26), not in a present Master, as on a former occasion, but in an absent one. But the words of St. Mark intimate that even the feeding of the five thousand had not built up their faith in Him, — "for they considered not the miracle of the loaves: for their heart was hardened" (vi. 52). Peter, however, as St. Matthew relates, with his usual zeal wishing to show that he really possessed that faith in Jesus, which perhaps in the height of the storm had been somewhat forgotten, requests Jesus to bid him come to Him upon the water. When he made the effort, his faith began to fail, and he cried out for succor. Christ's rebuke, "O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?" does not imply that he had *no* faith, or that it *wholly* deserted him now. All the failings of Peter were of the same kind; there was a faith full of zeal and eagerness, but it was not constant. He believed that he could walk on the waters if Jesus bade him; but the roar of the waves appalled him, and he sank from the same cause that made him deny his Lord afterwards.

When they reached the shore of Gennesaret the whole people showed their faith in Him as a Healer of disease (Mark vi. 53–56); and he performed very many miracles on them. Nothing could surpass the eagerness with which they sought Him. Yet on the next day the great discourse just alluded to was uttered, and "from that time many of his disciples went back and walked no more with Him" (John vi. 66).

Third Year of the Ministry. — Hearing perhaps that Jesus was not coming to the feast, Scribes and Pharisees from Jerusalem went down to see Him at Capernaum (Matt. xv. 1). They found fault with his disciples for breaking the tradition about purifying, and eating with unwashen hands. It is not necessary to suppose that they came to lie in wait for Jesus. The objection was one which they would naturally take. Our Lord in his answer tries to show them how far external rule, claiming to be religious, may lead men away from the true spirit of the Gospel. "Ye say, whosoever shall say to his father or his mother, it is a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me; and honor not his father or his mother, he shall be free" (Matt. xv. 5, 6). They admitted the obligation of the fifth commandment, but had introduced a means of evading it, by enabling a son to say to his father and mother who sought his help that he had made his property "a gift" to the Temple, which took precedence of his obligation. Well might He apply to a people where such a miserable evasion could find place, the words of Isaiah (xxix. 13) — "This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoreth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. But in vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."

Leaving the neighborhood of Capernaum our Lord now travels to the northwest of Galilee, to the region of Tyre and Sidon. The time is not strictly determined, but it was probably the early summer of this year. It does not appear that He retired into this heathen country for the purpose of ministering; more probably it was a retreat from the machinations of the Jews. A woman of the country, of Greek education (Ἑλληνὶς Συροφοινίκισσα, Mark), came to entreat Him to heal her daughter, who was tormented with an evil spirit. The Lord at first repelled her by saying that He was not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel; but not so was her maternal love to be baffled. She besought Him again and was again repelled; the bread of the children was not to be given to dogs. Still persisting, she besought his help even as one of the dogs so despised: "the dogs eat of the crumbs that fall from the Master's table." Faith so sincere was not to be resisted. Her daughter was made whole (Matt. xv. 21–28; Mark vii. 24–30).

Returning thence He passed round by the north of the sea of Galilee to the region of Decapolis on its eastern side (Mark vii. 31–37). In this district He performed many miracles, and especially the restoration of a deaf man who had an impediment in his speech, remarkable for the seeming effort with which He wrought it. To these succeeded the feeding of the four thousand with the seven loaves (Matt. xv. 32). He now crossed the Lake to Magdala, where the Pharisees and Sadducees asked and were refused a "sign;" some great wonder wrought expressly for them to prove that He was the Christ. He answers them as He had answered a similar request before: "the sign of the prophet Jonas" was all that they should have. His resurrection after a death of three days should be the great sign, and yet in another sense no sign should be given them, for they should neither see it nor believe it. The unnatural alliance between Pharisee and Sadducee is worthy of remark. The zealots of tradition, and the political partizans of Herod (for "leaven of the Sadducees," in Matt. xvi. 6 = "leaven of Herod," Mark viii. 15) joined together for once with a common object of hatred. After they had departed, Jesus crossed the lake with his disciples, and, combining perhaps for the use of the disciples the remembrance of the feeding of the four thousand with that of the conversation they had just heard, warned them to "beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the leaven of Herod" (Mark viii. 15). So little however were the disciples prepared for this, that they mistook it for a reproof for having brought only one loaf with them! They had forgotten the five thousand and the four thousand, or they would have known that where He was, natural bread could not fail them. It was needful to explain to them that the leaven of the Pharisees was the doctrine of those who had made the word of God of none effect by traditions which, appearing to promote religion, really overlaid and destroyed it, and the leaven of the Sadducees was the doctrine of those who, under the show of superior enlightenment, denied the foundations of the fear of God by denying a future state. At Bethsaida Julias, Jesus restored sight to a blind man; and here, as in a former case, the form and preparation which He adopted are to be remarked. As though the human Saviour has to

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wrestle with and painfully overcome the sufferings of His people, He takes him by the hand, and leads him out of the town, and spits on his eyes and asks him if he sees aught. At first the sense is restored imperfectly; and Jesus lays his hand again upon him and the cure is complete (Mark viii. 22–26).

The ministry in Galilee is now drawing to its close. Through the length and breadth of that country Jesus has proclaimed the kingdom of Christ, and has shown by mighty works that He is the Christ that was to come. He begins to ask the disciples what are the results of all his labor. "Whom say the people that I am?" (Luke ix. 18). It is true that the answer shows that they took Him for a prophet. But we are obliged to admit that the rejection of Jesus by the Galileans had been as complete as his preaching to them had been universal. Here and there a few may have received the seeds that shall afterwards be quickened to their conversion. But the great mass had heard without earnestness the preached word, and forgotten it without regret. "Whereunto shall I liken this generation?" says Christ. "It is like unto children sitting in the market, and calling unto their fellows, and saying, We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned unto you, and ye have not lamented" (Matt. xi. 16, 17). This is a picture of a wayward people without earnest thought. As children, from want of any real purpose, cannot agree in their play, so the Galileans quarrel with every form of religious teaching. The message of John and that of Jesus they did not attend to; but they could discuss the question whether one was right in fasting and the other in eating and drinking. He denounces woe to the cities where He had wrought the most, to Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum, for their strange insensibility, using the strongest expressions. "Thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell; for if the mighty works which have been done in thee had been done in Sodom, it would have remained until this day. But I say unto you that it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment than for thee" (Matt. xi. 23, 24). Such awful language could only be used to describe a complete rejection of the Lord. And in truth nothing was wanting to aggravate that rejection. The lengthened journeys through the land, the miracles, far more than are recorded in detail, had brought the Gospel home to all the people. Capernaum was the focus of his ministry. Through Chorazin and Bethsaida He had no doubt passed with crowds behind Him, drawn together by wonders that they had seen, and by the hope of others to follow them. Many thousands had actually been benefited by the miracles; and yet of all these there were only twelve that really clave to Him, and one of them was Judas the traitor. With this rejection an epoch of the history is connected. He begins to unfold now the doctrine of his Passion more fully. First inquiring who the people said that He was, He then put the same question to the Apostles themselves. Simon Peter, the ready spokesman of the rest, answers, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." It might almost seem that such a manifest inference from the wonders they had witnessed was too obvious to deserve praise, did not the sight of a whole country which had witnessed the same wonders, and despised them, prove how thoroughly callous the Jewish heart was. "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven" (Matt. xvi. 16–20). We compare the language applied to Capernaum for its want of faith with that addressed to Peter and the Apostles, and we see how wide is the gulf between those who believe and those who do not. Jesus now in the plainest language tells them what is to be the mode of his departure from the world; "how that He must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and be raised again the third day" (Matt. xvi. 21). Peter, who had spoken as the representative of all the Apostles before, in confessing Jesus as the Christ, now speaks for the rest in offering to our Lord the commonplace consolations of the children of this world to a friend beset by danger. The danger they think will be averted: such an end cannot befall one so great. The Lord, "when he had turned about and looked on his disciples" (Mark), to show that He connected Peter's words with them all, addresses Peter as the tempter — "Get thee behind me, Satan; thou art an offense unto me." These words open up to us the fact that this period of the ministry was a time of special trial and temptation to the sinless Son of God. "Escape from sufferings and death! Do not drink the cup prepared of Thy Father; it is too bitter; it is not deserved." Such was the whisper of the Prince of this World at that time to our Lord; and Peter has been unwittingly taking it into his mouth. The doctrine of a suffering Messiah, so plainly exhibited in the prophets, had receded from sight in the current religion of that time. The announcement of it to the disciples was at once new and shocking. By repelling it, even when offered by the Lord Himself, they fell into a deeper sin than they could have conceived. The chief of them was called "Satan," because he was unconsciously pleading on Satan's side (Matt. xvi. 21 23).

Turning now to the whole body of those who followed Him (Mark, Luke), He published the Christian doctrine of self-denial. The Apostles had just shown that they took the natural view of suffering, that it was an evil to be shunned. They shrank from conflict, and pain, and death, as it is natural men should. But Jesus teaches that, in comparison with the higher life, the life of the soul, the life of the body is valueless. And as the renewed life of the Christian implies his *dying* to his old wishes and desires, suffering, which causes the death of earthly hopes and wishes, may be a good. "If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow Me. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it, and whosoever will lose his life for My sake shall find it. For what is a man profited, if he should gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" (Matt. xvi.) From this part of the history to the end we shall not lose sight of the sufferings of the Lord. The Cross is darkly seen at the end of our path; and we shall ever draw nearer that mysterious implement of human salvation (Matt. xvi. 21–28, Mark viii. 31–38; Luke ix. 22–27).

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The Transfiguration, which took place just a week after this conversation, is to be understood in connection with it. The minds of the twelve were greatly disturbed at what they had heard. The Messiah was to perish by the wrath of men. The Master whom they served was to be taken away from them. Now, if ever, they needed support for their perplexed spirits, and this their loving Master failed not to give them. He takes with Him three chosen disciples, Peter, John, and James, who formed as it were a smaller circle nearer to Jesus than that of the rest, into a high mountain apart by themselves. There are no means of determining the position of the mountain; although Cæsarea Philippi was the scene of the former conversations, it does not follow that this occurred on the eastern side of the lake, for the intervening week would have given time enough for a long journey thence. There is no authority for the tradition which identifies this mountain with Mount Tabor, although it *may* be true. [HERMON; TABOR.] The three disciples were taken up with Him, who should afterwards be the three witnesses of his agony in the garden of Gethsemane: those who saw his glory in the holy mount would be sustained by the remembrance of it when they beheld his lowest humiliation. The calmness and exactness of the narrative preclude all doubt as to its historical character. It is no myth, nor vision; but a sober account of a miracle. When Jesus had come up into the mountain He was praying, and as He prayed, a great change came over Him. "His face did shine as the sun (Matt.); and His raiment became shining, exceeding white as snow: so as no fuller on earth can white them" (Mark). Beside Him appeared Moses the great lawgiver, and Elijah, great amongst the prophets; and they spake of his departure, as though it was something recognized both by Law and prophets. The three disciples were at first asleep with weariness; and when they woke they saw the glorious scene. As Moses and Elijah were departing (Luke), Peter, wishing to arrest them, uttered those strange words, "Lord, it is good for us to be here, and let us make three tabernacles, one for Thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah." They were the words of one astonished and somewhat afraid, yet of one who felt a strange peace in this explicit testimony from the Father that Jesus was his. It was good for them to be there, he felt, where no Pharisees could set traps for them, where neither Pilate nor Herod could take Jesus by force. Just as he spoke a cloud came over them, and the voice of the Heavenly Father attested once more his Son — "This is my beloved Son; hear Him." There has been much discussion on the purport of this great wonder. But thus much seems highly probable. First, as it was connected with the prayer of Jesus, to which it was no doubt an answer, it is to be regarded as a kind of inauguration of Him in his new office as the High-priest who should make atonement for the sins of the people with his own blood. The mystery of his trials and temptations lies too deep for speculation: but He received strength against human infirmity — against the prospect of sufferings so terrible — in this his glorification. Secondly, as the witnesses of this scene were the same three disciples who were with the Master in the garden of Gethsemane it may be assumed that the one was intended to prepare them for the other, and that they were to be borne up under the spectacle of his humiliation by the remembrance that they had been eye-witnesses of his majesty (2 Pet. i 16–18).

As they came down from the mountain He charged them to keep secret what they had seen till after the Resurrection; which shows that this miracle took place for his use and for theirs, rather than for the rest of the disciples. This led to questions about the meaning of his rising again from the dead, and in the course of it, and arising out of it, occurred the question, "Why then (*οὖν*, which refers to some preceding conversation) say the scribes that Elias must first come?" They had been assured by what they had just seen that the time of the kingdom of God was now come; and the objection brought by the Scribes, that before the Messiah Elijah must reappear, seemed hard to reconcile with their new conviction. Our Lord answers them that the Scribes have rightly understood the prophecies that Elijah would first come (Mal. iv. 5, 6), but have wanted the discernment to see that this prophecy was already fulfilled. "Elias has come already, and they knew him not, but have done unto him whatever they listed." In John the Baptist, who came in the spirit and power of Elijah, were the Scriptures fulfilled (Matt. xvii. 1–13; Mark ix. 2–13; Luke ix. 28–36).

Meantime amongst the multitude below a scene was taking place which formed the strongest contrast to the glory and the peace which they had witnessed, and which seemed to justify Peter's remark, "It is good for us to be here." A poor youth, lunatic and possessed by a devil — for here as elsewhere the possession is superadded to some known form of that bodily and mental evil which came in at first with sin and Satan — was brought to the disciples who were not with Jesus, to be cured. They could not prevail; and when Jesus appeared amongst them the agonized and disappointed father appealed to Him, with a kind of complaint of the impotence of the disciples. "O faithless and perverse generation!" said our Lord; "how long shall I be with you? how long shall I suffer you?" The rebuke is not to the disciples, but to all, the father included; for the weakness of faith that hindered the miracle was in them all. St. Mark's account, the most complete, describes the paroxysm that took place in the lad on our Lord's ordering him to be brought; and also records the remarkable saying, which well described the father's state, "Lord, I believe, help Thou my unbelief!" What the disciples had failed to do, Jesus did at a word. He then explained to them that their want of faith in their own power to heal, and in his promises to bestow the power upon them, was the cause of their inability (Matt. xvii. 14–21; Mark ix. 14–29; Luke ix. 37–43).

Once more did Jesus foretell his sufferings on their way back to Capernaum; but "they understood not that saying, and were afraid to ask Him" (Mark ix. 30–32).

But a vague impression seems to have been produced on them that his kingdom was now very near. It broke forth in the shape of a dispute amongst them as to which should rank the highest in the kingdom when it should come. Taking a little child, He told them that, in his kingdom, not ambition, but a childlike humility, would entitle to the highest place (Matt. xviii. 1–5; Mark ix. 33–37; Luke ix. 46–48). The humility of the Christian is so closely connected with consideration for the souls of others, that the transition to a warning against causing offense (Matt., Mark), which

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might appear abrupt at first, is most natural. From this Jesus passes naturally to the subject of a tender consideration for "the lost sheep;" thence to the duty of forgiveness of a brother. Both of these last points are illustrated by parables. These, and some other discourses belonging to the same time, are to be regarded as designed to carry on the education of the Apostles, whose views were still crude and unformed, even after all that had been done for them (Matt. xviii.).

From the Feast of Tabernacles, Third Year. — The Feast of Tabernacles was now approaching. For eighteen months the ministry of Jesus had been confined to Galilee; and his brothers, not hostile to Him, yet only half-convinced about his doctrine, urged Him to go into Judæa that his claims might be known and confessed on a more conspicuous field. This kind of request, founded in human motives, was one which our Lord would not assent to; witness his answer to Mary at Cana in Galilee when the first miracle was wrought. He told them that, whilst all times were alike to them, whilst they could always walk among the Jews without danger, his appointed time was not come. They set out for the feast without Him, and He abode in Galilee for a few days longer (John vii. 2–10). Afterwards He set out, taking the more direct but less frequented route by Samaria, that his journey might be "in secret." It was in this journey that James and John conceived the wish — so closely parallel to facts in the Old Covenant, so completely at variance with the spirit of the New, that fire should be commanded to come down from heaven to consume the inhospitable Samaritans (Luke ix. 51–62).

St. Luke alone records, in connection with this journey, the sending forth of the seventy disciples. This event is to be regarded in a different light from that of the twelve. The seventy had received no special education from our Lord, and their commission was of a temporary kind. The number has reference to the Gentiles, as twelve had to the Jews; and the scene of the work, Samaria, reminds us that this is a movement directed towards the stranger. It takes place six months after the sending forth of the twelve; for the Gospel was to be delivered to the Jew first and afterwards to the Gentile. In both cases probably the preaching was of the simplest kind — "The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you." The instructions given were the same in spirit; but, on comparing them, we see that now the danger was becoming greater and the time for labor shorter (Luke x. 1–16).

After healing the ten lepers in Samaria, He came "about the midst of the feast" to Jerusalem. Here the minds of the people were strongly excited and drawn in different ways concerning him. The Pharisees and rulers sought to take Him; some of the people, however, believed in Him, but concealed their opinion for fear of the rulers. To this division of opinion we may attribute the failure of the repeated attempts on the part of the Sanhedrim to take One who was openly teaching in the Temple (John vii. 11–53; see especially vv. 30, 32, 44, 45, 46). The officers were partly afraid to seize in the presence of the people the favorite Teacher; and they themselves were awed and attracted by Him. They came to seize Him, but could not lift their hands against Him. Notwithstanding the ferment of opinion, and the fixed hatred of those in power, He seems to have taught daily to the end of the feast in the Temple before the people.

The history of the woman taken in adultery belongs to this time. But it must be premised that several MSS. of highest authority omit this passage, and that in those which insert it the text is singularly disturbed (see Lücke, *in loc.*, and Tischendorf, *Gr. Test.*, ed. vii.). The remark of Augustine is perhaps not far from the truth, that this story formed a genuine portion of the apostolic teaching, but that mistaken people excluded it from their copies of the written Gospel, thinking it might be perverted into a license to women to sin (*Ad Pollent.* ii. ch. 7). That it was thus kept apart, without the safeguards which Christian vigilance exercised over the rest of the text, and was only admitted later, would at once account for its absence from the MSS. and for the various forms assumed by the text where it is given. But the history gives no ground for such apprehensions. The law of Moses gave the power to stone women taken in adultery. But Jewish morals were sunk very low, like Jewish faith; and the punishment could not be inflicted on a sinner by those who had sinned in the same kind: "Etenim non est ferendus accusator is qui quod in altero vitium reprehendit, in eo ipso deprehenditur" (Cicero, *c. Verrem*, iii.). Thus the punishment had passed out of use. But they thought, by proposing this case to our Lord, to induce Him either to set the Law formally aside, in which case they might accuse Him of profaneness; or to sentence the guilty wretch to die, and so become obnoxious to the charge of cruelty. From such temptations Jesus was always able to escape. He threw back the decision upon them; He told them that the man who was free from that sin might cast the first stone at her. Conscience told them that this was unanswerable, and one by one they stole away, leaving the guilty woman alone before One who was indeed her Judge. It has been supposed that the words "Neither do I condemn thee" convey an absolute pardon for the sin of which she had just been guilty. But they refer, as has long since been pointed out, to the doom of stoning only. "As they have not punished thee, neither do I; go, and let this danger warn thee to sin no more" (John viii. 1–11).

The conversations (John viii. 12–59) show in a strong light the perversity of the Jews in misunderstanding our Lord's words. They refuse to see any spiritual meaning in them, and drag them as it were by force down to a low and carnal interpretation. Our Lord's remark explains the cause of this, "Why do ye not understand my speech [way of speaking]? Even because ye cannot hear my word" (ver. 43). His mode of expression was strange to them, because they were neither able nor willing to understand the real purport of his teaching. To this place belongs the account, given by John alone, of the healing of one who was born blind, and the consequences of it (John ix. 1–41, x. 1–21). The poor patient was excommunicated for refusing to undervalue the agency of Jesus in restoring him. He believed on Jesus; whilst the Pharisees were only made the worse for what they had witnessed. Well might Jesus exclaim, "For judgment I am come into this world, that they which see not might see; and that they which see might be made blind" (ix. 39). The well-known parable of the good shepherd is an answer to the calumny of the Pharisees, that He was an impostor and breaker of the law, "This man is not of God, because he keepeth not the Sabbath day" (ix. 16).

We now approach a difficult portion of the sacred

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history. The note of time given us by John immediately afterwards is the Feast of the Dedication, which was celebrated on the 25th of Kisleu, answering nearly to December. According to this Evangelist our Lord does not appear to have returned to Galilee between the Feast of Tabernacles and that of Dedication, but to have passed the time in and near Jerusalem. Matthew and Mark do not allude to the Feast of Tabernacles. Luke appears to do so in ix. 51; but the words there used would imply that this was the last journey to Jerusalem. Now in St. Luke's Gospel a large section, from ix. 51 to xviii. 14, seems to belong to the time preceding the departure from Galilee; and the question is how is this to be arranged, so that it shall harmonize with the narrative of St. John? In most Harmonies a return of our Lord to Galilee has been assumed, in order to find a place for this part of Luke's Gospel. "But the manner," says the English editor of Robinson's *Harmony*, "in which it has been arranged, after all, is exceedingly various. Some, as Le Clerc, *Harm. Evang.* p. 264, insert nearly the whole during this supposed journey. Others, as Lightfoot, assign to this journey only what precedes Luke xiii. 23; and refer the remainder to our Lord's sojourn beyond Jordan, John x. 40 (*Chron. Temp. N. T.* Opp. II. pp. 37, 39). Greswell (*Dissert.* xvi. vol. ii.) maintains that the transactions in Luke ix. 51–xviii. 14, all belong to the journey from Ephraim (through Samaria, Galilee, and Persea) to Jerusalem, which he dates in the interval of four months, between the Feast of Dedication and our Lord's last Passover. Wieseler (*Chron. Synops.* p. 328) makes a somewhat different arrangement, according to which Luke ix. 51 — xiii. 21 relates to the period from Christ's journey from Galilee to the Feast of the Tabernacles, till after the Feast of Dedication (parallel to John vii. 10 — x. 42). Luke xiii. 22 — xvii. 10 relates to the interval between that time and our Lord's stay at Ephraim (parallel to John xi. 1–54); and Luke xvii. 11 — xviii. 14 relates to the journey from Ephraim to Jerusalem, through Samaria, Galilee, and Persea" (Robinson's *Harmony*, English ed. p. 92). If the table of the Harmony of the Gospels given above is referred to [GOSPELS], it will be found that this great division of St. Luke (x. 17 — xviii. 14) is inserted entire between John x. 21 and 22; not that this appeared certainly correct, but that there are no points of contact with the other Gospels to assist us in breaking it up. That this division contains partly or chiefly reminiscences of occurrences in Galilee prior to the Feast of Tabernacles, is untenable. A journey of some kind is implied in the course of it (see xiii. 22), and beyond this we shall hardly venture to go. It is quite possible, as Wieseler supposes, that part of it should be placed before, and part after the Feast of Dedication. Notwithstanding the uncertainty, it is as the history of this period of the Redeemer's career that the Gospel of St. Luke possesses its chief distinctive value for us. Some of the most striking parables, preserved only by this Evangelist, belong to this period. The parables of the good Samaritan, the prodigal son, the unjust steward, the rich man and Lazarus, and the Pharisee and publican, all peculiar to this Gospel, belong to the present section. The instructive account of Mary and Martha, on which so many have taken a wrong view of Martha's conduct, reminds us that there are two ways of serving the truth, that of active exertion, and that of contemplation. The preference is given to Mary's meditation, because Martha's labor belonged to household cares, and was only indirectly religious. The miracle of the ten lepers belongs to this portion of the narrative. Besides these, scattered sayings that occur in St. Matthew are here repeated in a new connection. Here too belongs the return of the seventy disciples, but we know not precisely where they rejoined the Lord (Luke x. 17–20). They were full of triumph, because they found even the devils subject to them through the weight of Christ's word. In anticipation of the victory which was now begun, against the powers of darkness, Jesus replies, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven." He sought, however, to humble their triumphant spirit, so near akin to spiritual pride; "Notwithstanding, in this rejoice not, that the spirits are subject unto you; but rather rejoice, because your names are written in heaven."

The account of the bringing of young children to Jesus unites again the three Evangelists. Here, as often, St. Mark gives the most minute account of what occurred. After the announcement that the disposition of little children was the most meet for the kingdom of God, "He took them up in his arms, put his hands upon them and blessed them." The childlike spirit, which in nothing depends upon its own knowledge but seeks to be taught, is in contrast with the haughty pharisaism with its boast of learning and wisdom; and Jesus tells them that the former is the passport to his kingdom (Matt. xix. 13–15; Mark x. 13–16; Luke xviii. 15–17).

The question of the ruler, "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" was one conceived wholly in the spirit of Judaism. The man asked not how he should be delivered from sin, but how his will, already free to righteousness, might select the best and most meritorious line of conduct. The words, "Why callest thou me good? there is none good but one, that is, God," were meant first to draw him down to a humbler view of his own state; the title *good* is easy to give, but hard to justify, except when applied to the One who is all good. Jesus by no means repudiates the title as applied to Himself, but only as applied on any other ground than that of a reference to his true divine nature. Then the Lord opened out to him all the moral law, which in its full and complete sense no man has observed; but the ruler answered, perhaps sincerely, that he had observed it all from his youth up. Duties however there might be which had not come within the range of his thoughts; and as the demand had reference to his own special case, our Lord gives the special advice to sell all his possessions and to give to the poor. Then for the first time did the man discover that his devotion to God and his yearning after the eternal life were not so perfect as he had thought; and he went away sorrowful, unable to bear this sacrifice. And Jesus told the disciples how hard it was for those who had riches to enter the kingdom. Peter, ever the most ready, now contrasts, with somewhat too much emphasis, the mode in which the disciples had left all for Him, with the conduct of this rich ruler. Our Lord, sparing him the rebuke which he might have expected, tells them that those who have made any sacrifice shall have it richly repaid even in this life in the shape of a consolation and comfort, which even persecutions cannot take away (Mark); and shall have eternal life (Matt. xix. 16–30; Mark x. 17–31; Luke xviii. 18–30). Words of warning close the narrative, "Many that are first shall be

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last, and the last shall be first," lest the disciples should be thinking too much of the sacrifices, not so very great, that they had made. And in St. Matthew only, the well-known parable of the laborers in the vineyard is added to illustrate the same lesson. Whatever else the parable may contain of reference to the calling of Jews and Gentiles, the first lesson Christ was to give was one of caution to the Apostles against thinking too much of their early calling and arduous labors. They would see many, who, in comparison with themselves, were as the laborers called at the eleventh hour, who should be accepted of God as well as they. But not merit, not self-sacrifice, but the pure love of God and his mere bounty, conferred salvation on either of them: "Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with my own?" (Matt. xx. 1–16).

On the way to Jerusalem through Perea, to the Feast of Dedication, Jesus again puts before the minds of the twelve what they are never now to forget, the sufferings that await Him. They "understood none of these things" (Luke), for they could not reconcile this foreboding of suffering with the signs and announcements of the coming of his kingdom (Matt. xx. 17–19; Mark x. 32–34; Luke xviii. 31–34). In consequence of this new, though dark, intimation of the coming of the kingdom, Salome, with her two sons, James and John, came to bespeak the two places of highest honor in the kingdom. Jesus tells them that they know not what they ask; that the places of honor in the kingdom shall be bestowed, not by Jesus in answer to a chance request, but upon those for whom they are prepared by the Father. As sin ever provokes sin, the ambition of the ten was now aroused, and they began to be much displeased with James and John. Jesus once more recalls the principle that the childlike disposition is that which He approves. "Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you: but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant: Even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many" (Matt. xx. 20–28; Mark x. 35–45).

The healing of the two blind men at Jericho is chiefly remarkable among the miracles from the difficulty which has arisen in harmonizing the accounts. Matthew speaks of *two* blind men, and of the occasion as the departure from Jericho; Mark of *one*, whom he names, and of their arrival at Jericho; and Luke agrees with him. This point has received much discussion; but the view of Lightfoot finds favor with many eminent expositors, that there were two blind men, and both were healed under similar circumstances, except that Bartimæus was on one side of the city, and was healed by Jesus as He entered, and the other was healed on the other side as they departed (see Greswell, *Diss.* xx. ii.; Wieseler, *Chron. Syn.* p. 332; Matt. xx. 29–34; Mark x. 46–52; Luke xviii. 35–43). [BARTIMÆUS, Amer. ed.]

The calling of Zacchæus has more than a mere personal interest. He was a publican, one of a class hated and despised by the Jews. But he was one who sought to serve God; he gave largely to the poor, and restored fourfold when he had injured any man. Justice and love were the law of his life. From such did Jesus wish to call his disciples, whether they were publicans or not. "This day is salvation come to this house, for that he also is a son of Abraham. For the Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which was lost" (Luke xix. 1–10).

We have reached now the Feast of Dedication; but, as has been said, the exact place of the events in St. Luke about this part of the ministry has not been conclusively determined. After being present at the feast, Jesus returned to Bethabara beyond Jordan, where John had formerly baptized, and abode there. The place which the beginning of his ministry had consecrated, was now to be adorned with his presence as it drew towards its close, and the scene of John's activity was now to witness the presence of the Saviour whom he had so faithfully proclaimed (John x. 22–42). The Lord intended by this choice to recall to the minds of many the good which John had done them, and also, it may be, to prevent an undue exaltation of John in the minds of some who had heard him only. "Many," we read, "resorted to Him, and said, John did no miracle, but all things that John spake of this man were true. And many believed on Him there" (vv. 41, 42).

How long He remained here does not appear. It was probably for some weeks. The sore need of a family in Bethany, who were what men call the intimate friends of our Lord, called Him thence. Lazarus was sick, and his sisters sent word of it to Jesus, whose power they well knew. Jesus answered that the sickness was not unto death, but for the glory of God, and of the Son of God. This had reference to the miracle about to be wrought; even though he died, not his death but his restoration to life was the purpose of the sickness. But it was a trial to the faith of the sisters to find the words of their friend apparently falsified. Jesus abode for two days where He was, and then proposed to the disciples to return. The rage of the Jews against him filled the disciples with alarm; and Thomas, whose mind leant always to the desponding side, and saw nothing in the expedition but certain death to all of them, said, "Let us also go that we may die with Him." It was not till Lazarus had been four days in the grave that the Saviour appeared on the scene. The practical energy of Martha, and the retiring character of Mary, show themselves here, as once before. It was Martha who met Him, and addressed to Him words of sorrowful reproach. Jesus probed her faith deeply, and found that even in this extremity of sorrow it would not fail her. Mary now joined them, summoned by her sister; and she too reproached the Lord for the delay. Jesus does not resist the contagion of their sorrow, and as a Man He weeps true human tears by the side of the grave of a friend. But with the power of God He breaks the fetters of brass in which Lazarus was held by death, and at His word the man on whom corruption had already begun to do its work came forth alive and whole (John xi. 1–45). It might seem difficult to account for the omission of this, perhaps the most signal of the miracles of Jesus, by the three synoptical Evangelists. No doubt it was intentional; and the wish not to direct attention, and perhaps persecution, to Lazarus in his lifetime may go far to account for it. But it stands well in the pages of John, whose privilege it has been to announce the highest truths connected with the divine nature of Jesus, and who is now also permitted to show Him touched with sympathy for a sorrowing family with whom he lived in intimacy.

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A miracle so public, for Bethany was close to Jerusalem, and the family of Lazarus well known to many people in the mother-city, could not escape the notice of the Sanhedrim. A meeting of this Council was called without loss of time, and the matter discussed, not without symptoms of alarm, for the members believed that a popular outbreak, with Jesus at its head, was impending, and that it would excite the jealousy of the Romans and lead to the taking away of their "place and nation." Caiaphas the high-priest gave it as his opinion that it was expedient for them that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation should not perish. The Evangelist adds that these words bore a prophetic meaning, of which the speaker was unconscious: "This spake he not of himself, but being high-priest that year he prophesied that Jesus should die for that nation." That a bad and worldly man may prophesy the case of Balaam proves (Num. xxii.); and the Jews, as Schöttgen shows, believed that prophecy might also be unconscious. But the connection of the gift of prophecy with the office of the high-priest offers a difficulty. It has been said that, though this gift is never in Scripture assigned to the high-priest as such, yet the popular belief at this time was that he did enjoy it. There is no proof, however, except this passage, of any such belief; and the Evangelist would not appeal to it except it were true, and if it were true, then the O. T. would contain some allusion to it. The endeavors to escape from the difficulty by changes of punctuation are not to be thought of. The meaning of the passage seems to be this: The Jews were about to commit a crime, the real results of which they did not know, and God overruled the words of one of them to make him declare the reality of the transaction, but unconsciously; and as Caiaphas was the high-priest, the highest minister of God, and therefore the most conspicuous in the sin, it was natural to expect that he and not another would be the channel of the prophecy. The connection between his office and the prophecy was not a necessary one; but if a prophecy was to be uttered by unwilling lips, it was natural that the high-priest, who offered for the people, should be the person compelled to utter it. The death of Jesus was now resolved on, and He fled to Ephraim for a few days, because his hour was not yet come (John xi. 45–57).

We now approach the final stage of the history, and every word and act tend towards the great act of suffering. The hatred of the Pharisees, now converted into a settled purpose of murder, the vile wickedness of Judas, and the utter fickleness of the people are all displayed before us. Each day is marked by its own events or instructions. Our Lord entered into Bethany on Friday the 8th of Nisan, the eve of the Sabbath, and remained over the Sabbath.

Saturday the 9th of Nisan (April 1st).[a] — As He was at supper in the house of one Simon, surnamed "the leper," a relation of Lazarus, who was at table with Him,[b] Mary, full of gratitude for the wonderful raising of her brother from the dead, took a vessel containing a quantity of pure ointment of spikenard and anointed the feet of Jesus, and wiped his feet with her hair, and anointed his head likewise. She thought not of the cost of the precious ointment, in an emotion of love which was willing to part with anything she possessed to do honor to so great a Guest, so mighty a Benefactor. Judas the traitor, and some of the disciples (Matt., Mark), who took their tone from him, began to murmur at the waste: "It might have been sold for more than three hundred pence, and have been given to the poor." But Judas cared not for the poor; already he was meditating the sale of his Master's life, and all that he thought of was how he might lay hands on something more, beyond the price of blood. Jesus, however, who knew how true was the love which had dictated this sacrifice, silenced their censure. He opened out a meaning in the action which they had not sought there: "She is come aforehand to anoint my body to the burying."

Passion Week. Sunday the 10th of Nisan (April 2d). — The question of John the Baptist had no doubt often been repeated in the hearts of the expectant disciples: "Art thou He that should come, or do we look for another?" All his conversations with them of late had been filled, not with visions of glory, but with forebodings of approaching death. The world thinks them deceived, and its mockery begins to exercise some influence even over them. They need some encouraging sign under influences so depressing, and this Jesus affords them in the triumphal entry into Jerusalem. If the narrative is carefully examined, it will be seen how remarkably the assertion of a kingly right is combined with the most scrupulous care not to excite the political jealousy of the Jewish powers. When He arrives at the Mount of Olives He commands two of his disciples to go into the village near at hand, where they would find an ass, and a colt tied with her. They were neither to buy nor hire them, and "if any man shall say aught unto you, ye shall say the Lord hath need of

a * This arrangement places the supper in the house of Simon "six days" before the Passover (John xii. 1 ff.), whereas, according to Matt. xxvi. 2 and Mark xiv. 1, the supper appears to have taken place on the evening before the Passover. It is no doubt correct to understand John xii. 1 of our Lord's coming from Jericho to Bethany. This apparent discrepancy between the writers has been variously explained. The following is perhaps the best solution of the difficulty. John, it will be seen, is the only one of the Evangelists who speaks of the Saviour's stopping at Bethany on the way between Jericho and Jerusalem. Hence, this feast being the principal event which John associates with Bethany during these last days, he not unnaturally inserts the account of the feast immediately after speaking of the arrival at Bethany. But having (so to speak) discharged his mind of that recollection, he then turns back and resumes the historical order, namely, that on the next day after coming to Bethany (xii. 12 ff.), Jesus made his public entry into Jerusalem, as related by the Synoptists (Matt. xxi. 1 ff.; Mark xi. 1 ff.; Luke xix. 29 ff.). But the Synoptists pass over the night sojourn at Bethany, and thus represent Christ as making apparently an uninterrupted journey from Jericho to Jerusalem. What John therefore states, as compared with the other Evangelists, is that Jesus came to Bethany 6 days before the Passover, and *not* that He attended the feast there 6 days before the Passover; and, further, that Jesus went to Jerusalem on the following day after His arrival at Bethany, and *not* on the day after the supper. This view, if adopted, requires some transposition in the scheme given above. H.

b * It is said that Lazarus was one of the guests (εἷς τῶν ἀνακειμένων, John xii. 2), but not that he was a relation. H.

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them, and straightway he will send them." With these beasts, impressed as for the service of a King, He was to enter into Jerusalem.[a] The disciples spread upon the ass their ragged cloaks for Him to sit on. And the multitudes cried aloud before Him, in the words of the 118th Psalm, "Hosanna, Save now! blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord." This Messianic psalm they applied to Him, from a belief, sincere for the moment, that He was the Messiah. It was a striking, and to the Pharisees an alarming sight; but it only serves in the end to show the feeble hearts of the Jewish people. The same lips that cried Hosanna will before long be crying, Crucify Him, crucify Him! Meantime, however, all thoughts were carried back to the promises of a Messiah. The very act of riding in upon an ass revived an old prophecy of Zechariah (ix. 9). Words of prophecy out of a psalm sprang unconsciously to their lips. All the city was moved. Blind and lame came to the Temple when He arrived there and were healed. The august conspirators of the Sanhedrim were sore displeased. But all these demonstrations did not deceive the divine insight of Christ. He wept over the city that was hailing Him as its King, and said, "If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes" (Luke). He goes on to prophesy the destruction of the city, just as it afterwards came to pass. After working miracles in the Temple He returned to Bethany. The 10th of Nisan was the day for the separation of the paschal lamb (Ex. xii. 3). Jesus, the Lamb of God, entered Jerusalem and the Temple on this day, and although none but He knew that He was the Paschal Lamb, the coincidence is not undesigned (Matt. xxi. 1–11, 14–17; Mark xi. 1–11; Luke xix. 29–44; John xii. 12–19).

Monday the 11th of Nisan (April 3d). — The next day Jesus returned to Jerusalem, again to take advantage of the mood of the people to instruct them. On the way He approached one of the many fig-trees which grew in that quarter (Bethphage = "house of figs"), and found that it was full of foliage, but without fruit. He said, "No man eat fruit of thee hereafter for ever!" and the fig-tree withered away. This was no doubt a work of destruction, and as such was unlike the usual tenor of His acts. But it is hard to understand the mind of those who stumble at the destruction of a tree, which seems to have ceased to bear, by the word of God the Son, yet are not offended at the famine or the pestilence wrought by God the Father. The right of the Son must rest on the same ground as that of the Father. And this was not a wanton destruction; it was a type and a warning. The barren fig-tree had already been made the subject of a parable (Luke xiii. 6), and here it is made a visible type of the destruction of the Jewish people. He had come to them seeking fruit, and now it was time to pronounce their doom as a nation — there should be no fruit on them for ever (Matt. xxi. 18, 19; Mark xi. 12–14). Proceeding now to the Temple, He cleared its court of the crowd of traders that gathered there. He had performed the same act at the beginning of his ministry, and now at the close He repeats it, for the house of prayer was as much a den of thieves as ever. With zeal for God's house his ministry began, with the same it ended (see p 1360; Matt. xxi. 12, 13; Mark xi. 15–19; Luke xix. 45–48). In the evening He returned again to Bethany.

Tuesday the 12th of Nisan (April 4th). — On this the third day of Passion Week Jesus went into Jerusalem as before, and visited the Temple. The Sanhedrim came to Him to call Him to account for the clearing of the Temple. "By what authority doest thou these things?" The Lord answered their question by another, which, when put to them in their capacity of a judge of spiritual things, and of the pretensions of prophets and teachers, was very hard either to answer or to pass in silence — what was their opinion of the baptism of John? If they replied that it was from heaven, their own conduct towards John would accuse them; if of men, then the people would not listen to them even when they denounced Jesus, because none doubted that John was a prophet. They refused to answer, and Jesus refused in like manner to answer them. In the parable of the Two Sons, given by Matthew, the Lord pronounces a strong condemnation on them for saying to God, "I go, Sir," but not going (Matt. xxi. 23–32; Mark xi. 27–33; Luke xx. 1–8). In the parable of the wicked husbandmen the history of the Jews is represented, who had stoned and killed the prophets, and were about to crown their wickedness by the death of the Son. In the parable of the wedding garment, the destruction of the Jews, and the invitation to the Gentiles to the feast in their stead, are vividly represented (Matt. xxi. 33–46, xxii. 1–14; Mark xii. 1–2; Luke xx. 9–19).

Not content with their plans for his death, the different parties try to entangle Him in argument and to bring Him into contempt. First come the Pharisees and Herodians, as if to ask Him to settle a dispute between them. "Is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar, or not?" The spirit of the answer of Christ lies here: that, since they had accepted Cæsar's money, they had confessed his rule, and were bound to render to the civil power what they had confessed to be due to it, as they were to render to God and to his holy temple the offerings due to it. Next appeared the Sadducees, who denied a future state, and put before Him a contradiction which seemed to them to arise out of that doctrine. Seven brethren in succession married a wife (Deut. xxv. 5): whose wife should she be in a future state? The answer was easy to find. The law in question referred obviously to the present time: it would pass away in another state, and so would all such earthly relations, and all jealousies or disputes founded on them. Jesus now retorts the argument on the Sadducees. Appealing to the Pentateuch, because his hearers did not acknowledge the authority of the later books of the Bible He recites the words, "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," as used to Moses, and draws from them the argument that these men must then have been alive. Although the words would not at first sight suggest this inference, they really contain it; for the form of expression implies that He still exists and they still exist (Matt. xxii. 15–33; Mark xii. 13–27; Luke xx. 20–40). Fresh questions awaited Him, but his wisdom never failed to give the appropriate answer. And then he uttered to all the people

[a] Stanley has a graphic passage relating to the Saviour's entry into Jerusalem, in which he points out the correspondences between the narrative and the localities (*S. & P.* pp. 187–190, Amer. ed.). D

that terrible denunciation of woe to the Pharisees, with which we are familiar (Matt. xxiii. 1–39). If we compare it with our Lord's account of his own position in reference to the Law, in the Sermon on the Mount, we see that the principles there laid down are everywhere violated by the Pharisees. Their almsgiving was ostentation; their distinctions about oaths led to falsehood and profaneness; they were exact about the small observances and neglected the weightier ones of the Law; they adorned the tombs of the prophets, saying that if they had lived in the time of their fathers they would not have slain them; and yet they were about to fill up the measure of their fathers' wickedness by slaying the greatest of the prophets, and persecuting and slaying his followers. After an indignant denunciation of the hypocrites who, with a show of religion, had thus contrived to stifle the true spirit of religion and were in reality its chief persecutors, He apostrophizes Jerusalem in words full of compassion, yet carrying with them a sentence of death: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate. For I say unto you, ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord" (Matt. xxiii.).

Another great discourse belongs to this day, which, more than any other, presents Jesus as the great Prophet of His people. On leaving the Temple his disciples drew attention to the beauty of its structure, its "goodly stones and gifts," their remarks probably arising from the threats of destruction which had so lately been uttered by Jesus. Their Master answered that not one stone of the noble pile should be left upon another. When they reached the Mount of Olives the disciples, or rather the first four (Mark), speaking for the rest, asked Him when this destruction should be accomplished. To understand the answer it must be borne in mind that Jesus warned them that He was *not* giving them an historical account such as would enable them to anticipate the events. "Of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only." Exact data of time are to be purposely withheld from them. Accordingly, two events, analogous in character but widely sundered by time, are so treated in the prophecy that it is almost impossible to disentangle them. The destruction of Jerusalem and the day of judgment — the national and the universal days of account — are spoken of together or alternately without hint of the great interval of time that separates them. Thus it may seem that a most important fact is omitted; but the highest work of prophecy is not to fix times and seasons, but to disclose the divine significance of events. What was most important to them to know was that the destruction of Jerusalem followed upon the probation and rejection of her people, and that the crucifixion and that destruction were connected as cause and effect (Matt. xxiv.; Mark xiii.; Luke xxi.). The conclusion which Jesus drew from his own awful warning was, that they were not to attempt to fix the date of his return: "Therefore be ye also ready, for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of Man cometh." The lesson of the parable of the Ten Virgins is the same; the Christian soul is to be ever in a state of vigilance and preparation (Matt. xxiv. 44, xxv. 13). And the parable of the Talents, here repeated in a modified form, teaches how precious to souls are the uses of time (xxv. 14–30). In concluding this momentous discourse, our Lord puts aside the destruction of Jerusalem, and displays to our eyes the picture of the final judgment. There will He Himself be present, and will separate all the vast family of mankind into two classes, and shall appraise the works of each class as works done to Himself, present in the world though invisible; and men shall see, some with terror and some with joy, that their life here was spent either for Him or against Him, and that the good which lay before them to do was provided for them by Him, and not by chance, and the reward and punishment shall be apportioned to each (Matt. xxv. 31–46).

With these weighty words ends the third day; and whether we consider the importance of His recorded teaching, or the amount of opposition and of sorrow presented to His mind, it was one of the greatest days of all His earthly ministrations. The general reflections of John (xii. 37–50), which contain a retrospect of His ministry and of the strange reception of Him by his people, may well be read as if they came in here.

Wednesday the 13th of Nisan (April 5th). — This day was passed in retirement with the Apostles. Satan had put it into the mind of one of them to betray Him; and Judas Iscariot made a covenant to betray Him to the chief priests for thirty pieces of silver. The character of Judas, and the degrees by which he reached the abyss of guilt in which he was at last destroyed, deserve much attention. There is no reason to doubt that when he was chosen by Jesus he possessed, like the rest, the capacity of being saved, and was endued with gifts which might have made him an able minister of the New Testament. But the innate worldliness and covetousness were not purged out from him. His practical talents made him a kind of steward of the slender resources of that society, and no doubt he conceived the wish to use the same gifts on a larger field, which the realization of "the kingdom of Heaven" would open out before him. These practical gifts were his ruin. Between him and the rest there could be no real harmony. His motives were worldly, and theirs were not. They loved the Saviour more as they knew Him better. Judas, living under the constant tacit rebuke of a most holy example, grew to hate the Lord; for nothing, perhaps, more strongly draws out evil instincts than the enforced contact with goodness. And when he knew that his Master did not trust him, was not deceived by him, his hatred grew more intense. But this did not break out into overt act until Jesus began to foretell his own crucifixion and death. If these were to happen, all his hopes that he had built on following the Lord would be dashed down. If they should crucify the Master they would not spare the servants; and, in place of a heavenly kingdom, he would find contempt, persecution, and probably death. It was high time, therefore, to treat with the powers that seemed most likely to prevail in the end; and he opened a negotiation with the high-priests in secret, in order that, if his Master were to fall, he might be the instrument, and so make friends among the triumphant persecutors. And yet, strange contradiction, he did not wholly cease to believe in Jesus: possibly he thought that he would so act that he might be safe either

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way. If Jesus was the Prophet and Mighty One that he had once thought, then the attempt to take Him might force Him to put forth all his resources and to assume the kingdom to which He laid claim, and then the agent in the treason, even if discovered, might plead that he foresaw the result: if He were unable to save Himself and his disciples, then it were well for Judas to betake himself to those who were stronger. The bribe of money, not very considerable, could not have been the chief motive; but as two vicious appetites could be gratified instead of one, the thirty pieces of silver became a part of the temptation. The treason was successful, and the money paid; but not one moment's pleasure did those silver pieces purchase for their wretched possessor, not for a moment did he reap any fruit from his detestable guilt. After the crucifixion, the avenging belief that Jesus was what He professed to be rushed back in full force upon his mind. He went to those who had hired him; they derided his remorse. He cast away the accursed silver pieces, defiled with the "innocent blood" of the Son of God, and went and hanged himself (Matt. xxvi. 14–16; Mark xiv. 10–11; Luke xxii. 1–6).

Thursday the 14th of Nisan (April 6th). — On "the first day of unleavened bread," when the Jews were wont to put away all leaven out of their houses (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb. on Mark* xiv. 12), the disciples asked their Master where they were to eat the Passover. He directed Peter and John to go into Jerusalem, and to follow a man whom they should see bearing a pitcher of water, and to demand of him, in their Master's name, the use of the guestchamber in his house for this purpose.[a] All happened as Jesus had told them, and in the evening they assembled to celebrate, for the last time, the paschal meal. The sequence of the events is not quite clear from a comparison of the Evangelists; but the difficulty arises with St. Luke, and there is external evidence that he is not following the chronological order (Wieseler, *Chron. Syn.* p. 399). The order seems to be as follows. When they had taken their places at table and the supper had begun, Jesus gave them the first cup to divide amongst themselves (Luke). It was customary to drink at the paschal supper four cups of wine mixed with water; and this answered to the first of them. There now arose a contention among the disciples which of them should be the greatest; perhaps in connection with the places which they had taken at this feast (Luke). After a solemn warning against pride and ambition Jesus performed an act which, as one of the last of his life, must ever have been remembered by the witnesses as a great lesson of humility. He rose from the table, poured water into a basin, girded himself with a towel, and proceeded to wash the disciples' feet (John). It was an office for slaves to perform, and from Him, knowing as He did, "that the Father had given all things into his hand, and that He was come from God and went to God," it was an unspeakable condescension. But his love for them was infinite, and if there were any way to teach them the humility which as yet they had not learned, He would not fail to adopt it. Peter, with his usual readiness, was the first to refuse to accept such menial service — "Lord, dost thou wash my feet?" When he was told that this act was significant of the greater act of humiliation by which Jesus saved his disciples and united them to Himself, his scruples vanished. After all had been washed, the Saviour explained to them the meaning of what He had done. "If I, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you." But this act was only the outward symbol of far greater sacrifices for them than they could as yet understand. It was a small matter to wash their feet; it was a great one to come down from the glories of heaven to save them. Later the Apostle Paul put this same lesson of humility into another form, and rested it upon deeper grounds. "Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus: who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men, and being found in fashion as a man He humbled Himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross" (Phil. ii. 5–8; Matt. xxvi. 17–20; Mark xiv. 12–17; Luke xxii. 7–30; John xiii. 1–20).

From this act of love it does not seem that even the traitor Judas was excluded. But his treason was thoroughly known: and now Jesus denounces it. One of them should betray Him. They were all sorrowful at this, and each asked "Is it I?" and even Judas asked and received an affirmative answer (Matt.), but probably in an undertone, for when Jesus said "That thou doest do quickly," none of the rest understood. The traitor having gone straight to his wicked object, the end of the Saviour's ministry seemed already at hand. "Now is the Son of Man glorified, and God is glorified in Him." He gave them the new commandment, to love one another, as though it were a last bequest to them. To love was not a new thing, it was enjoined in the old Law; but to be distinguished for a special Christian love and mutual devotion was what He would have, and this was the new element in the commandment. Founded by a great act of love, the Church was to be marked by love (Matt. xxvi. 21–25; Mark xiv. 18–21; Luke xxii. 21–23; John xiii. 21–35).

Towards the close of the meal Jesus instituted the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. He took bread and gave thanks and brake it, and gave to his disciples, saying, "This is my body which is given for you; this do in remembrance of me." He then took the cup, which corresponded to the *third* cup in the usual course of the paschal supper, and after giving thanks, He gave it to them, saying, "This is my blood of the new testament [covenant] which is shed for many." It was a memorial of his passion and of this last supper that preceded it, and in dwelling on his Passion in this sacrament, in true faith, all believers draw nearer to the cross of his sufferings and taste more strongly the sweetness of his love and the efficacy of his atoning death (Matt. xxvi. 26–29; Mark xiv. 22–25; Luke xxii. 19 20; 1 Cor. xi. 23–25).

The denial of Peter is now foretold, and to no

[a] The task of fetching water for domestic uses is commonly performed in the East by women. The writer recalls but two instances during a period of nearly three months in Palestine, in which he saw "a man bearing a pitcher of water." As the host was to be identified by this circumstance, it seems to be implied that the practice was unusual. G.

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one would such an announcement be more incredible than to Peter himself. "Lord, why cannot I follow thee now? I will lay down my life for thy sake." The zeal was sincere, and as such did the Lord regard it; but here, as elsewhere, Peter did not count the cost. By and by, when the Holy Spirit has come down to give them a strength not their own, Peter and the rest of the disciples will be bold to resist persecution, even to the death. It needs strong love and deep insight to view such an act as this denial with sorrow and not with indignation (Matt. xxvi. 31–35; Mark xiv. 27–31; Luke xxii. 31–38; John xiii. 36–38).

That great final discourse, which John alone has recorded, is now delivered. Although in the middle of it there is a mention of departure (John xiv. 31), this perhaps only implies that they prepared to go: and then the whole discourse was delivered in the house before they proceeded to Gethsemane. Of the contents of this discourse, which is the voice of the Priest in the holy of holies, something has been said already (p. 1358; John xiv.–xvii.).

Friday the 15th of Nisan (April 7), including part of the eve of it. — "When they had sung a hymn," [a] which perhaps means, when they had sung the second part of the Hallel, or song of praise, which consisted of Psalms cxv.–cxviii., the former part (Psalms cxiii.–cxiv.) having been sung at an earlier part of the supper, they went out into the Mount of Olives. They came to a place called GETHSEMANE (*oil-press*), and it is probable that the place now pointed out to travellers is the real scene of that which follows, and even that its huge olive-trees are the legitimate successors of those which were there when Jesus visited it. A moment of terrible agony is approaching, of which all the Apostles need not be spectators, for He thinks of them, and wishes to spare them this addition to their sorrows. So He takes only his three proved companions, Peter, James, and John, and passes with them farther into the garden, leaving the rest seated, probably near the entrance. No pen can attempt to describe what passed that night in that secluded spot. He tells them "my soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death: tarry ye here and watch with me," and then leaving even the three He goes further, and in solitude wrestles with an inconceivable trial. The words of Mark are still more expressive — "He began to be sore amazed, and to be very heavy" (ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι καὶ ἀδημονεῖν, xiv. 33). The former word means that he was struck with a great dread; not from the fear of physical suffering, however excruciating, we may well believe, but from the contact with the sins of the world, of which, in some inconceivable way, He here felt the bitterness and the weight. He did not merely contemplate them, but bear and feel them. It is impossible to explain this scene in Gethsemane in any other way. If it were merely the fear of the terrors of death that overcame Him, then the martyr Stephen and many another would surpass Him in constancy. But when He says, "Abba, Father, all things are possible unto Thee; take away this cup from me: nevertheless not what I will but what thou wilt" (Mark), the cup was filled with a far bitterer potion than death; it was flavored with the poison of the sins of all mankind against its God. Whilst the sinless Son is thus carried two ways by the present horror and the strong determination to do the Father's will, the disciples have sunk to sleep. It was in search of consolation that He came back to them. The disciple who had been so ready to ask "Why cannot I follow thee now?" must hear another question, that rebukes his former confidence — "Couldest not thou watch one hour?" A second time He departs and wrestles in prayer with the Father; but although the words He utters are almost the same (Mark says "the same"), He no longer asks that the cup may pass away from Him — "If this cup may not pass away from me except I drink it, Thy will be done" (Matt.). A second time He returns and finds them sleeping. The same scene is repeated yet a third time; and then all is concluded. Henceforth they may sleep and take their rest; never more shall they be asked to watch one hour with Jesus, for his ministry in the flesh is at an end. "The hour is at hand, and the Son of Man is betrayed into the hands of sinners" (Matt.). The prayer of Jesus in this place has always been regarded, and with reason, as of great weight against the monothelite heresy. It expresses the natural shrinking of the human will from a horror which the divine nature has admitted into it, yet without sin. Never does He say, "I will flee;" He says, "If it be possible;" and leaves that to the decision of the Father. That horror and dread arose from the spectacle of human sin; from the bearing the weight and guilt of human sin as about to make atonement for it; and from a conflict with the powers of darkness. Thus this scene is in complete contrast to the Transfiguration. The same companions witnessed both; but there there was peace, and glory, and honor, for the sinless Son of God; here fear and conflict: there God bore testimony to Him; here Satan for the last time tempted Him. (On the account of the Agony see Krummacher, *Der Leidende Christus*, p. 206; Matt. xxvi. 36–46; Mark xiv. 32–42; Luke xxii. 39–46; John xviii. 1.)

Judas now appeared to complete his work. In the doubtful light of torches, a kiss from him was the sign to the officers whom they should take. Peter, whose *name* is first given in John's Gospel, drew a sword and smote a servant of the high-priest, and cut out off his ear; but his Lord refused such succor, and healed the wounded man. [MALCHUS.] He treated the seizure as a step in the fulfillment of the prophecies about Him, and resisted it not. All the disciples forsook Him and fled (Matt. xxvi. 47–56; Mark xiv. 43–52; Luke xxii. 47–53; John xviii. 2–12).

There is some difficulty in arranging the events that immediately follow, so as to embrace all the four accounts. — The data will be found in the Commentary of Olshausen, in Wieseler (*Chron. Syn.* p. 401 ff.), and in Greswell's *Dissertations* (iii 200 ff.). On the capture of Jesus He was first taken to the house of Annas, the father-in-law of Caiaphas (see p. 1350) the high-priest. It has been argued that as Annas is called, conjointly with Caiaphas, the high-priest, he must have held some actual office in connection with the priesthood, and Lightfoot and others suppose that he was the vicar or deputy of the high-priest, and Selden that he was president of the Council of the Sanhedrim

[a] "Having sung" is more correct for ὑμνήσαντες, Matt. xxvi. 30 and Mark xiv. 26. A group of Psalms was no doubt sung at that time. The A. V. renders the same word "sang praises," Acts xvi. 25, and "will sing praise," Heb. ii. 12. H.

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out this is uncertain.[a] It might appear from the course of John's narrative that the examination of our Lord, and the first denial of Peter, took place in the house of Annas (John xviii. 13, 14). But the 24th verse is retrospective — "Now Annas had sent Him bound unto Caiaphas the high-priest" (ἀπέστειλε, aorist for pluperfect, see Winer's *Grammar*); and probably *all* that occurred after verse 14 took place not at the house of Annas, but at that of Caiaphas. It is not likely that Peter gained admittance to two houses in which two separate judicial examinations took place with which he had nothing ostensibly to do, and this would be forced on us if we assumed that John described what took place before Annas, and the other Evangelists what took place before Caiaphas. The house of the high-priest consisted probably, like other Eastern houses, of an open central court with chambers round it. Into this court a gate admitted them, at which a woman stood to open. Peter, who had fled like the rest from the side of Jesus, followed afar off with another disciple, probably John, and the latter procured him admittance into the court of the high-priest's house. As he passed in, the lamp of the portress threw its light on his face, and she took note of him; and afterwards, at the fire which had been lighted, she put the question to him, "Art not thou also one of this man's disciples?" (John.) All the zeal and boldness of Peter seems to have deserted him. This was indeed a time of great spiritual weakness and depression, and the power of darkness had gained an influence over the Apostle's mind. He had come as in secret; he is determined so to remain, and he denies his Master! Feeling now the danger of his situation, he went out into the porch, and there some one, or, looking at all the accounts, probably several persons, asked him the question a second time, and he denied more strongly. About an hour after, when he had returned into the court, the same question was put to him a third time, with the same result. Then the cock crew; and Jesus, who was within sight, probably in some open room communicating with the court, "turned and looked upon Peter. And Peter remembered the word of the Lord, how He had said unto him, Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny Me thrice. And Peter went out and wept bitterly" (Luke). Let no man who cannot fathom the utter perplexity and distress of such a time presume to judge the zealous disciple hardly. He trusted too much to his strength; he did not enter into the full meaning of the words, "Watch and pray lest ye enter into temptation." Self-confidence betrayed him into a great sin; and the most merciful Lord restored him after it. "Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall" (1 Cor. x. 12; Matt. xxvi. 57, 58, 69–75; Mark xiv. 53, 54, 66–72; Luke xxii. 54–62; John xviii. 13–18, 24–27).

The first interrogatory to which our Lord was subject (John xviii. 19–24) was addressed to Him by Caiaphas (Annas?, Olshausen, Wieseler), probably before the Sanhedrim had time to assemble. It was the questioning of an inquisitive person who had an important criminal in his presence, rather than a formal examination. The Lord's refusal to answer is thus explained and justified. When the more regular proceedings begin He is ready to answer. A servant of the high-priest, knowing that he should thereby please his master, smote the cheek of the Son of God with the palm of his hand. But this was only the beginning of horrors. At the dawn of day the Sanhedrim, summoned by the high-priest in the course of the night, assembled, and brought their band of false witnesses, whom they must have had ready before. These gave their testimony (see Psalm xxvii. 12), but even before this unjust tribunal it could not stand, it was so full of contradictions. At last two false witnesses came, and their testimony was very like the truth. They deposed that He had said, "I will destroy this temple, that is made with hands, and within three days I will build another made without hands" (Mark xiv. 58). The perversion is slight but important; for Jesus did not say that *He* would destroy (see John ii. 19), which was just the point that would irritate the Jews. Even these two fell into contradictions. The high-priest now with a solemn adjuration asks Him whether He is the Christ the Son of God. He answers that He is, and foretells his return in glory and power at the last day. This is enough for their purpose. They pronounce Him guilty of a crime for which death should be the punishment. It appears that the Council was now suspended or broken up; for Jesus is delivered over to the brutal violence of the people, which could not have occurred whilst the supreme court of the Jews was sitting. The prophets had foretold this violence (Is. l. 6), and also the meekness with which it would be borne (Is. liii. 7). And yet this "lamb led to the slaughter" knew that it was He that should judge the world, including every one of his persecutors. The Sanhedrim had been within the range of its duties in taking cognizance of all who claimed to be prophets. If the question put to Jesus had been merely, Art Thou the Messiah? this body should have gone into the question of his right to the title, and decided upon the evidence. But the question was really twofold, "Art Thou the Christ, and in that name dost Thou also call Thyself the Son of God?" There was no blasphemy in claiming the former name, but there was in assuming the latter. Hence the proceedings were cut short. They had closed their eyes to the evidence, accessible to all, of the miracles of Jesus, that He was indeed the Son of God, and without these they were not likely to believe that He could claim a title belonging to no other among the children of men (John xviii. 19–24; Luke xxii. 63–71; Matt. xxvi. 59–68; Mark xiv. 55–65).

Although they had pronounced Jesus to be guilty of death, the Sanhedrim possessed no power to carry out such a sentence (Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 6). So as soon as it was day they took Him to Pilate, the Roman procurator. The hall of judgment, or prætorium, was probably a part of the tower of Antonia near the Temple, where the Roman garrison was. Pilate hearing that Jesus was an offender under their law, was about to give them leave to treat him accordingly; and this would have made it quite safe to execute Him. But the council, wishing to shift the responsibility from themselves, from a fear of some reaction amongst the people in favor of the Lord, such as they had seen on the first day of that week, said that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death; and having condemned Jesus for blasphemy, they now strove to have Him condemned by Pilate for a political crime, for calling Himself the King of the Jews. But the Jewish punishment was stoning; whilst crucifixion was a

[a] Mr. Greswell sees no uncertainty; and asserts as a fact that he was the high-priest, vicar, and vice president of the Sanhedrim (p. 200).

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Roman punishment, inflicted occasionally on those who were not Roman citizens; and thus it came about that the Lord's saying as to the mode of his death was fulfilled (Matt. xx. 19, with John xii. 32, 33). From the first Jesus found favor in the eyes of Pilate; his answer that his kingdom was not of this world, and therefore could not menace the Roman rule, was accepted, and Pilate pronounced that he found no fault in Him. Not so easily were the Jews to be cheated of their prey. They heaped up accusations against Him as a disturber of the public peace (Luke xxiii. 5). Pilate was no match for their vehemence. Finding that Jesus was a Galilean, he sent Him to Herod to be dealt with; but Herod, after cruel mockery and persecution, sent Him back to Pilate. Now commenced the fearful struggle between the Roman procurator, a weak as well as cruel man, and the Jews. Pilate was detested by the Jews as cruel, treacherous, and oppressive. Other records of his life do not represent him merely as the weakling that he appears here. He had violated their national prejudices, and had used the knives of assassins to avert the consequences. But the Jews knew the weak point in his breastplate. He was the merely worldly and professional statesman, to whom the favor of the Emperor was life itself, and the only evil of life a downfall from that favor. It was their policy therefore to threaten to denounce him to Cæsar for lack of zeal in suppressing a rebellion, the leader of which was aiming at a crown. In his way Pilate believed in Christ; this the greatest crime of a stained life was that with which his own will had the least to do. But he did not believe, so as to make him risk delation to his Master and all its possible consequences. He yielded to the stronger purpose of the Jews, and suffered Jesus to be put to death. Not many years after, the consequences which he had stained his soul to avert came upon him. He was accused and banished, and like Judas, the other great accomplice in this crime of the Jews, put an end to his own life [see PILATE]. The well-known incidents of the second interview are soon recalled. After the examination by Herod, and the return of Jesus, Pilate proposed to release Him, as it was usual on the feast-day to release a prisoner to the Jews out of grace. Pilate knew well that the priests and rulers would object to this; but it was a covert appeal to the people, also present, with whom Jesus had so lately been in favor. The multitude, persuaded by the priests, preferred another prisoner, called Barabbas. In the mean time the wife of Pilate sent a warning to Pilate to have nothing to do with the death of "that just man," as she had been troubled in a dream on account of Him. Obliged, as he thought, to yield to the clamors of the people, he took water and washed his hands before them, and adopting the phrase of his wife, which perhaps represented the opinion of both of them formed before this time, he said, "I am innocent of the blood of this just person; see ye to it." The people imprecated on their own heads and those of their children the blood of Him whose doom was thus sealed.

Pilate released unto them Barabbas "that for sedition and murder was cast into prison whom they had desired" (comp. Acts iii. 14). This was no unimportant element in their crime. The choice was offered them between one who had broken the laws of God and man, and One who had given his whole life up to the doing good and speaking truth amongst them. They condemned the latter to death, and were eager for the deliverance of the former. "And in fact their demanding the acquittal of a murderer is but the parallel to their requiring the death of an innocent person, as St. Ambrose observes: for it is but the very law of iniquity, that they which hate innocence should love crime. They rejected therefore the Prince of Heaven, and chose a robber and a murderer, and an insurrectionist, and they received the object of their choice; so was it given them, for insurrections and murders did not fail them till the last, when their city was destroyed in the midst of murders and insurrections, which they now demanded of the Roman governor" (Williams *on the Passion*, p. 215).

Now came the scourging, and the blows and insults of the soldiers, who, uttering truth when they thought they were only reviling, crowned Him and addressed Him as King of the Jews. According to John, Pilate now made one more effort for his release. He thought that the scourging might appease their rage, he saw the frame of Jesus bowed and withered with all that it had gone through; and, hoping that this moving sight might inspire them with the same pity that he felt himself, he brought the Saviour forth again to them, and said, "Behold the man!" Not even so was their violence assuaged. He had made Himself the Son of God, and must die. He still sought to release Jesus: but the last argument, which had been in the minds of both sides all along, was now openly applied to him: "If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend." This saying, which had not been uttered till the vehemence of rage overcame their decent respect for Pilate's position, decided the question. He delivered Jesus to be crucified (Matt. xxvii. 15–30; Mark xv. 6–19; Luke xviii. 17–25; John xviii. 39, 40, xix. 1–16). John mentions that this occurred about the sixth hour, whereas the crucifixion, according to Mark, was accomplished at the third hour; but there is every reason to think, with Greswell and Wieseler, that John reckons from midnight, and that this took place at six in the morning, whilst in Mark the Jewish reckoning from six in the morning is followed, so that the crucifixion took place at nine o'clock, the intervening time having been spent in preparations. [HOUR, Amer. ed.]

Difficult, but not insuperable, chronological questions arise in connection with (*a*) John xiii. 1, "before the feast of the Passover;" (*b*) John xviii. 28, "and they themselves went not into the judgment-hall lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the Passover;" and (*c*) John xix. 14, "And it was the preparation of the Passover, about the sixth hour," in all of which the account of John seems dissonant with that of the other Evangelists. These passages are discussed in the various commentaries, but nowhere more fully than in a paper by Dr Robinson (*Bibl. Sacra*, 1845, p. 405), reproduced in his (English) *Harmony* in an abridged form.

One Person alone has been calm amidst the excitements of that night of horrors. On Him is now laid the weight of his cross, or at least of the transverse beam of it; and, with this pressing Him down, they proceed out of the city to Golgotha or Calvary, a place the site of which is now uncertain. As He began to droop, his persecutors, unwilling to defile themselves with the accursed burden, lay hold of Simon of Cyrene and compel him to carry the cross after Jesus. Amongst the great multitude

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that followed, were several women, who bewailed and lamented Him. He bade them not to weep for Him, but for the widespread destruction of their nation which should be the punishment for his death (Luke). After offering Him wine and myrrh, they crucified Him between two thieves. Nothing was wanting to his humiliation; a thief had been preferred before Him, and two thieves share his punishment. The soldiers divided his garments and cast lots for them (see Psalm xxii. 18). Pilate set over Him in three languages the inscription "Jesus. the King of the Jews." The chief-priests took exception to this that it did not denounce Him as falsely calling Himself by that name, but Pilate refused to alter it. The passers-by and the Roman soldiers would not let even the minutes of deadly agony pass in peace; they reviled and mocked Him. One of the two thieves underwent a change of heart even on the cross: he reviled at first (Matt.); and then, at the sight of the constancy of Jesus, repented (Luke) (Matt. xxvii.; Mark xv.; Luke xxiii.; John xix.).

In the depths of his bodily suffering, Jesus calmly commended to John (?), who stood near, the care of Mary his mother. "Behold thy son! behold thy mother." From the sixth hour to the ninth there was darkness over the whole land. At the ninth hour (3 P. M.) Jesus uttered with a loud voice the opening words of the 22d Psalm, all the inspired words of which referred to the suffering Messiah. One of those present dipped a sponge in the common sour wine of the soldiers and put it on a reed to moisten the sufferer's lips. Again He cried with a loud voice, "It is finished" (John), "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit" (Luke); and gave up the ghost. His words upon the cross had all of them shown how truly He possessed his soul in patience even to the end of the sacrifice He was making: "Father, forgive them!" was a prayer for his enemies. "This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise," was a merciful acceptance of the offer of a penitent heart. "Woman, behold thy son," was a sign of loving consideration, even at the last, for those He had always loved. "Why hast Thou forsaken me?" expressed the fear and the need of God. "I thirst," the only word that related to Himself, was uttered because it was prophesied that they were to give Him vinegar to drink. "It is finished," expresses the completion of that work which, when He was twelve years old, had been present to his mind, and never absent since; and "Into Thy hands I commend My spirit," was the last utterance of his resignation of Himself to what was laid upon Him (Matt. xxvii. 31–56; Mark xv. 20–41; Luke xxiii. 33–49; John xix. 17–30).

On the death of Jesus the veil which covered the most Holy Place of the Temple, the place of the more especial presence of Jehovah, was rent in twain, a symbol that we may now have "boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus by a new and living way which He hath consecrated for us, through the veil, that is to say, through his flesh" (Heb. x. 19, 20). The priesthood of Christ superseded the priesthood of the law. There was a great earthquake. Many who were dead rose from their graves, although they returned to the dust again after this great token of Christ's quickening power had been given to many (Matt.): they were "saints" that slept — probably those who had most earnestly longed for the salvation of Christ were the first to taste the fruits of his conquest of death. [SAINTS, Amer. ed.] The centurion who kept guard, witnessing what had taken place, came to the same conclusion as Pilate and his wife, "Certainly this was a righteous man;" he went beyond them, "Truly this man was the Son of God" (Mark). Even the people who had joined in the mocking and reviling were overcome by the wonders of his death, and "smote their breasts and returned" (Luke xxiii. 48). The Jews, very zealous for the Sabbath in the midst of their murderous work, begged Pilate that he would put an end to the punishment by breaking the legs of the criminals (Lactant. iv. 26) that they might be taken down and buried before the Sabbath, for which they were preparing (Deut. xxi. 23; Joseph., *B. J.* iv. 5, § 2). Those who were to execute this duty found that Jesus was dead and the thieves still living; so they performed this work on the latter only, that a bone of Him might not be broken (Ex. xii. 46; Psalm xxxiv. 20). The death of the Lord before the others was, no doubt, partly the consequence of the previous mental suffering which He had undergone, and partly because his will to die lessened the natural resistance of the frame to dissolution. Some seek for a "mysterious cause" of it, something out of the course of nature; but we must beware of such theories as would do away with the reality of the death, as a punishment inflicted by the hands of men. Joseph of Arimathæa, a member of the Council but a secret disciple of Jesus, came to Pilate to beg the body of Jesus, that he might bury it. Nicodemus assisted in this work of love, and they anointed the body and laid it in Joseph's new tomb (Matt. xxvii. 50–61; Mark xv. 37–47; Luke xxiii. 46–56; John xix 30–42).

Saturday the 16th of Nisan (April 8th). — Love having done its part, hatred did its part also. The chief priests and Pharisees, with Pilate's permission, set a watch over the tomb, "lest his disciples come by night and steal Him away, and say unto the people He is risen from the dead" (Matt. xxvii. 62–66).

Sunday the 17th of Nisan (April 9th). — The Sabbath ended at six on the evening of Nisan 16th. Early the next morning the resurrection of Jesus took place. Although He had lain in the grave for about thirty-six or forty hours, yet these formed part of three days, and thus, by a mode of speaking not unusual to the Jews (Josephus frequently reckons years in this manner, the two extreme portions of a year reckoning as two years), the time of the dominion of death over Him is spoken of as three days. The order of the events that follow is somewhat difficult to harmonize; for each Evangelist selects the facts which belong to his purpose.[a] The exact hour of the resurrection is not mentioned by any of the Evangelists. But from Mark xvi. 2 and 9 we infer that it was not long before the coming of the women; and from the time at which the guards went into the city to give the alarm the same inference arises (Matt. xxviii. 11). Of the great mystery itself, the resumption of life by Him who was truly dead, we see but little. "There was a great earthquake, for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door and sat upon it. His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow; and for fear of him the keepers did

[a] In what follows, much use has been made of an excellent paper by Dr. Robinson, *Bib. Sacra*, 1845 p. 162.

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shake, and became as dead men" (Matt.). The women, who had stood by the cross of Jesus, had prepared spices on the evening before, perhaps to complete the embalming of our Lord's body, already performed in haste by Joseph and Nicodemus. They came very early on the first day of the week to the sepulchre. The names of the women are differently put by the several Evangelists, but with no real discrepancy. Matthew mentions the two Marys; Mark adds Salome to these two; Luke has the two Marys, Joanna, and others with them; and John mentions Mary Magdalene only. In thus citing such names as seemed good to him, each Evangelist was no doubt guided by some reason. John, from the especial share which Mary Magdalene took in the testimony to the fact of the resurrection, mentions her only. The women discuss with one another who should roll away the stone, that they might do their pious office on the body. But when they arrive they find the stone rolled away, and Jesus no longer in the Sepulchre. He had risen from the dead. Mary Magdalene at this point goes back in haste; and at once, believing that the body has been removed by men, tells Peter and John that the Lord has been taken away. The other women, however, go into the Sepulchre, and they see an angel (Matt., Mark), or two angels (Luke), in bright apparel, who declare to them that the Lord is risen, and will go before the disciples into Galilee. The two angels, mentioned by St. Luke, are probably two separate appearances to different members of the group; for he alone mentions an indefinite number of women. They now leave the sepulchre, and go in haste to make known the news to the Apostles. As they were going, "Jesus met them, saying, All hail. And they came and held Him by the feet, and worshipped Him. Then said Jesus unto them, Be not afraid; go tell My brethren that they go into Galilee, and there shall they see Me." The eleven do not believe the account when they receive it. In the mean time Peter and John came to the Sepulchre. They ran, in their eagerness, and John arrived first and looked in; Peter afterwards came up, and it is characteristic that the awe which had prevented the other disciple from going in appears to have been unfelt by Peter, who entered at once, and found the grave-clothes lying, but not Him who had worn them. This fact must have suggested that the removal was not the work of human hands. They then returned, wondering at what they had seen. Mary Magdalene, however, remained weeping at the tomb, and she too saw the two angels in the tomb, though Peter and John did not. They address her, and she answers, still, however, without any suspicion that the Lord is risen. As she turns away she sees Jesus, but in the tumult of her feelings does not even recognize Him at his first address. But He calls her by name, and then she joyfully recognizes her Master. He says, "Touch Me not, for I am not yet ascended to My Father: but go to My brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto My Father and your Father, and to My God and your God." The meaning of the prohibition to touch Him must be sought in the state of mind of Mary, since Thomas, for whom it was desirable as an evidence of the identity of Jesus, was permitted to touch Him. Hitherto she had not realized the mystery of the Resurrection. She saw the Lord, and would have touched his hand or his garment in her joy. Our Lord's answer means, "Death has now set a gulf between us. Touch not, as you once might have done, this body, which is now glorified by its conquest over death, for with this body I ascend to the Father" (so Euthymius, Theophylact, and others).[a] Space has been wanting to discuss the difficulties of arrangement that attach to this part of the narrative. The remainder of the appearances present less matter for dispute; in enumerating them the important passage in 1 Cor. xv. must be brought in. The third appearance of our Lord was to Peter (Luke, Paul); the fourth to the two disciples going to Emmaus in the evening (Mark, Luke); the fifth in the same evening to the eleven as they sat at meat (Mark, Luke, John). All of these occurred on the first day of the week, the very day of the Resurrection. Exactly a week after, He appeared to the Apostles, and gave Thomas a convincing proof of his Resurrection (John); this was the sixth appearance. The seventh was in Galilee, where seven of the Apostles were assembled, some of them probably about to return to their old trade of fishing (John). The eighth was to the eleven (Matt.) and probably to five hundred brethren assembled with them (Paul) on a mountain in Galilee. The ninth was to James (Paul); and the last to the Apostles at Jerusalem just before the Ascension (Acts).

Whether this be the exact enumeration, whether a single appearance may have been quoted twice, or two distinct ones identified, it is clear that for forty days the Lord appeared to His disciples and to others at intervals. These disciples, according to the common testimony of all the Evangelists were by no means enthusiastic and prejudiced expectants of the Resurrection. They were sober-minded men. They were only too slow to apprehend the nature of our Lord's kingdom. Almost to the last they shrank from the notion of his suffering death, and thought that such a calamity would be the absolute termination of all their hopes. But from the time of the Ascension they went about preaching the truth that Jesus was risen from the dead. Kings could not alter their conviction on this point: the fear of death could not hinder them from proclaiming it (see Acts ii. 24, 32, iv. 8–13, iii., x., xiii.; 1 Cor. xv. 5; 1 Pet. i. 21). Against this event no real objection has ever been brought, except that it is a miracle. So far as historical testimony goes, nothing is better established.

In giving his disciples their final commission, the Lord said, "All power is given unto me in heaven and earth. Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world" (Matt. xxviii. 18–20). The living energy of Christ is ever present with his Church, even though He has withdrawn from it his bodily presence. And the facts of the life that has been before us are the substance of the apostolic teaching now as in all ages. That God and man were reconciled by the mission of the Redeemer into the world, and by his self-devotion to death (2 Cor. v. 18; Eph. i. 10; Col. i. 20), that this sacrifice has procured for man the restoration of the divine love (Rom. v. 8, viii. 32; 1 John iv. 9); that we by his incarnation become the chil-

[a] On the meaning of this expression "Touch Me not," etc., see note under MARY MAGDALENE (Amer. ed.). H.

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ſren of God, knit to Him in bonds of love, instead of slaves under the bondage of the law (Rom. viii. 15, 29; Gal. iv. 1); these are the common ideas of the apostolic teaching. Brought into such a relation to Christ and his life, we see in all its acts and stages something that belongs to and instructs us. His birth, his baptism, temptation, lowliness of life and mind, his sufferings, death, burial, resurrection, and ascension, all enter into the apostolic preaching, as furnishing motives, examples, and analogies for our use. Hence every Christian should study well this sinless life, not in human commentaries only, still less in a bare abstract like the present, but in the living pages of inspiration. Even if he began the study with a lukewarm belief, he might hope, with God's grace, that the conviction would break in upon him that did upon the Centurion at the cross — "Truly this is the Son of God."

CHRONOLOGY. — *Year of the Birth of Christ.* — It is certain that our Lord was born before the death of Herod the Great. Herod died, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. 8, § 1), "having reigned thirty-four years from the time that he had procured Antigonus to be slain; but thirty-seven from the time that he had been declared king by the Romans" (see also *B. J.* i. 33, § 8). His appointment as king, according to the same writer (*Ant.* xiv. 14, § 5), coincides with the 184th Olympiad, and the consulship of C. Domitius Calvinus and C. Asinius Pollio. It appears that he was made king by the joint influence of Antony and Octavius; and the reconciliation of these two men took place on the death of Fulvia in the year 714. Again, the death of Antigonus and the siege of Jerusalem, which form the basis of calculation for the thirty-four years, coincide (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 16, § 4) with the consulship of M. Vipsanius Agrippa and L. Caninius Gallus, that is with the year of Rome 717; and occurred in the month Sivan (= June or July). From these facts we are justified in placing the death of Herod in A. U. C. 750. Those who place it one year later overlook the mode in which Josephus reckons Jewish reigns. Wieseler shows by several passages that he reckons the year from the month Nisan to Nisan, and that he counts the fragment of a year at either extreme as one complete year. In this mode, thirty-four years, from June or July 717, would apply to any date between the first of Nisan 750, and the first of Nisan 751. And thirty-seven years from 714 would apply likewise to any date within the same termini. Wieseler finds facts confirmatory of this in the dates of the reigns of Herod Antipas and Archelaus (see his *Chronologische Synopse*, p. 55). Between these two dates Josephus furnishes means for a more exact determination. Just after Herod's death the Passover occurred (Nisan 15th), and upon Herod's death Archelaus caused a seven-days' mourning to be kept for him (*Ant.* xvii. 9, § 3, xvii. 8, § 4); so that it would appear that Herod died somewhat more than seven days before the Passover in 750, and therefore in the first few days of the month Nisan A. U. C. 750. Now, as Jesus was born before the death of Herod, it follows that the Dionysian era, which corresponds to A. U. C. 754, is at least four years too late.

Many have thought that the star seen by the wise men gives grounds for an exact calculation of the time of our Lord's birth. It will be found however, that this is not the case. For it has first been assumed that the star was not properly a star but an astronomical conjunction of known stars. Kepler finds a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the sign Pisces in A. U. C. 747, and again in the spring of the next year, with the planet Mars added; and from this he would place the birth of Jesus in 748. Ideler, on the same kind of calculation, places it in A. U. C. 747. But this process only proves a highly improbable date, on highly improbable evidence. The words of St. Matthew are extremely hard to reconcile with the notion of a conjunction of planets; it was a star that appeared, and it gave the Magi ocular proof of its purpose by guiding them to where the young child was. But a new light has been thrown on the subject by the Rev. C. Pritchard, who has made the calculations afresh. Ideler (*Handbuch d. Chronologie*) asserts that there were three conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn in B. C. 7, and that in the third they approached so near that, "to a person with weak eyes, the one planet would almost seem to come within the range of the dispersed light of the other, so that both might appear as one star." Dean Alford puts it much more strongly, that on November 12 in that year the planets were so close "that *an ordinary eye* would regard them as one star of surpassing brightness" (Greek Test. *in loc*). Mr. Pritchard finds, and his calculations have been verified and confirmed at Greenwich, that this conjunction occurred not on November 12 but early on December 5; and that even with Ideler's somewhat strange postulate of an observer with weak eyes, the planets could never have appeared as one star, for they never approached each other within double the apparent diameter of the moon (*Memoirs R. Astr. Soc.* vol. xxv.). [STAR IN THE EAST.] Most of the chronologists find an element of calculation in the order of Herod to destroy all the children "from two years old and under" (ἀπὸ *διετοῦς καὶ κατωτέρω*, Matt. ii. 16). But the age within which he destroyed, would be measured rather by the extent of his fears than by the accuracy of the calculation of the Magi. Greswell has labored to show that, from the inclusive mode of computing years, mentioned above in this article, the phrase of the Evangelist would apply to all children just turned one year old, which is true; but he assumes that it would not apply to any that were older, say to those aged a year and eleven months. Herod was a cruel man, angry, and afraid; and it is vain to assume that he adjusted the limit of his cruelties with the nicest accuracy. As a basis of calculation the visit of the Magi, though very important to us in other respects, must be dismissed (but see Greswell, *Dissertations* etc., *Diss.* 18th; Wieseler, *Chron. Syn.* p. 57 ff., with all the references there).

The census taken by Augustus Cæsar, which led to the journey of Mary from Nazareth just before the birth of the Lord, has also been looked on as an important note of time, in reference to the chronology of the life of Jesus. Several difficulties have to be disposed of in considering it. (i.) It is argued that there is no record in other histories of a census of the whole Roman empire in the time of Augustus. (ii.) Such a census, if held during the reign of Herod the Great, would not have included Judæa, for it was not yet a Roman province. (iii.) The Roman mode of taking such a census was with reference to actual residence, so that it would not have been requisite for Joseph to go to Bethlehem. (iv.) The state of Mary at the time would render such a journey less probable

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(v.) St Luke himself seems to say that this census was not actually taken until ten years later (ii. 2). To these objections, of which it need not be said Strauss has made the worst, answers may be given in detail, though scarcely in this place with the proper completeness. (i.) "As we know of the *legis actiones* and their abrogation, which were quite as important in respect to the early period of Roman history, as the census of the empire was in respect to a later period, not from the historical works of Livy, Dionysius, or Polybius, but from a legal work, the *Institutes* of Gaius; so we should think it strange if the works of Paullus and Ulpian *De Censibus* had come down to us perfect, and no mention were made in them of the census of Augustus; while it would not surprise us that in the ordinary histories of the time it should be passed over in silence" (Huschke in Wieseler, p. 78). "If Suetonius in his life [of Augustus] does not mention this census, neither does Spartian in his life of Hadrian devote a single syllable to the *edictum perpetuum*, which, in later times, has chiefly adorned the name of that emperor" (*ibid.*). Thus it seems that the *argumentum de taciturnitate* is very far from conclusive. The edict possibly affected only the provinces, and in them was not carried out at once; and in that case it would attract less attention at any one particular moment.

In the time of Augustus all the procurators of the empire were brought under his sole control and supervision for the first time A. U. C. 731 (Dion. Cass. liii. 32). This movement towards centralization renders it not improbable that a general census of the empire should be ordered, although it may not have been carried into effect suddenly, nor intended to be so. But proceedings in the way of an estimate of the empire, if not an actual census, are distinctly recorded to have taken place in the time of Augustus. "Huic addendæ sunt mensuræ limitum et terminorum ex libris Augusti et Neronis Cæsarum: sed et Balbi mensoris, qui temporibus Augusti omnium provinciarum et civitatum formas et mensuras compertas in commentarios retulit et legem agrariam per universitatem provinciarum distinxit et declaravit" (Frontinus, in the *Rei Agrar. Auct.* of Goes, p. 109, quoted by Wieseler). This is confirmed from other sources (Wieseler, pp. 81, 82). Augustus directed, as we learn, a "breviarium totius imperii" to be made, in which, according to Tacitus, "Opes publicæ continebantur: quantum civium sociorumque in armis, quot classes, regna, provinciæ, tributa aut vectigalia et necessitates ac largitiones" (Tacit. *Ann.* i. 11; Sueton. *Aug.* 28, 101; Dion. Cass. liii. 30, lvi. 33, given in Wieseler; see also Ritschl, in *Rhein. Mus. für Philol.* New Series, i. 481). All this makes a census by order of Augustus in the highest degree probable, apart from St. Luke's testimony. The time of our Lord's birth was most propitious. Except some troubles in Dacia, the Roman world was at peace, and Augustus was in the full enjoyment of his power. But there are persons who, though they would at once believe this fact on the testimony of some inferior historian, added to these confirmatory facts, reject it just because an Evangelist has said it. (ii. and iii.) Next comes the objection, that, as Judæa was not yet a Roman province, such a census would not have included that country, and that it was not taken from the residence of each person, but from the place of his origin. It is very probable that the mode of taking the census would afford a clew to the origin of it. Augustus was willing to include in his census all the tributary kingdoms, for the *regna* are mentioned in the passage in Tacitus; but this could scarcely be enforced. Perhaps Herod, desiring to gratify the emperor, and to emulate him in his love for this kind of information, was ready to undertake the census for Judæa, but in order that it might appear to be his rather than the emperor's, he took it in the Jewish manner rather than in the Roman, in the place whence the family sprang, rather than in that of actual residence. There might be some hardship in this, and we might wonder that a woman about to become a mother should be compelled to leave her home for such a purpose, if we were sure that it was not voluntary. A Jew of the house and lineage of David would not willingly forego that position, and if it were necessary to assert it by going to the city of David, he would probably make some sacrifice to do so. Thus the objection (iv.), on the ground of the state of Mary's health, is entitled to little consideration. It is said, indeed, that "all went to be taxed, every one into his own city" (Luke ii. 3); but not that the decree prescribed that they should. Nor could there well be any means of enforcing such a regulation. But the principle being adopted, that Jews were to be taxed in the places to which their families belonged, St. Luke tells us by these words that as a matter of fact it was generally followed. (v.) The objection that, according to St. Luke's own admission, the census was not taken now, but when Quirinus was governor of Syria, remains to be disposed of. St. Luke makes two statements, that at the time of our Lord's birth ("in those days") there was a decree for a census, and that this taxing first came about, or took effect (πρώτη ἐγένετο), when Cyrenius, or Quirinus, was governor of Syria (Luke ii. 1, 2). And as the two statements are quite distinct, and the very form of expression calls special attention to some remarkable circumstance about this census, no historical inaccuracy is proved, unless the statements are shown to be contradictory, or one or other of them to be untrue. That Strauss makes such a charge without establishing either of these grounds, is worthy of a writer so dishonest (*Leben Jesu*, i., iv. 32). Now, without going into all the theories that have been proposed to explain this second verse, there is no doubt that the words of St. Luke *can be* explained in a natural manner, without violence to the sense or contradiction. Herod undertakes the census according to Jewish forms; but his death the same year puts an end to it, and no more is heard of it: but for its influence as to the place of our Lord's birth it would not have been recorded at all. But the Evangelist knows that, as soon as a census (ἀπογραφή) is mentioned, persons conversant with Jewish history will think at once of the census taken after the banishment of Archelaus, or about ten years later, which was avowedly a Roman census, and which caused at first some resistance in consequence (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 1, § 1). The second verse therefore means — "No census was actually completed then, and I know that the first Roman census was that which followed the banishment of Archelaus; but the decree went out much earlier in the time of Herod." That this is the only possible explanation of so vexed a passage cannot of course be affirmed.[a] But it will bear this inter-

[a] See a summary of the older theories in Kuinoel (in Luc. ii. 2); also in Meyer (in Luc. ii. 2), who gives

pretation, and upon the whole evidence there is no ground whatever for denying either assertion of the Evangelist, or for considering them irreconcilable. Many writers have confounded an obscurity with a proved inaccuracy. The value of this census, as a fact in the chronology of the life of Christ, depends on the connection which is sought to be established between it and the insurrection which broke out under Matthias and Judas, the son of Sariphæus, in the last illness of Herod (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 6, § 1). If the insurrection arose out of the census, a point of connection between the sacred history and that of Josephus is made out. Such a connection, however, has not been clearly made out (see Wieseler, Olshausen, and others, for the grounds on which it is supposed to rest).

The age of Jesus at his baptism (Luke iii. 23) affords an element of calculation. "And Jesus Himself began to be about (*ὡσεί*) thirty years of age." Born in the beginning of A. U. C. 750 (or the end of 749), Jesus would be thirty in the beginning of A. U. C. 780 (A. D. 27). Greswell is probably right in placing the baptism of our Lord in the beginning of this year, and the first Passover during his ministry would be that of the same year; Wieseler places the baptism later, in the spring or summer of the same year. (On the sense of *ἀρχόμενος*, see the commentators.) To this first Passover after the baptism attaches a note of time which will confirm the calculations already made. "Then said the Jews, Forty and six years was this Temple in building (*ᾠκοδομήθη*), and wilt Thou rear it up in three days?" There can be no doubt that this refers to the rebuilding of the Temple by Herod: it cannot mean the second Temple, built after the Captivity, for this was finished in twenty years (B. C. 535 to B. C. 515). Herod, in the eighteenth year of his reign (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 11, § 1), began to reconstruct the Temple on a larger and more splendid scale (A. U. C. 734). The work was not finished till long after his death, till A. U. C. 818. It is inferred from Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 11, §§ 5, 6) that it was begun in the month Cisleu, A. U. C. 734. And if the Passover at which this remark was made was that of A. U. C. 780, then forty-five years and some months have elapsed, which, according to the Jewish mode of reckoning (p. 1381), would be spoken of as "forty and six years."

Thus the death of Herod enables us to fix a boundary on one side to the calculations of our Lord's birth. The building of the Temple, for forty-six years, confirms this, and also gives a boundary on the other. From the star of the Magi nothing conclusive can be gathered, nor from the census of Augustus. One datum remains: the commencement of the preaching of John the Baptist is connected with the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar (Luke iii. 1). The rule of Tiberius may be calculated either from the beginning of his sole reign, after the death of Augustus, A. U. C. 767, or from his joint government with Augustus, *i. e.* from the beginning of A. U. C. 765. In the latter case the fifteenth year would correspond with A. U. C. 779, which goes to confirm the rest of the calculations relied on in this article.

An endeavor has been made to deduce the time of the year of the birth of Jesus from the fact that Zacharias was "a priest of the course of Abia" (Luke i. 5). The twenty-four courses of priests served in the Temple according to a regular weekly cycle, the order of which is known. The date of the conception of John would be about fifteen months before the birth of our Lord, and if the date of the latter be A. U. C. 750, then the former would fall in A. U. C. 748. Can it be ascertained in what part of the year 748 the course of Abia would be on duty in the Temple? The Talmud preserves a tradition that the Temple was destroyed by Titus, A. D. 70, on the ninth day of the month Ab. Josephus mentions the date as the 10th of Ab (*B. J.* vi. 4, §§ 5, 8). Without attempting to follow the steps by which these are reconciled, it seems that the "course" of Jehoiarib had just entered upon its weekly duty at the time the Temple was destroyed. Wieseler, assuming that the day in question would be the same as the 5th of August, A. U. C. 823, reckons back the weekly courses to A. U. C. 748, the course of Jehoiarib being the first of all (1 Chr. xxiv. 7). "It follows," he says, "that the ministration of the course of Abia, 74 years 10 months and 2 days, or (reckoning 19 intercalary years) 27,335 days earlier (= 162 hieratic circles and 119 days earlier), fell between the 3d and 9th of October, A. U. C. 748. Reckoning from the 10th of October, on which Zacharias might reach his house, and allowing nine months for the pregnancy of Elizabeth, to which six months are to be added (Luke i. 26), we have in the whole one year and three months, which gives the 10th of January as the date of Christ's birth." Greswell, however, from the same starting-point, arrives at the date April 5th; and when two writers so laborious can thus differ in their conclusions, we must rather suspect the soundness of their method than their accuracy in the use of it.

Similar differences will be found amongst eminent writers in every part of the chronology of the Gospels. For example, the birth of our Lord is placed in B. C. 1 by Pearson and Hug; B. C. 2 by Scaliger; B. C. 3 by Baronius, Calvisius, Süskind, and Paulus; B. C. 4 by Lamy, Bengel, Anger, Wieseler, and Greswell; B. C. 5 by Usher and Petavius; B. C. 7 by Ideler and Sanclemente. And whilst the calculations given above seem sufficient to determine us, with Lamy, Usher, Petavius, Bengel, Wieseler, and Greswell, to the close of B. C. 5, or early part of B. C. 4, let it never be forgotten that there is a distinction between these researches, which the Holy Spirit has left obscure and doubtful, and "the weightier matters" of the Gospel, the things which directly pertain to man's salvation. The silence of the inspired writers, and sometimes the obscurity of their allusions to matters of time and place, have given rise to disputation. But their words admit of no doubt when they tell us that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, and that

an account of the view, espoused by many, that Quirinus was now a *special commissioner* for this census in Syria (*ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας*), which the Greek will not bear. But if the theory of the younger Zumpt (see above, CYRENIUS) be correct, then Quirinus was twice governor of Syria, and the Evangelist would here refer to his former rule. The difficulty is that Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 1, § 1) mentions that Quirinus was sent, after the banishment of Archelaus, to take a census. Either Zumpt would set this authority aside, or would hold that Quirinus, twice governor, twice made a census; which is scarcely an easier hypothesis than some others. [See addition to CYRENIUS by Dr. Woolsey, Amer. ed.—H.]

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wicked hands crucified and slew Him, and that we and all men must own Him as the Lord and Redeemer.

SOURCES. — The bibliography of the subject of the Life of Jesus has been most fully set out in Hase, *Leben Jesu*, Leipsic, 1854, 4th edition. It would be vain to attempt to rival that enormous catalogue. The principal works employed in the present article are the Four Gospels, and the best-known commentaries on them, including those of Bengel, Wetstein, Lightfoot, De Wette, Lücke, Olshausen, Stier, Alford, Williams, and others; Neander, *Leben Jesu* (Hamburg, 1837 [5e Aufl. 1852, Eng. transl. by M'Clintock and Blumenthal, New York, 1848]), as against Strauss, *Leben Jesu* (Tübingen, 1835), also consulted; Stackhouse's *History of the Bible*; Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. v., *Christus* (Göttingen, 1857 [3e Ausg. 1867]); Baumgarten, *Geschichte Jesu* (Brunswick, 1859); Krummacher, *Der Leidende Christus* (Bielefeld, 1854). Upon the harmony of the Gospels, see the list of works given under GOSPELS: the principal works used for the present article have been, Wieseler, *Chronologische Synopse*, etc., Hamburg, 1843; Greswell's *Harmony, Prolegomena, and Dissertations*, Oxford, v. y.; two papers by Dr. Robinson in the *Bibl. Sacra* for 1845; and Clausen, *Tabulæ Synopticæ*, Havniæ, 1829. Special works, such as Dean Trench on the Parables and on the Miracles, have also been consulted; and detached monographs, sermons, and essays in periodicals. For the text of the Gospels, the 7th edition of Tischendorf's Greek Test. has been employed.

W. T.

* *Moral Character of Jesus.* — According to the unanimous teaching of the Apostles, and the faith of universal Christendom, Jesus was a divine-human person, the God-Man (θεάνθρωπος), and hence the Mediator between God and man and the Saviour of the race. The idea and aim of religion, as union and communion of man with God, was fully actualized in Christ, and can be actualized in us only in proportion as we become united to Him. The Synoptic Gospels represent Him predominantly as the divine man, the Gospel of John as the incarnate God; the result in both is the same.

The human side of Christ is expressed by the designation *the Son of Man* (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου — mark the article), the divine side by the term *the Son of God* (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, also with the definite article, to distinguish Him as the eternal, only begotten Son from ordinary *viol* or τέκνα θεοῦ whose adoption is derived from his absolute Sonship). The term ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, which Christ applies to himself about eighty times in the Gospels, is probably derived from Dan. vii. 13, where it signifies the Messiah, as the head of a universal and eternal kingdom, and from the ideal representation of man as the divine image and head of creation in Ps. viii. In the Syriac, the Saviour's native dialect, *bar nosho*, the *son of man*, is man generically; the filial part of the compound denotes the identity and purity of the generic idea. This favorite designation of the Gospels places Christ, on the one hand, on a common level with other men as partaking of their nature and constitution, and, on the other, above all other men as the absolute and perfect man, the representative head of the race, the second Adam (comp. Rom. v. 12 ff.; 1 Cor. xv. 27, Heb. i. 2–8). The best and greatest of men are bounded by their nationality. Abraham, Moses, and Elijah were Jews, and could not command universal sympathies. Solon, Socrates, and Plato were Greeks, and can only be fully appreciated as types of the Greek character. Christ is the king of men, who "draws all men" to him, because he is the universal, absolute man, elevated above the limitations of race and nationality and the prejudices of any particular age. He had the purest humanity, free from the demoniac adulteration of sin. He is most intensely human. Never man felt, spake, acted, suffered, died so humanly, and so as to appeal to the sympathies and to call out the affections of all men without distinction of race, generation, and condition of society. It was an approach to this idea of an universal humanity when the Jewish philosopher Philo, a contemporary of Christ, called the Logos, the eternal Word. ὁ ἀληθινὸς ἄνθρωπος As sin and death proceeded from the first Adam who was of the earth earthly, so righteousness and life proceed from the second Adam who is from heaven heavenly.

The perfect humanity of Christ has been the subject of peculiar interest and earnest investigation in the present age, and a deeper insight into it is perhaps the most substantial modern contribution to Christology, which is the very heart of the Christian system.

(1.) The singular perfection of Christ's character viewed as a man, according to the record of the Gospels confirmed by the history of the church and the experience of the believer, consists first in his absolute *freedom from sin both original and actual*. This must not be confounded with freedom from temptation. Temptability and peccability (*posse peccare*) is an essential feature in the moral constitution of man, and actual temptation is necessary as a test of virtue; hence Christ as a true man was tempted, like Adam and all other men (πεπειρασμένον κατὰ πάντα καθ' ὁμοιότητα), not only in the wilderness but throughout his whole life (Matt. iv. 1–11; Luke xxii. 28; Heb. iv. 15). But he never yielded to temptation, and turned every assault of the power of sin into a victory of virtue. He and he alone of all men stood in no need of pardon and redemption, of regeneration and conversion; he and he alone could challenge even his bitter foes with the question (John viii. 46): "Which of you can convince me of sin?" No such claim has ever been set up by any great man. It is true, Xenophon says of Socrates, that no one ever saw him do or heard him say any thing impious or unholy (οὐδεὶς πώποτε Σωκράτους οὐδὲν ἀσεβὲς οὐδὲ ἀνόσιον οὔτε πράττοντος εἶδεν, οὔτε λέγοντος ἤκουσεν, *Memorab.* i. 11). But this is the judgment not of Socrates himself, but of a warm admirer, a judgment moreover that must be judged by the heathen standard of morality. Christ's sinlessness rests not only on the unanimous testimony of John the Baptist and of his disciples (Acts iii. 14; 1 Pet. i. 19, ii. 22, iii. 18; 2 Cor. v. 21; 1 John ii. 29, iii. 5, 7; Heb. iv. 15, vii. 26), and even his enemies or outside observers (Matt. xxvii. 19, 24–54; Luke xxiii. 22–47; Matt. xxvii. 4), but is confirmed by his own solemn testimony, the whole course of his life, and the very purpose for which he appeared. Self-deception in this case would border on madness; falsehood would overthrow the whole moral foundation of Christ's character. If he was a sinner, he must have been conscious of it, and shown it in some word or deed, or confessed it in the name of common honesty. To maintain a successful show of sinless perfection without a corresponding reality through the most trying situations of life, would

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be itself the greatest moral miracle, or monstrosity rather, that can be imagined.

(2). *Perfect holiness* is the positive side of sinlessness. It consists in the beautiful harmony and symmetry of all virtues and graces. Christ's life was one continued act of love or self-consecration to God and to man. "It was absolute love to God in purest humanity." The opposite and to us apparently contradictory virtues were found in him in equal proportion. He was free from all one-sidedness, which constitutes the weakness as well as the strength of the most eminent men. The moral forces were so well tempered and moderated by each other that none was unduly prominent, none carried to excess, none alloyed by the kindred failing. Each was checked and completed by the opposite grace. He combined innocence with strength, love with earnestness, humility with dignity, wisdom with courage, devotion to God with interest in man. He is justly compared to the lamb and the lion. His dignity was free from pride, his self-denial free from moroseness; his zeal never degenerated into passion, nor his constancy into obstinacy, nor his benevolence into weakness, nor his tenderness into sentimentality; he was equally removed from the excesses of the legalist, the pietist, the mystic, the ascetic, and the enthusiast. His character from tender childhood to ripe manhood was absolutely unique and original, moving in unbroken communion with God, overflowing with the purest love to man, free from every sin and error, exhibiting in doctrine and example the ideal of virtue, sealing the purest life with the sublimest death, and ever acknowledged since as the perfect model of goodness for universal imitation. All human greatness loses on closer inspection; but Christ's character grows more pure, sacred, and lovely, the better we know him. The whole range of history and fiction furnishes no parallel to it. His person is the great miracle of which his works are only the natural manifestations.

Such a perfect man in the midst of universal imperfection and sinfulness can only be understood on the ground of the godhead dwelling in Him. The perfection of his humanity is the proof of his divinity. All other theories, the theory of enthusiasm and self-deception, the theory of imposture, and the theory of mythical or legendary fiction, explain nothing, but substitute an unnatural monstrosity for a supernatural miracle. Only a Jesus could have invented a Jesus. Even Renan must admit that "whatever be the surprises of the future, Jesus will never be surpassed; his worship will grow young without ceasing; his legend (?) will call forth tears without end; his sufferings will melt the noblest hearts; all ages will proclaim that, among the sons of men, there is none born greater than Jesus." But this and similar admissions of modern infidels refute their own hypothesis, and have no meaning unless we admit the truth of Christ's testimony concerning his unity with the Father and his extraordinary claims which in the mouth of every other man would be blasphemy or madness, while from his lips they excite no surprise and appear as natural and easy as the rays of the shining sun. The church of all ages and denominations in response to these claims worships and adores, exclaiming with Thomas: "My Lord and my God!" This is the testimony of the soul left to its deepest instincts and noblest aspirations, the soul which was originally made for Christ and finds in Him the solution of all moral problems, the satisfaction of all its wants, the unfailing fountain of everlasting life and peace.

Personal Appearance of Jesus. — None of the Evangelists, not even the beloved disciple and bosom friend of Jesus has given us the least hint of his countenance and stature. In this respect our instincts of natural affection have been wisely overruled. He who is the Saviour of all and the perfect exemplar of humanity should not be identified with the particular lineaments of one race or nationality. We should cling to the Christ in the spirit and in glory rather than to the Christ in the flesh. Nevertheless there must have been an overawing majesty and irresistible charm even in his personal appearance to the spiritual eye, to account for the readiness with which the disciples forsaking all things followed him in reverence and boundless devotion. He had not the physiognomy of a sinner. He reflected from his eye and countenance the serene peace and celestial beauty of a sinless soul in blessed harmony with God. In the absence of authentic representation, Christian art in its irrepressible desire to exhibit in visible form the fairest among the children of men, was left to its own imperfect conception of ideal beauty. The church under persecution in the first three centuries was rather averse to all pictorial representations of Christ, and associated with him in his state of humiliation (but not in his state of exaltation) the idea of uncomeliness; taking too literally the prophetic description of the suffering Messiah in the twenty-second Psalm and the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. The victorious church after Constantine, starting from the Messianic picture in the forty-fifth Psalm and the Song of Solomon, saw the same Lord in heavenly glory, "fairer than the children of men" and "altogether lovely." Yet the difference was not so great as it is sometimes represented. For even the ante-Nicene fathers (especially Clement of Alexandria), besides expressly distinguishing between the first appearance of Christ in lowliness and humility, and his second appearance in glory and majesty, did not mean to deny to the Saviour even in the days of his flesh a higher order of spiritual beauty, "the glory of the only begotten of the Father full of grace and of truth," which shone through the veil of his humanity, and which at times, as on the mount of transfiguration, anticipated his future glory.

The first formal description of the personal appearance of Christ, which, though not authentic and certainly not older than the fourth century, exerted great influence on the pictorial representations, is ascribed to the heathen Publius Lentulus, a supposed contemporary of Pilate and Proconsul of Judæa, in an apocryphal Latin letter to the Roman Senate which was first discovered in a MS. copy of the writings of Anselm of Canterbury, and is as follows: —

"In this time appeared a man, who lives till now, a man endowed with great powers. Men call Him a great prophet; his own disciples term Him the Son of God. His name is Jesus Christ. He restores the dead to life, and cures the sick of all manner of diseases. This man is of noble and well-proportioned stature, with a face full of kindness and yet firmness, so that the beholders both love Him and fear Him. His hair is the color of wine, and golden at the root; straight, and without lustre, but from the level of the ears curling and glossy, and divided down the centre after the fashion of the Nazarenes. His forehead is even and smooth

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his face without blemish, and enhanced by a tempered bloom. His countenance ingenuous and kind. Nose and mouth are in no way faulty. His beard is full, of the same color as his hair, and forked in form; his eyes blue, and extremely brilliant. In reproof and rebuke he is formidable; in exhortation and teaching, gentle and amiable of tongue. None have seen Him to laugh; but many, on the contrary, to weep. His person is tall; his hands beautiful and straight. In speaking He is deliberate and grave, and little given to loquacity. In beauty surpassing most men." Another description is found in the works of the Greek theologian John of Damascus of the 8th century. It ascribes to Christ a stately person, beautiful eyes, curly hair, "black beard, yellow complexion and long fingers, like his mother."

On the ground of these descriptions and of the Abgar and the Veronica legends, arose a vast number of pictures of Christ which are divided into two classes: the *Salvator* pictures, with the expression of calm serenity and dignity, without the faintest mark of grief, and the *Ecce Homo* pictures of the suffering Saviour with the crown of thorns. But "no figure of Christ, in color, or bronze, or marble, can reach the ideal of perfect beauty which came forth into actual reality in the Son of God and Son of Man. The highest creations of art are here but feeble reflections of the original in heaven; yet prove the mighty influence which the living Christ continually exerts even upon the imagination and sentiment of the great painters and sculptors, and which He will exert to the end of the world." (Schaff's *History of the Church*, vol. iii. p. 571.)

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P. S.

JETHER (יֶתֶר [*string, cord*, and *abundance, residue*]). 1. (Ἰεθέρ: *Jethro.*) Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, is so called in Ex. iv. 18 and the margin of A. V., though in the Heb.-Sam. text and Sam. version the reading is יִתְרוֹ, as in the Syriac and Targ. Jon., one of Kennicott's MSS., and a MS. of Targ. Onk., No. 16 in De Rossi's collection.

2. (Ἰεθέρ: *Jether.*) The firstborn of Gideon's seventy sons, who were all, with the exception of Jotham, the youngest, slain at Ophrah by Abimelech. At the time of his father's victorious pursuit of the Midianites and capture of their kings he was still a lad on his first battle-field, and feared to draw his sword at Gideon's bidding, and avenge, as the representative of the family, the slaughter of his kinsmen at Tabor (Judg. viii. 20).

3. (Ἰεθέρ in 1 K. ii. 5, 32; Ἰωθόρ in 1 Chr. ii. 17; the Alex. MS. has Ἰεθερ in all the passages: *Jether.*) The father of Amasa, captain-general of Absalom's army. Jether is merely another form of Ithra (2 Sam. xvii. 25), the latter being probably a corruption. He is described in 1 Chr. ii. 17 as an Ishmaelite, which again is more likely to be correct than the "Israelite" of the Heb. in 2 Sam. xvii., or the "Jezreelite" of the LXX. and Vulg. in the same passage. "Ishmaelite" is said by the author of the *Quæst. Hebr. in lib. Reg.* to have been the reading of the Hebrew, but there is no trace of it in the MSS. One MS. of Chronicles reads "Israelite," as does the Targum, which adds that he was called Jether the Ishmaelite, "because he girt his loins with the sword, to help David with the Arabs, when Abner sought to drive away David and all the race of Jesse, who were not pure to enter the congregation of Jehovah on account of Ruth the Moabitess." According to Jarchi, Jether was an Israelite, dwelling in the land of Ishmael, and thence acquired his surname, like the house of Obededom the Gittite. Josephus calls him Ἰεθδρους (*Ant.* vii. 10, § 1). He married Abigail. David's sister, probably during the sojourn of the family of Jesse in the land of Moab, under the protection of its king.

4. The son of Jada, a descendant of Hezron, of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr. ii. 32). He died without children, and being the eldest son the succession fell to his brother's family.

5. The son of Ezra, whose name occurs in a disconnected passage in the genealogy of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 17). In the LXX. the name is repeated: "and Jether begat Miriam," etc. By the author of the *Quæst. Hebr. in Par.* he is said to have been Aaron, Ezra being another name for Amram.

6. (Ἰεθήρ; Alex. Ἰεθερ.) The chief of a family of warriors of the line of Asher, and father of Jephunneh (1 Chr. vii. 38). He is probably the same as Ithran in the preceding verse. One of Kennicott's MSS. and the Alex. had Jether in both cases.

W. A. W.

JETHETH (יֶתֶת [*pin, nail*, Sim.]: Ἰεθέρ, [Alex. Ἰεβερ, Ἰεθεθ; Vat. in 1 Chr. Ἰεθερ:] *Jetheth*), one of the phylarchs (A. V "dukes") who came of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 40; 1 Chr. i. 51), enumerated separately from the genealogy of Esau's children in the earlier part of the chapter, "according to their families, after their places, by their names," and "according to their habitations in the land of their possession" (vv. 40–43). This record of the Edomite phylarchs may point specially to the places and habitations, or towns, named after, or occupied by them; and even otherwise, we may look for some trace of their names, after the custom of the wandering tribes to leave such footprints in the changeless desert. Identifications of several in the list have been proposed: Jetheth, as far as the writer knows, has not been yet recovered. He may, however, be probably found if we adopt the likely suggestion of Simonis, יֶתֶד = יִתֵּדֹת, "a nail," "a tent-pin," etc. (and metaphorically "a prince," etc., as being *stable, firm*) = Arab. وَطَد, وَتِد, with the same signification. El-Wetideh, الوَتِدَة (n. of unity of the former), is a place in Nejd, said to be in the Dahnà (see ISHBAK); there is also a place called El-Wetid; and El-Wetidát (perhaps pl. of the first-named), which is the name of mountains belonging to Benee 'Abd-Allah Ibn Ghatfán (*Marásid*, s. vv.).

E. S. P.

JETHLAH (יִתְלָה, *i. e.* Jithlah [*high, elevated*, Ges.; *hill-place*, Fürst]: Σιλαθά; [Vat. Σειλαθα;] Alex. [Ald. Comp.] Ἰεθλά: *Jethela*), one of the cities of the tribe of Dan (Josh. xix. 42), named with Ajalon and Thimnathah. In the *Onomasticon* it is mentioned, without any description or indication of position, as Ἰεθλάν. It has not since been met with, even by the indefatigable Tobler in his late *Wandering* in that district. G.

JETHRO (יִתְרוֹ, *i. e.* Jithro [*preëminence, superiority*]: Ἰωθόρ: [*Jethro*]), called also Jether and Hobab; the son of REUEL, was priest or prince of Midian, both offices probably being combined in one person. Moses spent the forty years of his exile from Egypt with him, and married his daughter Zipporah. By the advice of Jethro, Moses appointed deputies to judge the congregation and share the burden of government with himself (Ex. xviii.). On account of his local knowledge he was entreated to remain with the Israelites throughout their journey to Canaan; his room, however, was supplied by the ark of the covenant, which supernaturally indicated the places for encamping (Num. x. 31, 33). The idea conveyed by the name of Jethro or Jether is probably that of *excellence*, and as Hobab may mean *beloved*, it is quite possible that both appellations were given to the same person for similar reasons. That the custom of having more than one name was common among

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the Jews we see in the case of Benjamin, Bemoni; Solomon, Jedidiah, etc.

It is said in Ex. ii. 18 that the priest of Midian whose daughter Moses married was Reuel; afterwards, at ch. iii. 1, he is called Jethro, as also in ch. xviii.; but in Num. x. 29 "Hobab the son of Raguel the Midianite" is called Moses' father-in-law: assuming the identity of Hobab and Jethro, we must suppose that "their father Reuel," in Ex. ii. 18, was really their grandfather, and that the person who "said, How is it that ye are come so soon to-day?" was the priest of ver. 16: whereas, proceeding on the hypothesis that Jethro and Hobab are not the same individual, it seems difficult to determine the relationship of Reuel, Jethro, Hobab, and Moses. The hospitality, freehearted and unsought, which Jethro at once extended to the unknown homeless wanderer, on the relation of his daughters that he had watered their flock, is a picture of eastern manners no less true than lovely. We may perhaps suppose that Jethro, before his acquaintance with Moses, was not a worshipper of the true God. Traces of this appear in the delay which Moses had suffered to take place with respect to the circumcision of his son (Ex. iv. 24–26): indeed it is even possible that Zipporah had afterwards been subjected to a kind of divorce (Ex. xviii. 2, שִׁלּוּחֶיהָ), on account of her attachment to an alien creed, but that growing convictions were at work in the mind of Jethro, from the circumstance of Israel's continued prosperity, till at last, acting upon these, he brought back his daughter, and declared that his impressions were confirmed, for "*now* he knew that the Lord was greater than all gods, for in the thing wherein they dealt proudly, he was above them:" consequently we are told that "Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, took a burnt-offering and sacrifices for *God:* and Aaron came and all the elders of Israel to eat bread with Moses' father-in-law *before God*;" as though to celebrate the event of his conversion. Whether or not the account given at Num. x. 29–32 refers to this same event, the narrative at Ex. xviii. 27 coincides with Hobab's own words at Num. x. 30; and, comparing the two, we may suppose that Moses did not prevail upon his father-in-law to stay with the congregation. Calvin (*in 5 lib. Mosis Comment.*) understands vv. 31, 32 thus: "Thou hast gone with us hitherto, and hast been to us instead of eyes, and now what profit is it to thee if, having suffered so many troubles and difficulties, thou dost not go on with us to inherit the promised blessing?" And Mat. Henry imagines that Hobab complied with this invitation, and that traces of the settlement of his posterity in the land of Canaan are apparent at Judg. i. 16 and 1 Sam. xv. 6. Some, and among them Calvin, take Jethro and Reuel to be identical, and call Hobab the *brother-in-law* of Moses. The present punctuation of our Bibles does not warrant this. Why, at Judg. i. 16, Moses' father-in-law is called קֵינִי (Kenite, comp. Gen. xv. 19), or why, at Num. xii. 1, Zipporah, if it be Zipporah, is called כֻּשִׁית, A. V. Ethiopian, is not clear.

The Mohammedan name of Jethro is Shoaib (*Koran*, 7, 11). There is a tale in the Midrash that Jethro was a counsellor of Pharaoh, who tried to dissuade him from slaughtering the Israelitish children, and consequently, on account of his clemency, was forced to flee into Midian, but was rewarded by becoming the father-in-law of Moses (see Weil's *Biblical Legends*, p. 93, *note*). [JUDITHER; HOLAB.] S. L.

JETUR (יְטוּר) [prob. *nomadic camp* or *circle*]: Ἰετουρ, Ἰεττούρ, Ἰτουραῖοι; [Vat. in 1 Chr. v. 19, Τουραιαν:] *Jethur*, [*Jetur, Ituræi*]), Gen. xxv. 15; 1 Chr. i. 31, v. 19. [ITURÆA.]

JEU'EL. 1. (יְעוּאֵל) [perh. *treasure of God*]: Ἰεήλ; [Vat. Πειηλ:] *Jehuel.*) A chief man of Judah, one of the Bene-Zerah [sons of Z.]; apparently at the time of the first settlement in Jerusalem (1 Chr. ix. 6; comp. 2).

2. (Γεουήλ; Alex. Ιεουηλ: *Gebel.*) One of the Bene-Adonikam [sons of A.] who returned to Jerusalem with Ezdras (1 Esdr. viii. 39). [JEIEL.]

For other occurrences of this name see JEIEL.

JE'USH (יְעוּשׁ) [*collecting* or *hastening*]: Ἰεούς, Ἰεούλ, Ἰεύς, Ἰαούς, Ἰεάς, Ἰωάς: *Jehus, Jaus*).

1. [Ἰεούς, Ἰεούλ; Alex. in Gen. xxxvi. 14, Ιευς: *Jehus.*] Son of Esau, by Aholibamah, the daughter of Anah, the son of Zibeon the Hivite (Gen. xxxvi. 5, 14, 18; 1 Chr. i. 35). It appears from Gen. xxxvi. 20–25, that Anah is a man's name (not a woman's, as might be thought from ver. 2), and by comparison with ver. 2, that the Horites were Hivites. Jeush was one of the Edomitish dukes (ver. 18). The Cethib has repeatedly יְעִישׁ, Jeish.

2. [Ἰαούς; Alex. Ιεως.] Head of a Benjamite house, which existed in David's time, son of Bilhan, son of Jediael (1 Chr. vii. 10, 11).

3. [Ἰωάς; Alex. omits: *Jaus.*] A Levite, of the house of Shimei, of the family of the Gershonites. He and his brother Beriah were reckoned as one house in the census of the Levites taken in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxiii. 10, 11).

4. [Ἰεούς; Vat. Ιαουθ; Alex. omits: *Jehus.*] Son of Rehoboam king of Judah, by Abihail, the daughter of Eliab, the son of Jesse (2 Chr. xi. 18, 19). A. C. H.

JE'UZ (יְעוּץ) [*counseling*]: Ἰεβούς; [Vat. Ιδους;] Alex. Ιεους: *Jehus*), head of a Benjamite house in an obscure genealogy (1 Chr. viii. 10), apparently son of Shaharaim and Hodesh his third wife, and born in Moab. A. C. H.

JEW (יְהוּדִי) [patronym., see JUDAH]: Ἰουδαῖος: *Judæus*, i. e. Judæan; Ἰουδαΐζω, Esth. viii. 17, [Gal. ii. 14;] Ἰουδαϊκός, 2 Macc. viii. 11, xiii. 21; Ἰουδαϊκῶς, "as do the Jews," Gal. ii. 14; יְהוּדִית, Ἰουδαϊστί, "in the Jews' language," 2 K. xviii. 26, 28; 2 Chron. xxxii. 18; Neh. iii. 24; Is. xxxvi. 11, 13]). This name was properly applied to a member of the kingdom of Judah after the separation of the ten tribes. In this sense it occurs twice in the second book of Kings, 2 K. xvi. 6, xxv. 25, and seven times in the later chapters of Jeremiah: Jer. xxxii. 12, xxxiv. 9 (in connection with Hebrew), xxxviii. 19, xl. 12, xli. 3, xliv. 1, lii. 28. After the Return the word received a larger application. Partly from the predominance of the members of the old kingdom of Judah among those who returned to Palestine, partly from the identification of Judah with the religious ideas and hopes of the people, all the members of the new state were called Jews (Judæans), and the name was extended to the remnants of the race scattered

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throughout the nations (Dan. iii. 8, 12; Esr. iv. 12, 23, &c.; Neh. i. 2, ii. 16, v. 1, &c.; Esth. iii. 4 ff., etc. Cf. Jos. *Ant.* xi. 5, § 7, ἐκλήθησαν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα (Ἰουδαῖοι) ἐξ ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνέβησαν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς . . .).

Under the name of "Judæans," the people of Israel were known to classical writers. The most famous and interesting notice by a heathen writer is that of Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 2 ff.; cf. Orelli's *Excursus*). The trait of extreme exclusiveness with which he specially charged them is noticed by many other writers (Juv. *Sat.* xiv. 103; Diod. Sic. *Ecl.* 34, 1; Quint. *Inst.* iii. 7, 21). The account of Strabo (xvi. p. 760 ff.) is more favorable (cf. Just. xxxvi. 2), but it was impossible that a stranger could clearly understand the meaning of Judaism as a discipline and preparation for a universal religion (F. C. Meier, *Judaica, seu veterum scriptorum profanorum de rebus Judaicis fragmenta*, Jenæ, 1832).

The force of the title Ἰουδαῖος is seen particularly in the Gospel of St. John. While the other evangelists scarcely ever use the word except in the title "King of the Jews" (as given by Gentiles),[a] St. John, standing within the boundary of the Christian age, very rarely uses any other term to describe the opponents of our Lord. The name, indeed, appeared at the close of the Apostle's life to be the true antithesis to Christianity, as describing the limited and definite form of a national religion; but at an earlier stage of the progress of the faith, it was contrasted with Greek (Ἕλλην) as implying an outward covenant with God (Rom. i. 16, ii. 9, 10; Col. iii. 11, &c.). In this sense it was of wider application than *Hebrew*, which was the correlative of *Hellenist* [HELLENIST], and marked a division of language subsisting within the entire body, and at the same time less expressive than *Israelite*, which brought out with especial clearness the privileges and hopes of the children of Jacob (2 Cor. xi. 22; John i. 47; 1 Macc. i. 43, 53, and often).

The history of Judaism is divided by Jost — the most profound writer who has investigated it — into two great eras, the first extending to the close of the collections of the oral laws, 536 B. C. — 600 A. D.: the second reaching to the present time. According to this view the first is the period of original development, the second of formal construction; the one furnishes the constituent elements, the second the varied shape of the present faith. But as far as Judaism was a great stage in the Divine revelation, its main interest closes with the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A. D. From that date its present living force was stayed, and its history is a record of the human shapes in which the Divine truths of earlier times were enshrined and hidden. The old age (*αἰών*) passed away, and the new age began when the Holy City was finally wrested from its citizens and the worship of the Temple closed.

Yet this shorter period from the Return to the destruction of Jerusalem was pregnant with great changes. Four different dynasties in succession directed the energies and influenced the character of the Jewish nation. The dominion of Persia 536–333 B. C.), of Greece (333–167 B C.), of the Asmonæans (167–63 B. C.), of the Herods (40 B. C., 70 A. D.) sensibly furthered in various ways the discipline of the people of God, and prepared the way for a final revelation. An outline of the characteristic features of the several periods is given in other articles. Briefly it may be said that the supremacy of Persia was marked by the growth of organization, order, ritual [CYRUS; DISPERSION OF THE JEWS], that of Greece by the spread of liberty, and speculation [ALEXANDER; ALEXANDRIA; HELLENISTS], that of the Asmonæans by the strengthening of independence and faith [MACCABEES], that of the Herods by the final separation of the elements of temporal and spiritual dominion into antagonistic systems [HEROD]; and so at length the inheritance of six centuries, painfully won in times of exhaustion and persecution and oppression, was transferred to the treasury of the Christian Church. B. F. W.

JEW (יְהוּדִי: [Ἰουδαῖος: *Judæus*]), JEWS (יְהוּדִים, Ch. יְהוּדָאִין in Ezr. and Dan.). Originally "man, or men of Judah." The term first makes its appearance just before the Captivity of the ten tribes, and then is used to denote the men of Judah who held Elath, and were driven out by Rezin king of Syria (2 K. xvi. 6). Elath had been taken by Azariah or Uzziah, and made a colony of Judah (2 K. xiv. 22). The men of Judah in prison with Jeremiah (Jer. xxxii. 12) are called "Jews" in our A. V., as are those who deserted to the Chaldæans (Jer. xxxviii. 19), and the fragments of the tribe which were dispersed in Moab, Edom, and among the Ammonites (Jer. xl. 11). Of these latter were the confederates of Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, who were of the blood-royal of Judah (Jer. xli. 3). The fugitives in Egypt (Jer. xliv. 1) belonged to the two tribes, and were distinguished by the name of the more important; and the same general term is applied to those who were carried captive by Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. lii. 28, 30) as well as to the remnant which was left in the land (2 K. xxv. 25; Neh. i. 2, ii. 16, &c.). That the term *Yĕhûdî* or "Jew" was in the latter history used of the members of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin without distinction is evident from the case of Mordecai, who, though of the tribe of Benjamin, is called a Jew (Esth. ii. 5, &c.), while the people of the Captivity are called "the people of Mordecai" (Esth. iii. 6). After the Captivity the appellation was universally given to those who returned from Babylon. W. A. W.

JEWEL. [PRECIOUS STONES.]

JEWESS (Ἰουδαία: *Judæa*), a woman of Hebrew birth, without distinction of tribe (Acts xvi. 1, xxiv. 24). It is applied in the former passage to Eunice the mother of Timothy, who was unquestionably of Hebrew origin (comp. 2 Tim. iii. 15), and in the latter to Drusilla, the wife of Felix and daughter of Herod Agrippa I.

JEWISH (Ἰουδαϊκός: *Judaicus*), of or belonging to Jews: an epithet applied to the rabbinical legends against which the elder apostle warns his younger brother (Tit. i. 14).

JEWRY (יְהוּדָה: Ἰουδαία: *Judæa*), the same word elsewhere rendered JUDAH and JUDÆA. It occurs but once in the O. T., Dan. v. 13, in which verse the Hebrew is translated both by Judah and

[a] The exceptions are, Matt. xxviii. 15 (a note of the evangelist of later date than the substance of the Gospel); Mark vii. 3 (a similar note); Luke vii. 3, xxiii. 51.

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Jewry: the A. V. retaining the latter as it stands in Coverdale, Tyndale, and the Geneva Bible. The variation possibly arose from a too faithful imitation of the Vulg., which has *Juda* and *Judæa*. Jewry comes to us through the Norman-French, and is of frequent occurrence in Old English. It is found besides in 1 Esdr. i. 32, ii. 4, iv. 49, v. 7, 8, 57, vi. 1, viii. 81, ix. 3; Bel, 33; 2 Macc. x. 24; Luke xxiii. 5; John vii. 1. [The earlier English versions have generally "Jewry" (*Juris*) for Judæa in the N. T. See Trench, *Authorised Version*, p. 49, 2d ed. — H.]

JEWS' LANGUAGE, IN THE (יְהוּדִית). Literally "Jewishly:" for the Hebrew must be taken adverbially, as in the LXX. (Ἰουδαϊστί) and Vulgate (*Judaicè*). The term is only used of the language of the two southern tribes after the Captivity of the northern kingdom (2 K. xviii. 26, 28; 2 Chr. xxxii. 18; Is. xxxvi. 11, 13), and of that spoken by the captives who returned (Neh. xiii. 24). It therefore denotes as well the pure Hebrew as the dialect acquired during the Captivity, which was characterized by Aramaic forms and idioms. Elsewhere (Is. xix. 18) in the poetical language of Isaiah it is called "the lip of Canaan."

* **JEWS' RELIGION** (2 Macc. viii. 1, xiv. 38; Gal. i. 14, 15). [JUDAISM.]

JEZANI'AH (יַזַנְיָה [*whom Jehovah hears*]: Ἐζονίας [Vat. FA.] Alex. Ιεζονιας in Jer. xl. 8: יְזַנְיָהוּ; Ἀζαρίας in Jer. xlii. 1: *Jezonias*), the son of Hoshaiah, the Maachathite, and one of the captains of the forces, who had escaped from Jerusalem during the final attack of the beleaguering army of the Chaldæans. In the consequent pursuit which resulted in the capture of Zedekiah, the army was scattered from him and dispersed throughout the open country among the neighboring Ammonites and Moabites, watching from thence the progress of events. When the Babylonians had departed, Jezaniah, with the men under his command, was one of the first who returned to Gedaliah at Mizpah. In the events which followed the assassination of that officer Jezaniah took a prominent part. He joined Johanan in the pursuit of Ishmael and his murderous associates, and in the general consternation and distrust which ensued he became one of the foremost advocates of the migration into Egypt, so strongly opposed by Jeremiah. Indeed in their interview with the prophet at the Khan of Chinham, when words ran high, Jezaniah (there called Azariah) was apparently the leader in the dispute, and for once took precedence of Johanan (Jer. xliii. 2). In 2 K. xxv. 23 he is called JAAZANIAH, in which form the name was easily corrupted into Azariah, or Zechariah, as one MS. of the LXX. reads it. The Syriac and Josephus follow the Hebrew. In the LXX. his father's name is Maaseiah.

JEZEBEL (אִיזֶבֶל: LXX. and N. T. Ἰεζαβήλ; Joseph. Ἰεζάβδλη: *Jezabel*: probably a name, like *Agnes*, signifying "chaste," *sine coitu*, Gesenius *in voc.*), wife of Ahab, king of Israel, and mother of Athaliah, queen of Judah, and Ahaziah and Joram, kings of Israel.[a] She was a Phœnician princess, daughter of "Ethbaal king of the Zidonians" (or Ithobal king of the Syrians and Sidonians, Menander *apud* Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 13, § 2; *c. Apion*, i. 18). Her marriage with Ahab was a turning point in the history of Israel. Not only was the union with a Canaanitish wife unprecedented in the northern kingdom, but the character of the queen gave additional force and significance to what might else have been regarded merely as a commercial and political measure, natural to a king devoted, as was Ahab, to the arts of peace and the splendor of regal luxury. She was a woman in whom, with the reckless and licentious habits of an oriental queen, were united the sternest and fiercest qualities inherent in the Phœnician people. The royal family of Tyre was remarkable at that time both for its religious fanaticism and its savage temper. Her father Ethbaal united with his royal office the priesthood of the goddess Astarte, and had come to the throne by the murder of his predecessor Phelles (Joseph. *c. Apion*, i. 18). The next generation included within itself Sichæus, or Matgenes, king and priest of Baal, the murderer Pygmalion, and Elisa or Dido, foundress of Carthage (*ib.*). Of this stock came Jezebel. In her hands her husband became a mere puppet (1 K. xxi. 25). Even after his death, through the reigns of his sons, her influence was the evil genius of the dynasty. Through the marriage of her daughter Athaliah with the king of Judah, it extended even to the rival kingdom. The wild license of her life, the magical fascination of her arts or of her character, became a proverb in the nation (2 K. ix. 22). Long afterwards her name lived as the byword for all that was execrable, and in the Apocalypse it is given to a church or an individual[b] in Asia Minor, combining in like manner fanaticism and profligacy (Rev. ii. 20). If we may trust the numbers of the text, she must have married Ahab before his accession. He reigned 22 years; and 12 years from that time her grandson Ahaziah was 21 years of age. Her daughter Athaliah must have been born therefore at least 37 years before.

The first effect of her influence was the immediate establishment of the Phœnician worship on a grand scale in the court of Ahab. At her table were supported no less than 450 prophets of Baal, and 400 of Astarte (1 K. xvi. 31, 32, xviii. 19). The prophets of Jehovah, who up to this time had found their chief refuge in the northern kingdom, were attacked by her orders and put to the sword (1 K. xviii. 13; 2 K. ix. 7). When at last the people, at the instigation of Elijah, rose against her ministers, and slaughtered them at the foot of Carmel, and when Ahab was terrified into submission, she alone retained her presence of mind; and when she received in the palace of Jezreel the tidings that her religion was all but destroyed (1 K. xix. 1), her only answer was one of those fearful vows which have made the leaders of Semitic nations so terrible whether for good or evil —

[a] Amongst the Spanish Jews the name of Jezebel was given to Isabella "the Catholic," in consequence of the detestation in which her memory was held as their persecutor (Ford's *Handbook of Spain*, 2d ed. p. 486). Whether the name Isabella was originally connected with that of Jezebel is doubtful.

[b] According to the reading of A. V. and the older versions, it is τὴν γυναῖκά σου, "thy wife." In that case she must be the wife of the "angel;" and the expression would thus confirm the interpretation which makes "the angel" to be the bishop or presiding officer of the Church of Thyatira; and this woman would thus be his wife.

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expressed in a message to the very man who, as it might have seemed but an hour before, had her life in his power: "As surely as *thou* art Elijah and as *I* am Jezebel (LXX.) so may God do to me and more also, if by this time to-morrow I make not thy life as the life of one of them" (1 K. xix. 2). Elijah, who had encountered undaunted the king and the whole force of the prophets of Baal, "feared" (LXX.) the wrath of the awful queen, and fled for his life beyond the furthest limits of Israel (1 K. xix. 3). [ELIJAH.]

The next instance of her power is still more characteristic and complete. When she found her husband cast down by his disappointment at being thwarted by Naboth, she took the matter into her own hands, with a spirit which reminds us of Clytemnestra or Lady Macbeth. "Dost *thou* now govern the kingdom of Israel? (play the king, ποιεῖς βασιλέα, LXX). Arise and eat bread and let thine heart be merry, and *I* will give thee the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite" (1 K. xxi. 7). She wrote a warrant in Ahab's name, and sealed it with his seal. It was couched in the official language of the Israelite law — a solemn fast — witnesses — a charge of blasphemy — the authorised punishment of stoning. To her, and not to Ahab, was sent the announcement that the royal wishes were accomplished (1 K. xxi. 14), and she bade her husband go and take the vacant property, and on her accordingly fell the prophet's curse, as well as on her husband (1 K. xxi. 23).

We hear no more of her for a long period. But she survived Ahab by 14 years, and still, as queen-mother (after the oriental custom), was a great personage in the court of her sons, and, as such, became the special mark for vengeance when Jehu advanced against Jezreel to overthrow the dynasty of Ahab. "What peace so long as the whoredoms of thy mother Jezebel and her witchcrafts are so many?" (2 K. ix. 22). But in that supreme hour of her house the spirit of the aged queen rose within her, equal to the dreadful emergency. She was in the palace, which stood by the gate of the city, overlooking the approach from the east. Beneath lay the open space under the city walls. She determined to face the destroyer of her family, whom she saw rapidly advancing in his chariot.[a] She painted her eyelids in the eastern fashion with antimony, so as to give a darker border to the eyes, and make them look larger and brighter (Keil), possibly in order to induce Jehu, after the manner of eastern usurpers, to take her, the widow of his predecessor, for his wife,[b] but more probably as the last act of regal splendor.[c] She tired ("made good") her head, and, looking down upon him from the high latticed window in the tower (Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 6, § 4), she met him by an allusion to a former act of treason in the history of her adopted country, which conveys a different expression, according as we take one or other of the different interpretations given to it. (1.) "Was there peace to Zimri, who slew his 'lord'?" as if to remind Jehu, now in the fullness of his triumph, how Omri, the founder of the dynasty which he was destroying, had himself come into power as the avenger of Zimri, who had murdered Baasha, as he now had murdered Jehoram: or (2) a direct address to Jehu, as a second Zimri: "Is it peace?" (following up the question of her son in 2 K. ix. 31). "Is it peace, O Zimri, slayer of his lord?" (So Keil and LXX. ἡ εἰρήνη Ζαμβοὶ ὁ φονευτὴς τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ;) Or (3) "Peace to Zimri, who slew his 'lord'" — (according to Josephus, *Ant.* ix. 6, § 4, καλὸς δοῦλος ὁ ἀποκτείνας τὸν δεσπότην) — which again may be taken either as an ironical welcome, or (according to Ewald, iii. 166, 260) as a reminder that as Zimri had spared the seraglio of Baasha, so she was prepared to welcome Jehu. The general character of Jezebel, and the doubt as to the details of the history of Zimri, would lead us rather to adopt the sterner view of her speech. Jehu looked up from his chariot — and his answer, again, is variously given in the LXX. and in the Hebrew text. In the former he exclaims, "Who art *thou*? — Come down to me." In the latter, "Who is on my side, who?" In either case the issue is the same. Two or three eunuchs of the royal harem show their faces at the windows, and at his command dashed[d] the ancient princess down from the chamber. She fell immediately in front of the conqueror's chariot. The blood flew from her mangled corpse over the palace-wall behind, and over the advancing horses in front. The merciless destroyer passed on; and the last remains of life were trampled out by the horses' hoofs. The body was left in that open space called in modern eastern language "the mounds," where offal is thrown from the city-walls. The dogs of eastern cities, which prowl around these localities, and which the present writer met on this very spot by the modern village which occupies the site of Jezreel, pounced upon this unexpected prey. Nothing was left by them but the hard portions of the human skeleton, the skull, the hands, and the feet. Such was the sight which met the eyes of the messengers of Jehu, whom he had sent from his triumphal banquet, struck with a momentary feeling of compassion for the fall of so much greatness. "Go, see now this cursed woman and bury her, for she is a king's daughter." When he heard the fate of the body, he exclaimed in words which no doubt were long remembered as the epitaph of the greatest and wickedest of the queens of Israel — "This is the word of Jehovah, which He spake by his servant Elijah the Tishbite, saying, In the portion[e] of Jezreel shall the dogs eat the flesh of Jezebel; and the carcase of Jezebel shall be as dung on the face of the earth; so that

[a] A graphic conception of this scene occurs in Racine's *Athalie*, Act II. Sc. 5.

[b] According to the explanation of S. Ephrem Syrus *ad loc.*

[c] The A. V. (2 K. ix. 30) renders the Hebrew וַתָּשֶׂם בַּפּוּךְ עֵינֶיהָ, in the text, "painted her face;" but in the margin more strictly, "put her eyes in painting" (or "in paint"). The act referred to is a familiar one among Syrian women at the present time. "They 'paint' or blacken the eyelids and brows with *kŏhl*, and prolong the application in a decreasing pencil, so as to lengthen and reduce the eye in appearance to what is called *almond shape*. The powder from which *kŏhl* is made is collected from burning almond shells, or frankincense, and is intensely black. Antimony, and various ores of lead, are also employed. The powder is applied by a small probe of wood, ivory, or silver, called *meel*." (Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 184.) For figures of the instruments used in the process, see also the work referred to. H.

[d] שָׁמַט, "dash," as from a precipice (Ps. cxli. 6).

[e] חֶלְקַת, "smooth field."

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they shall not say, This is Jesebel" (2 K. ix. 36, 37). A. P. S.

JEZE'LUS ('Ιεζῆλος; [Vat. Ιεθηλος:] *Zechaleus*). 1. The same as JAHAZIEL (1 Esdr. viii. 32).

2. ([Ἰεζῆλος:] *Jehelus.*) JEHIEL, the father of Obadiah (1 Esdr. viii. 35).

JE'ZER (יֶצֶר [*formation, image*]: 'Ισσαχαρ in Gen. xlvi. 24; 'Ιεσέρ, Num. xxvi. 49, Alex. Ιεσρι; 'Ασήρ, 1 Chr. vii. 13, Alex. Σααρ, [Vat. Ισσειηρ, Comp. Ald. 'Ιεσσέρ:] *Jeser*), the third son of Naphtali, and father of the family of the Jezerites, who were numbered in the plains of Moab.

JE'ZERITES, THE (הַיִּצְרִי: ὁ 'Ιεσρί [Vat. -ρει], Alex. ὁ Ιεσρι: *Jeseritæ*). A family of the tribe of Naphtali, descendants of Jezer (Num. xxvi. 49).

JEZI'AH (יִזִּיָּה [*whom Jehovah sprinkles, or expiates*]: 'Αζία; [Vat. Αζεια, FA. Αβεια:] *Jezia*), properly Yizziyyah, a descendant of Parosh, and one of those among the laymen after the return from Babylon who had married strange wives, and at Ezra's bidding had promised to put them away (Ezr. x. 25). In 1 Esdr. ix. 26 he is called EDDIAS. The Syriac of Ezra reads *Jesaniah.*

JE'ZIEL (יְזִיאֵל, Keri יְזִיאֵל, which is the reading of some MSS. [*assembly of God*]: 'Ιωήλ; FA. Αζιηλ; [Ald. 'Ιαζιήλ; Comp. 'Εζιήλ:] *Jaziel*), one of the skilled Benjamite archers or slingers who joined David in his retreat at Ziklag. He was probably the son of Azmaveth of Bahurim, one of David's heroes (1 Chr. xii. 3). In the Syriac Jeziel is omitted, and the sons of Azmaveth are there Pelet and Berachah.

JEZLI'AH (יִזְלִיאָה [*Jehovah delivers*, Fürst]: 'Ιεζλίας; [Vat. Ζαφεια;] Alex. Εζλια; [Comp. Ald. 'Ιεζελία: *Jezlia*]), one of a long list of Benjamite heads of houses, sons of Elpaal, who dwelt at Jerusalem (1 Chr. viii. 18).

A. C. H.

JEZO'AR (יִצְהָר [*shining, brilliant*, as a verb]: Σααρ: *Isaar*), the son of Helah, one of the wives of Asher, the father or founder of Tekoa, and posthumous son of Hezron (1 Chr. iv. 7). The Keri has יְצֹחַר "and Zohar," which was followed by the LXX. and by the A. V. of 1611. [ZOAR, at the end.]

JEZRAHI'AH (יִזְרַחְיָה [*Jehovah causes to break forth*, i. e. *into life*]: [Vat. Alex. FA. smit; FA.[3] Ιεζριας; [Comp. Ald. 'Ιεζοήρ:] *Izrata*), a Levite, the leader of the choristers at the solemn dedication of the wall of Jerusalem under Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 42). The singers had built themselves villages in the environs of the city, and the Oasis of the Jordan, and with the minstrels they gathered themselves together at the first summons to keep the dedication with gladness.

JEZ'REËL (יִזְרְעֶאל [*God will sow* or *scatter*]: 'Ιεζραήλ; [Vat. Αζραηλ; Alex.[1] Ιεζσραηλ, Alex.[2] Ιεζριηλ:] *Jezrahel*), according to the received text, a descendant of the father or founder of Etam, of the line of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 3). But as the verse now stands, we must supply some such word as "families;" "these (are the families of) the father of Etam." Both the LXX. and Vulg. read בְּנֵי, "sons," for אֲבִי, "father," and six of Kennicott's MSS. have the same, while in two of De Rossi's the readings are combined. The Syriac is singularly different from all: "And these are the sons of Aminodob, Achizar'el, etc., Neahmo, and Diboah," the last clause of ver. 3 being entirely omitted. But, although the Syriac text of the Chronicles is so corrupt as to be of little authority in this case, there can be no doubt that the genealogy in vv. 3, 4 is so confused as to be attended with almost insuperable difficulties. Tremellius and Junius regard Etam as the proper name of a person, and Jezreel as one of his sons, while Bertheau considers them both names of places. The Targum on Chron. has, "And these are the Rabbis dwelling at Etam, Jezreel," etc. In ver. 4 Hur is referred to as the ancestor of this branch of the tribe of Judah, and therefore, if the present text be adopted, we must read, "and these, namely, Abi-Etam, Jezreel," etc. But the probability is that in ver. 3 a clause has been omitted.

W. A. W.

JEZ'REËL (יִזְרְעֶאל [see above]: LXX. 'Ιεσραήλ, ['Ιεζραήλ, 'Ιεζραήλ, 'Εσραήλ; Alex. also Ιζραηλ, Ισραηλ, Ιεζαβελ, etc.: Vulg. *Jesrahel, Jezrael, Jesraël,*] Joseph. 'Ιεσράηλα, *Ant.* viii. 13, § 6, 'Ιεσρέελα, *Ant.* ix. 6, § 4, 'Ιζάρα,[a] *Ant.* viii. 15, §§ 4, 6; 'Εσδρήλωμ, or 'Εσδρήλων, Jud. i. 8, iv. 6; 'Εσδηλαία, Eusebius and Jerome, in *Onomasticon*, voce *Jezrael*, Latinized into *Stradela.* See Bordeaux Pilgrim in *Itin. Hierosol.* p. 586). Its modern name is *Zerin*, which is in fact the same word, and which first appears in William of Tyre (xxi. 26) as *Gerin* (*Gerinum*), and Benjamin of Tudela as *Zarzin.* The history of the identification of these names is well given in Robinson, *B. R.* 1st ed. iii. 163, 165, and is curious as an example of the tenacity of a local tradition, in spite of the carelessness of modern travellers.

The name is used in 2 Sam. ii. 9 and (?) iv. 4, and Hos. i. 5, for the valley or plain between Gilboa and Little Hermon; and to this plain, in its widest extent, the general form of the name Esdraelon (first used in Jud. i. 8) has been applied in modern times. It is probably from the richness of the plain that the name is derived, "God has sown," "God's sowing." For the events connected with this great battle-field of Palestine, see EDRAELON.

In its more limited sense, as applied to the city, it first appears in Josh. xix. 18, where it is mentioned as a city of Issachar, in the neighborhood of Chesulloth and Shunem; and it had citizens (1 K. xxi. 1–3), elders, and nobles of its own (1 K. xxi. 8–11). But its historical importance dates from the reign of Ahab; who chose it for his chief residence, as Omri had chosen Samaria, and Baasha Tirzah.

The situation of the modern village of *Zerin* still remains to show the fitness of his choice. It is on one of the gentle swells which rise out of the fertile plain of Esdraelon; but with two peculiarities which mark it out from the rest. One is its strength On the N. E. the hill presents a steep rocky descent of at least 100 feet (Robinson, 1st ed. iii. 162).

[a] In Jos. *Ant.* viii. 13, § 6, it is called 'Ισσράηλα, Ἰζάρου πόλις; in viii. 13, § 7 'Ιζάρου πόλις singly; in viii. 15, §§ 4, 6, 'Ιζάρα. Various readings are given of 'Ιεζίρα, 'Ασάρου, 'Αζάρου, 'Αζάρα.

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The other is its central locality. It stands at the opening of the middle branch of the three eastern forks of the plain, and looks straight towards the wide western level; thus commanding the view towards the Jordan on the east (2 K. ix. 17), and visible from Carmel on the west (1 K. xviii. 46).

In the neighborhood, or within the town probably, was a temple and grove of Astarte, with an establishment of 400 priests supported by Jezebel (1 K. xvi. 33; 2 K. x. 11). The palace of Ahab (1 K. xxi. 1, xviii. 46), probably containing his "ivory house" (1 K. xxii. 39), was on the eastern side of the city, forming part of the city wall (comp. 1 K. xxi. 1; 2 K. ix. 25, 30, 33). The seraglio, in which Jezebel lived, was on the city wall, and had a high window facing eastward (2 K. ix. 30). Close by, if not forming part of this seraglio (as Josephus supposes, στᾶσα ἐπὶ τοῦ πύργου, *Ant.* ix. 6, § 4), was a watch-tower, on which a sentinel stood, to give notice of arrivals from the disturbed district beyond the Jordan (2 K. ix. 17). This watch-tower, well-known as "the tower in Jezreel," may possibly have been the tower or "migdol" near which the Egyptian army was encamped in the battle between Necho and Josiah (*Herod.* ii. 159). An ancient square tower which stands amongst the hovels of the modern village may be its representative. The gateway of the city on the east was also the gateway of the palace (2 K. ix. 34). Immediately in front of the gateway, and under the city wall, was an open space, such as existed before the neighboring city of Bethshan (2 Sam. xxi. 12), and is usually found by the walls of eastern cities, under the name of "the mounds" (see *Arabian Nights*, *passim*), whence the dogs, the scavengers of the East, prowled in search of offal (2 K. ix. 25). Here Jezebel met with her end (2 K. ix. 35). [JEZEBEL.] A little further east, but adjoining to the royal domain (1 K. xxi. 1), was a smooth tract of land cleared out of the uneven valley (2 K. ix. 25), which belonged to Naboth, a citizen of Jezreel (2 K. ix. 25), by an hereditary right (1 K. xxi. 3); but the royal grounds were so near that it would have been easily turned into a garden of herbs for the royal use (1 K. xxi. 2). Here Elijah met Ahab, Jehu, and Bidkar (1 K. xxi. 17); and here Jehu met Joram and Ahaziah (2 K. ix. 21, 25). [ELIJAH; JEHU.] Whether the *vineyard* of Naboth was here or at Samaria is a doubtful question. [NABOTH.]

Still in the same eastern direction are two springs, one 12 minutes from the town, the other 20 minutes (Robinson, 1st ed. iii. 167). This latter spring "flows from under a sort of cavern in the wall of conglomerate rock, which here forms the base of Gilboa. The water is excellent; and issuing from crevices in the rocks, it spreads out at once into a fine limpid pool, 40 or 50 feet in diameter, full of fish" (Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* iii. 168). This probably, both from its size and situation, was known as "THE SPRING OF JEZREEL" (mistranslated A. V. "a fountain," 1 Sam. xxix. 1), where Saul was encamped before the battle of Gilboa; and probably the same as the spring of "Harod," where Gideon encamped before his night attack on the Midianites (Judg. vii. 1, mistranslated A. V. "the well"). The name of Harod, "trembling," probably was taken from the "trembling" of Gideon's army (Judg. vii. 3). It was the scene of successive encampments of the Crusaders and Saracens; and was called by the Christians Tubania, and by the Arabs *'Ain Jâlûd*, 'the spring of Goliath" (Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* iii. 69). This last name, which it still bears, is derived from a tradition mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, that here David killed Goliath. The tradition may be a confused reminiscence of many battles fought in its neighborhood (Ritter, *Jordan*, p. 416); or the word may be a corruption of "Gilead," supposing that to be the ancient name of Gilboa, and thus explaining Judg. vii. 3, "depart from Mount Gilead" (Schwarz, 334).

According to Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 15, §§ 4, 6), this spring, and the pool attached to it, was the spot where Naboth and his sons were executed, where the dogs and swine licked up their blood and that of Ahab, and where the harlots bathed in the blood-stained water (LXX). But the natural inference from the present text of 1 K. xxii. 38 makes the scene of these events to be the pool of Samaria. [See NABOTH.]

With the fall of the house of Ahab the glory of Jezreel departed. No other king is described as living there, and the name was so deeply associated with the family of its founder, that when the Divine retribution overtook the house of their destroyer, the eldest child of the prophet Hosea, who was to be a living witness of the coming vengeance, was called "Jezreel;" "for I will avenge the blood of *Jezreel* upon the house of Jehu . . . and at that day I will break the bow of Israel in the valley of *Jezreel*; . . . and great shall be the day of *Jezreel*" (Hos. i. 4, 5, 11). And then out of that day and place of humiliation the name is to go back to its original signification as derived from the beauty and fertility of the rich plain, and to become a pledge of the revived beauty and richness of Israel. "I will 'hear and answer' the heavens, and 'they will hear and answer' the earth, and the earth shall 'hear and answer' the corn and the wine and the oil [of that fruitful plain], and they shall 'hear and answer' *Jezreel* [that is, the seed of God], and *I* will *sow* her unto me in the earth" (Hos. ii. 22; see Ewald *ad loc.*, and Gesenius *in voce Jezreel*). From this time the image seems to have been continued as a prophetical expression for the sowing the people of Israel, as it were broadcast; as though the whole of Palestine and the world were to become, in a spiritual sense, one rich plain of Jezreel. "I will *sow* them among the people, and they shall remember me in far countries" (Zech. x. 9). "Ye shall be tilled and *sown*, and I will multiply men upon you" (Ez. xxxvi. 9, 10). "I will *sow* the house of Israel and the house of Judah with the seed of men and with the seed of beasts" (Jer. xxxi. 27). Hence the consecration of the image of "sowing," as it appears in the N. T., Matt. xiii. 2.

2. ['Ιαριήλ; Alex. Ισσραελ; Comp. Ald. 'Ιεζρεέλ: *Jesraël.*] A town in Judah, in the neighborhood of the southern Carmel (Josh. xv. 56). Here David in his wanderings took Ahinoam the Jezreelitess for his first wife (1 Sam. xxvii. 3, xxx. 5). A. P. S.

JEZREËL (יִזְרְעֶאל: 'Ιεζραέλ: *Jezrahel*). The eldest son of the prophet Hosea (Hos. i. 4), significantly so called because Jehovah said to the prophet, "Yet a little while and I will avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu," and "I will break the bow of Israel in the valley of Jezreel." W. A. W.

JEZREËLITE (יִזְרְעֵאלִי: 'Ιεζραελίτης

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Alex. Ισραηλιτης, once 2 K. ix. 21 Ιζραηλιτης: *Jezrahelita*). An inhabitant of Jezreel (1 K. xxi. 1, 4, 6, 7, 15, 16; 2 K. ix. 21, 25).

W. A. W.

JEZREËLITESS (יִזְרְעֵאלִית: Ἰεζραηλῖτις; [Vat. Ισραηλειτις, exc. 2 Sam. iii. 2, -λι-:] Alex. Εζραηλειτις, Ιζραηλιτις, Ισραηλιτις: *Jezrahelitis*, [*Jezrahelitea*,] *Jezrælitea*, *Jezrælitis*). A woman of Jezreel (1 Sam. xxvii. 3, xxx. 5; 2 Sam. ii. 2, iii. 2; 1 Chr. iii. 1). W. A. W.

JIB'SAM (יִבְשָׂם [*pleasant, lovely*]: Ἰεμασθ: [Vat. Βασαν;] Alex. Ιεβασαμ; [Comp. Ἰαβσδν:] *Jebsem*), one of the sons of Tola, the son of Issachar, who were heads of their father's house and heroes of might in their generations (1 Chr. vii. 2). His descendants appear to have served in David's army, and with others of the same clan mustered to the number of upwards of 22,000.

JID'LAPH (יִדְלָף, *weeping*, Ges. [*melting, languishing*, Fürst]: Ἰελδαφ: *Jedlaph*), a son of Nahor (Gen. xxii. 22), whose settlements have not been identified, though they most probably are to be looked for in the Euphrates country.

E. S. P.

JIM'NA (יִמְנָה [*good fortune, luck*]: Ἰαμλν; [Vat.] Alex. Ιαμειν: *Jemna*), the firstborn of Asher, represented in the numbering on the plains of Moab by his descendants the Jimnites (Num. xxvi. 44). He is elsewhere called in the A. V. JIMNAH (Gen. xlvi. 17) and IMNAH (1 Chr. vii. 30), the Hebrew in both instances being the same.

JIM'NAH (יִמְנָה: Ἰεμνα; Alex. Ιεμνα: *Jamne*) = JIMNA = IMNAH (Gen. xlvi. 17).

JIM'NITES, THE (הַיִּמְנָה [see above]: *i. e.* the Jimnah; Sam. and one MS. הימני: ὁ Ἰαμινί; [Vat. ο Ιαμεινει:] Alex. ο Ιαμεινι: *Jemnaïtæ*), descendants of the preceding (Num. xxvi. 44).

JIPH'TAH (יִפְתָּח, *i. e.* Yiftâch [*he*, i. e. *Jehovah opens, frees*]: Vat. omits; Alex. [Comp. Ald.] Ἰεφθδ: *Jephtha*), one of the cities of Judah in the maritime lowlands, or *Shefelah* (Josh. xv. 43). It is named in the same group with Mareshah, Nezib, and others. Both the last-mentioned places have been discovered, the former to the south, the latter to the east of *Beit-Jibrîn*, not as we should expect on the plain, but in the mountains. Here Jiphtah may some day be found, though it has not yet been met with.[a] G.

JIPH'THAH-EL, THE VALLEY OF (גֵּי יִפְתַּח־אֵל: Γαιφαήλ, Ἐκγαϊ καὶ Φθαήλ; Alex. Γαϊ Ιεφθαηλ, Εκγαϊ Ιεφθαηλ: [*vallis*] *Jephthahel*), a valley which served as one of the landmarks for the boundary both of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 14) and Asher (27). The district was visited in 1852 by Dr. Robinson, who suggests that Jiphtah-el was identical with Jotapata, the city which so long withstood Vespasian (Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 7), and that they survive in the modern *Jefât*, a village in the mountains of Galilee, half-way between the Bay of Acre and the Lake of Gennesareth. [JOTAPATA, Amer. ed.] In this case the valley is the great *Wady-Abilîn*, which "has its head in the hills near *Jefât*, and runs thence westward to the maritime plain" (Robinson, iii. 107). Van de Velde concurs in this, and identifies Zebulun (Josh. xix. 27), which he considers to be a town, with the ruins of *Abilîn* (*Memoir*, p. 326). It should, however, be remarked that the Hebrew word *Ge*, here rendered "valley," has commonly rather the force of a ravine or glen, and is distinct from *Nachal*, which answers exactly to the Arabic *Wady* (Stanley, *S. & P.* App. §§ 2, 38). G.

JO'AB (יוֹאָב: *Jehovah-father* [or, whose *father is Jehovah*]: Ἰωαβ: *Joab*), the eldest and most remarkable of the three nephews of David, the children of Zeruiah, David's sister. Their father is unknown,[b] but seems to have resided at Bethlehem, and to have died before his sons, as we find mention of his sepulchre at that place (2 Sam. ii. 32). They all exhibit the activity and courage of David's constitutional character. But they never rise beyond this to the nobler qualities which lift him above the wild soldiers and chieftains of the time. Asahel, who was cut off in his youth, and seems to have been the darling of the family, is only known to us from his gazelle-like agility (2 Sam. ii. 18). Abishai and Joab are alike in their implacable revenge. Joab, however, combines with these ruder qualities something of a more statesman-like character, which brings him more nearly to a level with his youthful uncle; and unquestionably gives him the second place in the whole history of David's reign.

I. He first appears after David's accession to the throne at Hebron, thus differing from his brother Abishai, who was already David's companion during his wanderings (1 Sam. xxvi. 6). He with his two brothers went out from Hebron at the head of David's "servants," or guards, to keep a watch on the movements of Abner, who with a considerable force of Benjamites had, crossed the Jordan, and come as far as Gibeon, perhaps on a pilgrimage to the sanctuary. The two parties sate opposite each other, on each side of the tank by that city. Abner's challenge, to which Joab assented, led to a desperate struggle between twelve champions from either side. [GIBEON.] The left-handed Benjamites, and the right-handed men of Judah — their sword-hands thus coming together — seized each his adversary by the head, and the whole number fell by the mutual wounds they received.

This roused the blood of the rival tribes; a general encounter ensued; Abner and his company were defeated, and in his flight, being hard pressed by the swift-footed Asahel, he reluctantly killed the unfortunate youth. The expressions which he uses, "Wherefore should I smite thee to the ground? how then should I hold up my face to Joab thy brother?" (2 Sam. ii. 22), imply that up to this time there had been a kindly, if not a friendly, feeling between the two chiefs. It was rudely extinguished by this deed of blood. The other soldiers of Judah, when they came up to the dead body of their young leader, halted, struck dumb by grief. But his two brothers, on seeing the corpse, only hurried on with greater fury in the pursuit. At sunset the Benjamite force rallied round Abner,[c]

[a] The A. V. represents the same Hebrew word by Jephthah (which see), but without any reason for the variation. H.

[b] By Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 1, § 3), his name is given as Suri (Σουρί); but this may be merely a repetition of Saroulah (Σαρουλα).

[c] The word describing the halt of Abner's band, and rendered "troop" in the A. V. (2 Sam. ii. 25), is

and he then made an appeal to the generosity of Joab not to push the war to extremities. Joab reluctantly consented, drew off his troops, and returned, after the loss of only nineteen men, to Hebron. They took the corpse of Asahel with them, and on the way halted at Bethlehem in the early morning, or at dead of night, to inter it in their family burial-place (2 Sam. ii. 32).

But Joab's revenge on Abner was only postponed. He had been on another of these predatory excursions from Hebron, when he was informed on his return that Abner had in his absence paid a visit to David, and been received into favor (2 Sam. iii. 23). He broke out into a violent remonstrance with the king, and then, without David's knowledge, immediately sent messengers after Abner, who was overtaken by them at the well of Sirah, according to Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 1, § 5), about two miles from Hebron.[a] Abner, with the unsuspecting generosity of his noble nature, returned at once. Joab and Abishai met him in the gateway of the town; Joab took him aside (2 Sam. iii. 27), as if with a peaceful intention, and then struck him a deadly blow "under the fifth rib." It is possible that with the passion of vengeance for his brother may have been mingled the fear lest Abner should supplant him in the king's favor. David burst into passionate invective and imprecations on Joab when he heard of the act, and forced him to appear in sackcloth and torn garments at the funeral (iii. 31). But it was an intimation of Joab's power, which David never forgot. The awe in which he stood of the sons of Zeruiah cast a shade over the whole remainder of his life (iii. 39).

II. There was now no rival left in the way of Joab's advancements, and soon the opportunity occurred for his legitimate accession to the highest post that David could confer. At the siege of Jebus, the king offered the office of chief of the army, now grown into a "host," to any one who would lead the forlorn hope, and scale the precipice on which the besieged fortress stood. With an agility equal to that of David himself, or of his brother Asahel, Joab succeeded in the attempt, and became in consequence commander-in-chief — "captain of the host" — the same office that Abner had held under Saul, the highest in the state after the king (1 Chr. xi. 6; 2 Sam. viii. 16). His importance was immediately shown by his undertaking the fortification of the conquered city, in conjunction with David (1 Chr. xi. 8).

In this post he was content, and served the king with undeviating fidelity. In the wide range of wars which David undertook, Joab was the acting general, and he therefore may be considered as the founder, as far as military prowess was concerned, the Marlborough, the Belisarius, of the Jewish empire. Abishai, his brother, still accompanied him, as captain of the king's "mighty men" (1 Chr. xi. 20; 2 Sam. x. 10). He had a chief armor-bearer of his own, Naharai, a Beerothite (2 Sam. xxiii. 37; 1 Chr. xi. 39), and ten attendants to carry his equipment and baggage (2 Sam. xviii. 15). He had the charge, formerly belonging to the king or judge, of giving the signal by trumpet for advance or retreat (2 Sam. xviii. 16). He was called by the almost regal title of "Lord" (2 Sam. xi. 11), "the prince of the king's army" (1 Chr. xxvii. 34). His usual residence (except when campaigning) was in Jerusalem — but he had a house and property, with barley-fields adjoining, in the country (2 Sam. xiv. 30), in the "wilderness" (1 K. ii. 34), probably on the N. E. of Jerusalem (comp. 1 Sam. xiii. 18, Josh. viii. 15, 20), near an ancient sanctuary, called from its nomadic village "Baal-hazor" (2 Sam. xiii. 23; comp. with xiv. 30), where there were extensive sheepwalks. It is possible that this "house of Joab" may have given its name to Ataroth, *Beth-Joab* (1 Chr. ii. 54), to distinguish it from Ataroth-adar. There were two Atarothe in the tribe of Benjamin [see ATAROTH].

1. His great war was that against Ammon, which he conducted in person. It was divided into three campaigns. (*a.*) The first was against the allied forces of Syria and Ammon. He attacked and defeated the Syrians, whilst his brother Abishai did the same for the Ammonites. The Syrians rallied with their kindred tribes from beyond the Euphrates, and were finally routed by David himself. [HADAREZER.] (*b.*) The second was against Edom. The decisive victory was gained by David himself in the "valley of salt," and celebrated by a triumphal monument (2 Sam. viii. 13). But Joab had the charge of carrying out the victory, and remained for six months, extirpating the male population, whom he then buried in the tombs of Petra (1 K. xi. 15, 16). So long was the terror of his name preserved that only when the fugitive prince of Edom, in the Egyptian court, heard that "David slept with his fathers, and that *Joab the captain of the host was dead*," did he venture to return to his own country (*ib.* xi. 21, 22). (*c.*) The third was against the Ammonites. They were again left to Joab (2 Sam. x. 7–19). He went against them at the beginning of the next year "at the time when kings go out to battle" — to the siege of Rabbah. The ark was sent with him, and the whole army was encamped in booths or huts round the beleaguered city (2 Sam. xi. 1, 11). After a sortie of the inhabitants, which caused some loss to the Jewish army, Joab took the lower city on the river, and, then, with true loyalty, sent to urge David to come and take the citadel, "Rabbah," lest the glory of the capture should pass from the king to his general (2 Sam. xii. 26–28).

2. The services of Joab to the king were not confined to these military achievements. In the entangled relations which grew up in David's domestic life, he bore an important part. (*a.*) The first occasion was the unhappy correspondence which passed between him and the king during the Ammonite war respecting Uriah the Hittite, which led to the treacherous sacrifice of Uriah in the above-mentioned sortie (2 Sam. xi. 1–25). It shows both the confidence reposed by David in Joab, and Joab's too unscrupulous fidelity to David. From the possession which Joab thus acquired of the terrible secret of the royal household, has been dated, with some probability,[b] his increased power over the mind of the king.

(*b.*) The next occasion on which it was displayed was in his successful endeavor to reinstate Absalom in David's favor, after the murder of Amnon. It would almost seem as if he had been guided by

an unusual one, אֲגֻדָּה (*Aguddah*), elsewhere employed for a bunch or knot of hyssop.

[a] Possibly the spring which still exists about that distance out of Hebron on the left of the road going northward, and bears the name of *Ain-Serah*. The road has doubtless always followed the same track.

[b] See Blunt's *Coincidences*, ii. vi

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the effect produced on the king by Nathan's parable. A similar apologue he put into the mouth of a "wise woman of Tekoah." The exclamation of David on perceiving the application intimates the high opinion which he entertained of his general, "Is not the hand of Joab in all this?" (2 Sam. xiv. 1–20). A like indication is found in the confidence of Absalom that Joab, who had thus procured his return, could also go a step further and demand his admission to his father's presence. Joab, who evidently thought that he had gained as much as could be expected (2 Sam. xiv. 22), twice refused to visit the prince, but having been entrapped into an interview by a stratagem of Absalom, undertook the mission, and succeeded in this also (*ib.* xiv. 28–33).

(*c.*) The same keen sense of his master's interests that had prompted this desire to heal the breach in the royal family ruled the conduct of Joab no less, when the relations of the father and son were reversed by the successful revolt of Absalom. His former intimacy with the prince did not impair his fidelity to the king. He followed him beyond the Jordan, and in the final battle of Ephraim assumed the responsibility of taking the rebel prince's dangerous life in spite of David's injunction to spare him, and when no one else had courage to act so decisive a part (2 Sam. xviii. 2, 11–15). He was well aware of the terrible effect it would have on the king (*ib.* xviii. 20), and on this account possibly dissuaded his young friend Ahimaaz from bearing the news; but, when the tidings had been broken, he had the spirit himself to rouse David from the frantic grief which would have been fatal to the royal cause (2 Sam. xix. 5–7). His stern resolution (as he had himself anticipated) well-nigh proved fatal to his own interests. The king could not forgive it, and went so far in his unreasonable resentment as to transfer the command of the army from the too faithful Joab to his other nephew Amasa, the son of Abigail, who had even sided with the insurgents (2 Sam. xix. 13). In like manner he returned only a reproachful answer to the vindictive loyalty of Joab's brother, Abishai (*ib.* 22).

(*d.*) Nothing brings out more strongly the good and bad qualities of Joab than his conduct in this trying crisis of his history. On the one hand, he remained still faithful to his master. On the other hand, as before in the case of Abner, he was determined not to lose the post he so highly valued. Amasa was commander-in-chief, but Joab had still his own small following of attendants; and with him were the mighty men commanded by his brother Abishai (2 Sam. xx. 7, 10), and the bodyguard of the king. With these he went out in pursuit of the remnants of the rebellion. In the heat of pursuit, he encountered his rival Amasa, more leisurely engaged in the same quest. At "the great stone" in Gibeon, the cousins met. Joab's sword was attached to his girdle; by design or accident it protruded from the sheath: Amasa rushed into the treacherous embrace, to which Joab invited him, holding fast his sword by his own right hand, whilst the unsheathed sword in his left hand plunged into Amasa's stomach; a single blow from that practiced arm, as in the case of Abner, sufficed to do its work. Joab and his brother hurried on to discharge their commission, whilst one of his ten attendants staid by the corpse, calling on the royal party to follow after Joab. But the deed produced a frightful impression. The dead body was lying in a pool of blood by the roadside; every one halted, as they came up, at the ghastly sight, till the attendant dragged it out of the road, and threw a cloak over it. Then, as if the spell was broken, they followed Joab, now once more captain of the host (2 Sam xx. 5–13). He, too, when they overtook him, presented an aspect long afterwards remembered with horror. The blood of Amasa had spirted all over the girdle to which the sword was attached, and the sandals on his feet were red with the stains left by the falling corpse (1 K. ii. 5).

(*e.*) But, at the moment, all were absorbed in the pursuit of the rebels. Once more a proof was given of the wide-spread confidence in Joab's judgment. In the besieged town of Abel Beth-maachah, far in the north, the same appeal was addressed to his sense of the evils of an endless civil war, that had been addressed to him years before by Abner near Gibeon. He demanded only the surrender of the rebel chief, and on the sight of his head thrown over the wall, withdrew the army and returned to Jerusalem (2 Sam. xx. 16–22). [SHEBA.]

(*f.*) His last remonstrance with David was on the announcement of the king's desire to number the people. "The king prevailed against Joab" (2 Sam. xxiv. 1–4). But Joab's scruples were so strong that he managed to avoid numbering two of the tribes, Levi and Benjamin (1 Chr. xxi. 6).

3. There is something mournful in the end of Joab. At the close of his long life, his loyalty, so long unshaken, at last wavered. "Though he had not turned after Absalom (or, as in LXX. or Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 1, § 4, 'He turned not after Solomon'), he turned after Adonijah" (1 K. ii. 28). This probably filled up the measure of the king's long cherished resentment. We learn from David's last song that his powerlessness over his courtiers was even then present to his mind (2 Sam. xxiii. 6, 7), and now, on his deathbed, he recalled to Solomon's recollection the two murders of Abner and Amasa (1 K. ii. 5, 6), with an injunction not to let the aged soldier escape with impunity.

The revival of the pretensions of Adonijah after David's death was sufficient to awaken the suspicions of Solomon. The king deposed the high-priest Abiathar, Joab's friend and fellow-conspirator — and the news of this event at once alarmed Joab himself. He claimed the right of sanctuary within the curtains of the sacred tent, under the shelter of the altar at Gibeon. He was pursued by Benaiah, who at first hesitated to violate the sanctuary of the refuge; but Solomon urged that the guilt of two such murders overrode all such protection. With his hands on the altar therefore, the gray-headed warrior was slaughtered by his successor. The body was carried to his house "in the wilderness," and there interred. He left descendants, but nothing is known of them, unless it may be inferred from the double curse of David (2 Sam. iii. 29) and of Solomon (1 K. ii. 33) that they seemed to dwindle away, stricken by a succession of visitations — weakness, leprosy, lameness, murder, starvation. His name is by some supposed (in allusion to his part in Adonijah's coronation on that spot) to be preserved in the modern appellation of En-rogel — "the well of Job" — corrupted from *Joab*. A. P. S.

2. (יוֹאָב: Ἰωβδιβ; Alex. Ἰωαβ: *Joab*.) Son of Seraiah, and descendant of Kenaz (1 Chr. iv 14). He was father, or prince, as Jarchi explains

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it, of the valley of Charashim, or smiths, so called, according to the tradition quoted by Jerome (*Quaest. Hebr. in Paral.*), because the architects of the Temple were selected from among his sons.

3. ('Ιωάβ; [Vat. in Ezr. ii. 6, Neh. vii. 11, Ιωβαβ: *Joab,*] *Job* in 1 Esdr.) The head of a family, not of priestly or Levitical rank, whose descendants, with those of Jeshua, were the most numerous of all who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 6, viii. 9; Neh. vii. 11; 1 Esdr. viii. 35). It is not clear whether Jeshua and Joab were two prominent men among the children of Pahath-Moab, the ruler or sultan (*shâllûn*) of Moab, as the Syriac renders, or whether, in the registration of those who returned, the descendants of Jeshua and Joab were represented by the sons of Pahath-Moab. The latter is more probably the true solution, and the verse (Ezr. ii. 6; Neh. vii. 11) should then be rendered: "the sons of Pahath-Moab, for (*i. e.* representing) the sons of Jeshua and Joab." In this case the Joab of Ezr. viii. 9 and 1 Esdr. viii. 35 was probably a distinct personage.

JO'ACHAZ ('Ιεχονίας; Alex. Ιωχαζ: [Ald. 'Ιωάχαζ:] *Jechonias*) = JEHOAHAZ (1 Esdr. i. 34), the son of Josiah. The LXX. and Vulgate are in this case followed by St. Matthew (i. 11), or have been altered so as to agree with him.

JO'ACHIM ('Ιωακείμ; [Ald. 'Ιωαχείμ:] *Joakim*). 1. (Bar. i. 3) = JEHOIAKIM, called also JOACIM.

2. ['Ιωακείμ: *Joakim.*] A "high-priest" (*ὁ ἱερεύς*) at Jerusalem in the time of Baruch "the son of Chelcias," *i. e.* Hilkiah (Bar. i. 7). The name does not occur in the list 1 Chr. vi. 13 ff.

B. F. W.

JO'ACIM ('Ιωακίμ; [Vat. Ιωακειμ:] Alex. Ιωκειμ and Ιωακειμ: *Joacim*). 1. = Jehoiakim (1 Esdr. i. 37, 38, 39). [JEHOIAKIM, 1.]

2. (['Ιωακίμ; Vat. Alex. -κειμ:] *Joachin*) = JEHOIACHIN (1 Esdr. i. 43).

3. ['Ιωακιμ; Vat. Alex. -κειμ: *Joacim.*] = Joiakim, the son of Jeshua (1 Esdr. v. 5). He is by mistake called the son of Zerubbabel, as is clear from Neh. xii. 10, 26; and the passage has in consequence been corrected by Junius, who renders it "Jeschuahh filius Jehotzadaki cum Jehojakimo filio." Burrington (*Geneal.* i. 72) proposed to omit the words 'Ιωακιμ *ὁ τοῦ* altogether as an interpolation.

W. A. W.

4. ['Ιωακίμ, Vat. Sin. Alex. -κειμ: *Eliachim, Joacim.*] "The high-priest which was in Jerusalem" (Jud. iv. 6, 14) in the time of Judith, who welcomed the heroine after the death of Holofernes, in company with "the ancients of the children of Israel" (*ἡ γερουσία τῶν υἱῶν* 'Ισραήλ, xv. 8 ff.). The name occurs with the various reading *Eliakim*, but it is impossible to identify him with any historical character. No such name occurs in the lists of high-priests in 1 Chr. vi. (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 8, § 6); and it is a mere arbitrary conjecture to suppose that Eliakim mentioned in 2 K. xviii. 18 was afterwards raised to that dignity. Still less can be said for the identification of Joacim with Hilkiah (2 K. xxii. 4; 'Ελιακίας, Joseph. *Ant.* x. 4, § 2; Χελκίας, LXX.). The name itself is appropriate to the position which the high-priest occupies in the story of Judith ("The Lord hath set up"), and the person must be regarded as a necessary part of the fiction.

5. ['Ιωακείμ: *Joakim*, but ed. 1590 *Joachim.*] The husband of Susanna (Sus. 1 ff.). The name seems to have been chosen, as in the former case, with a reference to its meaning; and it was probably for the same reason that the husband of Anna, the mother of the Virgin, is called Joacim in early legends (*Protev. Jac.* i., &c.).

JOADA'NUS ('Ιωαδάνος: *Joadeus*), one of the sons of Jeshua, the son of Jozadak (1 Esdr. ix. 19). His name occupies the same position as that of Gedaliah in the corresponding list in Ezr. x. 18, but it is uncertain how the corruption originated. Probably, as Burrington suggests (*Geneal.* i. 167), the Γ was corrupted into I, and ΑΙ into Ν, a change which in the uncial character would be very slight

JO'AH (יוֹאָח [*Jehovah his brother* = friend]: 'Ιωάς in Kings, 'Ιωάχ in Isaiah; Alex. Ιωσαφατ in 2 K. xviii. 18, 26, and Ιωας in ver. 37; [Vat. and Comp. 'Ιωάς in Is. xxxvi. 11; Sin.[1] Ιωχ in Is. xxxvi. 3, ver. 11 omits, ver. 22, Ιωαχ:] *Joahe*). 1. The son of Asaph, and chronicler, or keeper of the records, to Hezekiah. He was one of the three chief officers sent to communicate with the Assyrian general at the conduit of the upper pool (Is. xxxvi. 3, 11, 22), and probably belonged to the tribe of Levi.

2. ('Ιωάβ; Alex. Ιωαχ: *Joah.*) The son or grandson of Zimmah, a Gershonite (1 Chr. vi. 21), and apparently the same as Ethan (ver. 42), unless, as is not improbable, in the latter list some names are supplied which are omitted in the former, and *vice versâ*. For instance, in ver. 42 Shimei is added, and in ver. 43 Libni is omitted (comp. ver. 20). If Joah and Ethan are identical, the passage must have been early corrupted, as all ancient versions give it as it stands at present, and there are no variations in the MSS.

3. ('Ιωάθ; Alex. Ιωαα: *Joaha.*) The third son of Obed-edom (1 Chr. xxvi. 4), a Korhite, and one of the door-keepers appointed by David. With the rest of his family he is characterized as a man of excellence in strength for the service (ver. 8). They were appointed to keep the southern gate of the Temple, and the house of Asuppim, or "gatherings," which was either a storehouse or council-chamber in the outer court (ver. 15).

4. ('Ιωβαδάβ; [Vat. omits;] Alex. Ιωα; [Comp. 'Ιωάχ:] *Joah.*) A Gershonite, the son of Zimmah, and father of Eden (2 Chr. xxix. 12). As one of the representatives of the great Levitical family to which he belonged, he took a leading part in the purification of the Temple in the reign of Hezekiah. In the last clause of the verse the LXX. have 'Ιωαχά, which is the reading of both MSS.; but there is nothing to show that the same person is not in both instances intended, nor any MS. authority for the various reading.

5. ('Ιουάχ; [Ald.] Alex. 'Ιωάς; [Comp. 'Ιωά:] *Joha.*) The son of Joahaz, and keeper of the records, or annalist to Josiah. Together with the chief officers of state, Shaphan the scribe, and Maaseiah, the governor of the city, he superintended the repair of the Temple which had been neglected during the two previous reigns (2 Chr. xxxiv. 8). Josephus calls him 'Ιωάτης, as if he read יוֹאָחָז. The Syriac and Arabic omit the name altogether.

JO'AHAZ (יוֹאָחָז [*whom Jehovah holds*, takes as by the hand]: 'Ιωάχαζ; [Vat. Ιωαχ.] *Joachaz*), the father of Joah, the chronicler or keeper of the records to king Josiah (2 Chr. xxxiv. 8). One of Kennicott's MS. reads יוֹחָז, *i. e.* Ahaz

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and the margin of Bomberg's Bible gives יְהוֹאָחָז, *i. e.* Jehoahaz. In the Syr. and Arab. versions the name is omitted.

JOA'NAN ('Ιωνάν; Alex. [Ald.] 'Ιωανάν: *Jonathas*) = JOHANAN 9, the son of Eliashib (1 Esdr. ix. 1).

JOAN'NA [properly JOAN'NAS] ('Ιωαννᾶς; [Lachm. Tisch. Treg.,] 'Ιωανάν: *Joanna*), son of Rhesa, according to the text of Luke iii. 27, and one of the ancestors of Christ. But according to the view explained in a previous article, son of Zerubbabel, and the same as Hananiah in 1 Chr. iii. 19. [GENEAL. OF CHRIST; HANANIAH, 8.]

A. C. H.

JOAN'NA ('Ιωάννα, modern form "Joan," of the same origin with 'Ιωαννᾶς, the reading of most MSS., also rendered A. V. "Joanna," St. Luke iii. 27, and 'Ιωάννης = Hebr. JEHOHANAN), the name of a woman, occurring twice in Luke (viii. 3, xxiv. 10), but evidently denoting the same person. In the first passage she is expressly stated to have been "wife of Chusa [Chuzas], steward (ἐπίτροπος), of Herod," that is, Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee. Professor Blunt has observed in his *Coincidences*, that "we find here a reason why Herod should say to his *servants* (Matt. xiv. 2), 'This is John the Baptist' . . . because his steward's wife was a disciple of Jesus, and so there would be frequent mention of him among the servants in Herod's court" (Alford, *ad loc.*; comp. Luke ix. 7). Professor Blunt adds the still more interesting instance of Manaen (Acts xiii. 1), the tetrarch's own "foster-brother" (σύντροφος, Blunt, p. 263, ed. 1859). Another coincidence is, that our Lord's ministry was mostly confined to Galilee, the seat of Herod's jurisdiction. Further, if we might suppose Herod at length to have dismissed Chusa [Chuzas] from his service, on account of Joanna's attachment to one already in ill odor with the higher powers (see particularly Luke xiii. 31), the suppression of her husband's name, now no longer holding a distinguished office, would be very natural in the second passage. However, Joanna continued faithful to our Lord throughout his ministry; and as she was one of those whose circumstances permitted them to "minister unto Him out of their substance" during his lifetime, so she was one of those who brought spices and ointments to embalm his body when dead.

E. S. Ff.

JOAN'NAN ('Ιωαννάν; Alex. Ιωαννης: *Joannes*), the eldest brother of Judas Maccabæus (1 Macc. ii. 2). He had the surname of Caddis, and is elsewhere called John. [JOHN, 2.]

* JOAN'NAS, Luke iii. 27. [JOANNA.]

JO'ARIB ('Ιωαρίβ; Alex. Ιωαρειμ; [Sin. Ιωαρ;μ:] *Joarib*), chief of the first of the twenty-four courses of priests in the reign of David, and ancestor of the Maccabees (1 Macc. ii. 1). His name appears also in the A. V. as JEHOIARIB (1 Chr. xxiv. 7), and JARIB (1 Macc. xiv. 29). Josephus retains the form adopted by the LXX. *Ant.* xii. 6, § 1).

JO'ASH (יוֹאָשׁ [*whom Jehovah gave*], the contracted form of the name JEHOASH, in which h is frequently found: 'Ιωάς: *Joas*). 1. Son of Ahaziah king of Judah, and the only one of his children who escaped the murderous hand of Athaliah. Jehoram having himself killed all his own brethren, and all his sons, except Ahaziah, having been killed by the irruption of the Philistines and Arabians, and all Ahaziah's remoter relations having been slain by Jehu, and now all his sons being put to death by Athaliah (2 Chr. xxi. 4, 17; xxii 1, 8, 9, 10), the house of David was reduced to the lowest ebb, and Joash appears to have been the only surviving descendant of Solomon. After his father's sister Jehoshabeath, the wife of Jehoiada, had stolen him from among the king's sons, he was hid for 6 years in the chambers of the Temple. In the 7th year of his age and of his concealment, a successful revolution placed him on the throne of his ancestors, and freed the country from the tyranny and idolatries of Athaliah. [JEHOIADA.] For at least 23 years, while Jehoiada lived, this reign was very prosperous. Excepting that the high-places were still resorted to for incense and sacrifice, pure religion was restored, large contributions were made for the repair of the Temple, which was accordingly restored; and the country seems to have been free from foreign invasion and domestic disturbance. But, after the death of Jehoiada, Joash, who was evidently of weak character, fell into the hands of bad advisers, at whose suggestion he revived the worship of Baal and Ashtaroth. When he was rebuked for this by Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, who had probably succeeded to the high-priesthood, with base ingratitude and daring impiety Joash caused him to be stoned to death in the very court of the Lord's house, "between the Temple and the altar" (Matt. xxiii. 35). The vengeance imprecated by the murdered high-priest was not long delayed. That very year, Hazael king of Syria, after a successful campaign against the Philistines, came up against Jerusalem, and carried off a vast booty as the price of his departure. A decisive victory, gained by a small band of Syrians over a great host of the king of Judah, had thus placed Jerusalem at his mercy. This defeat is expressly said to be a judgment upon Joash for having forsaken the God of his fathers. He had scarcely escaped this danger, when he fell into another and a fatal one. Two of his servants, taking advantage of his severe illness, some think of a wound received in battle, conspired against him, and slew him in his bed in the fortress of Millo, thus avenging the innocent blood of Zechariah. He was buried in the city of David, but not in the sepulchres of the kings of Judah. Possibly the fact of Jehoiada being buried there had something to do with this exclusion. Joash's reign lasted 40 years, from 878 to 838 B. C. He was 10th king from David inclusive, reckoning the reign of the usurper Athaliah. He is one of the three kings (Ahaziah, Joash, Amaziah) omitted by St. Matthew in the genealogy of Christ.

With regard to the different accounts of the Syrian invasion given in 2 K. and in 2 Chr., which have led some (as Thenius and many older commentators) to imagine two distinct Syrian invasions and others to see a direct contradiction, or at least a strange incompleteness in the narratives, as Winer, the difficulty exists solely in the minds of the critics. The narrative given above, which is also that of Keil and F. Bertheau (*Exeg. Handb. z. A. T.*) as well as of Josephus, perfectly suits the two accounts, which are merely different abridgments of the one fuller account contained in the original chronicles of the kingdom. Gramberg pushes the system of incredulous criticism to such an absurd pitch, that he speaks of the murder of Zacharias as a pure fable (Winer, *Realwörth.* art. *Jehoiada*).

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It should be added that the prophet Elisha flourished in Israel throughout the days of Joash; and there is some ground for concluding with Winer (agreeing with Credner, Movers, Hitzig, Meier, and others) that the prophet Joel also prophesied in the former part of this reign. (See Movers, *Chronik*, pp. 119–121.)

2. Son and successor of Jehoahaz on the throne of Israel from B. C. 840 to 825, and for two full years a contemporary sovereign with the preceding (2 K. xiv. 1; comp. with xii. 1, xiii. 10). When he succeeded to the crown, the kingdom was in a deplorable state from the devastations of Hazael and Ben-hadad, kings of Syria, of whose power at this time we had also evidence in the preceding article. In spite of the perseverance of Joash in the worship set up by Jeroboam, God took compassion upon the extreme misery of Israel, and in remembrance of his covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, interposed to save them from entire destruction. On occasion of a friendly visit paid by Joash to Elisha on his deathbed, where he wept over his face, and addressed him as "the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof," the prophet promised him deliverance from the Syrian yoke in Aphek, the scene of Ahab's great victory over a former Ben-hadad (1 K. xx. 26–30). He then bid him smite upon the ground, and the king smote thrice and then stayed. The prophet rebuked him for staying, and limited to three his victories over Syria. Accordingly Joash did beat Ben-hadad three times on the field of battle, and recovered from him the cities which Hazael had taken from Jehoahaz. The other great military event of Joash's reign was his successful war with Amaziah king of Judah. The grounds of this war are given fully in 2 Chr. xxv. [AMAZIAH.] The hiring of 100,000 men of Israel for 100 talents of silver by Amaziah is the only instance on record of such a transaction, and implies that at that time the kingdom of Israel was free from all fear of the Syrians. These mercenary soldiers having been dismissed by Amaziah, at the instigation of a prophet, without being allowed to take part in the Edomitish expedition, returned in great wrath to their own country, and sacked and plundered the cities of Judah in revenge for the slight put upon them, and also to indemnify themselves for the loss of their share of the plunder. It was to avenge this injury that Amaziah, on his return from his triumph over the Edomites, declared war against Joash, in spite of the warning of the prophet, and the contemptuous discussion of Joash under the fable of the cedar and the thistle. The result was that the two armies met at Beth-shemesh, that Joash was victorious, put the army of Amaziah to the rout, took him prisoner, brought him to Jerusalem, broke down the wall of Jerusalem, all along the north side from the Gate of Ephraim to the Corner Gate, a distance of 400 cubits, plundered the Temple of its gold and silver vessels, seized the king's treasures, took hostages, and then returned to Samaria, where he died, probably not very long afterwards, and was buried in the sepulchres of the kings of Israel. He died in the 15th year of Amaziah king of Judah, and was succeeded by his son Jeroboam II. There is a discrepance between the Bible account of his character and that given by Josephus. For whereas the former says of him, "He did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord" (2 K. xiii. 11), the latter says that he was a good man, and very different from his father. Josephus probably was guided by the account of Joash's friendly intercourse with Elisha, which certainly indicates some good disposition in him, although he followed the sin of Jeroboam. A. C. H.

3. The father of Gideon, and a wealthy man among the Abiezrites. At the time of the Midianitish occupation of the country, he appears to have gone so far with the tide of popular opinion in favor of idolatry, that he had on his own ground an altar dedicated to Baal, and an Asherah. In this, however, he submitted rather to the exigencies of the time, and the influence of his family and neighbors, and was the first to defend the daring act of his son, and protect him from the vengeance of the Abiezrites, by sarcasm only less severe than that which Elijah employed against the priests of Baal in the memorable scene on Carmel (Judg. vi. 11, 29, 30, 31, vii. 14, viii. 13, 29, 32). The LXX. put the speech in vi. 31 most inappropriately into the mouth of Gideon, but this is corrected in the Alex. MS. In the Vulg. the name is omitted in vi. 31 and viii. 13.

4. Apparently a younger son of Ahab, who held a subordinate jurisdiction in the lifetime of his father, or was appointed viceroy (ἄρχοντα, LXX. of 2 Chr. xviii. 25) during his absence in the attack on Ramoth-Gilead (1 K. xxii. 26; 2 Chr. xviii. 25). Or he may have been merely a prince of the blood-royal. But if Geiger be right in his conjecture, that Maaseiah, "the king's son," in 2 Chr. xxviii. 7, was a prince of the Moloch worship, Joash would be a priest of the same. There is, however, but slender foundation for the belief (Geiger, *Urschrift*, etc., p. 307). The Vulgate calls him "the son of Amelech," taking the article as part of the noun, and the whole as a proper name. Thenius suggests that he may have been placed with the governor of the city for the purpose of military education.

5. [Vat. corrupt.] A descendant of Shelah the son of Judah, but whether his son or the son of Jokim, as Burrington (*Genealogies*, i. 179) supposes, is not clear (1 Chr. iv. 22). The Vulgate rendering of this name by *Securus*, according to its etymology, as well as of the other names in the same verse, is very remarkable. The Hebrew tradition, quoted by Jerome (*Quæst. Hebr. in Paral.*) and Jarchi (*Comm.* in loc.), applies it to Mahlon, the son of Elimelech, who married a Moabitess. The expression rendered in A. V., "who had the dominion (בָּעֲלָה, *bâdâh*) in Moab," would, according to this interpretation, signify "who *married* in Moab." The same explanation is given in the Targum of R. Joseph.

6. [Rom. FA. Ἰωαδ; Vat. Ιωα; Alex. Ιωρας.] A Benjamite, son of Shemaah of Gibeah (1 Chr. xii. 3). He was one of the heroes, "helpers of the battle," who resorted to David at Ziklag, and assisted him in his excursions against the marauding parties to whose attacks he was exposed (ver. 21). He was probably with David in his pursuit of the Amalekites (comp. 1 Chr. xii. 21, with 1 Sam. xxx. 8, where גְּדוּד should be "troop" in both passages). The Peshito-Syriac, reading בְּנֵי for בְּנֵי, makes him the son of Ahiezer.

7. One of the officers of David's household, to whose charge were entrusted the store-houses of oil, the produce of the plantations of sycamores and the olive-yards of the lowlands of Judah (1 Chr. xxvii. 28). W. A. W.

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JO'ASH (יוֹאָשׁ [*to whom Jehovah hastens*], a different name from the preceding: Ἰωάς: *Joas*), son of Becher, and head of a Benjamite house, which existed in the time of king David (1 Chr. vii. 8). A. C. H.

JO'ATHAM (Ἰωάθαμ: *Joatham*) = JOTHAM the son of Uzziah (Matt. i. 9).

JOAZAB'DUS (Ἰώζαβδος; [Vat. Ζαβδος; Ald. Ἰωάζαβδος:] *Jozabdus*) = JOZABAD the Levite (1 Esdr. ix. 48; comp. Neh. viii. 7).

JOB (יוֹב [perh. = יָשׁוּב; *will return*, or *returner, convert*]: Ἀσούμ; Alex. Ἰασουφ; [Ald. Ἰασούβ:] *Job*), the third son of Issachar (Gen. xlvi. 13), called in another genealogy JASHUB (1 Chr. vii. 1), which is the reading of the Heb. Sam. Codex in Genesis, as it was also in all probability of the two MSS. of the LXX., ב being frequently represented by μ.

JOB (אִיּוֹב, *i. e. Iyob* [*one persecuted, afflicted:* see further, Fürst, *Handw.* s. v.; Ges. *Thesaur.* s. v.]: Ἰώβ: *Job*). The numerous and difficult questions touching the integrity of this book, its plan, object, and general character; and the probable age, country, and circumstances of its author, cannot be satisfactorily discussed without a previous analysis of its contents. It consists of five parts: the introduction, the discussion between Job and his three friends, the speech of Elihu, the manifestation and address of Almighty God, and the concluding chapter.

I. *Analysis.* — 1. The Introduction supplies all the facts on which the argument is based. Job, a chieftain in the land of Uz,[a] of immense wealth and high rank, "the greatest of all the men of the East," is represented to us as a man of perfect integrity, blameless in all the relations of life, declared indeed by the Lord Himself to be "without his like in all the earth," "a perfect, and an upright man, one that feareth God, and escheweth evil." The highest goodness, and the most perfect temporal happiness are combined in his person; under the protection of God, surrounded by a numerous family, he enjoys in advanced life[b] an almost paradisiacal state, exemplifying the normal results of human obedience to the will of a righteous God. One question could be raised by envy; may not the goodness which secures such direct and tangible rewards be a refined form of selfishness? In the world of spirits, where all the mysteries of existence are brought to light, Satan, the accusing angel, suggests the doubt, "doth Job fear God for nought?" and asserts boldly that if those external blessings were withdrawn Job would cast off his allegiance, — "he will curse thee to thy face." The problem is thus distinctly propounded which this book is intended to discuss and solve. [See addition, Amer. ed.] Can goodness exist irrespective of reward, can the fear of God be retained by man when every inducement to selfishness is taken away? The problem is obviously of infinite importance, and could only be answered by inflicting upon a man, in whom, while prosperous, malice itself could detect no evil, the calamities which are the due, and were then believed to be invariably the results, even in this life, of wickedness. The accuser receives permission to make the trial. He destroys Job's property, then his children; and afterwards, to leave no possible opening for a cavil, is allowed to inflict upon him the most terrible disease known in the East. Each of these calamities assumes a form which produces an impression that it must be a visitation from God,[c] precisely such as was to be expected, supposing that the patriarch had been a successful hypocrite, reserved for the day of wrath. Job's wife breaks down entirely under the trial — in the very words which Satan had anticipated the patriarch himself would at last utter in his despair, she counsels him "to curse God and die."[d] Job remains steadfast. The destruction of his property draws not from him a word of complaint: the death of his children elicits the sublimest words of resignation which ever fell from the lips of a mourner — the disease which made him an object of loathing to man, and seemed to designate him as a visible example of divine wrath, is borne without a murmur; he repels his wife's suggestion with the simple words, "What! shall we receive good at the hand of the Lord, and shall we not receive evil?" "In all this Job did not sin with his lips."

The question raised by Satan was thus answered. His assaults had but issued in a complete removal of the outer forms which could mislead men's judgment, and in developing the highest type of disinterested worth. Had the narrative then ended, the problem could not be regarded as unsolved, while a sublime model would have been exhibited for men to admire and imitate.

2. Still in that case it is clear that many points of deep interest would have been left in obscurity. Entire as was the submission of Job, he must have been inwardly perplexed by events to which he had no clew, which were quite unaccountable on any hypothesis hitherto entertained, and seemed repugnant to the ideas of justice engraven on man's heart. It was also most desirable that the impressions made upon the generality of men by sudden and unaccountable calamities should be thoroughly discussed, and that a broader and firmer basis than heretofore should be found for speculations concerning the providential government of the world. An opportunity for such discussion is afforded in the most natural manner by the introduction of three men, representing the wisdom and experience of the age, who came to condole with Job on hearing of his misfortunes. Some time[e] appears to have elapsed in the interim, during

[a] The situation of Uz is doubtful. Ewald (*Das Buch Ijob*, p. 20) supposes it to have been the district south of Bashan. Spanheim and Rosenmüller (*Proll* pp. 29–33) fix it in the N. E. of the desert near the Euphrates. See also Dr. Lee, *Introduction to Job*, p. 29.

[b] From ch. xlii. 16 it may be inferred that he was about 70 years old at this time.

[c] Ὡς καὶ Θεοῦ κατ' αὐτοῦ χειροῦντος. Didymus Alex. ed. Migne, col. 1125.

[d] The Hebrew words are properly rendered (according to Gesenius and other eminent Hebraists), 'Bless God and die." It is a taunting reproach, "Bless God (if you will), and die;" for that is all that will come of it. This language is consistent with her own spirit of distrust, which could see no ground for his unshaken confidence in God. But no reason can be given, why she should say to him, "Curse God, and die." Did she want to be rid of him?

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[e] Otherwise it would be difficult to meet Rosenmüller's objection (p. 8). It seems indeed probable that some months even might pass by before the new would reach the friends, and they could arrange their meeting.

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which the disease had made formidable progress, and Job had thoroughly realized the extent of his misery. The meeting is described with singular beauty. At a distance they greet him with the wild demonstrations of sympathizing grief usual in the East; coming near they are overpowered by the sight of his wretchedness, and sit seven days and seven nights without uttering a word. This awful silence, whether Job felt it as a proof of real sympathy, or as an indication of inward suspicion[a] on their part, drew out all his anguish. In an agony of desperation he curses the day of his birth, and sees and hopes for no end of his misery, but death.

With the answer to this outburst begins a series of discussions, continued probably (as Ewald shows, p. 55) with some intervals, during several successive days. Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar in turn, bring forward arguments, which are severally answered by Job.

The results of the *first* discussion (from c. iii. -xiv.) may be thus summed up. We have on the part of Job's friends a theory of the divine government resting upon an exact and uniform correlation between sin and punishment (iv. 6, 11, and throughout).[b] Afflictions are always penal, issuing in the destruction of those who are radically opposed to God, or who do not submit to his chastisements. They lead of course to correction and amendment of life when the sufferer repents, confesses his sins, puts them away, and turns to God. In that case restoration to peace, and even increased prosperity may be expected (vv. 17–27). Still the fact of the suffering always proves the commission of some special sin, while the demeanor of the sufferer indicates the true internal relation between him and God.

These principles are applied by them to the case of Job. They are in the first place scandalized by the vehemence of his complaints, and when they find that he maintains his freedom from willful, or conscious sin, they are driven to the conclusion that his faith is radically unsound; his protestations appear to them almost blasphemous, they become convinced that he has been secretly guilty of some unpardonable sin, and their tone, at first courteous, though warning (comp. c. iv. with c. xv.), becomes stern, and even harsh and menacing. It is clear that unless they are driven from their partial and exclusive theory they must be led on to an unqualified condemnation of Job.

In this part of the dialogue the character of the three friends is clearly developed. Eliphaz represents the true patriarchal chieftain, grave and dignified, and erring only from an exclusive adherence to tenets hitherto unquestioned, and influenced in the first place by genuine regard for Job, and sympathy with his affliction. Bildad, without much originality or independence of character, reposes partly on the wise saws of antiquity, partly on the authority of his older friend. Zophar differs from both, he seems to be a young man; his language is violent, and at times even coarse and offensive (see especially his second speech, c. xx.) He represents the prejudiced and narrow-minded bigots of his age.

In order to do justice to the position and arguments of Job, it must be borne in mind, that the direct object of the trial was to ascertain whether he would deny or forsake God, and that his real integrity is asserted by God Himself. His answers throughout correspond with these data. He knows with a sure inward conviction that he is not an offender in the sense of his opponents: he is therefore confident that whatever may be the object of the afflictions for which he cannot account, God knows that he is innocent. This consciousness, which from the nature of things cannot be tested by others, enables him to examine fearlessly their position. He denies the assertion that punishment follows surely on guilt, or proves its commission. Appealing boldly to experience, he declares that in point of fact prosperity and misfortune are not always, or generally, commensurate; both are often irrespective of man's deserts, "the tabernacles of robbers prosper, and they that provoke God are secure" (c. xii. 6). In the government of Providence he can see but one point clearly, namely, that all events and results are absolutely in God's hand (xii. 9–25), but as for the principles which underlie those events he knows nothing. In fact, he is sure that his friends are equally uninformed, and are sophists, defending their position, out of mere prejudice, by arguments and statements false in themselves and doubly offensive to God, being hypocritically advanced in his defense (xiii. 1–13). Still he doubts not that God is just, and although he cannot see how or when that justice can be manifested, he feels confident that his innocence must be recognized. "Though He slay me, yet I will trust in Him; He also will be my salvation" (xiii. 14, 16). There remains then but one course open to him, and that he takes. He turns to supplication, implores God to give him a fair and open trial (xiii. 18–28). Admitting his liability to such sins as are common to man, being unclean by birth (xiii. 26, xiv. 4), he yet protests his substantial innocence, and in the bitter struggle with his misery, he first meets the thought which is afterwards developed with remarkable distinctness. Believing that with death all hope connected with this world ceases, he prays that he may be hidden in the grave (xiv. 13), and there reserved for the day when God will try his cause and manifest Himself in love (ver. 15). This prayer represents but a dim, yet a profound and true presentiment, drawn forth, then evidently for the first time, as the possible solution of the dark problem. As for a renewal of life *here*, he dreams not of it (14), nor will he allow that the possible restoration or prosperity of his descendants at all meets the exigencies of his case (21, 22).

In the *second* discussion (xv.–xxi.) there is a more resolute elaborate attempt on the part of Job's friends to vindicate their theory of retributive justice. This requires an entire overthrow of the position taken by Job. They cannot admit his innocence. The fact that his calamities are unparalleled, proves to them that there must be something quite unique in his guilt. Eliphaz (c. xv.), who, as usual, lays down the basis of the argument, does not now hesitate to impute to Job the worst crimes of which man could be guilty. His defense is blasphemous, and proves that he is quite godless; that he disregards the wisdom of age and experience, denies the fundamental truths of religion (3–16), and by his rebellious struggles (25–27) against God deserves every calamity which can befall him

[a] Thus Schlottmann.

[b] It is curious that this theory was revived and systematised by Basilides, to the great scandal of the early Fathers. See Clem. Al. *Strom.* iv. p. 506.

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(28–30). Bildad (xviii.) takes up this suggestion of ungodliness, and after enlarging upon the inevitable results of all iniquity, concludes that the special evils which had come upon Job, such as agony of heart, ruin of home, destruction of family, are peculiarly the penalties due to one who is without God. Zophar (xx.) draws the further inference that a sinner's sufferings must needs be proportioned to his former enjoyments (5–14), and his losses to his former gains (15–19), and thus not only accounts for Job's present calamities, but menaces him with still greater evils (20–29).

In answer Job recognizes the hand of God in his afflictions (xvi. 7–16, and xix. 6–20), but rejects the charge of ungodliness; he has never forsaken his Maker, and never ceased to pray. This being a matter of inward consciousness cannot of course be proved. He appeals therefore directly to earth and heaven: "My witness is in heaven, and my record is on high" (xvi. 19). The train of thought thus suggested carries him much farther in the way towards the great truth — that since in this life the righteous certainly are not saved from evil, it follows that their ways are watched and their sufferings recorded, with a view to a future and perfect manifestation of the divine justice. This view becomes gradually brighter and more definite as the controversy[a] proceeds (xvi. 18. 19, xvii. 8, 9, and perhaps 13–16), and at last finds expression in a strong and clear declaration of his conviction that at the latter day (evidently that day which Job had expressed a longing to see, c. xiv. 12–14) God will personally manifest Himself, and that he, Job, will then see him, in his body,[b] with his own eyes, and notwithstanding the destruction of his skin, *i. e.*, the outward man, retaining or recovering his personal identity (xix. 25–27). There can be no doubt that Job here virtually anticipates the final answer to all difficulties supplied by the Christian revelation.

On the other hand, stung by the harsh and narrow-minded bigotry of his opponents, Job draws out (xxi.) with terrible force the undeniable fact, that from the beginning to the end of their lives ungodly men, avowed atheists (vv. 14, 15), persons, in fact, guilty of the very crimes imputed, out of mere conjecture, to himself, frequently enjoy great and unbroken prosperity. From this he draws the inference, which he states in a very unguarded manner, and in a tone calculated to give just offense, that an impenetrable veil hangs over the temporal dispensations of God.

In the *third* dialogue (xxii.–xxxi.) no real progress is made by Job's opponents. They will not give up and cannot defend their position. Eliphaz (xxii.) makes a last effort, and raises one new point which he states with some ingenuity. The station in which Job was formerly placed presented temptations to certain crimes; the punishments which he undergoes are precisely such as might be expected had those crimes been committed; hence he infers they actually were committed. The tone of this discourse thoroughly harmonizes with the character of Eliphaz. He could scarcely come to a different conclusion without surrendering his fundamental principles, and he urges with much dignity and impressiveness the exhortations and warnings which in his opinion were needed. Bildad has nothing to add but a few solemn words on the incomprehensible majesty of God and the nothingness of man.[c] Zophar, the most violent and least rational of the three, is put to silence, and retires from the contest.

In his two last discourses Job does not alter his position, nor, properly speaking, adduce any new argument, but he states with incomparable force and eloquence the chief points which he regards as established (c. xxvi.). All creation is confounded by the majesty and might of God; man catches but a faint echo of God's word, and is baffled in the attempt to comprehend his ways. He then (c. xxvii.) describes even more completely than his opponents had done[d] the destruction which, as a rule, ultimately falls upon the hypocrite, and which he certainly would deserve if he were hypocritically to disguise the truth concerning himself, and deny his own integrity. He thus recognizes what was true in his opponent's arguments, and corrects his own hasty and unguarded statements. Then follows (xxviii.) the grand description of Wisdom, and the declaration that human wisdom does not consist in exploring the hidden and inscrutable ways of God, but in the fear of the Lord, and in turning away from evil. The remainder of this discourse (xxix.–xxxi.) contains a singularly beautiful description of his former life, contrasted with his actual misery, together with a full vindication of his character from all the charges made or insinuated by his opponents.

3. Thus ends the discussion, in which it is evident both parties had partially failed. Job has been betrayed into very hazardous statements, while his friends had been on the one hand disingenuous, on the other bigoted, harsh, and pitiless. The points which had been omitted, or imperfectly developed, are now taken up by a new interlocutor (xxxii.–xxxvii.). Elihu, a young man, descended from a collateral branch of the family of Abraham,[e] has listened in indignant silence to the arguments of his elders (xxxii. 7), and, impelled by an inward inspiration, he now addresses himself to both parties in the discussion, and specially to Job. He shows, 1. that they had accused Job upon false or insufficient grounds, and failed to convict him, or to vindicate God's justice. Job again had assumed his entire innocence, and had arraigned that justice (xxxiii. 9–11). These errors he traces to their both overlooking one main object of all suffering. God *speaks* to man by chastisement (14,[f] 19–22) — warns him, teaches him self-knowledge and humility

[a] This gradual and progressive development was perhaps first brought out distinctly by Ewald.

[b] מִבְּשָׂרִי, lit. "from my flesh," may mean in the body, or out of the body. Each rendering is equally tenable on grammatical grounds; but the specification of the time (אַחֲרוֹן) and the place (עַל־עָפָר) requires a personal manifestation of God, and a personal recognition on the part of Job. Complete personality in the mind of the ancients implies living body

[c] Mr. Froude, on *The Book of Job*, seems not to perceive, or to ignore, the ground on which Eliphaz reasons.

[d] See Herder's excellent remarks, quoted by Rosenmüller, p. 24. Mr. Froude quite overlooks the fact that Job here, as elsewhere, takes up his opponents' arguments, and urges all the truth which they may involve with greater force, thus showing himself master of the position.

[e] A Buzite.

[f] A point well drawn out by Schlottmann, p. 88 Job had specially complained of the silence of God.

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16, 17) — and prepares him (23) by the mediation of a spiritual interpreter (the angel Jehovah[a] of Genesis) to implore and to obtain pardon (24), renewal of life (25), perfect access and restoration (26). This statement does not involve any charge of special guilt, such as the friends had alleged and Job had repudiated. Since the warning and suffering are preventive, as well as remedial, the visitation anticipates the commission of sin; it saves man from pride, and other temptations of wealth and power, and it effects the real object of all divine interpositions, the entire submission to God's will. Again, Elihu argues (xxxiv. 10–17) that any charge of injustice, direct or implicit, against God involves a contradiction in terms. God is the only source of justice; the very idea of justice is derived from his governance of the universe, the principle of which is love. In his absolute knowledge God sees all secrets, and by his absolute power he controls all events, and that, for the one end of bringing righteousness to light (21–30). Man has of course no claim upon God; what he receives is purely a matter of grace (xxxv. 6–9). The occasional appearance of unanswered prayer (9), when evil seems to get the upper hand, is owing merely to the fact that man prays in a proud and insolent spirit (12, 13). Job may look to his heart, and he will see if that is true of himself.

Job is silent, and Elihu proceeds (xxxvi.) to show that the Almightiness of God is not, as Job seems to assert, associated with any contempt or neglect of his creatures. Job by ignoring this truth, has been led into grave error, and terrible danger (12; cf. 18), but God is still drawing him, and if he yields and follows he will yet be delivered. The rest of the discourse brings out forcibly the lessons taught by the manifestations of goodness, as well as greatness in creation. Indeed, the great object of all natural phenomena is to teach men — "who teacheth like Him?" This part differs from Job's magnificent description of the mystery and majesty of God's works, inasmuch as it indicates a clearer recognition of a loving purpose — and from the address of the Lord which follows, by its discursive and argumentative tone. The last words are evidently spoken while a violent storm is coming on, in which Elihu views the signs of a Theophany, which cannot fail to produce an intense realization of the nothingness of man before God.

4. From the preceding analysis it is obvious that many weighty truths have been developed in the course of the discussion — nearly every theory of the objects and uses of suffering has been reviewed — while a great advance has been made towards the apprehension of doctrines hereafter to be revealed, such as were known only to God. But the mystery is not as yet really cleared up. The position of the three original opponents is shown to be untenable — the views of Job himself to be but imperfect — while even Elihu gives not the least intimation that he recognizes one special object of calamity. In the case of Job, as we are expressly told, that object was to try his sincerity, and to demonstrate that goodness, integrity in all relations, and devout faith in God, can exist independent of external circumstances. [See addition, Amer. ed.] This object never occurs to the mind of any one of the interlocutors, nor could it be proved without a revelation. On the other hand, the exact amount of censure due to Job for the excesses into which he had been betrayed, and to his three opponents for their harshness and want of candor, could only be awarded by an omniscient Judge. Hence the necessity for the Theophany — from the midst of the storm Jehovah speaks.

In language of incomparable grandeur He reproves and silences the murmurs of Job. God does not condescend, strictly speaking, to argue with his creatures. The speculative questions discussed in the colloquy are unnoticed, but the declaration of God's absolute power is illustrated by a marvelously beautiful and comprehensive survey of the glory of creation, and his all-embracing Providence by reference to the phenomena of the animal kingdom. He who would argue with the Lord must understand at least the objects for which instincts so strange and manifold are given to the beings far below man in gifts and powers. This declaration suffices to bring Job to a right mind: he confesses his inability to comprehend, and therefore to answer his Maker (xl. 3, 4). A second address completes the work. It proves that a charge of injustice against God involves the consequence that the accuser is more competent than He to rule the universe. He should then be able to control, to punish, to reduce all creatures to order — but he cannot even subdue the monsters of the irrational creation. Baffled by leviathan and behemoth, how can he hold the reins of government, how contend with Him who made and rules them all?[b]

5. Job's unreserved submission terminates the trial. He expresses deep contrition, not of course for sins falsely imputed to him, but for the bitterness and arrogance which had characterized some portions of his complaints. In the rebuke then addressed to Job's opponents the integrity of his character is distinctly recognized, while they are condemned for untruth, which, inasmuch as it was not willful, but proceeded from a real but narrow-minded conviction of the Divine justice, is pardoned on the intercession of Job. The restoration of his external prosperity, which is an inevitable result of God's personal manifestation, symbolizes the ultimate compensation of the righteous for all sufferings undergone upon earth.

From this analysis it seems clear that certain views concerning the general object of the book are partial or erroneous. It cannot be the object of the writer to prove that there is no connection between guilt and sorrow,[c] or that the old orthodox doctrine of retribution was radically unsound. Job himself recognizes the general truth of the doctrine, which is in fact confirmed by his ultimate restoration to happiness.[d] Nor is the development of the great doctrine of a future state the primary object.[e]

[a] Thus A. Schultens. There can be no doubt that "angel," not "messenger," is the true translation., for that the angel, the one of a thousand, is the מלאך יהוה of Genesis.

[b] This bearing of the statement upon the whole argument is satisfactorily shown by Hahn (*Introduction to Job*, p. 4), and by Schlottmann in his commentary on the passage (p. 489).

[c] This is the strangely exaggerated form in which Mr. Froude represents the views of Ewald. Nothing can be more contrary to the whole tenor of the book.

[d] See Ewald's remarks in his *Jahrb.* 1858, p. 88. The notion that Job is a type of the Hebrew nation in their sufferings, and that the book was written to console them in their exile, held by Clericus and Bp. Warburton, is generally rejected. See Rosenmüller, pp. 13–16.

[e] Ewald's theory, on which Schlottmann has some excellent observations (p. 481).

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it would not in that case have been passed over in Job's last discourse, in the speech of Elihu, or in the address of the Lord God. In fact, critics who hold that view admit that the doctrine is rather suggested than developed, and amounts to scarcely more than a wish, a presentiment, at the most a subjective conviction of a truth first fully revealed by Him "who brought life and immortality to light." The great object must surely be that which is distinctly intimated in the introduction, and confirmed in the conclusion, to show the effects of calamity in its worst and most awful form upon a truly religious spirit. Job is no Stoic, no Titan (Ewald, p. 26), struggling rebelliously against God; no Prometheus,[a] victim of a jealous and unrelenting Deity: he is a suffering man, acutely sensitive to all impressions inward and outward, grieved by the loss of wealth, position, domestic happiness, the respect of his countrymen, dependents, and followers, tortured by a loathsome and all but unendurable disease, and stung to an agony of grief and passion by the insinuations of conscious guilt and hypocrisy. Under such provocation, being wholly without a clew to the cause of his misery, and hopeless of restoration to happiness on earth, he is shaken to the utmost, and driven almost to desperation. Still in the centre of his being he remains firm and unmoved — with an intense consciousness of his own integrity — without a doubt as to the power, wisdom, truth, or absolute justice of God, and therefore awaiting with longing expectation[b] the final judgment which he is assured must come and bring him deliverance. The representation of such a character, involving the discomfiture of man's great enemy, and the development of the manifold problems which such a spectacle suggests to men of imperfect knowledge, but thoughtful and inquiring minds, is the true object of the writer, who, like all great spirits of the ancient world, dealt less with abstract propositions than with the objective realities of existence. Such is the impression naturally made by the book, and which is recognized more distinctly in proportion as the reader grasps the tenor of the arguments, and realizes the characters and events. [See appended remarks, Amer. ed.]

II. *Integrity of the book.* — It is satisfactory to find that the arguments employed by those who impugn the authenticity of considerable portions of this book are for the most part mutually destructive, and that the most minute and searching investigations bring out the most convincing proofs of the unity of its composition, and the coherence of its constituent parts. One point of great importance is noted by the latest and one of the most ingenious writers (M. E. Renan, *Le Livre de Job*, Paris, 1859) on this subject. After some strong remarks upon the inequality of the style, and appearance of interpolation, M. E. Renan observes (p. xliv.): "The Hebrews, and Orientals in general, differed widely from us in their views about composition. Their works never have that perfectly defined outline to which we are accustomed, and we should be careful not to assume interpolations or alterations (*retouches*) when we meet with defects of sequence which surprise us." He then shows that in parts of the work, acknowledged by all critics to be by one hand, there are very strong instances of what Europeans might regard as repetition, or suspect of interpolation:[c] thus Elihu recommences his argument four times; while discourses of Job, which have distinct portions, such as to modern critics might seem unconnected and even misplaced, are impressed with such a character of sublimity and force as to leave no doubt that they are the product of a single inspiration. To this just and true observation it must be added that the assumed want of coherence and of logical consistency is for the most part only apparent, and results from a radical difference in the mode of thinking and enunciating thought between the old Eastern and modern European.

Four parts of the book have been most generally attacked. Objections have been made to the introductory and concluding chapters (1) on account of the style. Of course there is an obvious and natural difference between the prose of the narrative and the highly poetical language of the colloquy. Yet the best critics now acknowledge that the style of these portions is quite as antique in its simple and severe grandeur[d] as that of the Pentateuch itself (to which it bears a striking resemblance[e]), or as any other part of this book, while it is as strikingly unlike the narrative style of all the later productions of the Hebrews. Ewald says with perfect truth, "these prosaic words harmonize thoroughly with the old poem in subject-matter and thoughts, in coloring and in art, also in language, so far as prose can be like poetry." It is said again that the doctrinal views are not in harmony with those of Job. This is wholly unfounded. The fundamental principles of the patriarch, as developed in the most solemn of his discourses, are identical with those maintained throughout the book. The form of worship belongs essentially to the early patriarchal type; with little of ceremonial ritual, without a separate priesthood, thoroughly domestic in form and spirit. The representation of the angels, and their appellation, "sons of God," peculiar to this book and to Genesis, accord entirely with the intimations in the earliest documents of the Semitic race. It is moreover alleged that there are discrepancies between the facts related in the introduction, and statements or allusions in the dialogue. But the apparent contradiction between xix. 17 and the statement that all Job's children had perished, rests upon a misinterpretation of the words בְּנֵי בִטְנִי, "children of my womb," *i. e.* "of the womb that bare me" — "my brethren," not "my children" (cf. iii. 10): indeed the destruction of the patriarch's whole family is repeatedly assumed in the dialogue (*e. g.* viii. 4, xxix. 5). Again, the omission of all reference to the

[a] Schlottmann (p. 46), who draws also a very interesting comparison between Job and Vicramitra, in the Ramayana (p. 128).

[b] See the passages quoted by Ewald, p. 27.

[c] It is a very remarkable instance both of the inconsistency of M. Renan, and of the little reliance which can be placed upon the judgment of critics upon such questions, that he and Ewald are at direct issue as to the state in which the text of this book has been handed down to us. Ewald considers that it is pure — that the MSS. must have been very good — the verbal connection is accurate — and emendations unnecessary (see p. 66). M. Renan asserts, "Cet antique monument nous est parvenu, j'en suis persuadé, dans un état fort misérable et maculé en plusieurs endroits" (p. lx.).

[d] Renan: "Le grand caractère du récit est une preuve de son ancienneté."

[e] For a list of coincidences see Dr. Lee's Job, § 49.

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defeat of Satan in the last chapter is quite in accordance with the grand simplicity of the poem (Schlottmann, pp. 39, 40). It was too obvious a result to need special notice, and it had in fact been accomplished by the steadfast faith of the patriarch even before the discussions commenced. No allusion to the agency of that spirit was to be expected in the colloquy, since Job and his friends are represented as wholly ignorant of the transactions in heaven. At present, indeed, it is generally acknowledged [a] that the entire work would be unintelligible without these portions.

2. Strong objections are made to the passage xxvii. from ver. 7 to the end of the chapter. Here Job describes the ultimate fate of the godless hypocrite in terms which some critics hold to be in direct contradiction to the whole tenor of his arguments in other discourses. Dr. Kennicott, whose opinion is adopted by Eichhorn, Froude, and others, held that, owing to some confusion or omission in the MS., the missing speech of Zophar has been put into the mouth of Job. The fact of the contradiction is denied by able writers, who have shown that it rests upon a misapprehension of the patriarch's character and fundamental principles. He had been provoked, under circumstances of peculiar aggravation, into statements which at the close of the discussion he would be anxious to guard or recall: he was bound, having spoken so harshly, to recognize, what beyond doubt he never intended to deny, the general justice of divine dispensations even in this world. Moreover he intimates a belief or presentiment of a future retribution, of which there are no indications in any other speaker (see ver. 8). The whole chapter is thoroughly *coherent:* the first part is admitted by all to belong to Job; nor can the rest be disjoined from it without injury to the sense. Ewald says, "only a grievous misunderstanding of the whole book could have misled the modern critics who hold that this passage is interpolated or misplaced." Other critics have abundantly vindicated the authenticity of the passage (Hahn, Schlottmann, etc.). As for the style, E. Renan, a most competent authority in a matter of taste, declares that it is one of the finest developments of the poem. It certainly differs exceedingly in its breadth, loftiness, and devout spirit, from the speeches of Zophar, for whose silence satisfactory reasons have been already assigned (see the analysis).

3. The last two chapters of the address of the Almighty have been rejected as interpolations by many, of course rationalistic, writers (Stuhlmann, Bernstein, Eichhorn, Ewald, Meier); partly because of an alleged inferiority of style; partly as not having any bearing upon the argument; but the connection of reasoning, involved, though, as was to be expected, not drawn out in this discourse, has been shown in the preceding analysis; and as for the style, few who have a true ear for the resonant grandeur of ancient Hebrew poetry will dissent from the judgment of E. Renan,[b] whose suggestion, that it may have been written by the same author at a later date, is far from weakening the force of his observation as to the identity of the style.

4. The speech of Elihu presents greater difficulties, and has been rejected by several rationalists, whose opinion, however, is controverted not only by orthodox writers, but by some of the most skeptical commentators.[c] The former support their decision chiefly on the manifest, and to a certain extent the real, difference between this and other parts of the book in tone of thought, in doctrinal views, and more positively in language and general style. Much stress also is laid upon the facts that Elihu is not mentioned in the introduction nor at the end, and that his speech is unanswered by Job, and unnoticed in the final address of the Almighty. These points were observed by very early writers, and were accounted for in various ways. On the one hand, Elihu was regarded as a specially inspired person (Schlottmann, p. 53). In the *Seder Olam* (a rabbinical system of chronology) he is reckoned among the prophets who declared the will of God to the Gentiles before the promulgation of the law. S. Bar Nachman (12th century) notes his connection with the family of Abraham as a sign that he was the fittest person to expound the ways of God. The Greek Fathers generally follow Chrysostom in attributing to him a superior intellect; while many of the best critics of the two last centuries [d] consider that the true dialectic solution of the great problems discussed in the book is to be found in his discourse. On the other hand, Jerome,[e] who is followed by Gregory,[f] and many ancient as well as modern writers of the Western Church, speak of his character and arguments with singular contempt. Later critics, chiefly rationalists,[g] see in him but an empty babbler, introduced only to heighten by contrast the effect of the last solemn and dignified discourse of Job. The alternative of rejecting his speech as an interpolation was scarcely less objectionable, and has been preferred by Stuhlmann, Bernstein, Ewald, Renan, and other writers of similar opinions in our country. A candid and searching examination, however, leads to a different conclusion. It is proved (see Schlottmann, *Einl.* p. 55) that there is a close internal connection between this and other parts of the book; there are references to numerous passages in the discourses of Job and his friends; so covert as only to be discovered by close inquiry, yet, when pointed out, so striking and natural as to leave no room for doubt. Elihu supplies exactly what Job repeatedly demands —a confutation of his opinions, not merely produced by an overwhelming display of divine power, but by rational and human arguments, and proceeding from one, not like his other opponents

[a] Hahn, p. 13; Rosenmüller, p. 46; Eichhorn, Ewald, Schlottmann, Renan, etc.

[b] "Le style du fragment dont nous parlons est celui les meilleurs endroits du poëme. Nulle part la coupe n'est plus vigoureuse, le parallélisme plus sonore: tout indique que ce singulier morceau est de la même main, mais non pas du même jet, que le reste du discourse de Jéhovah" (p. L).

[c] Bertholdt, Gesenius, Schärer, Jahn, Umbreit, Rosenmüller; and of course by moderate or orthodox writers, as Hävernick, Hahn, Stickel, Hengstenberg, and Schlottmann. Mr. Froude ventures, nevertheless, to assert that this speech is "now decisively pronounced by Hebrew scholars not to be genuine," and he disposes of the question in a short note (*The Book of Job*, p. 24).

[d] Thus Calvin, Thomas Aquinas, and A. Schultens, who speaks of his speech thus: "Elihui moderatissima illa quidem, sed tamen zelo Dei flagrantissima redargutio, qua Jobum subtiliter non minus quam graviter compescere aggreditur."

[e] The commentary on Job is not by Jerome, but one of his disciples, and probably expresses his thoughts.

[f] *Moralia Magna*, lib. xxviii. 1, 11.

[g] Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Umbreit.

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bigoted or hypocritical, but upright, candid, and truthful (comp. xxxiii. 3 with vi. 24, 25). The reasonings of Elihu are, moreover, such as are needed for the development of the doctrines inculcated in the book, while they are necessarily cast in a form which could not without irreverence be assigned to the Almighty.[a] As to the objection that the doctrinal system of Elihu is in some points more advanced than that of Job or his friends, it may be answered, first, that there are no traces in this discourse of certain doctrines which were undoubtedly known at the earliest date to which those critics would assign the interpolation; whereas it is evident that if known they would have been adduced as the very strongest arguments for a warning and consolation. No reader of the Psalms and of the prophets could have failed to urge such topics as the resurrection, the future judgment, and the personal advent of Messiah. Secondly, the doctrinal system of Elihu differs rather in degree than in kind from that which has been either developed or intimated in several passages of the work, and consists chiefly in a specific application of the mediatorial theory, not unknown to Job, and in a deeper appreciation of the love manifested in all providential dispensations. It is quite consistent with the plan of the writer, and with the admirable skill shown in the arrangement of the whole work, that the highest view as to the object of afflictions, and to the source to which men should apply for comfort and instruction, should be reserved for this, which, so far as regards the human reasoners,[b] is the culminating point of the discussion. Little can be said for Lightfoot's theory, that the whole work was composed by Elihu; or for E. Renan's conjecture that this discourse may have been composed by the author in his old age;[c] yet these views imply an unconscious impression that Elihu is the fullest exponent of the truth. It is satisfactory to know that two[d] of the most impartial and discerning critics, who unite in denying this to be an original and integral portion of the work, fully acknowledge its intrinsic excellence and beauty.

There is no difficulty in accounting for the omission of Elihu's name in the introduction. No persons are named in the book until they appear as agents, or as otherwise concerned in the events. Thus Job's brethren are named incidentally in one of his speeches, and his relatives are for the first time in the concluding chapter. Had Elihu been mentioned at first, we should of course have expected him to take part in the discussion, and the impression made by his startling address would have been lost. Job does not answer him, nor indeed could he deny the cogency of his arguments; while this silence brings out a curious point of coincidence with a previous declaration of the patriarch (vi. 24, 25). Again, the discourse being substantially true did not need correction, and is therefore left unnoticed in the final decision of the Almighty. Nothing indeed could be more in harmony with the ancient traditions of the East than that a youth moved by a special and supernatural impulse to speak out God's truth in the presence of his elders, should retire into obscurity when he had done his work. More weight is to be attached to the objection resting upon diversity of style, and dialectic peculiarities. The most acute critics differ indeed in their estimate of both, and are often grossly deceived (see Schlottmann, p. 61), still there can be little doubt as to the fact. It may be accounted for either on the supposition that the author adhered strictly to the form in which tradition handed down the dialogue; in which case the speech of a Syrian might be expected to bear traces of his dialect:[f] or that the Chaldaic forms and idioms, which are far from resembling later vulgarisms or corruptions of Hebrew, and occur only in highly poetic passages of the oldest writers, are such as peculiarly suit the style of the young and fiery speaker (see Schlottmann, *Einl.* p. 61). It has been observed, and with apparent truth, that the discourses of the other interlocutors have each a very distinct and characteristic coloring, shown not only in the general tone of thought, but in peculiarities of expression (Ewald and Schlottmann). The excessive obscurity of the style, which is universally admitted, may be accounted for in a similar manner. A young man speaking under strong excitement, embarrassed by the presence of his elders, and by the peculiar responsibility of his position, might be expected to use language obscured by repetitions; and, though ingenious and true, yet somewhat intricate and imperfectly developed arguments; such as in fact present great difficulties in the exegesis of this portion of the book.

III. *Historical Character of the Work.* — Three distinct theories have been maintained at various times — some believing the book to be strictly historical; others a religious fiction; others a composition based upon facts. Until a comparatively late time the prevalent opinion was, not only that the persons and events which it describes are real, but that the very words of the speakers were accurately recorded. It was supposed either that Job himself employed the latter years of his life in writing it (A. Schultens), or that at a very early age some inspired Hebrew collected the facts and sayings, faithfully preserved by oral tradition, and presented them to his countrymen in their own tongue. By some the authorship of the work was attributed to Moses; by others it was believed (and this theory has lately been sustained with much ingenuity[g]) that Moses became acquainted with the documents during his residence in Midian, and that he added the introductory and concluding chapters.

The fact of Job's existence, and the substantial truth of the narrative, were not likely to be denied

[a] See Schlottmann (*l. c.*). The reader will remember the just, though sarcastic, criticism of Pope on Elihu's irreverence and bad taste.

[b] Hahn says of Elihu: "A young wise man, representing all the intelligence of his age" (p. 5). Cf. A. Schultens and Hengstenberg in Kitto's *Cyc. of Bibl. Lit.*

[c] Page lvii. This implies, at any rate, that in his opinion there is no absolute incompatibility between this and other parts of the book in point of style or thought. The conjecture is a striking instance of inconsistency in a very dogmatic writer.

[d] Ewald and Renan. Ewald says: "The thoughts in this speech are in themselves exceedingly pure and true, conceived with greater depth, and presented with more force than in the rest of the book" (p. 230).

[e] This seems a sufficient answer to an objection more likely to occur to a modern European than to a Hebrew.

[f] Stickel supposes that the Aramaic forms were intentionally introduced by the author on account of the Syrian descent of Elihu.

[g] By Dr. Lee; see his Introduction. He accounts thus for the use of the name יְהוָה, found, with one exception, only in these chapters.

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by Hebrews or Christians, considering the terms in which the patriarch is named in the 14th of Ezekiel and in the Epistle of St. James (ver. 11). It seemed to early writers incompatible with any idea of inspiration to assume that a narrative, certainly not allegorical, should be a mere fiction; and irreverent to suppose that the Almighty would be introduced as a speaker in an imaginary colloquy. In the East numerous traditions (Ewald, pp. 17, 18; see D'Herbelot, *s. v. Ayoub*) about the patriarch and his family show the deep impression made by his character and calamities: these traditions may possibly have been derived from the book itself; but it is at least equally probable that they had an independent origin. We are led to the same conclusion by the soundest principles of criticism. Ewald says (*Einl.* p. 15) most truly, "The invention of a history without foundation in facts — the creation of a person, represented as having a real historical existence, out of the mere head of the poet — is a notion so entirely alien to the spirit of all antiquity, that it only began to develop itself gradually in the latest epoch of the literature of any ancient people, and in its complete form belongs only to the most modern times." In the canonical books there is not a trace of any such invention. Of all people the Hebrews were the least likely to mingle the mere creations of imagination with the sacred records reverenced as the peculiar glory of their race.

This principle is corroborated by special arguments. It is, to say the least, highly improbable that a Hebrew, had he invented such a character as that of Job, should have represented him as belonging to a race which, though descended from a common ancestor, was never on friendly, and generally on hostile, terms with his own people. Uz, the residence of Job, is in no way associated with Israelitish history, and, apart from the patriarch's own history, would have no interest for a Hebrew. The names of most persons introduced have no meaning connected with the part attributed to them in the narrative. The name of Job himself is but an apparent exception. According to most critics אִיּוֹב is derived from אָיַב, *infensus fuit*, and means "cruelly or hostilely treated:" according to others (Ewald and Rosenmüller) of high authority it may signify "a true penitent," corresponding to أواب, so applied to Job, and evidently with reference to his name, in the Koran (Sur. 38, 44). In either case the name would give but a very partial view, and would indeed fail to represent the central principle[a] of the patriarch's heroic character. It is moreover far from improbable that the name previously borne by the hero may have been changed in commemoration of the event. Such was the case with Abraham, Jacob Joshua, and in all probability with many other historical personages in the Old Testament. It is worth noting, without laying much stress upon the fact, that in a notice appended to the Alexandrian version it is stated, "he bore previously the name of Jobab;" and that a tradition adopted by the Jews and some Christian Fathers, identifies Job with Jobab, prince of Edom, mentioned in Gen. xxxvi. 33. Moreover a coincidence between the name and the character or history of a real person is not uncommon in any age. To this it is objected that the resemblance in Greek does not exist in the Hebrew — a strange assertion: אִיּוֹב and יוֹבָב are certainly not much less alike than Ἰώβ and Ἰωβάβ.

To this it must be added that there is a singular air of reality in the whole narrative, such as must either proceed naturally from a faithful adherence to objective truth, or be the result of the most consummate art.[b] The effect is produced partly by the thorough consistency of all the characters, especially that of Job, not merely as drawn in broad strong outlines, but as developed under a variety of most trying circumstances: partly also by the minute and accurate account of incidents which in a fiction would probably have been noted by an ancient writer in a vague and general manner. Thus we remark the mode in which the supernatural trial is carried into execution by natural agencies — by Chaldæan and Sabean[c] robbers — by whirlwinds common in and peculiar to the desert — by fire — and lastly by the elephantiasis (see Schlottmann, p. 15; Ewald, *l. c.*; and Hengstenberg), the most formidable disease known in the East. The disease was indeed one which the Indians[d] and most Orientals then probably believed to be peculiarly indicative of divine wrath, and would therefore be naturally selected by the writer (see the analysis above). But the symptoms are described so faithfully as to leave no doubt that the writer must either have introduced them with a view of giving an air of truthfulness to his work, or have recorded what he himself witnessed, or received from an exact tradition. The former supposition is confuted by the fact that the peculiar symptoms are not described in any one single passage so as to attract the reader's attention, but are made out by a critical and scientific examination of words occurring here and there at intervals in the complaints of the sufferer.[e] The most refined art fails in producing such a result: it is rarely attempted in the most artificial ages; was never dreamed of by ancient writers, and must here be regarded as a strong instance of the undesigned coincidences which the soundest criticism regards as the best evidence of genuineness and authenticity in any work.

[a] A fictitious name would of course have meant what the ancients supposed that *Job* must signify. Τὸ Ἰὼβ ὄνομα ὑπομονὴ νοεῖται, καὶ ἔστιν, ὡς γενέσθαι οὕτω ὃ προεκλήθη, ἢ κληθῆναι ὅπερ ἐγένετο. Didymus Alexand. col. 1120, ed. Migne.

[b] This is assumed by all the critics who believe the details of the work to be a pure creation of the poet. "He has represented the simple relations of patriarchal life, and sustained the assumed character of a rich Arabian chieftain of a nomad tribe, with the greatest truthfulness." (Hahn.) Thus Ewald, Schlottmann, etc., p. 70.

[c] Both races probably dwelt near the land of Uz. See Rosenm. *Prol.* pp. 30, 31.

[d] Thus Origen, *c. Cels.* vi. 5, 2; Abulfeda, *Hist Anteisl.*, تجذام ودود, p. 27, ed. Fleischer, i. his body was smitten with elephantiasis (the ,), and eaten by worms. The disease is described by Alnuhe *Transactions R. S.*, and Bruce. See Ewald, p. 22.

[e] Ch. ii. 7, 8; vii. 5, 13; xvi. 8; xix. 17, 20; xxx. 18; and other passages. See the valuable remarks of Ewald, p. 22.

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Forcible as these arguments may appear, many critics have adopted the opinion either that the whole work is a moral or religious apologue, or that, upon a substratum of a few rudimental facts preserved by tradition, the genius of an original thinker has raised this, the most remarkable monument of the Semitic mind. The first indications of this opinion are found in the Talmud (*Baba Bathra*, 14–16). In a discussion upon the age of this book, while the Rabbins in general maintain its historical character, Samuel Bar Nachman declares his conviction "Job did not exist, and was not a created man, but the work is a parable."[a] Hai Gaon,[b] A. D. 1000, who is followed by Jarchi, alters this passage to "Job existed and was created to become a parable." They had evidently no critical ground for the change, but bore witness to the prevalent tradition of the Hebrews. Maimonides (*Moreh Nevochim*, iii. 22), with his characteristic freedom of mind, considers it an open question of little or no moment to the real value of the inspired book. Ralbag, *i. e.* R. Levi Ben Gershom, treats it as a philosophic work. A late Hebrew commentator, Simcha Arieh (Schlottmann, p. 4), denies the historical truth of the narrative, on the ground that it is incredible the patriarchs of the chosen race should be surpassed in goodness by a child of Edom. This is worth noting in corroboration of the argument that such a fact was not likely to have been *invented* by an Israelite of any age.[c]

Luther first suggested the theory which, in some form or other, is now most generally received. In his introduction to the first edition of his translation of the Bible, he speaks of the author as having so treated the historical facts as to demonstrate the truth that God alone is righteous — and in the Tischreden (ed. Walch, tom. xxii. p. 2093), he says, "I look upon the book of Job as a true history, yet I do not believe that all took place just as it is written, but that an ingenious, pious, and learned man brought it into its present form." This position was strongly attacked by Bellarmin, and other Roman theologians, and was afterwards repudiated by most Lutherans. The fact that Spinoza, Clericus [Le Clerc], Du Pin, and Father Simon, held nearly the same opinion, the first denying, and the others notoriously holding low views of the inspiration of Scripture, had of course a tendency to bring it into disrepute. J. D. Michaelis first revived the old theory of Bar Nachman, not upon critical but dogmatic grounds. In a mere history, the opinions or doctrines enounced by Job and his friends could have no dogmatic authority; whereas if the whole book were a pure inspiration, the strongest arguments could be deduced from them on behalf of the great truths of the resurrection and a future judgment, which, though implied in other early books, are nowhere so distinctly inculcated. The arbitrary character of such reasoning is obvious. At present no critic doubts that the narrative rests on facts, although the prevalent opinion among continental scholars is certainly that in its form and general features, in its reasonings and representations of character, the book is a work of creative genius.

The question, however, cannot be settled, nor indeed thoroughly understood, without reference to other arguments by which critics have endeavored to determine the date at which the work was completed in its present form, and the circumstances under which it was composed. We proceed, therefore, to consider —

IV. *The probable Age, Country, and Position of the Author.* — The *language* alone does not, as some have asserted, supply any decisive test as to the date of the composition. Critics of the last century generally adopted the opinion of A. Schultens (*Præf. ad librum Jobi*), who considered that the indications of external influences were best accounted for on the supposition that the book was written at a very early period, before the different branches of the Semitic race had completely formed their distinct dialects. The fact that the language of this work approaches far more nearly to the Arabic than any other Hebrew production was remarked by Jerome and is recognized by the soundest critics. On the other hand, there are undoubtedly many Aramaic words,[d] and grammatical forms, which some critics have regarded as a strong proof that the writers must have lived during, or even after the Captivity. At present this hypothesis is universally given up as untenable. It is proved (Ewald, Renan, Schlottmann, and Kosegarten) that there is a radical difference between the Aramaisms of the later Hebrew writings and those found in the book of Job. These latter are, without an exception, such as characterize the antique and highly poetic style; they occur in parts of the Pentateuch, in the Song of Deborah, in the earliest Psalms, and the Song of Solomon, all of which are now admitted even by the ablest rationalistic critics to be among the earliest and purest productions of Hebrew literature.[e] So far as any argument can be drawn from idiomatic peculiarities, it may be regarded as a settled point that the book was written long before the exile (see some good observations by Hävernick, *l. c.*); while there is absolutely nothing to *prove* a later date than the Pentateuch, or even those parts of the Pentateuch which appear to belong to the patriarchal age.

This impression is borne out by the style. All critics have recognized its grand archaic character. Firm, compact, sonorous as the ring of a pure metal, severe and at times rugged, yet always dignified and majestic, the language belongs altogether to a period when thought was slow, but profound and intensely concentrated, when the weighty and oracular sayings of the wise were wont to be engraved upon rocks with a pen of iron and in characters of molten lead (see xix. 24). It is truly a lapidary style, such as was natural only in an age when writing, though known, was rarely used, before language had acquired clearness, fluency, and flexibility, but lost much of its freshness and native force. Much stress has been laid upon the fact

[a] איוב לא היה ולא נברא אלא משל היה. *Mashal* has a much wider signification than parable, or any English synonym.

[b] Ewald and Dukes's *Beitrage*, iii. 165.

[c] Theodorus of Mopsuestia stands alone in denying the inspiration, while he admits the historical character of the book, which he asserted, in a passage condemned at the second Council of Constantinople, to be replete with statements derogatory to God, and such as could only proceed from a vain and ignorant heathen. Aben Ezra, among the Jews, maintained the same opinion.

[d] A list is given by Lee, p. 50. See also Hävernick, *Introd. to O. T.* p. 176, Eng. Transr.

[e] Renan's good taste and candor here, as elsewhere, neutralise his rationalistic tendency. In the *Histoir des Langues Sémitiques*, ed. 1857, he held that the Aramaisms indicate a very late date; in the preface to Job he has adopted the opinion here expressed.

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that the book bears a closer resemblance to the Proverbs of Solomon than to any other Hebrew work (see especially Rosenmüller, *Proll.* p. 38). This is true to a remarkable extent with regard to the thoughts, words, and forms of expression, while the metre, which is somewhat peculiar and strongly marked,[a] is almost identical. Hence it has been inferred that the composition belongs to the Solomonian era, or to the period between Solomon and Hezekiah, by whose orders, as we are expressly informed, a great part of the book of Proverbs was compiled. But the argument loses much of its force when we consider that Solomon did not merely invent the proverbs, but collected the most ancient and curious sayings of olden times, not only of the Hebrews, but probably of other nations with whom he had extensive intercourse, and in whose philosophy he is supposed, not without good reason, to have taken deep interest, even to the detriment of his religious principles (see Renan's *Job*, p. xxiii.); while those proverbs which he invented himself would as a matter of course be cast in the same metrical form and take an archaic character. Again, there can be little doubt that the passages in which the resemblance is most complete and striking, were taken from one book by the author of the other, and adapted, according to a Hebrew custom common among the prophets, to the special purposes of his work. On comparing these passages, it seems impossible to deny that they belonged in the first instance to the book of Job,[b] where they are in thorough harmony with the tenor of the argument, and have all the characteristics of the author's genius. Taking the resemblance as a fact, we are entitled to conclude that we have in Job a composition not later than the most ancient proverbs, and certainly of much earlier date than the entire book.

The extent to which the influence of this book is perceptible in the later literature of the Hebrews is a subject of great interest and importance; but it has not yet been thoroughly investigated. Hävernick has a few good remarks in his general *Introduction to the Old Testament*, § 80. Dr. Lee (*Introd.* section vii.) has led the way to a more complete and searching inquiry by a close examination of five chapters, in which he produces a vast number of parallel passages from the Pentateuch (which he holds to be contemporary with the Introduction, and of a later date than the rest of the book), from Ruth, Samuel, the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Micah, and Nahum, all of which are probably, and some of them demonstrably, copied from Job.

Considerable weight must also be attached to the fact that Job is far more remarkable for obscurity than any Hebrew writing.[c] There is an obscurity which results from confusion of thought, from carelessness and inaccuracy, or from studied involutions and artificial combination of metaphors indicating a late age.[d] But when it is owing to obsolete words, intense concentration of thought and language, and incidental allusions to long-forgotten traditions, it is an all but infallible proof of primeval antiquity. Such are precisely the difficulties in this book. The enormous mass of notes which a reader must wade through, before he can feel himself competent to decide upon the most probable interpretation of a single chapter,[e] proves that this book stands apart from all other productions of the Hebrews, belongs to a different epoch, and, in accordance with the surest canons of criticism, to an earlier age.

We arrive at the same conclusion from considering the institutions, manners, and historical facts described or alluded to in this book. It must be borne in mind that no ancient writer ever succeeded in reproducing the manners of a past age;[f] to use the words of M. Renan, "antiquity had not at. idea of what we call local coloring." The attempt was never made by any Hebrew; and the age of any writer can be positively determined when we know the date of the institutions and customs which he describes. Again it is to the last degree improbable (being without a precedent or parallel) that an ancient author[g] should intentionally and successfully avoid all reference to historical occurrences, and to changes in religious forms or doctrines of a date posterior to that of the events which he narrates. These points are now generally recognized, but they have rarely been applied with consistency and candor by commentators on this book.

In the first place it is distinctly admitted that from the beginning to the end no reference whatever is made to the Mosaic law, or to any of the peculiar institutions of Israel,[h] or to the great cardinal events of the national history after the Exodus. It cannot be proved[i] that such reference was unlikely to occur in connection with the argument. The sanctions and penalties of the Law, if known, could scarcely have been passed over by the opponents of Job, while the deliverance of Israel and the overthrow of the Egyptians supplied exactly the examples which they required in order to silence the complaints and answer the arguments of Job. The force of this argument is not affected by the answer that other books written long after the establishment of the Mosaic ritual contain few

[a] Each verse, with very few exceptions, consists of two parallel members, and each member of three words: when that number is exceeded, it is owing to the particles or subordinate words, which are almost always so combined as to leave only three tones in each member (Schlottmann, p. 68).

[b] See Rosenmüller, *Proll.* p. 40. Even Renan, who believes that Job was written *after* the time of Solomon, holds that the description of Wisdom (ch. xxviii.) is the *original* source of the idea which we find in Proverbs (chs. viii., ix.).

[c] See some excellent remarks by Renan, p. xxxvii.

[d] The Makamat of Hariri, and the life of Timour by Arabshah, in Arabic, the works of Lycophron in Greek, are good examples. Somewhat of this character may perhaps be found in the last chapters of Ecclesiastes, while it is conspicuous in the apocryphal books of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and Baruch. Instances in our own literature will occur to every reader.

[e] The ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, and passages of which the interpretation is wholly a matter of conjecture, far surpass those of any portion of the O. T.

[f] This is true of the Greek dramatists, and of the greatest original writers of our own, and indeed of every country before the 19th century.

[g] In fact, scarcely one work of fiction exists in which a searching criticism does not detect anachronisms or inconsistencies.

[h] See Renan, p. xvi. It should be noted that even the word יְהוָה, so common in every other book, especially in those of the post-Davidic age, occurs only once in Job (xxii. 22), and then not in the special or technical signification of a received code.

[i] See, on the other side Parsons ap. Rosenm.

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or no allusions to those institutions or events. The statement is inaccurate. In each of the books specified[a] there are abundant traces of the Law. It was not to be expected that a complete view of the Levitical rites, or of historical facts unconnected with the subject-matter of those works, could be derived from them; but they abound in allusions to customs and notions peculiar to the Hebrews trained under the Law, to the services of the Tabernacle or Temple, and they all recognize most distinctly the existence of a sacerdotal system, whereas our author ignores, and therefore, as we may reasonably conclude, was unacquainted with any forms of religious service, save those of the patriarchal age.

Ewald, whose judgment in this case will not be questioned,[b] asserts very positively that in all the descriptions of manners and customs, domestic, social, and political, and even in the indirect allusions and illustrations, the genuine coloring of the age of Job, that is of the period between Abraham and Moses, is very faithfully observed; that all historical examples and allusions are taken exclusively from patriarchal times, and that there is a complete and successful avoidance of direct reference to later occurrences,[c] which in his opinion may have been known to the writer. All critics concur in extolling the fresh, antique simplicity of manners described in this book, the genuine air of the wild, free, vigorous life of the desert, the stamp of hoar antiquity, and the thorough consistency in the development of characters, equally remarkable for originality and force. There is an absolute contrast between the manners, thoughts, and feelings, and those which characterized the Israelites during the monarchical period; while whatever difference exists between the customs of the older patriarchs as described in Genesis and those of Job's family and associates, is accounted for by the progress of events in the intervening period. The chieftain lives in considerable splendor and dignity; menial offices, such as commonly devolved upon the elder patriarchs and their children, are now performed by servants, between whom and the family the distinction appears to be more strongly marked. Job visits the city frequently, and is there received with high respect as a prince, judge, and distinguished warrior (xxix. 7–9). There are allusions to courts of judicature, written indictments,[d] and regular forms of procedure (xiii. 26, and xxxi. 28). Men had begun to observe and reason upon the phenomena of nature, and astronomical observations were connected with curious speculations upon primeval traditions. We read (xx. 15, xxiii. 10, xxvii. 16, 17, xxviii. 1–21) of mining operations, great buildings, ruined sepulchres, perhaps even of sculptured figures of the dead,[e] and there are throughout copious allusions to the natural productions and the arts of Egypt. Great revolutions had occurred within the time of the writer: nations once independent had been overthrown, and whole races reduced to a state of misery and degradation. All this might be expected, even supposing the work to have been written before or near the date of the Exodus. The communications with Egypt were frequent, and indeed uninterrupted during the patriarchal age, and in that country each one of the customs upon which most reliance is placed as indicating a later date is now proved to have been common long before the age of Moses (see Lepsius, Schlottmann, p. 107). Moreover, there is sufficient reason to believe that under favorable circumstances a descendant of Abraham, who was himself a warrior, and accustomed to meet princes on terms of equality, would at a very early age acquire the habits, position, and knowledge which we admire in Job. He was the head of a great family, successful in war, prosperous in peace, supplied abundantly with the necessaries of life, and enjoying many of its luxuries; he lived near the great cities on the Euphrates[f] and Tigris, and on the route of the caravans which at the remotest periods exchanged the productions of Egypt and the far East, and had therefore abundant opportunities of procuring information from those merchants, supposing that he did not himself visit a country so full of interest to a thoughtful mind.

Such a progress in civilization may or may not be admitted by historical critics to be probable within the limits of time thus indicated, but no positive historical fact or allusion can be produced from the book to prove that it could not have been written before the time of Moses. The single objection (Renan, p. 40) which presents any difficulty is the mention of the Chaldæans in the introductory chapter. It is certain that they appear first in Hebrew history about the year B. C. 770. But the name of Chesed, the ancestor of the race, is found in the genealogical table in Genesis (xxii. 22), a fact quite sufficient to prove the early existence of the people as a separate tribe. It is highly probable that an ancient race bearing that name in Curdistan (see Xenoph. *Cyr.* iii. 1, § 34; *Anab.* iv. 3, § 4, v. 5, § 17) was the original source of the nation, who were there trained in predatory habits, and accustomed, long before their appearance in history, to make excursions into the neighboring deserts;[g] a view quite in harmony with the part assigned to them in this book.

The arguments which have induced the generality of modern critics to assign a later date to this book, notwithstanding their concurrence in most of the points and principles which we have just considered,

[a] M. Renan says: "On s'étonnait de ne trouver dans le livre de Job aucune trace des prescriptions mosaïques. Mais on n'en trouve pas davantage dans le livre des Proverbes, dans l'histoire des Juges et des premiers Rois, et en général dans les écrivains antérieurs à la dernière époque du royaume de Juda." It must be remembered that this writer denies the authenticity of the Pentateuch.

[b] *Einleitung*, p. 57. M. Renan, Hahn, Schlottmann, and other critics, agree fully with this opinion.

[c] The entire disappearance of the bushmen (Job xxx. 4–7) belongs to a very early age. Ewald supposes them to have been descendants of the Horites; and Schlottmann (p. 15) observes, truly, that the writer must have known them from his own observation. This throws us of course back to the Mosaic age.

[d] Known in Egypt at an early period (Diod. Sic. i. p. 75).

[e] Ch. xxi. 32. The interpretation is very doubtful.

[f] The remarkable treatise by Chwolsohn, *Ueber die Ueberreste der Babylonischen Literatur in Arabischen Uebersetzungen*, proves an advance in mental cultivation in those regions at a far earlier age, more than sufficient to answer every objection of this nature.

[g] This is now generally admitted. See M. Renan, *Histoire Générale des Langues Sémitiques*, ed. 1858, p. 56. He says truly that they were "redoutés dans tout l'Orient pour leurs brigandages" (p. 65). See also Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, vol. i. p. 312. Ur of the Chaldæans was undoubtedly so named because it was founded or occupied by that people.

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may be reduced to two heads, which we will now examine separately: —

1. We are told that the doctrinal system is considerably in advance of the Mosaic; in fact that it is the result of a recoil from the stern, narrow dogmatism of the Pentateuch. Here of course there can be no common ground between those who admit, and those who secretly or openly deny the authenticity and inspiration of the Mosaic writings. Still even rationalistic criticism cannot show, what it so confidently assumes, that there is a demonstrable difference in any essential point between the principles recognized in Genesis and those of our author. The absence of all recognition of the peculiar views and institutions first introduced or developed in the Law has been already shown to be an evidence of an earlier date — all that is really proved is that the elementary truths of primeval revelation are represented, and their consequences developed under a great variety of striking and original forms — a fact sufficiently accounted for by the highly thoughtful character of the book, and the undoubted genius of the writer (comp. Job x. 9; Gen. iii. 19; Isa. xxvii. 3; Gen. ii. 7, vii. 22; Job xxii. 15, 16, with the account of the deluge). In Genesis and in this work we have the same theology; the attributes of the Godhead are identical. Man is represented in all his strength and in all his weakness, glorious in capacities, but infirm and impure in his actual condition, with a soul and spirit allied to the eternal, but with a physical constitution framed from the dust to which it must return. The writer of Job knows just so much of the fall of Adam and the early events of man's history, including the deluge (xxii. 15, 16), as was likely to be preserved by tradition in all the families descended from Shem. And with reference to those points in which a real progress was made by the Israelites after the time of Moses, the position from which this writer starts is precisely that of the lawgiver. One great problem of the book is the reconciliation of unmerited suffering with the love and justice of God. In the prophets and psalms the subject is repeatedly discussed, and receives, if not a complete, yet a substantially satisfactory settlement in connection with the great doctrines of Messiah's kingdom, priesthood, sufferings, and second advent, involving the resurrection and a future judgment. In the book of Job, as it has been shown, there is no indication that the question had previously been raised. The answers given to it are evidently elicited by the discussions. Even in the discourse of Elihu, in which the nearest approach to the full development of the true theory of providential dispensations is admitted to be found, and which indeed for that very reason has been suspected of interpolation, there is no sign that the writer knew those characteristics of Messiah which from the time of David were continually present to the mind of the Israelites.

Again it is said that the representation of angels, and still more specially of Satan, belongs to a later epoch. Some have even asserted that the notion must have been derived from Persian or Assyrian mythology. That hypothesis is now generally rejected — on the one hand it would fix a far later date[a] for the composition than any critic of the least authority would now assign to the book; on the other it is proved[b] that Satan bears no resemblance to Ahriman; he acts only by permission from God, and differs from the angels not in essence but in character. It is true that Satan is not named in the Pentateuch, but there is an exact correspondence between the characteristics of the malignant and envious accuser in this book and those of the enemy of man and God, which are developed in the history of the Fall.[c] The appellation of "sons of God" is peculiar to this book and that of Genesis.

It is also to be remarked that no charge of idolatry is brought against Job by his opponents when enumerating all the crimes which they can imagine to account for his calamities. The only allusion to the subject (xxxi. 26) refers to the earliest form of false religion known in the East.[d] To an Israelite, living after the introduction of heathen rites, such a charge was the very first which would have suggested itself, nor can any one satisfactory reason be assigned for the omission.

2. Nearly all modern critics, even those who admit the inspiration of the author, agree in the opinion that the composition of the whole work, the highly systematic development of the plot, and the philosophic tone of thought indicate a considerable progress in mental cultivation far beyond what can, with any show of probability, be supposed to have existed before the age of Solomon. We are told indeed that such topics as are here introduced occupied men's minds for the first time when schools of philosophy were formed under the influence of that prince. Such assertions are easily made, and resting on no tangible grounds, they are not easily disproved. It should, however, be remarked that the persons introduced in this book belong to a country celebrated for wisdom in the earliest times; insomuch that the writer who speaks of those schools considers that the peculiarities of the Solomonian writings were derived from intercourse with its inhabitants (Renan, pp. xxiii.–xxv.). The book of Job differs from those writings chiefly in its greater earnestness, vehemence of feeling, vivacity of imagination, and free independent inquiry into the principles of divine government; characteristics as it would seem of a primitive race, acquainted only with the patriarchal form of religion, rather than of a scholastic age. There is indeed nothing in the composition incompatible with the Mosaic age, admitting (what all rationalistic critics who assign a later date to this book deny) the authenticity and integrity of the Pentateuch.

We should attach more weight to the argument derived from the admirable arrangement of the entire book (Schlottmann, p. 108), did we not remember how completely the same course of reasoning misled the acutest critics in the case of the Homeric poems. There is a kind of artifice in style and arrangement of a subject which is at once recognized as an infallible indication of a highly

[a] To the epoch of the Achæmenidæ.

[b] See Renan, p. xxxix. This was previously pointed out by Herder.

[c] Dr. Lee (*Introduction to Job*, p. 18) observes that although Satan is not named in Genesis, yet the character which that name implies is clearly intimated in the words, "I will put enmity (אֵיבָה) between thee and him." The connection between this word and the name of Job is perhaps more than an accidental coincidence.

[d] The worship of the moon was introduced into Mesopotamia, probably in the earliest age, by the Aryans. See Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier* i. p. 213.

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cultivated or declining literature. This, however, differs essentially from the harmonious and majestic simplicity of form, and the natural development of a great thought which characterize the first grand productions of genius in every nation, and produce so powerful an impression of reality as well as of grandeur in every unprejudiced reader of the book of Job.

These considerations lead of course to the conclusion that the book must have been written before the promulgation of the Law, by one speaking the Hebrew language, and thoroughly conversant with the traditions preserved in the family of Abraham. Whether the writer had access to original documents[a] or not is mere matter of conjecture; but it can scarcely be doubted that he adhered very closely to the accounts, whether oral or written, which he received.

It would be a waste of time to consider the arguments of those who hold that the writer lived near the time of the Captivity — that view is now all but universally repudiated: but one hypothesis which has been lately brought forward (by Stickel, who is followed by Schlottmann), and supported by very ingenious arguments, deserves a more special notice. It meets some of the objections which have been here adduced to the prevalent opinion of modern critics, who maintain that the writer must have lived at a period when the Hebrew language and literature had attained their full development; while it accounts in a satisfactory manner for some of the most striking peculiarities of the book. That supposition is, that Job may have been written after the settlement of the Israelites by a dweller in the south of Judæa, in a district immediately bordering upon the Idumean desert. The inhabitants of that district were to a considerable extent isolated from the rest of the nation: their attendance at the festivals and ordinances of the Tabernacle and of the Temple before the time of the later kings was probably rare and irregular, if it were not altogether interrupted during a long period. In that case it would be natural that the author, while recognizing and enforcing the fundamental principles of religion, should be sparing in allusions to the sanctions or observances of the Law. A resident in that district would have peculiar opportunities of collecting the varied and extensive information which was possessed by the author of Job. It was not far from the country of Eliphaz; and it is probable that the intercourse with all the races to which the persons named in the book belonged was frequent during the early years of Israelitish history. The caravans of Tema and Sheba (Job vi. 19) crossed there in a route much frequented by merchants, and the communications with Egypt were of course regular and uninterrupted. A man of wealth, station, and cultivated mind, such as we cannot doubt the author must have been, would either learn from conversation with merchants the peculiarities to which he so frequently alludes, or, as is highly probable, he would avail himself of the opportunity thus afforded of visiting that country, of all the most interesting to an ancient. The local coloring, so strikingly characteristic of this book, and so evidently natural, is just what might be expected from such a writer: the families in Southern Palestine, even at a later age, lived very much after the manner of the patriarchs; and illustrations derived from the free, wild, vigorous life of the desert, and the customs of pastoral tribes, would spontaneously suggest themselves to his mind. The people appear also to have been noted for freshness and originality of mind — qualities seen in the woman of Tekoah, or still more remarkably in Amos, the poor and unlearned herdman, also of Tekoah. It has also been remarked that Amos seems to have known and imitated the book of Job (comp. Am. iv. 13, v. 8, ix. 6, with Job ix. 8, 9, xxxviii. 31, xii. 15; Schlottmann, p. 109): a circumstance scarcely to be explained, considering the position and imperfect education of that prophet, excepting on the supposition that for some reason or other this book was peculiarly popular in that district. Some weight may also be attached to the observation (Stickel, p. 276; Schlottmann, p. 111) that the dialectic peculiarities of Southern Palestine, especially the softening of the aspirates and exchanges of the sibilants, resemble the few divergences[b] from pure Hebrew which are noted in the book of Job.

The controversy about the authorship cannot ever be finally settled. From the introduction it may certainly be inferred that the writer lived many years after the death of Job. From the strongest internal evidence it is also clear that he must either have composed the work before the Law was promulgated, or under most peculiar circumstances which exempted him from its influence. The former of these two suppositions has nothing against it excepting the arguments, which have been shown to be far from conclusive, derived from language, composition, and indications of a high state of mental cultivation and general civilization. It has every other argument in its favor, while it is free from the great, and surely insuperable, difficulty that a devout Israelite, deeply interested in all religious speculations, should ignore the doctrines and institutions which were the peculiar glory of his nation: a supposition which, in addition to its intrinsic improbability, is scarcely consistent with any sound view of the inspiration of holy writ.

A complete list and fair estimate of all the preceding commentators on Job is given by Rosenmüller (*Elenchus Interpp. Jobi*, 1824). The best rabbinical commentators are — Jarchi, in the 12th century; Aben Ezra, a good Arabic as well as Hebrew scholar, † A. D. 1168; Levi Ben Gershom, commonly known as Ralbag, † 1370; and Nachmanides in the 13th century. Saadia, the well-known translator of the Pentateuch, has written a paraphrase of Job, and Tanchum a good commentary, both in Arabic (Ewald, *Vorrede*, p. xi.). The early Fathers contributed little to the explanation of the text; but some good remarks on the general argument are found in Chrysostom, Didymus Alexandrinus, and other Greek Fathers quoted in the Catenæ of Nicetas, edited by Junius, London, fol., 1637 — a work chiefly valuable with reference to the Alexandrian version. Ephrem Syrus has scholia, chiefly doctrinal and practical, vol. ii., Romæ, 1740. The translation in the Latin Vulgate by Jerome is of great value; but the commentary ascribed to

[a] The most skeptical critics admit that the Israelites had written documents in the age of Moses. See E. Renan, *Histoire des Langues Sémitiques*, p. 126.

[b] E. g. מרעב for מרעב, vi. 8; מסרף for משרף, vi. 10; בוסס for בוסס, v. 11; שזיף for יצדוק, vii. 16.

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aim consists merely of excerpts from the work of Philip, one of Jerome's disciples (see Tillemont, *Mém. Ecc.* xii. 661): it is of little or no use for the interpretation. The great work of Gregory M. is practical, spiritual, or mystical, but has little connection with the literal meaning, which the author does not profess to explain. Among the long list of able and learned Romanists who have left commentaries on the book, few had any knowledge of the Hebrew language: from Cajetan, Zuñiga, little can be learned; but A. Schultens speaks very highly of Pineda, whose commentary has passed through many editions. Rosenmüller says the German translation of Job by T. A. Deresser is one of the best in that language. The early Protestants, Bucer, Oecolampadius, and Calvin, contributed somewhat to the better understanding of the text; but by far the best commentary of that age is that prepared by C. Bertram, a disciple of Mercer, after the death of his master, from his MS. notes. This work is well worth consulting. Mercer was a sound Hebrew scholar of Reuchlin's school, and a man of acute discernment and excellent judgment. The great work of Albert Schultens on Job (A. D. 1737) far surpasses all preceding and contemporary expositions, nor has the writer as yet been surpassed in knowledge of the Hebrew and cognate languages. He was the first who brought all the resources of Arabic literature to bear upon the interpretation of Job. The fault of his book is diffuseness, especially in the statement of opinions long since rejected, and uninteresting to the student. The best works of the present century are those of Rosenmüller, 3 vols. 1824; and H. Ewald, whose translation and commentary are remarkable for accurate learning and originality of genius, but also for contempt of all who believe in the inspiration of Scripture. The *Vorrede* is most painful in tone. The commentaries of Umbreit, Vaihinger, Lange, Stickel, Hahn, Hirzel, De Wette, Knobel, and Vatke are generally characterized by diligence and ingenuity: but have for the most part a strong rationalistic tendency, especially the three last. The most useful analysis is to be found in the introduction to K. Schlottmann's translation, Berlin, 1851; but his commentary is deficient in philological research. M. Renan has lately given an excellent translation in French (*Le Livre de Job*, Paris, 1859), with an introduction, which, notwithstanding its thoroughly skeptical character, shows a genial appreciation of some characteristic excellences of this book. In England we have a great number of translations, commentaries, etc., of various merit: among which the highest rank must be assigned to the work of Dr. Lee, especially valuable for its copious illustrations from oriental sources. F. C. C.

* The personal character of Job, and his sentiments and conduct under his afflictions, are to be learned from the statements respecting them in the introductory and concluding chapters. These are to be taken as the complete exposition of his character and conduct. The whole is summed up in his memorable words (ch. i. 21), "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord."

The poetical portion, intervening between the introductory and concluding chapters, is the inspired writer's own discussion of the topics therein considered, under the names of Job and his friends. His immediate object, in this instructive discussion, is to exhibit, in strongest contrast, the antagonistic views suggested by observation of the moral government of God, in order to deduce from them the only practical lessons which that observation can teach, or is capable of comprehending. Hence he gives to these conflicting views the freest scope and the most impassioned expression, so as to exhibit their antagonisms in the strongest light. To impute to Job, personally, sentiments which the writer himself desired to express through one of the parties in the discussion, would be no less absurd, than it would be to regard the sublime poetry of this book as the verbatim report of an actual debate.

But what is the object of the book, and what are the lessons which it teaches? To say (as above, p. 1400, col. 1) that the problem is, "Can goodness exist irrespective of reward," is to ignore the greater part of the discussion; for it takes a far wider range than this. It is justly said (on p. 1403, col. 2) that the object of the calamities inflicted on Job was "to try his sincerity;" but this throws no light on the object of the book and its discussions, to which the sufferings of Job only furnished the occasion.

Nor can it be said (as on p. 1404, col. 1) that the object is, "to show the effects of calamity, in its worst and most awful form, upon a truly religious spirit." If this were the object, it was already attained in the record of Job's conduct given in the two introductory chapters. It is seen in his tender and faithful expostulation with his erring wife (ch. ii. 10), "shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?" It is expressed in his grateful and submissive recognition of God's hand, in what he gives and what he withholds (ch. i. 21), "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord." Here is seen "the effect of calamity on a truly religious spirit;" and in all ages of the church it has been justly regarded as the highest and fullest attainment of the religious life. (Compare James v. 11.) This, moreover, is the historical record of Job's calamities, and of their effect on him. The poetical discussion, which follows, is of quite an other character, and has a very different object.

The discussion, on the part of the human disputants, covers all which observation can attain, respecting the moral government of God, and (including the discourses of Elihu) the uses of adversity. But all fails to solve the great problem of the divine government, in view of the apparently indiscriminate distribution of happiness and misery to the good and evil among men. Many facts of human life are correctly stated, as all experience proves, and much also that is false; many principles are avowed, that are true and just and salutary, as well as many that are false and injurious. The whole discussion is instructive, as exhibiting the various aspects under which the divine government may be viewed; and especially as showing the conflicts which may agitate the breast even of the good man, in view of the strange and unexplained distribution of good and evil in this life. It is no solution of the problem, that this life is fragmentary; that all will be rightly adjusted in another state of existence. For if it will be just to make the distinction there between right and wrong, why is it not made here?[a]

[a] * A very interesting and instructive discussion of this problem in one of its aspects, as it presented itself to the mind of an intelligent and reflecting heathen, is given in Plutarch's treatise 'On the Delay of

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By a skillful manœuvre, another disputant is now introduced. An important, though a subordinate, view of the subject still remained, which could not be considered in connection with the topics of the preceding discussion. To have presented it in the person of one equal or superior in age to those who had already spoken, would have given to him the appearance of an umpire, and to his views an importance not at all deserved; for they do not penetrate to the heart of the subject, and only offer certain practical suggestions, which might occur to a superficial observer, but are worthy to be taken into account. In the final arbitrament, they are passed over in silence, as something aside from the main issue. It is to a young man, therefore, that this part is fitly assigned; and with admirable skill he is made to speak in character, both in the views ascribed to him, and in the manner of expressing them.

According to this speaker, the divine judgments are corrective in their design; the chastisement of a wise and tender parent, seeking to reclaim a wayward child. Such chastisement is an index, therefore, of the moral state of its subject. It must be graduated, consequently, to the necessities of the case, and its severity is an exact measure of the moral desert of the recipient. The view necessarily assumes, that a great sufferer must have been a great sinner; and consequently that Job, contrary to the whole tenor of his outward life, and to the express testimony of the Searcher of the heart, must have been secretly as eminent in sin as he was now in suffering.

Human wisdom is thus shown to be utterly at fault, in its efforts to comprehend the mystery of God's government on earth. Is there, then, no help? Is there no rest for the human spirit, no stable ground of trust and confiding submission, where it may find secure repose?

The sacred writer now breaks off the discussion, which has reached no satisfactory result, by the sudden manifestation of the Deity in the terrors of the storm. As the office had been assigned to Job of refuting the false assumptions of the three friends, and of boldly questioning the rectitude of the divine government, the answer of God is addressed directly to him. This answer demands special attention, as the key to the design and instructions of the book. That it is so, is clear; for why should the Deity be introduced at all, except as the supreme Arbiter, to whom the final decision is assigned? The introduction of the Almighty, the supreme Judge of all, for any less purpose, would have been a gross violation of every rule of propriety in composition, and one with which the author of a work so perfect in design and execution should not be charged.[a]

These sublime discourses are justly regarded as the most fitting reply, on the part of the Supreme Ruler and Judge, to the presumptuous charges against his moral government. They do not condescend to vindicate his ways, or attempt to make them intelligible to finite comprehension. But they furnish overwhelming proofs, from the vast system of Nature and Providence, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; and in these the grounds for the firm belief, that He governs aright the worlds which he has made, and that for those who confide in him it is safe to trust him.

From this brief analysis, the subject of the book appears to be, THE MYSTERY OF GOD'S PROVIDENTIAL GOVERNMENT OVER MEN. In the treatment of it, the sacred writer shows first, the difficulties which it presents to the finite mind, and the conflicting views and false conclusions of the human spirit, in its attempts to reconcile them; and secondly, the true position of man, in reference to the Eternal and Infinite.

The important lessons of the book are expressed in the following propositions:[b] —

1. The apparently arbitrary distribution of the good and evil of this life is not the result of chance or caprice. God, the Creator and Judge of all, presides over and controls the affairs of earth. His providential care extends to all his creatures. He has the power to restrain or chastise wrong, and avenge suffering innocence; and this power he uses, when and how he will.

2. The government of the world belongs, of right, to Him who created it; whose infinite justice can do no wrong: whose perfect wisdom and love devise only what is best; whose omniscience cannot err in the choice of means; who is infinite in power, and does all his pleasure.

3. To know this is enough for man; and more than this he cannot know. God can impart to him no more; since omniscience alone can comprehend the purposes and plans of the Infinite.

4. Man's true position is implicit trust in the infinitely Wise, Just, and Good, and submission to his will. Here alone the finite comes into harmony with the Infinite, and finds true peace; for if it refuses to trust, until it can comprehend, it must be in eternal discord with God and with itself.

Such are the grand and imposing teachings of this book. They have never been set aside or superseded. The ages have not advanced a step beyond them; nor is the obligation or the necessity less now than then, of this implicit trust of the finite in the Infinite.[c]

Many objections have been raised against the genuineness of the discourses of Elihu (chs. xxxii.–xxxvii.). They are of little weight, however, except those drawn from certain peculiarities of language, namely, in *words*, in *forms and significations* of words, and in *constructions and phrases*.

A careful examination shows that these alleged peculiarities are less numerous than has been supposed. But few of them are really characteristic of Elihu's manner; and these may justly be regarded as intentional on the part of the author, who distinguishes each of the speakers by peculiar modes of thought and expression. The writer has given (*Book of Job*, Part First, Introduction, pp. viii.–x.) a list of all these alleged peculiarities, with the reasons for their use in the connection in which

the Deity in punishing the wicked;" the Greek text, with notes, by Profs. Hackett and Tyler, 1867. T. J. C.

a * It is one of the strange incongruities of Hengstenberg's theory of the design and teachings of the book, that the Almighty is made to appear, simply for the purpose of indorsing the opinions of the youthful Elihu, having himself nothing to say that has any bearing on the subject of the discussion. T. J. C.

b * From the writer's work on the Book of Job, Part Second, § 4 of the Introduction. T. J. C.

c * The theories of Ewald and Hengstenberg, on the design and teachings of this book, are fully considered in the writer's work on the Book of Job, Part First, § 2 of the Introduction. T. J. C.

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hey are found; showing that they furnish no evidence against the genuineness of these discourses.

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T. J. C.

JO'BAB. 1. (יוֹבָב) [*howling*, and then place of = *desert*]: [in Gen.,] Ἰωβάβ; [in 1 Chr., Rom. Vat. omit, Alex. Ωραμ; Comp. Ald. Ἰωάβ:] *Jobab.*) The last in order of the sons of Joktan (Gen. x. 29; 1 Chr. i. 23). His name has not been discovered among the Arab names of places in Southern Arabia, where he ought to be found with the other sons of Joktan. But Ptolemy mentions the Ἰωβαρῖται near the Sachalitæ; and Bochart (*Phaleg*, ii. 21), followed by Salmasius and Gesenius, suggests the reading Ἰωβαβῖται, by the common interchange of ρ and β. The identification is perhaps correct, but it has not been connected with an Arab name of a tribe or place; and Bochart's conjecture of its being *i. q.* Arab. يباب "a desert," etc., from يب, though regarded as probable by Gesenius and Michaelis, seems to be unworthy of acceptance. Kalisch (*Com. on Gen.*) says that it is, "according to the etymology, a district in *Arabia Deserta*," in apparent ignorance of the famous desert near Hadramäwt, called the Ahkáf, of proverbial terror; and the more extensive waste on the northeast of the former, called the "deserted quarter," Er-Ruba el-Khálee, which is impassable in the summer, and fitter to be called desert Arabia than the country named *deserta* by the Greeks.

2. [Alex. in Gen. xxxvi. 33, Ἰωβαδ; Vat. in 1 Chr., Ἰωαβαβ.] One of the "kings" of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 33, 34; 1 Chr. i. 44, 45), enumerated after the genealogy of Esau, and Seir, and before the phylarchs descended from Esau. [EDOM.] He was "son of Zerah of Bozrah," and successor of Bela, the first king on the list. It is this Jobab whom the LXX., quoting the Syriac, identify with Job, his father being Zerah son of Esau, and his mother, Βοσόρρα. E. S. P.

3. [Ἰωβάβ.] King of MADON; one of the northern chieftains who attempted to oppose Joshua's conquest, and were routed by him at Meron (Josh. xi. 1, only).

4. (Ἰωλάβ; [Vat. Comp. Ald.] Alex. Ἰωβάβ.) Head of a Benjamite house (1 Chr. viii. 9). [JEUZ.] A. C. H.

JOCH'EBED (יוֹכֶבֶד [*whose glory is Jehovah*]: Ἰωχαβάδ; [Alex. in Num.. Ἰωχαβέθ:] *Jochabed*), the wife and at the same time the aunt of Amram, and the mother of Moses and Aaron (Ex. vi. 20). In order to avoid the apparent illegality of the marriage between Amram and his aunt, the LXX. and Vulg. render the word *dôdah* "cousin" instead of "aunt." But this is unnecessary: the example of Abraham himself (Gen. xx. 12) proves that in the pre-Mosaic age a greater latitude was permitted in regard to marriage than in a later age. Moreover it is expressly stated elsewhere (Ex. ii. 1; Num. xxvi. 59), that Jochebed

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was the daughter of Levi, and consequently sister of Kohath, Amram's father. W. L. B.

JO'DA ('Ιουδά; [Vat. Ιουδα: Vulg. omits]) = Judah the Levite, in a passage which is difficult to unravel (1 Esdr. v. 58; see Ezr. iii. 9). Some words are probably omitted. The name elsewhere appears in the A. V. in the forms Hodaviah (Ezr. ii. 40), Hodevah (Neh. vii. 43), Hodijah (Neh. x. 10), and Sudias (1 Esdr. v. 26).

JO'ED (יוֹעֵד [*Jehovah is witness*]: 'Ιωήδ· *Joed*), a Benjamite, the son of Pedaiah (Neh. xi. 7). Two of Kennicott's MSS. read יוֹעֵזֶר, *i. e.* Joezer, and two יוֹאֵל, *i. e.* Joel, confounding Joed with Joel the son of Pedaiah, the Manassite. The Syriac must have had יוֹדֵעַ.

JO'EL (יוֹאֵל [*Jehovah is God; or whose God is Jehovah*, Ges.]: 'Ιωήλ: *Joel*, and *Johel*). 1. Eldest son of Samuel the prophet (1 Sam. viii. 2; 1 Chr. vi. 33, xv. 17), and father of Heman the singer. He and his brother Abiah were made judges in Beer-sheba when their father was old, and no longer able to go his accustomed circuit. But they disgraced both their office and their parentage by the corrupt way in which they took bribes and perverted judgment. Their grievous misconduct gave occasion to the change of the constitution of Israel to a monarchy. It is in the case of Joel that the singular corruption of the text of 1 Chr. vi. 13 (28 A. V.) has taken place. Joel's name has dropped out; and *Vashni*, which means "and the second," and is descriptive of Abijah, has been taken for a proper name.

2. [*Johel.*] In 1 Chr. vi. 36, A. V., Joel seems to be merely a corruption of Shaul at ver. 24. A. C. H.

3. One of the twelve minor prophets; the son of Pethuel, or, according to the LXX., Bethuel. Beyond this fact all is conjecture as to the personal history of Joel. Pseudo-Epiphanius (ii. 245) records a tradition that he was of the tribe of Reuben, born and buried at Beth-horon, between Jerusalem and Cæsarea. It is most likely that he lived in Judæa, for his commission was to Judah, as that of Hosea had been to the ten tribes (St. Jerome, *Comment. in Joel*). He exhorts the priests, and makes frequent mention of Judah and Jerusalem. It has been made a question whether he were a priest himself (Winer, *Realw.*), but there do not seem to be sufficient grounds for determining it in the affirmative, though some recent writers (*e. g.* Maurice, *Prophets and Kings*, p. 179) have taken this view. Many different opinions have been expressed about the date of Joel's prophecy. Credner has placed it in the reign of Joash, Bertholdt of Hezekiah, Kimchi, Jahn, etc. of Manasseh, and Calmet of Josiah. The LXX. place Joel after Amos and Micah. But there seems no adequate reason for departing from the Hebrew order. The majority of critics and commentators (Abarbanel, Vitringa, Hengstenberg, Winer, etc.) fix upon the reign of Uzziah, thus making Joel nearly contemporary with Hosea and Amos. The principal reasons for this conclusion, besides the order of the books, are the special and exclusive mention of the Egyptians and Edomites as enemies of Judah, no allusion being made to the Assyrians or Babylonians, who arose at a later period. Nothing, says Hengstenberg, has yet been found to overthrow this conclusion, and it is confirmed on other grounds especially —

The nature, style, and contents of the prophecy — We find, what we should expect on the supposition of Joel being the first prophet to Judah, only a grand outline of the whole terrible scene, which was to be depicted more and more in detail by subsequent prophets (Browne, *Ordo Sæcl.* p. 691). The scope, therefore, is not any particular invasion, but the whole day of the Lord. "This book of Joel is a type of the early Jewish prophetical discourse, and may explain to us what distant events in the history of the land would expand it, and bring fresh discoveries within the sphere of the inspired man's vision" (Maurice, *Prophets and Kings*, p. 179).

The proximate event to which the prophecy related was a public calamity, then impending on Judæa, of a twofold character: want of water, and a plague of locusts, continuing for several years. The prophet exhorts the people to turn to God with penitence, fasting, and prayer, and then (he says) the plague shall cease, and the rain descend in its season, and the land yield her accustomed fruit. Nay, the time will be a most joyful one; for God, by the outpouring of his spirit, will impart to his worshippers increased knowledge of Himself, and after the excision of the enemies of his people, will extend through them the blessings of true religion to heathen lands. This is the simple argument of the book; only that it is beautified and enriched with variety of ornament and pictorial description. The style of the original is perspicuous (except towards the end) and elegant, surpassing that of all other prophets, except Isaiah and Habakkuk, in sublimity.

Browne (*Ordo Sæcl.* p. 692) regards the contents of the prophecy as embracing two visions, but it is better to consider it as one connected representation (Hengst., Winer). For its interpretation we must observe not isolated facts of history, but the *idea*. The swarm of locusts was the medium through which this idea, "the ruin upon the apostate church," was represented to the inward contemplation of the prophet. But, in one unbroken connection, the idea goes on to penitence, return, blessing, outpouring of the Spirit, judgments on the enemies of the Church (1 Pet. iv. 17), final establishment of God's kingdom. All prior destructions, judgments, and victories are like the smaller circles; the final consummation of all things, to which the prophecy reaches, being the outmost one of all.

The locusts of ch. ii. were regarded by many interpreters of the last century (Lowth, Shaw, etc.) as figurative, and introduced by way of comparison to a hostile army of men from the north country. This view is now generally abandoned. Locusts are spoken of in Deut. xxviii. 38 as instruments of Divine vengeance; and the same seems implied in Joel ii. 11, 25. Maurice (*Prophets and Kings*, p. 180) strongly maintains the literal interpretation. And yet the plague contained a parable in it, which it was the prophet's mission to unfold. The four kinds or swarms of locusts (i. 4) have been supposed to indicate four Assyrian invasions (Titcomb, *Bible Studies*), or four crises to the chosen people of God, the Babylonian, Syro-Macedonian, Roman and Antichristian (Browne). In accordance with the literal (and certainly the primary) interpretation of the prophecy, we should render אֶת יוֹאֵל הָרָה

a in our A. V., 'the former rain," with Rosenm. and the lexicographers, rather than "a (or the) teacher of righteousness" with marg. of A. V., Hengst., and others. The allusion to the Messiah, which Hengst. finds in this word, or to the ideal teacher (Deut. xviii. 18), of whom Messiah was the chief, scarcely accords with the immediate context.

The אַחֲרֵיכֵן of ch. iii. 1 in the Hebrew, "afterwards" ch. ii. 28 of the A. V., raises us to a higher level of vision, and brings into view Messianic times and scenes. Here, says Steudel, we have a Messianic prophecy altogether. If this prediction has ever yet been fulfilled, we must certainly refer the event to Acts ii. The best commentators are agreed upon this. We must not, however, interpret it thus to the exclusion of all reference to preparatory events under the earlier dispensation, and still less to the exclusion of later Messianic times. Acts ii. virtually contained the whole subsequent development. The outpouring of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost was the ἀπαρχή, while the full accomplishment and the final reality are yet to come. But here both are blended in one, and the whole passage has therefore a double aspect. The passage is well quoted by St. Peter from the first prophet to the Jewish kingdom. And his quoting it shows that the Messianic reference was the prevailing one in his day; though Acts ii. 39 proves that he extended his reference to the end of the dispensation. The expression "all flesh" (ii. 17) is explained by the following clauses, by which no principle of distribution is meant, but only that all classes, without respect of persons, will be the subjects of the Spirit's influences. All distinction of races, too, will be done away (cf. Joel ii. 32, with Rom. x. 12, 13).

Lastly, the accompanying portents and judgments upon the enemies of God find their various solutions, according to the interpreters, in the repeated deportations of the Jews by neighboring merchants, and sale to the Macedonians (1 Macc. iii. 41, and Ex. xxvii. 13), followed by the sweeping away of the neighboring nations (Maurice); in the events accompanying the crucifixion, in the fall of Jerusalem, in the breaking up of all human polities. But here again the idea includes all manifestations of judgment, ending with the last. The whole is shadowed forth in dim outline; and while some crises are past, others are yet to come (comp. iii. 13–21 with St. Matt. xxiv., and Rev. xix.).

Among the commentators on the book of Joel, enumerated by Rosenmüller, *Scholia in Vet. Test.*, part 7, vol. i., may be specially mentioned Leusden's *Joel Explicatus*, Ultraj. 1657; Dr. Edw. Pocock's *Commentary on the Prophecy of Joel*, Oxford, 1691; and *A Paraphrase and Critical Commentary on the Prophecy of Joel*, by Samuel Chandler, London, 1735. See also *Die Propheten des alten Bundes erklärt*, von Heinrich Ewald, Stuttgart, 1840 [Bd. i. 2te Ausg. 1867]; *Praktischer Commentar über die Kleinen Propheten*, von Dr. Umbreit, Hamburg, 1844; and *Book of the Twelve Minor Prophets*, by Dr. E. Henderson, London, 1845 [Amer. ed. 1860]. H. B.

* The principal commentators on Joel as one of the minor prophets (not mentioned above), are Hitzig, Maurer, Keil, Noyes, and Cowles. For the titles of their works, see HABAKKUK (Amer. ed.) To the other separate writers on this book may be added Fr. A. Holzhausen (1829), K. A. Credner (1831), E. Meier (1841), and E. B. Pusey (1861) in pts. ii. and iii. of his *Minor Prophets* (not yet completed). Credner's *Der Prophet Joel übersetzt*, etc., (pp. 316) is "a rich store-house of philological and historical illustration," but is deficient in method and a skillful use of the abundant material. The natural history of the locusts supplies much of the imagery of the book. Dr. Pusey, by his singular industry in the collection of illustrative facts, advances our knowledge on this subject far beyond all previous interpreters. For useful information here, see also Thomson's *Land and Book*, ii. 102–108. The Introductions to the O. T. (Hävernick, Scholz, De Wette, Welte-Herbst, Keil, Bleek, Davidson) treat, more or less fully, of the person and prophecies of our author. Auberlen has written on "Joel" in Herzog's *Real-Encyk.* vi. 719–721. Stanley describes this prophet as "the connecting link between the older prophets who are known to us only through their actions and sayings, and the later who are known chiefly through their writings . . . With a glance that reached forward to the most distant ages . . . he foretold as the chiefest of blessings, that the day was at hand when the prophetic spirit should no longer be confined to this or that class, but should be poured out on all humanity, on male and female, on old and young, even on the slaves and humblest inhabitants of Jerusalem" (*Jewish Church*, ii. 490).

Dr. Pusey adopts the figurative interpretation of the scourge of locusts. Though so many of the recent commentators, as remarked above, discard this view, it must be confessed that some of the arguments adduced for it are not easily set aside. Among these is the fact that in ii. 17 the prophet says, "Give not thy heritage to reproach that the heathen should rule over them." The connection here is obscure, unless we suppose that, having hitherto employed an allegory, the writer at this point relinquishes the figure and passes over to its real import, namely, the devastation of the country by a heathen army. Again, in ii. 20, the enemy who is to inflict the threatened calamity is called "the northern" or northman ("northern army," A. V.) (הַצְּפוֹנִי), *i. e.* one who is to come from the north, which is not true of literal locusts; for they are not accustomed to invade Palestine from that quarter,[a] nor could they be dispersed by any natural process in precisely opposite directions as there represented. A finger-sign appears also in i. 6: the locusts just spoken of are here "a heathen people" (גּוֹי), who have come upon the land and inflicted on it the misery of which the prophet goes on to portray so fearful a picture. It is said that the preterites (i. 6 ff.) show that the locusts as literally understood have accomplished or at least begun the work of devastation, and therefore cannot prefigure another and future calamity. But on the other hand, it is possible that these preterites so called may be rhetorical merely, not historical: the act may be represented as past, in order to affirm with greater emphasis the certainty of the occurrence

[a] * The locusts, says the eminent naturalist, Mr. Tristram, "always come with the wind from the country of their origin; and this, as all observers attest, with a south or southeast wind into Palestine, with a west wind into Persia, and with an east wind into Egypt. Similarly the Assyrian hordes would come from their country" (*Natural History of the Bible*, Lond. 1867). H.

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in due time. It agrees with this view that in i. 15 "the day" of Jehovah is spoken of as not yet arrived; and "the day" is certainly identical with the visitation of the locusts with which the book opens.

The last five verses (28–32) of ch. ii. (A. V.) form a distinct chapter in the Hebrew Bible. In this division the A. V. follows the LXX. It may be remarked that the transition at this point arises from the relation of subjects, not of time. The prosperity of the ancient people of God if they repented and turned to Him, leads the prophet to speak of the still richer blessings which then awaited those who should believe on Christ under the new and last economy (Acts ii. 16 ff.). On this Messianic passage see especially Hengstenberg's *Christology*, iii. 125–141 (Keith's tr., 1839).

The style of Joel places him, in the judgment of the best critics, among the most classical of the Hebrew writers. His language is copious and polished; his parallelism regular and well balanced; his imagery bold and picturesque. His description of the warlike locusts — their march, onset and victory, as they spread themselves with irresistible might through the land — forms by universal consent one of the most graphic sketches of this nature to be found in the poetry of any language. The calamity was to come "like morn spread upon the mountains" (ii. 2), *i. e.* suddenly and swiftly as the first beams of the sun glance from one mountain-top to another. The brute creation suffers as well as men. The Hebrew (i. 20) puts before us a more distinct image than that presented in the A. V. The heat and drought penetrate into the recesses of the desert. The grass is withered; the streams are dried up. The suffering animals turn their eyes towards heaven, and by their silent agony implore relief from the hunger and thirst which they endure. For the battle-scene in JEHOSHAPHAT (iii. 2 ff. or Hebr. iv. 2 ff.) see on that word (Amer. ed.). John's Apocalypse itself has reproduced more from Joel (compared with his extent) than from any other Hebrew poet. The closing verses (iii. 18 ff.) show us how natural it was to foreshadow the triumphs of Christianity under the symbols of Judaism (comp. Is. ii. 2, 3; Mic. iv. 1–3; Ezek. xl.–xlviii.). H.

4. (יוֹאֵל: Ἰωήλ: *Joël.*) The head of one of the families of the Simeonites (1 Chr. iv. 35). He formed part of the expedition against the Hamites of Gedor in the reign of Hezekiah.

5. [Alex. Βααλ.] A descendant of Reuben. Junius and Tremellius make him the son of Hanoch, while others trace his descent through Carmi (1 Chr. v. 4). The Syriac for Joel substitutes Carmi, but there is reason to believe that the genealogy is that of the eldest son. Burrington (*Geneal.* i. 53) maintains that the Joel mentioned in v. 8 was a descendant, not of Hanoch, but of one of his brethren, probably Carmi, as Junius and Tremellius print it in their genealogical table. But the passage on which he relies for support (ver. 7), as concluding the genealogy of Hanoch, evidently refers to Beerah, the prince of the Reubenites, whom the Assyrian king carried captive. There is, however, sufficient similarity between Shemaiah and Shema, who are both represented as sons of Joel, to render it probable that the latter is the same individual in both instances. Bertheau conjectures that he was contemporary with David, which would be approximately true if the genealogy were traced in each case from father to son.

6. Chief of the Gadites, who dwelt in the land of Bashan (1 Chr. v. 12).

7. ([Vat. corrupt:] *Jokel.*) The son of Izrahiah, of the tribe of Issachar, and a chief of one of "the troops of the host of the battle" who numbered in the days of David 36,000 men (1 Chr. vii. 3). Four of Kennicott's MSS. omit the words "and the sons of Izrahiah;" so that Joel appears as one of the five sons of Uzzi. The Syriac retains the present text, with the exception of reading "four" for "five."

8. The brother of Nathan of Zobah (1 Chr. xi. 38), and one of David's guard. He is called IGAL in 2 Sam. xxiii. 36; but Kennicott contends that in this case the latter passage is corrupt, though in other words it preserved the true reading.

9. The chief of the Gershomites in the reign of David, who sanctified themselves to bring up the ark from the house of Obededom (1 Chr. xv. 7, 11).

10. A Gershomite Levite in the reign of David, son of Jehiel, a descendant of Laadan, and probably the same as the preceding (1 Chr. xxiii. 8; xxvi. 22). He was one of the officers appointed to take charge of the treasures of the Temple.

11. The son of Pedaiah, and prince or chief of the half-tribe of Manasseh, west of Jordan, in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxvii. 20).

12. A Kohathite Levite in the reign of Hezekiah. He was the son of Azariah, and one of the two representatives of his branch of the tribe in the solemn purification by which the Levites prepared themselves for the restoration of the Temple (2 Chr. xxix. 12).

13. One of the sons of Nebo, who returned with Ezra, and had married a foreign wife (Ezr. x. 43). He is called JUEL in 1 Esdr. ix. 35.

14. The son of Zichri, a Benjamite, placed in command over those of his own tribe and the tribe of Judah, who dwelt at Jerusalem after the return from Babylon (Neh. xi. 9). W. A. W.

JOE'LAH (יוֹאֵלָה [perh. *whom Jehovah helps*]: Ἰελία; [Vat. Ελια; Comp. Ald.] Alex. Ἰωηλά: *Joëla*), son of Jeroham of Gedor, who with his brother joined the band of warriors who rallied round David at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 7).

JOE'ZER (יוֹעֵזֶר [*whose help is Jehovah*]: Ἰωζαρά; Alex. Ἰωζααρ; [Comp. Ἰωεζήρ:] *Joezer*), a Korhite, one of David's captains who fought by his side while living in exile among the Philistines (1 Chr. xii. 6).

JOG'BEHAH (יָגְבְּהָה [*elevated*]: in Num. the LXX. have translated it, as if from גָּבַהּ — Ὕψωσαν *abrds*; in Judg. Ἰεγεβδλ; Alex. ἐξ ἐναντίας Ζεβδέ: *Jegbaa*), one of the cities on the east of Jordan which were built and fortified by the tribe of Gad when they took possession of their territory (Num. xxxii. 35). It is there associated with JAAZER and BETH-NIMRAH, places which there is reason to believe were not far from the Jordan, and south of the *Jebel-Jilad*. It is mentioned once again, this time in connection with Nobah, in the account of Gideon's pursuit of the Midianites (Judg. viii. 11). They were at Karkor and he made his way from the upper part of the Jordan valley at Succoth and Penuel, and "went up" — ascended from the Ghor by one of the torrent-beds to the downs of the higher level — by the way of the dwellers in tents — the pastoral people

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who avoided the district of the towns — to the east of Nobah and Jogbehah — making his way towards the waste country in the southeast. Here, according to the scanty information we possess, Karkor would seem to have been situated. No trace of any name like Jogbehah has yet been met with in the above, or any other direction. G.

JOG'LI (יָגְלִי [*exiled*]: Ἐγλί [Vat. -λει]; Alex. Εκλι; [Comp. Ἰωκλί:] *Jogli*), the father of Bukki, a chief man among the Danites (Num. xxxiv. 22).

JO'HA. 1. (יוֹחָא [perh., *Jehovah revives, brings to life*]: Ἰωδά: [Vat. Ἰωαχαν;] Alex. Ἰωαχα: *Joha.*) One of the sons of Beriah, the Benjamite, who was a chief of the fathers of the dwellers in Aijalon, and had put to flight the inhabitants of Gath (1 Chr. viii. 16). His family may possibly have founded a colony, like the Danites, within the limits of another tribe, where they were exposed, as the men of Ephraim had been, to the attacks of the Gittites. Such border-warfare was too common to render it necessary to suppose that the narratives in 1 Chr. vii. 21 and viii. 13 refer to the same encounter, although it is not a little singular that the name Beriah occurs in each.

2. (Ἰωζαέ; [Vat. FA.] Alex. Ἰωαζαε; [Comp. Ἰωχά.]) The Tizite, one of David's guard [1 Chr. xi. 45]. Kennicott decides that he was the son of Shimri, as he is represented in the A. V., though in the margin the translators have put "Shimrite" for "the son of Shimri" to the name of his brother Jediheel.

JOHA'NAN (יוֹחָנָן: Ἰωανάν; [Vat. Ἰωανας, and so Alex. ver. 10: *Johanan*]), a shortened form of Jehohanan = *Jehovah's gift.* It is the same as John. [JEHOHANAN.] 1. Son of Azariah [AZARIAH, 1], and grandson of Ahimaaz the son of Zadok, and father of Azariah, 6 (1 Chr. vi. 9, 10, A. V.). In Josephus (*Ant.* x. 8, § 6) the name is corrupted to Joramus, and in the *Seder Olam* to Joahaz. The latter places him in the reign of Jehoshaphat; but merely because it begins by wrongly placing Zadok in the reign of Solomon. Since however we know from 1 K. iv. 2, supported by 1 Chr. vi. 10, A. V., that Azariah the father of Johanan was high-priest in Solomon's reign, and Amariah his grandson was so in Jehoshaphat's reign, we may conclude without much doubt that Johanan's pontificate fell in the reign of Rehoboam. (See Hervey's *Genealogies*, etc., ch. x.)

2. [Alex. Ἰωαναμ.] Son of Elioënai, the son of Neariah, the son of Shemaiah, in the line of Zerubbabel's heirs [SHEMAIAH] (1 Chr. iii. 24). A. C. H.

3. (Ἰωανά in 2 K. [xxv. 23], Ἰωάναν in Jer.; Alex. Ἰωαναν in 2 K., and Ἰωαννας in Jer., except xli. 11, xlii. 8, xliii. 2, 4, 5; [Vat. Ἰωναν in Jer. xl. 8; FA.[1] Ἀννας Jer. xl. 15, Ἰωαννας ver. 16:] *Johanan.*) The son of Kareah, and one of the captains of the scattered remnants of the army of Judah, who escaped in the final attack upon Jerusalem by the Chaldæans, and, after the capture of the king, remained in the open country of Moab and the Ammonites, watching the tide of events. He was one of the first to repair to Mizpah, after the withdrawal of the hostile army, and tender his allegiance to the new governor appointed by the king of Babylon. From his acquaintance with the treacherous designs of Ishmael, against which Gedaliah was unhappily warned in vain, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he may have been a companion of Ishmael in his exile at the court of Baalis king of the Ammonites, the promoter of the plot (Jer. xl. 8–16). After the murder of Gedaliah, Johanan was one of the foremost in the pursuit of his assassin, and rescued the captives he had carried off from Mizpah (Jer. xli. 11–16). Fearing the vengeance of the Chaldæans for the treachery of Ishmael, the captains, with Johanan at their head, halted by the Khan of Chimham, on the road to Egypt, with the intention of seeking refuge there; and, notwithstanding the warnings of Jeremiah, settled in a body at Tahpanhes. They were afterwards scattered throughout the country, in Migdol, Noph, and Pathros, and from this time we lose sight of Johanan and his fellow-captains.

4. (Ἰωανάν; [Ald. Ἰωχανάν.]) The firstborn son of Josiah king of Judah (1 Chr. iii. 15), who either died before his father, or fell with him at Megiddo. Junius, without any authority, identifies him with Zaraces, mentioned 1 Esdr. i. 38.

5. A valiant Benjamite, one of David's captains, who joined him at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 4).

6. (Alex. Ἰωνάν; [Vat.] FA. Ἰωαν.) The eighth in number of the lion-faced warriors of Gad, who left their tribe to follow the fortunes of David, and spread the terror of their arms beyond Jordan in the month of its overflow (1 Chr. xii. 12).

7. (יְהוֹחָנָן: Ἰωαννής; [Alex. Ἰωαναν.]) The father of Azariah, an Ephraimite in the time of Ahaz (2 Chr. xxviii. 12).

8. The son of Hakkatan, and chief of the Bene-Azgad [sons of A.] who returned with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 12). He is called JOHANNES in 1 Esdr. viii. 38.

9. (יְהוֹחָנָן: [FA.[2] in Ezr., Ἰωαν.]) The son of Eliashib, one of the chief Levites (Neh. xii. 23) to whose chamber (or "treasury," according to the LXX.) Ezra retired to mourn over the foreign marriages which the people had contracted (Ezr. x. 6). He is called JOANAN in 1 Esdr. ix. 1; and some have supposed him to be the same with Jonathan, descendant of another Eliashib, who was afterwards high-priest (Neh. xii. 11). [JONATHAN, 10.]

10. (יְהוֹחָנָן: Ἰωνάν; Alex. Ἰωναθαν; FA.[1] Ἰωαναν.) The son of Tobiah the Ammonite, who had married the daughter of Meshullam the priest (Neh. vi. 18). W. A. W.

JOHAN'NES (Ἰωάννης: *Joannes*) = Jehohanan son of Bebai (1 Esdr. ix. 29; comp. Ezr. x. 28). [JEHOHANAN, 4.]

* JOHAN'NES (Ἰωάννης; Vat. Ἰωανης: *Joannes*), son of Acatan or Hakkatan, 1 Esdr. viii. 38. See JOHANAN, 8. A.

JOHN (Ἰωάννης [see below]: [*Joannes*]), names in the Apocrypha. 1. The father of Mattathias, and grandfather of the Maccabæan family (1 Macc. ii. 1).

2. The (eldest) son of Mattathias (Ἰωαννάν; [Sin. Alex. Ἰωαννης], surnamed Caddis (Καδδίς, cf. Grimm, *ad* 1 *Macc.* ii. 2), who was slain by "the children of Jambri" [JAMBRI] (1 Macc. ii. 2, ix. 36–38). In 2 Macc. viii. 22 he is called Joseph, by a common confusion of name. [MACCABEES.]

3. The father of Eupolemus, one of the envoys whom Judas Maccabæus sent to Rome (1 Macc. viii. 17; 2 Macc. iv. 11).

4. The son of Simon, the brother of Judas Mac-

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sabæus (1 Mac. xiii. 53, xvi. 1), "a valiant man," who, under the title of Johannes Hyrcanus, nobly supported in after time the glory of his house. [MACCABEES.]

5. An envoy from the Jews to Lysias (2 Macc. xi. 17). B. F. W.

JOHN ('Ιωάννης [from יוֹחָנָן = *whom Jehovah has graciously given*]: Cod. Beze, Ἰωνδᾶς: *Joannes*). 1. One of the high-priest's family, who, with Annas and Caiaphas, sat in judgment upon the Apostles Peter and John for their cure of the lame man and preaching in the Temple (Acts iv. 6). Lightfoot identifies him with R. Johanan ben Zaccai, who lived forty years before the destruction of the Temple, and was president of the great Synagogue after its removal to Jabne, or Jamnia (Lightfoot, *Cent. Chor. Matth. præf.* ch. 15; see also Selden, *De Synedriis*, ii. ch. 15). Grotius merely says he was known to rabbinical writers as "John the priest" (*Comm. in Act.* iv.).

2. The Hebrew name of the Evangelist MARK, who throughout the narrative of the Acts is designated by the name by which he was known among his countrymen (Acts xii. 12, 25, xiii. 5, 13, xv. 37).

JOHN, THE APOSTLE ('Ιωάννης [see above]). It will be convenient to divide the life which is the subject of the present article into periods corresponding both to the great critical epochs which separate one part of it from another, and to marked differences in the trustworthiness of the sources from which our materials are derived. In no instance, perhaps, is such a division more necessary than in this. One portion of the Apostle's life and work stands out before us as in the clearness of broad daylight. Over those which precede and follow it there brood the shadows of darkness and uncertainty. In the former we discern only a few isolated facts, and are left to inference and conjecture to bring them together into something like a whole. In the latter we encounter, it is true, images more distinct, pictures more vivid; but with these there is the doubt whether the distinctness and vividness are not misleading — whether half-traditional, half-mythical narrative has not taken the place of history.

I. *Before the call to the discipleship.* — We have no data for settling with any exactitude the time of the Apostle's birth. The general impression left on us by the Gospel-narrative is that he was younger than the brother whose name commonly precedes his (Matt. iv. 21, x. 2, xvii. 1, &c.; but comp. Luke ix. 28, where the order is inverted [a]), younger than his friend Peter, possibly also than his Master. The life which was protracted to the time of Trajan (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 23, following Irenæus) can hardly have begun before the year B. C. 4 of the Dionysian era. The Gospels give us the name of his father Zebedæus (Matt. iv. 21) and his mother Salome (Matt. xxvii. 56, compared with Mark xv. 40, xvi. 1). Of the former we know nothing more. The traditions of the fourth century (Epiphan. iii. *Hær.* 78) make the latter the daughter of Joseph by his first wife, and consequently half-sister to our Lord. By some recent critics she has been identified with the sister of Mary the mother of Jesus, in John xix 25 (Wieseler, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1840, p. 648).[b] They lived, it may be inferred from John i. 44, in or near the same town [BETHSAIDA] as those who were afterwards the companions and partners of their children. There, on the shores of the Sea of Galilee, the Apostle and his brother grew up. The mention of the "hired servants" (Mark i. 20), of his mother's "substance" (ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, Luke viii. 3), of "his own house" (τὰ ἴδια, John xix. 27), implies a position removed by at least some steps from absolute poverty. The fact that the Apostle was known to the high-priest Caiaphas, as that knowledge was hardly likely to have begun after he had avowed himself the disciple of Jesus of Nazareth, suggests the probability of some early intimacy between the two men or their families.[c] The name which the parents gave to their younger child was too common to serve as the ground of any special inference; but it deserves notice (1) that the name appears among the kindred of Caiaphas (Acts iv. 6); (2) that it was given to another priestly child, the son of Zacharias (Luke i. 13), as the embodiment and symbol of Messianic hopes. The frequent occurrence of the name at this period, unconnected as it was with any of the great deeds of the old heroic days of Israel, is indeed in itself significant as a sign of that yearning and expectation which then characterized, not only the more faithful and devout (Luke ii. 25, 28), but the whole people. The prominence given to it by the wonders connected with the birth of the future Baptist may have given a meaning to it for the parents of the future Evangelist which it would not otherwise have had. Of the character of Zebedæus we have hardly the slightest trace. He interposes no refusal when his sons are called on to leave him (Matt. iv. 21). After this he disappears from the scene of the Gospel-history, and we are led to infer that he had died before his wife followed her children in their work of ministration. Her character meets us as presenting the same marked features as those which were conspicuous in her son. From her, who followed Jesus and ministered to Him of her substance (Luke viii. 3), who sought for her two sons that they might sit, one on his right hand, the other on his left, in his kingdom (Matt. xx. 20), he might well derive his strong affections, his capacity for giving and receiving love, his eagerness for the speedy manifestation of the Messiah's kingdom. The early years of the Apostle we may believe to have passed under this influence. He would be trained in all that constituted the ordinary education of Jewish boyhood. Though not taught in the schools of Jerusalem, and therefore, in later life, liable to the reproach of having no recognized position as a teacher, no rabbinical education (Acts iv. 13), he would yet be taught to read the Law and observe its precepts, to feed on the writings of the prophets with the feeling that their accomplishment was not far off. For him too, as bound by the Law, there would be, at the age of thirteen, the periodical pilgrimages to Jerusalem. He would become familiar with the stately worship of the Temple with the sacrifice, the incense, the altar

[a] * The name John precedes that of James also in Luke viii. 51 and Acts i. 13 in the critical editions of Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles. A.

[b] Ewald (*Gesch. Israels*, v. p. 171) adopts Wieseler's conjecture, and connects it with his own hypothesis that the sons of Zebedee, and our Lord, as well as the Baptist, were of the tribe of Levi. On the other hand, more sober critics, like Neander (*Epheus. u. Lait.* p 609, 4th ed.), and Lücke (*Johannes*, i. p. 9), reject both the tradition and the conjecture.

[c] Ewald (*l. c.*) presses this also into the service of his strange hypothesis.

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and the priestly robes May we not conjecture that then the impressions were first made which never afterwards were off? Assuming that there is some harmony between the previous training of a prophet and the form of the visions presented to him, may we not recognize them in the rich liturgical imagery of the Apocalypse — in that union in one wonderful vision of all that was most wonderful and glorious in the predictions of the older prophets?

Concurrently with this there would be also the boy's outward life as sharing in his father's work. The great political changes which agitated the whole of Palestine would in some degree make themselves felt even in the village-town in which he grew up. The Galilean fisherman must have heard, possibly with some sympathy, of the efforts made (when he was too young to join in them) by Judas of Gamala, as the great asserter of the freedom of Israel against their Roman rulers. Like other Jews he would grow up with strong and bitter feelings against the neighboring Samaritans. Lastly, before we pass into a period of greater certainty, we must not forget to take into account that to this period of his life belongs the commencement of that intimate fellowship with Simon Bar-jonah of which we afterwards find so many proofs. That friendship may even then have been, in countless ways, fruitful for good upon the hearts of both.

II. *From the Call to the Discipleship to the Departure from Jerusalem.* — The ordinary life of the fisherman of the Sea of Galilee was at last broken in upon by the news that a prophet had once more appeared. The voice of John the Baptist was heard in the wilderness of Judæa, and the publicans, peasants, soldiers, and fishermen of Galilee gathered round him. Among these were the two sons of Zebedæus and their friends. With them, perhaps, was One whom as yet they knew not. They heard, it may be, of his protests against the vices of their own ruler — against the hypocrisy of Pharisees and Scribes. But they heard also, it is clear, words which spoke to them of their own sins — of their own need of a deliverer. The words "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins" imply that those who heard them would enter into the blessedness of which they spoke. Assuming that the unnamed disciple of John i. 37–40 was the Evangelist himself, we are led to think of that meeting, of the lengthened interview that followed it, as the starting-point of the entire devotion of heart and soul which lasted through his whole life. Then Jesus loved him as He loved all earnest seekers after righteousness and truth (comp. Mark x. 21). The words of that evening, though unrecorded, were mighty in their effect. The disciples (John apparently among them) followed their new teacher to Galilee (John i. 44), were with him, as such, at the marriage-feast of Cana (ii. 2), journeyed with him to Capernaum, and thence to Jerusalem (ii. 12, 23), came back through Samaria (iv. 8), and then, for some uncertain interval of time, returned to their former occupations. The uncertainty which hangs over the narratives of Matt. iv. 18, and Luke v. 1–11 (comp. the arguments for and against their relating to the same events in Lampe, *Comment ad Joann.* i. 20), leaves us in doubt whether they received a special call to become "fishers of men" once only or twice. In either case they gave up the employment of their life and went to do a work like it, and yet unlike, in God's spiritual kingdom. From this time they take their place among the company of disciples. Only here and there are there traces of individual character, of special turning-points in their lives. Soon they find themselves in the number of the Twelve who are chosen, not as disciples only, but as their Lord's delegates — representatives — Apostles. In all the lists of the Twelve those four names of the sons of Jonah and Zebedæus stand foremost. They come within the innermost circle of their Lord's friends, and are as the ἐκλεκτῶν ἐκλεκτότεροι. The three, Peter, James, and John, are with him when none else are in the chamber of death (Mark v. 37), in the glory of the transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 1), when he forewarns them of the destruction of the Holy City (Mark xiii. 3, Andrew, in this instance, with them), in the agony of Gethsemane. St. Peter is throughout the leader of that band; to John belongs the yet more memorable distinction of being the disciple whom Jesus loved. This love is returned with a more single undivided heart by him than by any other. If Peter is the φιλόχριστος, John is the φιλησοῦς (Grotius, *Prolegom. in Joann.*). Some striking facts indicate why this was so; what the character was which was thus worthy of the love of Jesus of Nazareth. They hardly sustain the popular notion, fostered by the received types of Christian art, of a nature gentle, yielding, feminine. The name Boanerges (Mark iii. 17) implies a vehemence, zeal, intensity, which gave to those who had it the might of Sons of Thunder.[a] That spirit broke out, once and again, when they joined their mother in asking for the highest places in the kingdom of their Master, and declared that they were ready to face the dark terrors of the cup that he drank and the baptism that he was baptized with (Matt. xx. 20–24; Mark x. 35–41) — when they rebuked one who cast out devils in their Lord's name because he was not one of their company (Luke ix. 49) — when they sought to call down fire from heaven upon a village of the Samaritans (Luke ix. 54). About this time Salome, as if her husband had died, takes her place among the women who followed Jesus in Galilee (Luke viii. 3), ministering to him of their substance, and went up with him in his last journey to Jerusalem (Luke xxiii 55). Through her, we may well believe, St. John first came to know that Mary Magdalene whose character he depicts with such a life-like touch, and that other Mary to whom he was afterwards to stand in so close and special a relation. The fullness of his narrative of what the other Evangelists omit (John xi.) leads to the conclusion that he was united also by some special ties of intimacy to the family of Bethany. It is not necessary to dwell at length on the familiar history of the Last Supper. What is characteristic is that he is there, as ever, the disciple whom Jesus loved; and, as the chosen and favored friend, reclines at table with his head upon his Master's breast (John xiii. 23). To him the eager Peter — they had been sent together to prepare the supper (Luke xxii. 8) — makes signs of impatient questioning that he should ask what was not likely to be answered if it came from any other (John xiii. 24). As they go out to the Mount of

[a] The consensus of patristic interpretation sees in this name the prophecy of their work as preachers of the Gospel. This, however, would deprive the epithet of all distinguishing force. (Comp. Suicer, *Thesaurus*, s. v. βροντή; and Lampe, i. 27.)

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Olives the chosen three are nearest to their Master. They only are within sight or hearing of the conflict in Gethsemane (Matt. xxvi. 37). When the betrayal is accomplished, Peter and John, after the first moment of confusion, follow afar off, while the others simply seek safety in a hasty flight[a] (John xviii. 15). The personal acquaintance which existed between John and Caiaphas enabled him to gain access both for himself and Peter, but the latter remains in the porch with the officers and servants, while John himself apparently is admitted to the council-chamber, and follows Jesus thence, even to the prætorium of the Roman Procurator (John xviii. 16, 19, 28). Thence, as if the desire to see the end, and the love which was stronger than death, sustained him through all the terrors and sorrows of that day, he followed — accompanied probably by his own mother, Mary the mother of Jesus, and Mary Magdalene — to the place of crucifixion. The Teacher who had been to him as a brother leaves to him a brother's duty. He is to be as a son to the mother who is left desolate (John xix. 26–27). The Sabbath that followed was spent, it would appear, in the same company. He receives Peter, in spite of his denial, on the old terms of friendship. It is to them that Mary Magdalene first runs with the tidings of the emptied sepulchre (John xx. 2); they are the first to go together to see what the strange words meant. Not without some bearing on their respective characters is the fact that John is the more impetuous, running on most eagerly to the rock-tomb; Peter, the least restrained by awe, the first to enter in and look (John xx. 4–6). For at least eight days they continued in Jerusalem (John xx. 26). Then, in the interval between the resurrection and the ascension, we find them still together on the sea of Galilee (John xxi. 1), as though they would calm the eager suspense of that period of expectation by a return to their old calling and their old familiar haunts. Here, too, there is a characteristic difference. John is the first to recognize in the dim form seen in the morning twilight the presence of his risen Lord; Peter the first to plunge into the water and swim towards the shore where He stood calling to them (John xxi. 7). The last words of the Gospel reveal to us the deep affection which united the two friends. It is not enough for Peter to know his own future. That at once suggests the question — "And what shall this man do?" (John xxi. 21). The history of the Acts shows the same union. They are of course together at the ascension and on the day of Pentecost. Together they enter the Temple as worshippers (Acts iii. 1) and protest against the threats of the Sanhedrim (iv. 13). They are fellow-workers in the first great step of the Church's expansion. The Apostle whose wrath had been roused by the unbelief of the Samaritans, overcomes his national exclusiveness, and receives them as his brethren (viii. 14). The persecution which was pushed on by Saul of Tarsus did not drive him or any of the Apostles from their post (viii. 1). When the persecutor came back as the convert, he, it is true, did not see him (Gal. i. 19), but this of course does not involve the inference that he had left Jerusalem. The sharper though shorter persecution which followed under Herod Agrippa brought a great sorrow to him in the martyrdom of his brother (Acts xii. 2). His friend was driven to seek safety in flight. Fifteen years after St. Paul's first visit he was still at Jerusalem, and helped to take part in the great settlement of the controversy between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians (Acts xv. 6). His position and reputation there were those of one ranking among the chief "pillars" of the Church (Gal. ii. 9). Of the work of the Apostle during this period we have hardly the slightest trace. There may have been special calls to mission-work like that which drew him to Samaria. There may have been the work of teaching, organising, exhorting the churches of Judæa. His fulfillment of the solemn charge intrusted to him may have led him to a life of loving and reverent thought rather than to one of conspicuous activity. We may, at all events, feel sure that it was a time in which the natural elements of his character, with all their fiery energy, were being purified and mellowed, rising step by step to that high serenity which we find perfected in the closing portion of his life. Here, too, we may, without much hesitation, accept the traditions of the Church as recording a historic fact when they ascribe to him a life of celibacy (Tertull. *de Monog.* c. 13). The absence of his name from 1 Cor. ix. 5 tends to the same conclusion. It harmonizes with all we know of his character to think of his heart as so absorbed in the higher and diviner love that there was no room left for the lower and the human.

III. *From his Departure from Jerusalem to his Death.*— The traditions of a later age come in, with more or less show of likelihood, to fill up the great gap which separates the Apostle of Jerusalem from the Bishop of Ephesus. It was a natural conjecture to suppose that he remained in Judæa till the death of the Virgin released him from his trust.[b] When this took place we can only conjecture. There are no signs of his being at Jerusalem at the time of St. Paul's last visit (Acts xxi.). The pastoral epistles set aside the notion that he had come to Ephesus before the work of the Apostle of the Gentiles was brought to its conclusion. Out of many contradictory statements, fixing his departure under Claudius, or Nero, or as late even as Domitian, we have hardly any data for doing more than rejecting the two extremes.[c] Nor is it certain that his work as an Apostle was transferred at once from Jerusalem to Ephesus. A tradition current in the time of Augustine (*Quæst. Evang.* ii. 19), and embodied in some MSS. of the N. T., represented the 1st Epistle of St. John as addressed to the Parthians, and so far implied that his Apostolic work had brought him into contact with[d] them. When the form of the aged disciple meets us again, in the twilight of the Apostolic age, we

[a] A somewhat wild conjecture is found in writers of the Western Church. Ambrose, Gregory the Great, and Bede, identify the Apostle with the νεανίσκος τις of Mark xiv. 51, 52 (Lampe, i. 38).

[b] The hypothesis of Baronius and Tillemont, that the Virgin accompanied him to Ephesus, has not even the authority of tradition (Lampe, i. 51).

[c] Lampe fixes A. D. 66, when Jerusalem was besieged by the Roman forces under Cestius, as the most probable date.

[d] In the earlier tradition which made the Apostles formally partition out the world known to them, Parthia falls to the lot of Thomas, while John receives the Proconsular Asia (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 1). In one of the legends connected with the Apostles' Creed, Peter contributes the first article, John the second, but the tradition appears with great variations as to time and order (comp. Pseudo-August. *Serm.* ccxi exxii.).

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are still left in great doubt as to the extent of his work and the circumstances of his outward life. Assuming the authorship of the Epistles and the Revelation to be his, the facts which the N. T. writings assert or imply are — (1) that, having come to Ephesus, some persecution, local or general, drove him to Patmos (Rev. i. 9):[a] (2) that the seven churches, of which Asia was the centre, were special objects of his solicitude (Rev. i. 11); that in his work he had to encounter men who denied the truth on which his faith rested (1 John iv. 1; 2 John 7), and others who, with a railing and malignant temper, disputed his authority (3 John 9, 10). If to this we add that he must have outlived all, or nearly all of those who had been the friends and companions even of his maturer years — that this lingering age gave strength to an old imagination that his Lord had promised him immortality (John xxi. 23) — that, as if remembering the actual words which had been thus perverted, the longing of his soul gathered itself up in the cry, "Even so, come, Lord Jesus" (Rev. xxii. 20) — that from some who spoke with authority he received a solemn attestation of the confidence they reposed in him (John xxi. 24) — we have stated all that has any claim to the character of historical truth. The picture which tradition fills up for us has the merit of being full and vivid, but it blends together, without much regard to harmony, things probable and improbable. He is shipwrecked off Ephesus (Simeon Metaph. *in vitâ Johan.* c. 2; Lampe, i. 47), and arrives there in time to check the progress of the heresies which sprang up after St. Paul's departure. Then, or at a later period, he numbers among his disciples men like Polycarp, Papias, Ignatius (Hieron. *de Vir. Illust.* c. 17). In the persecution under Domitian he is taken to Rome, and there, by his boldness, though not by death, gains the crown of martyrdom. The boiling oil into which he is thrown has no power to hurt him (Tertull. *de Præscript.* c. 36.).[b] He is then sent to labor in the mines, and Patmos is the place of his exile (Victorinus, *in Apoc.* ix.; Lampe, i. 66). The accession of Nerva frees him from danger, and he returns to Ephesus. There he settles the canon of the Gospel-history by formally attesting the truth of the first three Gospels, and writing his own to supply what they left wanting (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 24). The elders of the Church are gathered together, and he, as by a sudden inspiration, begins with the wonderful opening, "In the beginning was the word" (Hieron. *de Vir. Illust.* c. 29). Heresies continue to show themselves, but he meets them with the strongest possible protest. He refuses to pass under the same roof (that of the public baths of Ephesus) as their foremost leader, lest the house should fall down on them and crush them (Iren. iii. 3; Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 28, iv. 14).[c] Through his agency the great temple of Artemis is at last rent of its magnificence, and even (!) leveled with the ground (Cyril. Alex. *Orat. de Mar. Virg.*; Nicephor. *H. E.* ii. 42; Lampe, i. 90). He introduces and perpetuates the Jewish mode of celebrating the Easter feast (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 3). At Ephesus, if not before, as one who was a true priest of the Lord, bearing on his brow the plate of gold (πέταλον; comp. Suicer. *Thes.* s. v.), with the sacred name engraved on it, which was the badge of the Jewish pontiff (Polycrates, in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 31, v. 24).[d] In strange contrast with this ideal exaltation, a later tradition tells how the old man used to find pleasure in the playfulness and fondness of a favorite bird, and defended himself against the charge of unworthy trifling by the familiar apologue of the bow that must sometimes be unbent (Cassian. *Collat.* xxiv. c. 2).[e] More true to the N. T. character of the Apostle is the story, told with so much power and beauty by Clement of Alexandria (*Quis dives*, c. 42), of his special and loving interest in the younger members of his flock; of his eagerness and courage in the attempt to rescue one of them who had fallen into evil courses. The scene of the old and loving man, standing face to face with the outlaw-chief whom, in days gone by, he had baptized, and winning him to repentance, is one which we could gladly look on as belonging to his actual life — part of a story which is, in Clement's words, οὐ μῦθος, ἀλλὰ λόγος. Not less beautiful is that other scene which comes before us as the last act of his life. When all capacity to work and teach is gone — when there is no strength even to stand — the spirit still retains its power to love, and the lips are still opened to repeat, without change and variation, the command which summed up all his Master's will, "Little children, love one another" (Hieron. *in Gal.* vi.). Other stories, more apocryphal and less interesting, we may pass over rapidly. That he put forth his power to raise the dead to life (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 18); that he drank the cup of hemlock which was intended to cause his death, and suffered no harm from it[f] (Pseudo-August. *Soliloq.*; Isidor. Hispal.

[a] Here again the hypotheses of commentators range from Claudius to Domitian, the consensus of patristic tradition preponderating in favor of the latter. [Comp. REVELATION.]

[b] The scene of the supposed miracle was outside the Porta Latina, and hence the Western Church commemorates it by the special festival of "St. John Port. Latin." on May 6th.

[c] Eusebius and Irenæus make Cerinthus the heretic. In Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxx. c. 24) Ebion is the hero of the story. To modern feelings the anecdote may seem at variance with the character of the Apostle of Love, but it is hardly more than the development in act of the principle of 2 John 10. To the mind of Epiphanius there was a difficulty of another kind. Nothing less than a special inspiration could account for such a departure from an ascetic life as going to a bath at all.

[d] The story of the πέταλον is perhaps the most perplexing of all the traditions as to the age of the Apostles. What makes it still stranger is the appearance of a like tradition (Hegesippus in Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 23; Epiph. *Hær.* 78) about James the Just. Measured by our notions, the statement seems altogether improbable, and yet how can we account for its appearance at so early a date? Is it possible that this was the symbol that the old exclusive priesthood had passed away? Or are we to suppose that a strong statement as to the new priesthood was misinterpreted, and that rhetoric passed rapidly into legend? (Comp. Neand. *Pflanz. u. Leit.* p. 613; Stanley, *Sermons and Essays on Apostolic Age*, p. 283.) Ewald (*l. c.*) finds in it an evidence in support of the hypothesis above referred to.

[e] The authority of Cassian is but slender in such a case; but the story is hardly to be rejected, on *à priori* grounds, as incompatible with the dignity of an Apostle. Does it not illustrate the truth —

"He prayeth best who loveth best
All things both great and small"?

[f] The memory of this deliverance is preserved in the symbolic cup, with the serpent issuing from it, which appears in the mediæval representations of the

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de Morte Sanct. c. 73); that when he felt his death approaching he gave orders for the construction of his own sepulchre, and when it was finished calmly laid himself down in it and died (Augustin. *Tract. in Joann.* cxxiv.); that after his interment there were strange movements in the earth that covered him (*ibid.*); that when the tomb was subsequently opened it was found empty (Niceph. *H. E.* ii. 42); that he was reserved to reappear again in conflict with the personal Antichrist in the last days (Suicer. *Thes.* s. v. Ἰωάννης): these traditions, for the most part, indicate little else than the uncritical spirit of the age in which they passed current. The very time of his death lies within the region of conjecture rather than of history, and the dates that have been assigned for it range from A. D. 89 to A. D. 120 (Lampe, i. 92).

The result of all this accumulation of apocryphal materials is, from one point of view, disappointing enough. We strain our sight in vain to distinguish between the false and the true — between the shadows with which the gloom is peopled, and the living forms of which we are in search. We find it better and more satisfying to turn again, for all our conceptions of the Apostle's mind and character, to the scanty records of the N. T., and the writings which he himself has left. The truest thought that we can attain to is still that he was "the disciple whom Jesus loved" — ὁ ἐπιστήθιος — returning that love with a deep, absorbing, unwavering devotion. One aspect of that feeling is seen in the zeal for his Master's glory, the burning indignation against all that seemed to outrage it, which runs, with its fiery gleam, through his whole life, and makes him, from first to last, one of the Sons of Thunder. To him, more than to any other disciple, there is no neutrality between Christ and Antichrist. The spirit of such a man is intolerant of compromises and concessions. The same strong personal affection shows itself, in another form, in the chief characteristics of his Gospel. While the other Evangelists record principally the discourses and parables which were spoken to the multitude, he treasures up every word and accent of dialogues and conversations, which must have seemed to most men less conspicuous. In the absence of any recorded narrative of his work as a preacher, in the silence which he appears to have kept for so many years, he comes before us as one who lives in the unseen eternal world, rather than in that of secular, or even spiritual activity. If there is less apparent power to enter into the minds and hearts of men of different temperament and education, less ability to become all things to all men than there is in St. Paul, there is a perfection of another kind. The image mirrored in his soul is that of the Son of Man, who is also the Son of God. He is the Apostle of Love, not because he starts from the easy temper of a general benevolence, nor again as being of a character soft, yielding, feminine, but because he has grown, ever more and more, into the likeness of Him whom he loved so truly. Nowhere is the vision of the Eternal Word, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, so unclouded; nowhere are there such distinctive personal reminiscences of the Christ, κατὰ σάρκα, in his most distinctively human characteristics. It was this union of the two aspects of the Truth which made him so truly the "Theologus" of the whole company of the Apostles, the instinctive opponent of all forms of a mystical, or logical, or docetic Gnosticism. It was a true feeling which led the later interpreters of the mysterious forms of the four living creatures round the throne (Rev. iv. 7) — departing in this instance from the earlier tradition[a] — to see in him the eagle that soars into the highest heaven and looks upon the unclouded sun. It will be well to end with the noble words from the hymn of Adam of St. Victor, in which that feeling is embodied: —

> "Cælum transit, veri rotam
> Solis vidit, ibi totam
> Mentis figens aciem;
> Speculator spiritalis
> Quasi seraphim sub alis,
> Dei vidit faciem."[b]

(Comp. the exhaustive Prolegomena to Lampe's *Commentary;* Neander, *Pflanz. u. Leit.* pp. 609–652 [pp. 354–379, comp. pp. 508–531, Robinson's ed., N. Y. 1865]; Stanley, *Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age*, Sermon iv., and *Essay on the Traditions respecting St. John;* Maurice *On the Gospel of St. John*, Serm. i.; and an interesting article by Ebrard, s. v. *Johannes*, in Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie.*) E. H. P.

[a] See also Lardner, *Hist. of the Apostles and Evangelists*, ch. ix. (*Works*, vol. v. ed. of 1829); Francis Trench, *Life and Character of St. John the Evangelist*, Lond. 1850; and, on the legends respecting the Apostle, Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, i. 157–172, 5th ed. A.

JOHN THE BAPTIST (Ἰωάννης ὁ Βαπτιστής [and ὁ βαπτίζων]), a saint more signally honored of God than any other whose name is recorded in either the O. or the N. T. John was of the priestly race by both parents, for his father Zacharias was himself a priest of the course of Abia, or Abijah (1 Chr. xxiv. 10), offering incense at the very time when a son was promised to him; and Elizabeth was of the daughters of Aaron (Luke i. 5). Both, too, were devout persons — walking in the commandments of God, and waiting for the fulfillment of his promise to Israel. The divine mission of John was the subject of prophecy many centuries before his birth, for St. Matthew (iii. 3) tells us that it was John who was prefigured by Isaiah as "the Voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight" (Is. xl. 3), while by the prophet Malachi the spirit announces more definitely, "Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before Me" (iii. 1). His birth — a birth not according to the ordinary laws of nature, but through the miraculous interposition of Almighty power — was foretold by an angel sent from God, who announced it as an occasion of joy and gladness to many — and at the same time assigned to him the name of *John* to signify either that he was to be born of God's especial favor, or, perhaps,

Evangelist. Is it possible that the symbol originated in Mark x. 39, and that the legend grew out of the symbol?

[a] The older interpretation made Mark answer to the eagle, John to the lion (Suicer, *Thes.* s. v. εὐαγγελιστής).

[b] Another verse of this hymn, "Volat avis sine meta," et seq., is familiar to most students as the motto prefixed by Olshausen to his commentary on St. John's Gospel. The whole hymn is to be found in Trench's *Sacred Latin Poetry*, p. 71; [also in Daniel's *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, ii. 166, and Mone's *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, iii. 118.]

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that he was to be the harbinger of grace. The angel Gabriel moreover proclaimed the character and office of this wonderful child even before his conception, foretelling that he would be filled with the Holy Ghost from the first moment of his existence, and appear as the great reformer of his countrymen — another Elijah in the boldness with which he would speak truth and rebuke vice — but, above all, as the chosen forerunner and herald of the long-expected Messiah.

These marvelous revelations as to the character and career of the son, for whom he had so long prayed in vain, were too much for the faith of the aged Zacharias; and when he sought some assurance of the certainty of the promised blessing, God gave it to him in a judgment — the privation of speech — until the event foretold should happen — a judgment intended to serve at once as a token of God's truth, and a rebuke of his own incredulity. And now the Lord's gracious promise tarried not — Elizabeth, for greater privacy, retired into the hill-country, whither she was soon afterwards followed by her kinswoman Mary, who was herself the object and channel of divine grace beyond measure greater and more mysterious. The two cousins, who were thus honored above all the mothers of Israel, came together in a remote city of the south (by some supposed to be Hebron, by others JUTTA), and immediately God's purpose was confirmed to them by a miraculous sign; for as soon as Elizabeth heard the salutations of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb, thus acknowledging, as it were even before birth, the presence of his Lord (Luke i. 43, 44). Three months after this, and while Mary still remained with her, Elizabeth was delivered of a son. The birth of John preceded by six months that of our blessed Lord. [Respecting this date, see JESUS CHRIST, p. 1381.] On the eighth day the child of promise was, in conformity with the law of Moses (Lev. xii. 3), brought to the priest for circumcision, and as the performance of this rite was the accustomed time for naming a child, the friends of the family proposed to call him Zacharias after the name of his father. The mother, however, required that he should be called John — a decision which Zacharias, still speechless, confirmed by writing on a tablet, "his name is John." The judgment on his want of faith was then at once withdrawn, and the first use which he made of his recovered speech was to praise Jehovah for his faithfulness and mercy (Luke i. 64). God's wonderful interposition in the birth of John had impressed the minds of many with a certain solemn awe and expectation (Luke iii. 15). God was surely again visiting his people. His providence, so long hidden, seemed once more about to manifest itself. The child thus supernaturally born must doubtless be commissioned to perform some important part in the history of the chosen people. Could it be the Messiah? Could it be Elijah? Was the era of their old prophets about to be restored? With such grave thoughts were the minds of the people occupied, as they mused on the events which had been passing under their eyes, and said one to another, "What manner of child shall this be?" while Zacharias himself, "filled with the Holy Ghost," broke forth in that glorious strain of praise and prophecy so familiar to us in the morning service of our church — a strain in which it is to be observed that the father, before speaking of his own child, blesses God for remembering his covenant and promise in the redemption and salvation of his people through Him, of whom his own son was the prophet and forerunner. A single verse contains all that we know of John's history for a space of thirty years — the whole period which elapsed between his birth and the commencement of his public ministry. "The child grew and waxed strong in the spirit, and was in the deserts till the day of his showing unto Israel" (Luke i. 80). John, it will be remembered, was ordained to be a Nazarite (see Num. vi. 1–21) from his birth, for the words of the angel were, "He shall drink neither wine nor strong drink" (Luke i. 15). What we are to understand by this brief announcement is probably this: The chosen forerunner of the Messiah and herald of his kingdom was required to forego the ordinary pleasures and indulgences of the world, and live a life of the strictest self-denial in retirement and solitude.

It was thus that the holy Nazarite, dwelling by himself in the wild and thinly peopled region westward of the Dead Sea, called "Desert" in the text, prepared himself by self-discipline, and by constant communion with God, for the wonderful office to which he had been divinely called. Here year after year of his stern probation passed by, till at length the time for the fulfillment of his mission arrived. The very appearance of the holy Baptist was of itself a lesson to his countrymen; his dress was that of the old prophets — a garment woven of camel's hair (2 K. i. 8), attached to the body by a leathern girdle. His food was such as the desert afforded — locusts (Lev. xi. 22) and wild honey (Ps. lxxxi. 16).

And now the long secluded hermit came forth to the discharge of his office. His supernatural birth — his hard ascetic life — his reputation for extraordinary sanctity — and the generally prevailing expectation that some great one was about to appear — these causes, without the aid of miraculous power, for "John did no miracle" (John x. 41), were sufficient to attract to him a great multitude from "every quarter" (Matt. iii. 5). Brief and startling was his first exhortation to them — "Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Some score verses contain all that is recorded of John's preaching, and the sum of it all is repentance; not mere legal ablution or expiation, but a change of heart and life. Herein John, though exhibiting a marked contrast to the Scribes and Pharisees of his own time, was but repeating with the stimulus of a new and powerful motive the lessons which had been again and again impressed upon them by their ancient prophets (cf. Is. i. 16 17, lv. 7; Jer. vii. 3–7; Ez. xviii. 19–32, xxxvi. 25–27; Joel ii. 12, 13; Mic. vi. 8; Zech. i. 3, 4). But while such was his solemn admonition to the multitude at large, he adopted towards the leading sects of the Jews a severer tone, denouncing Pharisees and Sadducees alike as "a generation of vipers," and warning them of the folly of trusting to external privileges as descendants of Abraham (Luke iii. 8). Now at last he warns them that "the axe was laid to the root of the tree" — that formal righteousness would be tolerated no longer, and that none would be acknowledged for children of Abraham but such as did the works of Abraham (cf. John viii. 39). Such alarming declarations produced their effect, and many of every class pressed forward to confess their sins and to be baptized.

What then was the baptism which John administered? Not altogether a new rite, for it was the custom of the Jews to baptize proselytes to their

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religion — not an ordinance in itself conveying remission of sins, but rather a token and symbol of that repentance which was an indispensable condition of forgiveness through Him, whom John pointed out as "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world." Still less did the baptism of John impart the grace of regeneration — of a new spiritual life (Acts xix. 3, 4). This was to be the mysterious effect of baptism "with the Holy Ghost," which was to be ordained by that "Mightier One," whose coming he proclaimed. The preparatory baptism of John was a visible sign to the people, and a distinct acknowledgment by them, that a hearty renunciation of sin and a real amendment of life were necessary for admission into the kingdom of heaven, which the Baptist proclaimed to be at hand. But the fundamental distinction between John's baptism unto repentance, and that baptism accompanied with the gift of the Holy Spirit which our Lord afterwards ordained, is clearly marked by John himself (Matt. iii. 11, 12).

As a preacher, John was eminently practical and discriminating. Self-love and covetousness were the prevalent sins of the people at large: on them therefore he enjoined charity, and consideration for others. The publicans he cautioned against extortion, the soldiers against violence and plunder. His answers to them are, no doubt, to be regarded as instances of the appropriate warning and advice which he addressed to every class.

The mission of the Baptist — an extraordinary one for an extraordinary purpose — was not limited to those who had openly forsaken the covenant of God, and so forfeited its principles. It was to the whole people alike. This we must infer from the baptism of one who had no confession to make, and no sins to wash away. Jesus Himself came from Galilee to Jordan to be baptized of John, on the special ground that it became Him "to fulfill all righteousness," and, as man, to submit to the customs and ordinances which were binding upon the rest of the Jewish people. John, however, naturally at first shrank from offering the symbols of purity to the sinless Son of God. But here a difficult question arises — How is John's acknowledgment of Jesus at the moment of his presenting Himself for baptism compatible with his subsequent assertion that he knew Him not, save by the descent of the Holy Spirit upon Him, which took place after his baptism? If it be difficult to imagine that the two cousins were not personally acquainted with each other, it must be borne in mind that their places of residence were at the two extremities of the country, with but little means of communication between them. Perhaps, too, John's special destination and mode of life may have kept him from the stated festivals of his countrymen at Jerusalem. It is possible therefore that the Saviour and the Baptist had never before met. It was certainly of the utmost importance that there should be no suspicion of concert or collusion between them. John, however, must assuredly have been in daily expectation of Christ's manifestation to Israel, and so a word or sign would have sufficed to reveal to him the person and presence of our Lord, though we may well suppose such a fact to be made known by a direct communication from God, as in the case of Simeon (Luke ii. 26; cf. Jackson "*on the Creed*," *Works*, Ox. ed. vi. 404). At all events it is wholly inconceivable that John should have been permitted to baptize the Son of God without being enabled to distinguish Him from any of the ordinary multitude. Upon the whole, the true meaning of the words κἀγὼ οὐκ ἤδειν αὐτόν would seem to be as follows: And I, even I, though standing in so near a relation to Him, both personally and ministerially, had no assured knowledge of Him *as the Messiah*. I did not know Him, and I had not authority to proclaim Him as such, till I saw the predicted sign in the descent of the Holy Spirit upon Him. It must be borne in mind that John had no means of knowing by previous announcement, whether this wonderful acknowledgment of the Divine Son would be vouchsafed to his forerunner at his baptism, or at any other time (see Dr. Mill's *Hist. Character of St. Luke's Gospel*, and the authorities quoted by him).

With the baptism of Jesus John's more especial office ceased. The king had come to his kingdom. The function of the herald was discharged. It was this that John had with singular humility and self-renunciation announced beforehand: "He must increase, but I must decrease."

John, however, still continued to present himself to his countrymen in the capacity of *witness* to Jesus. Especially did he bear testimony to Him at Bethany beyond Jordan (for Bethany, not Bethabara, is the reading of the best MSS.). So confidently indeed did he point out the Lamb of God, on whom he had seen the Spirit alighting like a dove, that two of his own disciples, Andrew, and probably John, being convinced by his testimony, followed Jesus, as the true Messiah.

From incidental notices in Scripture we learn that John and his disciples continued to baptize some time after our Lord entered upon his ministry (see John iii. 23, iv. 1; Acts xix. 3). We gather also that John instructed his disciples in certain moral and religious duties, as fasting (Matt. ix. 14; Luke v. 33) and prayer (Luke xi. 1).

But shortly after he had given his testimony to the Messiah, John's public ministry was brought to a close. He had at the beginning of it condemned the hypocrisy and worldliness of the Pharisees and Sadducees, and he now had occasion to denounce the lust of a king. In daring disregard of the divine laws, Herod Antipas had taken to himself the wife of his brother Philip; and when John reproved him for this, as well as for other sins (Luke iii. 19), Herod cast him into prison. The place of his confinement was the castle of Machærus — a fortress on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea. It was here that reports reached him of the miracles which our Lord was working in Judæa — miracles which, doubtless, were to John's mind but the confirmation of what he expected to bear as to the establishment of the Messiah's kingdom. But if Christ's kingdom were indeed established, it was the duty of John's own disciples no less than of all others to acknowledge it. They, however, would naturally cling to their own master, and be slow to transfer their allegiance to another. With a view therefore to overcome their scruples, John sent two of them to Jesus Himself to ask the question, "Art Thou He that should come?" They were answered not by words, but by a series of miracles wrought before their eyes — the very miracles which prophecy had specified as the distinguishing credentials of the Messiah (Is. xxxv. 5, lxi. 1); and, while Jesus bade the two messengers carry back to John as his only answer the report of what they had seen and heard, He took occasion to guard the multitude who surrounded Him against supposing that the Baptist himself was shaken in mind, by a direct

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appeal to their own knowledge of his life and character. Well might they be appealed to as witnesses that the stern prophet of the wilderness was no waverer, bending to every breeze, like the reeds on the banks of Jordan. Proof abundant had they that John was no worldling with a heart set upon rich clothing and dainty fare — the luxuries of a king's court — and they must have been ready to acknowledge that one so inured to a life of hardness and privation was not likely to be affected by the ordinary terrors of a prison. But our Lord not only vindicates his forerunner from any suspicion of inconstancy, He goes on to proclaim him a prophet, and more than a prophet, nay, inferior to none born of woman, though in respect to spiritual privileges behind the least of those who were to be born of the Spirit and admitted into the fellowship of Christ's body (Matt. xi. 11). It should be noted that the expression ὁ δὲ μικρότερος, κ.τ.λ. is understood by Chrysostom, Augustin, Hilary, and some modern commentators, to mean Christ Himself, but this interpretation is less agreeable to the spirit and tone of our Lord's discourse.

Jesus further proceeds to declare that John was, according to the true meaning of the prophecy, the Elijah of the new covenant, foretold by Malachi (iii. 4). The event indeed proved that John was to Herod what Elijah had been to Ahab, and a prison was deemed too light a punishment for his boldness in asserting God's law before the face of a king and a queen. Nothing but the death of the Baptist would satisfy the resentment of Herodias. Though foiled once, she continued to watch her opportunity, which at length arrived. A court festival was kept at Machærus [see TIBERIAS] in honor of the king's birthday. After supper [or during it, Mark vi. 21, 22], the daughter of Herodias came in and danced before the company, and so charmed was the king by her grace that he promised with an oath to give her whatsoever she should ask.

Salome, prompted by her abandoned mother, demanded the head of John the Baptist. The promise had been given in the hearing of his distinguished guests, and so Herod, though loth to be made the instrument of so bloody a work, gave instructions to an officer of his guard, who went and executed John in the prison, and his head was brought to feast the eyes of the adulteress whose sins he had denounced.

Thus was John added to that glorious army of martyrs who have suffered for righteousness' sake. His death is supposed to have occurred just before the third Passover in the course of the Lord's ministry. It is by Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 5, § 2) attributed to the jealousy with which Herod regarded his growing influence with the people. Herod undoubtedly looked upon him as some extraordinary person, for no sooner did he hear of the miracles of Jesus than, though a Sadducee himself, and as such a disbeliever in the Resurrection, he ascribed them to John, whom he supposed to be risen from the dead. Holy Scripture tells us that the body of the Baptist was laid in the tomb by his disciples, and ecclesiastical history records the honors which successive generations paid to his memory.

The brief history of John's life is marked throughout with the characteristic graces of self-denial, humility, and holy courage. So great indeed was his abstinence that worldly men considered him possessed. "John came neither eating nor drinking, and they said he hath a devil." His humility was such that he had again and again to disavow the character, and decline the honors which an admiring multitude almost forced upon him. To their questions he answered plainly, he was not the Christ, nor the Elijah of whom they were thinking, nor one of their old prophets. He was no one — a voice merely — the Voice of God calling his people to repentance in preparation for the coming of Him whose shoe latchet he was not worthy to unloose.

For his boldness in speaking truth, he went a willing victim to prison and to death.

The student may consult the following works, where he will find numerous references to ancient and modern commentators: Tillemont, *Hist. Eccles.*; Witsius, *Miscell.* vol. iv.; Thomas Aquinas, *Catena Aurea*, Oxford, 1842; Neander, *Life of Christ*; Le Bas, *Scripture Biography*; Taylor, *Life of Christ*; Olshausen, *Com. on the Gospels.*

E. H — s.

JOHN, GOSPEL OF. 1. *Authority.* — No doubt has been entertained at any time in the Church, either of the canonical authority of this Gospel, or of its being written by St. John. The text 2 Pet. i. 14 is not indeed sufficient to support the inference that St. Peter and his readers were acquainted with the fourth Gospel, and recognized its authority. But still no other book of the N. T. is authenticated by testimony of so early a date as that of the disciples which is embodied in the Gospel itself (xxi. 24, 25). Among the Apostolic Fathers, Ignatius appears to have known and recognized this Gospel. His declaration, "I desire the bread of God, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ the Son of God . . . and I desire the drink of God, his blood, which is incorruptible love" (*ad Rom.* c. 7; Cureton, *Corpus Ignatianum*, p. 231), could scarcely have been written by one who had not read St. John vi. 32, &c. And in the *Ep. ad Philadelphenos*, c. 7 (which, however, is not contained in Mr. Cureton's Syriac MSS.), the same writer says, "[The Holy Spirit] knoweth whence He cometh and whither He goeth, and reproveth the things which are hidden:" this is surely more than an accidental verbal coincidence with St. John iii. 8 and xvi. 8. The fact that this Gospel is not quoted by Clement of Rome (A. D. 68 or 96) serves, as Dean Alford suggests, merely to confirm the statement that it is a very late production of the Apostolic age. Polycarp in his short epistle, Hermas, and Barnabas do not refer to it. But its phraseology may be clearly traced in the Epistle to Diognetus ("Christians dwell in the world, but they are not of the world;" comp. John xvii. 11, 14, 16: "He sent his only-begotten Son . . . as loving, not condemning;" comp. John iii. 16, 17), and in Justin Martyr, A. D. 150 ("Christ said, Except ye be born again ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven: and it is manifest to all that it is impossible for those who have been once born to enter into the wombe of those that bare them;" *Apol.* c. 61; comp. John iii. 3, 5: and again, "His blood having been produced, not of human seed, but of the will of God;" *Trypho*, c. 63; comp. John i. 13, &c.). Tatian, A. D. 170, wrote a harmony of *the four* Gospels; and he quotes St. John's Gospel in his only extant work so do his contemporaries Apollinaris of Hierapolis, Athenagoras, and the writer of the Epistle of the churches of Vienne and Lyons. The Valentinians made great use of it; and one of their sect, Heracleon, wrote a commentary on it. Yet its authority among orthodox Christians was too

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firmly established to be shaken thereby. Theophilus of Antioch (*ad Autolycum*, ii.) expressly ascribes this Gospel to St. John; and he wrote, according to Jerome (*Ep.* 53, *ad Algas.*), a harmonized commentary on *the four Gospels*. And, to close the list of writers of the second century, the numerous and full testimonies of Irenæus in Gaul and Tertullian at Carthage, with the obscure but weighty testimony of the Roman writer of the Muratorian Fragment on the Canon, sufficiently show the authority attributed in the Western Church to this Gospel. The third century introduces equally decisive testimony from the Fathers of the Alexandrian Church, Clement and Origen, which it is unnecessary here to quote at length.

Cerdon, Marcion, the Montanists, and other ancient heretics (see Lampe, *Commentarius*, i. 136), did not deny that St. John was the author of the Gospel, but they held that the Apostle was mistaken, or that his Gospel had been interpolated in those passages which are opposed to their tenets. The Alogi, a sect in the beginning of the third century, were singular in rejecting the writings of St. John. Guerike (*Einleitung in N. T.* p. 303) enumerates later opponents of the Gospel, beginning with an Englishman, Edw. Evanson, *On the Dissonance of the Four Evangelists*, Ipswich, 1792, and closing with Bretschneider's *Probabilia de Evangelio Johannis, etc., origine*, Lips. 1820. His arguments are characterized by Guerike as strong in comparison with those of his predecessors. They are grounded chiefly on the strangeness of such language and thoughts as those of St. John coming from a Galilean fisherman, and on the difference between the representations of our Lord's person and of his manner of speech given by St. John and the other Evangelists. Guerike answers Bretschneider's arguments in detail. The skepticism of more recent times has found its fullest, and, according to Bleek, its most important, expression in a treatise by Lützelberger on the tradition respecting the Apostle John and his writings (1840). His arguments are recapitulated and answered by Dr. Davidson (*Introduction to the N. T.*, 1848, vol. i. p. 244, &c.). It may suffice to mention one specimen. St. Paul's expression (Gal. ii. 6), ὁποῖοί ποτε ἦσαν, is translated by Lützelberger, "whatsoever they [Peter, James, and John] were formerly:" he discovers therein an implied assertion that all three were not living when the Epistle to the Galatians was written, and infers that since Peter and James were undoubtedly alive, John must have been dead, and therefore the tradition which ascribes to him the residence at Ephesus, and the composition, after A. D. 60, of various writings, must confound him with another John. Still more recently the objections of Baur to St. John's Gospel have been answered by Ebrard, *Das Evangelium Johannis*, etc., Zürich, 1845.

2. *Place and Time at which it was written.* — Ephesus and Patmos are the two places mentioned by early writers; and the weight of evidence seems to preponderate in favor of Ephesus. Irenæus (iii. 1; also *apud* Euseb. *H. E.* v. 8) states that John published his Gospel whilst he dwelt in Ephesus of Asia. Jerome (*Prol. in Matth.*) states that John was in Asia when he complied with the request of the bishops of Asia and others to write more profoundly concerning the Divinity of Christ. Theodore of Mopsuestia (*Prol. in Joannem*) relates that John was living at Ephesus when he was moved by his disciples to write his Gospel.

The evidence in favor of Patmos comes from two anonymous writers. The author of the *Synopsis of Scripture*, printed in the works of Athanasius, states that the Gospel was dictated by St. John in Patmos, and published afterwards in Ephesus. The author of the work *De XII. Apostolis*, printed in the Appendix to Fabricius's *Hippolytus* (p. 952, ed. Migne), states that John was banished by Domitian to Patmos, where he wrote his Gospel. The later date of these unknown writers, and the seeming inconsistency of their testimony with St. John's declaration (Rev. i. 2) in Patmos, that he had previously borne record of the Word of God, render their testimony of little weight.

Attempts have been made to elicit from the language of the Gospel itself some argument which should decide the question whether it was written before or after the destruction of Jerusalem. But considering that the present tense "is" is used in v. 2, and the past tense "was" in xi. 18, xviii. 1, xix. 41, it would seem reasonable to conclude that these passages throw no light upon the question.

Clement of Alexandria (*apud* Euseb. *H. E.* vi 14) speaks of St. John as the latest of the Evangelists. The Apostle's sojourn at Ephesus probably began after St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians was written, *i. e.* after A. D. 62. Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 20) specifies the fourteenth year of Domitian, *i. e.* A. D. 95 as the year of his banishment to Patmos. Probably the date of the Gospel may lie about midway between these two, about A. D. 78. The references to it in the First Epistle and the Revelation lead to the supposition that it was written decidedly before those two books; and the tradition of its supplementary character would lead us to place it some little time after the Apostle had fixed his abode at Ephesus.

3. *Occasion and Scope.* — After the destruction of Jerusalem A. D. 69, Ephesus probably became the centre of the active life of Eastern Christendom. Even Antioch, the original source of missions to the Gentiles, and the future metropolis of the Christian Patriarch, appears, for a time, less conspicuous in the obscurity of early church history than Ephesus, to which St. Paul inscribed his epistle, and in which St. John found a dwelling-place and a tomb. This half-Greek, half-Oriental city, "visited by ships from all parts of the Mediterranean, and united by great roads with the markets of the interior, was the common meeting-place of various characters and classes of men" (Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, ch. xiv.). It contained a large church of faithful Christians, a multitude of zealous Jews, an indigenous population devoted to the worship of a strange idol whose image (Jerome, *Præf. in Ephes.*) was borrowed from the East, its name from the West: in the Xystus of Ephesus, free-thinking philosophers of all nations disputed over their favorite tenets (Justin, *Trypho*, cc. 1, 7). It was the place to which Cerinthus chose to bring the doctrines which he devised or learned at Alexandria (Neander, *Church History*, ii. 42, ed. Bohn). In this city, and among the lawless heathens in its neighborhood (Clem. Alex. *Quis dives salv.* § 42), St. John was engaged in extending the Christian Church, when, for the greater edification of that Church, his Gospel was written. It was obviously addressed primarily to Christians, not to heathens and the Apostle himself tells us (xx. 31) what was the end to which he looked forward in all his teaching.

Modern criticism has indulged in much curious

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speculation as to the exclusive or the principal motive which induced the Apostle to write. His design, according to some critics, was to supplement the deficiencies of the earlier three Gospels; according to others, to confute the Nicolaitans and Cerinthus; according to others, to state the true doctrine of the Divinity of Christ. But let it be borne in mind first of all that the inspiring, directing impulse given to St. John was that by which all "prophecy came in old time," when "holy men of God spake," "not by the will of man," "but as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." We cannot feel confident of our own capacity to analyze the motives and circumscribe the views of a mind under the influence of Divine inspiration. The Gospel of St. John is a boon to all ages, and to men in an infinite variety of circumstances. Something of the feelings of the chronicler, or the polemic, or the catechist may have been in the heart of the Apostle, but let us not imagine that his motives were limited to any, or to all of these.

It has indeed been pronounced by high critical authority that "the supplementary theory is entirely untenable;" and so it becomes if put forth in its most rigid form, and as showing the whole design of St. John. But even Dr. Davidson, while pronouncing it unsupported by either external tradition or internal grounds, acknowledges that some truth lies at the bottom of it. Those who hold the theory in its extreme and exclusive form will find it hard to account for the fact that St. John has many things in common with his predecessors; and those who repudiate the theory entirely will find it hard to account for his omission, *e. g.* of such an event as the Transfiguration, which he was admitted to see, and which would have been within the scope (under any other theory) of his Gospel. Luthardt concludes most judiciously that, though St. John may not have written with direct reference to the earlier three Evangelists, he did not write without any reference to them.

And in like manner, though so able a critic as Lücke speaks of the anti-Gnostic reference of St. John as prevailing throughout his Gospel, while Luthardt is for limiting such reference to his first verses, and to his doctrine of the Logos; and, though other writers have shown much ingenuity in discovering, and perhaps exaggerating, references to Docetism, Ebionitism, and Sabianism; yet, when controversial references are set forth as the principal design of the Apostle, it is well to bear in mind the cautious opinion expressed by Dr. Davidson: "Designed polemical opposition to one of those errors, or to all of them, does not lie in the contents of the sacred book itself; and yet it is true that they were not unnoticed by St. John. He intended to set forth the faith alone, and in so doing he has written passages that do confute those erroneous tendencies."

There is no intrinsic improbability in the early tradition as to the occasion and scope of this Gospel, which is most fully related in the commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia, to the effect that while St. John lived at Ephesus, and visited all parts of Asia, the writings of Matthew, Mark, and even Luke came into the hands of the Christians, and were diligently circulated everywhere. Then it occurred to the Christians of Asia that St. John was a more credible witness than all others, forasmuch as from the beginning, even before Matthew, he was with the Lord, and enjoyed more abundant grace through the love which the Lord bore to him. And they brought him the books, and sought to know his opinion of them. Then he praised the writers for their veracity, and said that a few things had been omitted by them, and that all but a little of the teaching of the most important miracles was recorded. And he added that they who discourse of the coming of Christ in the flesh ought not to omit to speak of his Divinity, lest in course of time men who are used to such discourses might suppose that Christ was only what He appeared to be. Thereupon the brethren exhorted him to write at once the things which he judged the most important for instruction, and which he saw omitted by the others. And he did so. And therefore from the beginning he discoursed about the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ, judging this to be the necessary beginning of the Gospel, and from it he went on to the incarnation. [See above, p. 1423.]

4. *Contents and Integrity.* — Luthardt says that there is no book in the N. T. which more strongly than the fourth Gospel impresses the reader with the notion of its unity and integrity. And yet it does not appear to be written with such close adherence to a preconceived plan as a western writer would show in developing and illustrating some one leading idea. The preface, the break at the end of the twelfth chapter, and the supplementary chapter, are divisions which will occur to every reader. The ingenious synopsis of Bengel and the thoughtful one of Luthardt are worthy of attention. But none is so elaborate and minute as that of Lampe, of which the following is an abridgment: —

A. The Prologue, i. 1–18.

B. The History, i. 19–xx. 29.

a. Various events relating to our Lord's ministry, narrated in connection with seven journeys, i. 19–xii. 50: —

1. First journey into Judæa and beginning of his ministry, i. 19–ii. 12.

2. Second journey, at the Passover in the first year of his ministry, ii. 13–iv. (The manifestation of his glory in Jerusalem, ii. 13–iii. 21, and in the journey back, iii. 22–iv.)

3. Third journey, in the second year of his ministry, about the Passover, v.

4. Fourth journey, about the Passover, in the third year of his ministry, beyond Jordan, vi. (His glory shown by the multiplication of the loaves, and by his walking on the sea, and by the discourses with the Jews, his disciples and his Apostles.)

5. Fifth journey, six months before his death, begun at the Feast of Tabernacles, vii.–x. 21. (Circumstances in which the journey was undertaken, vii. 1–13: five signs of his glory shown at Jerusalem, vii. 14–x. 21.)

6. Sixth journey, about the Feast of Dedication, x. 22–42. (His testimony in Solomon's porch, and his departure beyond Jordan.)

7. Seventh journey in Judæa towards Bethany, xi. 1–54. (The raising of Lazarus and its consequences.)

8. Eighth journey, before his last Passover, xi. 55–xii. (Plots of the Jews, his entry into Jerusalem, and into the Temple, and the manifestation of his glory there.)

b. History of the Death of Christ, xiii.–xx. 29.

1. Preparation for his Passion, xiii.–xvii. (Last Supper, discourse to his disciples, his commendatory prayer.)

2. The circumstances of his Passion and Death, xviii., xix. (His apprehension, trial, and crucifixion.)

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3. His Resurrection, and the proofs of it, xx. 1–29.

C. The Conclusion, xx. 30–xxi.: —

1. Scope of the foregoing history, xx. 30, 31.

2. Confirmation of the authority of the Evangelist by additional historical facts, and by the testimony of the elders of the Church, xxi. 1–24.

3. Reason of the termination of the history, xxi. 25.

Some portions of the Gospel have been regarded by certain critics as interpolations. Luthardt discusses at considerable length the objections of Paulus, Weisse, Schenkel, and Schweizer to ch. xxi., viii. 1–11, v. 3, ii. 1–12, iv. 44–54, vi. 1–26.[a] The discussion of these passages belongs rather to a commentary than to a brief introduction. But as the question as to ch. xxi. has an important bearing on the history of the Gospel, a brief statement respecting it may not be out of place here.

Guerike (*Einleitung*, p. 310) gives the following lists of (1) those who have doubted, and (2) those who have advocated its genuineness: (1) Grotius, Le Clerc, Pfaff, Semler, Paulus, Gurlitt, Bertholdt, Seyffarth, Lücke, De Wette, Schott; (2) R. Simon, Lampe, Wetstein, Osiander, Michaelis, Beck, Eichhorn, Hug, Wegscheider, Handschke, Weber, Tholuck, Scheffer. The objections against the first twenty-three verses of this chapter are founded entirely on internal evidence. The principal objections as to alleged peculiarities of language are completely answered in a note in Guerike's *Einleitung*, p. 310 [or *Neutest. Isagogik*, 3e Aufl. 1868, p. 223 f.], and are given up with one exception by De Wette. Other objections, though urged by Lücke, are exceedingly trivial and arbitrary, *e. g.* that the reference to the author in verse 20 is unlike the manner of St. John; that xx. 30, 31 would have been placed at the end of xxi. by St. John if he had written both chapters; that the narrative descends to strangely minute circumstances, etc.

The 25th verse and the latter half of the 24th of ch. xxi. are generally received as an undisguised addition, probably by the elders of the Ephesian Church, where the Gospel was first published.

There is an early tradition recorded by the author of the Synopsis of Scripture in Athanasius, that this Gospel was written many years before the Apostle permitted its general circulation. This fact — rather improbable in itself — is rendered less so by the obviously supplementary character of the latter part, or perhaps the whole of ch. xxi. Ewald (*Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, vii. 217), less skeptical herein than many of his countrymen, comes to the conclusion that the first 20 chapters of this Gospel, having been written by the Apostle, about A. D. 80, at the request, and with the help of his more advanced Christian friends, were not made public till a short time before his death, and that ch. xxi. was a later addition by his own hand.[b]

5. *Literature.* — The principal Commentators

[a] * A distinction should be made between these passages. The genuineness of John v. 3 (or rather v. 4, with the last clause of ver. 3) and viii. 1–11 (or more accurately vii. 53–viii. 11) is a question of textual criticism, these verses being wanting in the oldest and most important manuscripts, and in other authorities. They are accordingly regarded as interpolations or as of very doubtful genuineness, not only by the writers mentioned above, but by Griesbach, Knapp, Schott, Tittmann, Theile, Lachmann (John vii. 53 — viii. 1–11 only), Tischendorf, Tregelles, Alford, De Wette, Brückner, Meyer, Lücke, Tholuck, Olshausen, Neander, Luthardt, Ewald, Bäumlein, Bleek, Godet, Norton, Porter, Davidson, Green, Scrivener, and many other critics, except that some of these receive the last clause of v. 3 as genuine. But there is *no* external evidence against the genuineness of the other passages referred to. A.

[b] * This account of Ewald's view is not entirely correct. He regards the 21st chapter as indeed proceeding substantially from the Apostle, but as betraying here and there (as in vv. 20, 24, 25), even more than the main body of the Gospel, the hand of friends who aided him in committing his recollections to writing. (*Die johan. Schriften*, i. 53 ff.) The main object of the addition he supposes to have been to correct the erroneous report referred to in ver. 23 respecting the exemption of the beloved disciple from death.

That the two last verses of the 21st chapter (or rather ver. 25 and the last clause of ver. 24) have the air of an editorial note is obvious. The extravagant hyperbole in ver. 25, and the use of several words ὅσα, if this is the true reading, for ἅ, καθ' ἓν, οἷμαι) are also foreign from the style of John. Perhaps there is no supposition respecting these verses more probable than that of Mr. Norton, who observes: "According to ancient accounts, St. John wrote his Gospel at Ephesus . . . It is not improbable that, before his death, its circulation had been confined to the members of that church. Thence copies of it would be afterwards obtained; and the copy provided for transcription was, we may suppose, accompanied by the strong attestation which we now find, given by the church, or the elders of the church, to their full faith in the accounts which it contained, and by the concluding remark made by the writer of this attestation in his own person" (*Genuineness of the Gospels*, 2d ed., vol. i. Add. Notes, p. xcvi.; for a fuller discussion comp. Godet, *Comm. sur l'Évang. de St. Jean*, ii. 392 ff.).

On the supposition that the Gospel is genuine, this view of the last two verses removes all objections of any real weight to the ascription of the remainder of the chapter to the Apostle John. The weakness of most of these objections is fully recognized even by Baur (*Die kanon. Evangelien*, p. 235 ff.); and Credner, who contends against the genuineness of the chapter, admits that "it exhibits almost all the peculiarities of John's style" (*Einl. in das N. T.* i. 232). The points of difference which have been urged are altogether insignificant in comparison with the striking agreement, not merely in phraseology, but in manner, and in the structure and connection of sentences; note especially the absence of conjunctions, vv. 3 (ter), 5, 10, 11, 12 (bis), 13, 15 (bis), 16 (ter), 17 (ter), 20, 22, and the frequent use of οὖν.

On the supposition, however, that the Gospel is not genuine, this Appendix presents a problem which seems to admit of no reasonable solution. What motive could there have been for adding such a supplement to a spurious work after the middle of the second century? Was it needful, fifty years or more after the Apostle's death, to correct a false report that it was promised him that he should not die? Or what dogmatic purpose could this addition serve? And how is its minuteness of detail, and its extraordinary agreement in style with the rest of the Gospel to be explained? It may be said that it was designed to give credit to the forged Gospel by a pretended attestation. But was the whole chapter needed for this? And what credit could a fictitious work of that period derive from an *anonymous* testimony? Had such been the object, moreover, how strange that the Apostle John should not be *named* as the author!

The only plausible explanation, then, of vv. 24, 25 seems to be, that they are an attestation of the trustworthiness of the Gospel by those who first put it into general circulation — companions and friends of the author, and well known to those to whom it was com-

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on St. John will be found in the following list: (1) Origen, in *Opp.* ed. 1759, iv. 1–460 · (2) Chrysostom, in *Opp.* ed. 1728, viii. 1–530· (3) Theodore of Mopsuestia and others, in *Corderii Catena in Joannem*, 1630; [for Theodore, see Migne's *Patrol. Græca*, tom. lxvi., (3ª) Cyril of Alexandria, *Opp.* ed. Aubert, tom. iv., or Migne's *Patrol.* tom. lxxiii., lxxiv.; the poetical paraphrase of Nonnus may also be noted, Migne, *Patrol.* tom. xliii.;] (4) Augustine, in *Opp.* ed. 1690, iii., part 2, 290–826; (5) Theophylact; (6) Euthymius Zigabenus; (7) Maldonatus; (8) Luther; (9) Calvin; (10) Grotius and others, in the *Critici Sacri*; (11) Cornelius à Lapide; (12) Hammond; (13) Lampe, *Commentarius exegetico-analyticus in Joannem* [3 vol. Amst. 1724–26, and Bas. 1725–27]; (14) Bengel; (15) Whitby; (16) Lücke, *Commentar üb. das Evang. des Johann.* 1820 [–24, 3te Aufl. 2 vols. 1840–43]; (17) Olshausen, *Biblischer Commentar*, 1834; (18) Meyer, *Kritisch-exeget. Commentar*; (19) De Wette, *Exeget. Handbuch z. N. T.*; (20) Tholuck, *Comm. z. Evang. Johan.*; (21) C. E. Luthardt, *das johanneische Evangelium nach seiner Eigenthümlichkeit*, 2 vols., 1852–53.

Until very lately the English reader had no better critical helps in the study of St. John's Gospel than those which were provided for him by Hammond, Lightfoot, and Whitby. He now has access through the learned Commentaries of Canon Wordsworth and Dean Alford to the interpretations and explanations of the ancient Fathers, and several English theologians, and to those of all the eminent German critics.

The Commentaries of Chrysostom and Augustine have been translated into English in the Oxford *Library of the Fathers* [Chrysostom, vol. xxviii., xxxvi., Augustine, vol. xxix.] (Parker, 1848). English translations have been published also of the Commentaries of Bengel and Olshausen. And the Rev. F. D. Maurice has published an original and devout Commentary under the title of *Discourses on the Gospel of St. John*, 1857. W. T. B.

* Genuineness.—Since the rise of the Tübingen critical school, the question of the genuineness of the fourth Gospel has been much discussed. The opponents of the Johannean authorship are far from being agreed among themselves respecting the date which they assign to the book. Baur placed it at about 160, Hilgenfeld at from 120 to 140, Schenkel at from 110 to 120, and Renan in his 13th ed. (Paris, 1867) before 100. The position of the Tübingen school on this question is a part of their general theory concerning the rise of Catholic Christianity, which they attribute to the gradual pacifying of the supposed antagonism of the Jewish-Christian or Petrine, and Gentile-Christian or Pauline, branches of the Church. As the book of Acts was an earlier, so the fourth Gospel was a later product of this compromising tendency. The writer of it assumed the name of John in order to give an Apostolic sanction to his higher theological platform, on which love takes the place of faith, and the Jewish system is shown to be fulfilled, and so abolished, by the offering of Christ, who is represented as the true Paschal lamb. The history is artificially contrived as the symbolical vestment of ideas, such as the idea of unbelief culminating in the crucifixion of the self-manifested Christ, and the idea of faith as not real and genuine so far as it rests on miracles. Renan differs from most of the German critics in receiving as authentic much more of the narrative portion of the Gospel. He conceives the work to have been composed by some disciple of the Evangelist John, who derived from the latter much of his information. In particular Renan accepts as historical the belief in the resurrection of Lazarus (which, however, he holds to have been a counterfeit miracle, the result of collusion), and much besides which John records in connection with the closing scenes of the life of Jesus.

We shall now review the principal arguments which bear on the main question. That John spent the latter part of his life, and died at an advanced age, in Proconsular Asia, in particular at Ephesus, is a well attested fact. Polycrates, bishop at Ephesus near the close of the second century, who had become a Christian as early as 131, and seven of whose kinsmen had been bishops or presbyters, says that John died and was buried in that place (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24; *cf.* iii. 31). Irenæus, who was born in Asia, says of those old presbyters, immediate disciples of the Apostles, whom he had known, that they had been personally conversant with John, and that he had remained among them up to the times of Trajan, whose reign was from 98 to 117. (See Iren. *adv. Hær.* ii. 22, al. 39, § 5.) That his informants were mistaken on such a point as the duration of the Saviour's ministry does not invalidate their testimony in regard to the duration of John's life, about which they could not well be mistaken. His Gospel, according to Irenæus, Clement, and others, and the general belief, was the last written of the four, and the tradition placed its composition near the end of his life.

In support of this proposition, we have the testimony of Jerome and Eusebius, both diligent inquirers, and knowing how to discriminate between books universally received and those which had been questioned. In an argument which depends for its force partly on an accumulation of particulars, their suffrages are not without weight. We may begin, however, with the indisputable fact that in the last quarter of the second century, the fourth Gospel was received in every part of Christendom

municated; and the only plausible account of the first 28 verses of the chapter is, that they are a supplementary addition, which proceeded directly from the pen, or substantially from the dictation, of the author of the rest of the Gospel.

It should further be noted that Tischendorf, in the 3d edition of his *Synopsis Evangelica* (1864), brackets ver. 25 as spurious, chiefly on the ground of its omission in the Codex Sinaiticus *a prima manu*. (The part of Tischendorf's 8th critical edition of the N. T. containing the Gospel of John has not yet appeared.) The verse stands at present in the Codex Sinaiticus, but Tischendorf believes that the color of the ink and slight difference in the handwriting show that it did not proceed from the original scribe, but was added by a contemporary reviser of the manuscript. On this palæographical question, however, Tregelles differs from him. (See Tischendorf's *N. T. Græce ex Sinaitico Codice*, pp. xxxxviii., lxxvi.) MS. 68 has been erroneously cited as omitting the verse (see Scrivener's *Full Collation of the Cod. Sin.*, p. liv., *note*). The scholia of many MSS., however, speak of it as regarded by some as an addition by a foreign hand; and a scholion to this effect, ascribed in one manuscript to Theodore of Mopsuestia, is given in Card. Mai's edition of the Commentaries of this father (*Nova Patr. Bibl.* vii. 407 or Migne's *Patrol.* lxvi. 788 ff.). A.

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as the work of the Apostle John. The prominent witnesses are Tertullian in North Africa, Clement in Alexandria, and Irenæus in Gaul. Tertullian in his treatise against Marcion, written in 207 or 208, appeals in behalf of the exclusive authority of the four canonical Gospels, to tradition coming down from the Apostles — to historical evidence. (*Adv. Marcion.* iv. 2, 5.) Clement, an erudite and travelled scholar, not only ascribed to the Four Gospels exclusively canonical authority (*Strom.* iii. 13), but also, in his last work, the "Institutions," quoted by Eusebius (vi. 14), "gave a tradition concerning the order of the Gospels which he had received from presbyters of more ancient times;" that is, concerning the chronological order of their composition. He became the head of the Alexandrian school about the year 190. But the testimony of Irenæus has the highest importance, and is, in truth, when it is properly considered, of decisive weight on the main question. He was a Greek, born in Asia Minor about 140. He afterwards went to Lyons in Gaul, where he first held the office of presbyter, and then, A. D. 178, that of bishop; and was therefore acquainted with the Church both in the East and the West. He had in his youth known Polycarp, the immediate disciple of John, and retained a vivid recollection of his person and words. Irenæus not only testifies to the universal acceptance of the fourth Gospel, but he argues fancifully that there *must* be four, and only four, as there are four winds, etc. This fanciful analogy, so far from impairing the force of his testimony, only serves to show how firmly settled was his faith, and that of others, in the exclusive authority of the canonical Gospels. (*Adv. Hær.* iii. 1, § 1, and iii. 11, § 8.) If the occasional use of fanciful reasoning, or similar violations of logic, were to discredit a witness, nearly all of the Fathers would be at once excluded from court. If Irenæus had, to any extent, *derived* his belief in the Gospels from his reasoning, the objection to his testimony might have some solidity; but such was not the fact. The objection of Scholten and others that he misdated the Apocalypse, attributing it to the time of Domitian, does not materially affect the value of his statement on the point before us. It is impossible to believe that Irenæus could express himself in this way, in case John's Gospel had first made its appearance during his lifetime, or shortly before. His relation to Polycarp — not to speak of other Christians likewise older than himself — forbids the supposition, moreover, that this Gospel was a fictitious product of any part of the second century. Polycarp visited Rome and conferred with Anicetus, about the year 160. Several years probably elapsed after this, before he was put to death. But at the date of that visit Irenæus had reached the age of 20. That John's Gospel was universally received at that time, might be safely inferred from what Irenæus says in the passages referred to above, even if there were no other proof in the case. Polycarp must have been among the number of those who accepted it as a genuine and authoritative Gospel. Irenæus's testimony, considering his relation to Polycarp and the length of Polycarp's life, affords well-nigh as strong evidence in favor of the Johannean authorship as if we had the distinct and direct assertion of the fact from that very disciple of John. The ample learning and critical spirit of Origen, though his theological career is later than that of the Fathers just named, give to his testimony to the universal reception of this Gospel much weight. If he was not free from mistakes, it should be remembered that an error on a topic of engrossing interest and capital importance, and lying in the direct line of his researches, was not likely to be committed by him; so that his judgment on the question before us goes beyond the mere fact of the reception of the Gospel by the generation just before him. In the same category with Clement, Irenæus, and Tertullian, is the Canon of Muratori and the Peshito version, in both of which the Gospel of John stands in its proper place. Polycrates, too, in his letter to Victor (A. D. 196), characterizes the Apostle John in words borrowed from the Gospel (Euseb. v. 24). His own life, as a Christian, began, as we have said, in 131, and with that of his kinsmen, also officers of the Church, covered the century. His home was at Ephesus, the very spot where John died, and where the Gospel, if he was the author of it, first appeared.

Looking about among the fragments of Christian literature that have come down to us from the second half of the second century, we meet with Tatian, said to have been a pupil of Justin Martyr, though after Justin's death he swerved from his teaching. It is conceded by Baur and Zeller that in the *Oratio ad Græcos* he quotes repeatedly from the fourth Gospel. (See cc. 13, 19, 5, 4.) In this, as in similar instances, it is said by Scholten and others, that since Tatian does not mention the name of the author of the Gospel, we cannot be certain that he referred it to John. But he quotes as from an authoritative Scripture, and there is not the slightest reason to suppose that he differed from his contemporaries on the question, who was its author. This work was written not far from A. D. 170. He also composed a sort of exegetical harmony on the basis of our four Gospels. Eusebius says (*H. E.* iv. 29), that "having formed a certain body or collection of Gospels, I know not how, he has given this the title *Diatesseron*, that is, the Gospel by the Four, or the Gospel formed of the Four, which is in the possession of some even now." From his manner of speaking, it would seem that Eusebius had not seen the book. But, at the beginning of the fifth century, Theodoret tells us that he had found two hundred copies of Tatian's work in circulation, and had taken them away, substituting for them the four Gospels. Theodoret adds that the genealogies and the descent from David were left out of Tatian's work. (*Hæret. Fab.* i. 20.) We have, then, the fact from Eusebius, that Tatian named his book *Diatesseron*, and the fact from Theodoret, that he found it in use among Catholic Christians, in the room of the Gospels. These facts, together with the known use of the fourth Gospel by Tatian, as seen in his other work, would justify the conclusion that this Gospel was one of the four at the basis of the *Diatesseron*. But an early Syriac translation of this work, began, according to Bar Salibi, with the opening words of the Gospel of John: "In the beginning was the Word." If the *Diatesseron* was occasionally confounded by Syrians with the Harmony of Ammonius, this was not done by Bar Salibi, who distinguishes the two works. The objections of Scholten (*Die ältesten Zeugnisse*, etc p. 95 ff.), which are partly repeated by Davidson (*Introduction to the New Testament* (1868), p. 391 ff.), are sufficiently met by the remarks of Bleek and by the observations of Riggenbach (*Die Zeugnisse für das Ev. Johann.* etc., p. 47 ff.). The

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philus, who became bishop of Antioch in 169, in his work *Ad Autolycum* describes John's Gospel as a part of the Holy Scriptures, and John himself as a writer guided by the Holy Spirit (ii. 22). In addition to this, Jerome states that Theophilus composed a commentary upon the Gospels, in which he handled their contents synoptically: "quatuor Evangelistorum in unum opus dicta compingens." (*De viris ill.* c. 25, and *Ep.* 151. Cf. Bleek, *Einl.*, p. 230.) A contemporary of Theophilus is Athenagoras. His acquaintance with the Prologue of John's Gospel may be inferred with a high degree of probability from his frequent designation of Christ as the Word. "Through him," he says, "all things were made, the Father and Son being one; and the Son being in the Father, and the Father in the Son," — language obviously founded on John i. 3, x. 30, 38, xiv. 11. (*Suppl. pro Christianis*, c. 10.) Another contemporary of Theophilus, Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, in a fragment found in the Paschal Chronicle, refers to a circumstance which is mentioned only in John xix. 34; and in another passage clearly implies the existence and authority of the fourth Gospel (*Chron. Pasch.*, pp. 13, 14, ed. Dindorf, or Routh, *Reliq. Sacræ*, i. 160, 161, 2d ed. See, also, Meyer, *Einl. in d. Evang. Joh.*). There appears to be no sufficient reason for questioning the genuineness of these fragments, as is done by Lardner, *Works*, ii. 315, and Neander, *Ch. Hist.* i. 298, n. 2, Torrey's transl. (See, on this point, Schneider, *Aechtheit des johann. Evang.*, 1854.)

The fourth Gospel was recognized by Justin Martyr as an authoritative Scripture. He was born about the year 89, and the date of his death was not far from 160. He refers, in different places, to "the Records or Memoirs — τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα — by the Apostles and their followers" or companions, which, as he observes, "are called Gospels" (*Apol.* i. 67; *Dial. c. Tryph.* c. 103; *Apol.* i. 66). Twice he uses τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, as the later Fathers often do, to denote the Gospels collectively (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 10, 100). These Gospels are quoted as authentic and recognized sources of knowledge in respect to the Saviour's life and teaching; it is declared that they are read on Sundays in the Christian assemblies where "all who live in cities or in country districts" meet for worship, and like the writings of the O. T. prophets serve as the foundation of exhortations to the people (*Apol.* i. 67). Nearly all of Justin's numerous allusions to the sayings of Christ and events of his life correspond to passages in our canonical Gospels. *There is no citation from the Memoirs, which is not found in the canonical Gospels;* for there is no such reference either in c. 103 or c. 88 of the *Dial. c. Tryph.* (See Westcott, *Canon of the N. T.* 2d ed., p. 137 f.) Justin may have been acquainted with the Gospel of the Hebrews; but even this cannot be established. That it formed one of the authoritative memoirs of which he speaks, is extremely improbable. Having attained to such an authority, how could it be thrown out and discarded without an audible word of opposition? How could this be done, when Irenæus had already reached his manhood? — for he had attained to this age before Justin died. In the long list of passages collected by Semisch (*Denkwürdigkeiten des Märtyrers Justinus*) and by other writers, there are some which are obviously taken from the fourth Gospel. One of these is the passage relative to John the Baptist (*Dial. c. Tryph.* c. 88), which is from John i. 20, 23. Another is the passage on regeneration (*Apol.* i. 61) from John iii. 3–5. The occurrence of this passage respecting regeneration in the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies (*Hom.* xi. 26), with the same deviations from John that are found in Justin's quotation, has been made an argument to prove that both writers must have taken it from some other Gospel — the Gospel of the Hebrews. But the *addition* to the passage in the Homilies, and the omission of the part concerning the impossibility of a second physical birth, — points of difference between Justin and the Homilies, — are quite as marked as the points of resemblance, which may be an accidental coincidence. The deviations in Justin's citation from the original in John are chiefly due to the confusion of the phraseology of this passage with that of Matt. xviii. 3 — than which nothing was more natural. Similar inaccuracies, and from a similar cause, in quoting John iii. 3 or 5, are not uncommon now.[a] That Justin uses the compound word ἀναγεννάω, is because he had found occasion to use the same verb just before in the context, and because this had become the current term to designate regeneration.[b]

[a] *For example, Jeremy Taylor quotes the passage thus: "Unless a man be born of water and the Holy Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of heaven" (*Works*, i. 240, ed. Heber, Lond. 1828). A.

[b] *Clement of Alexandria (*Cohort. ad Gent.* c. 9, pp. p. 69, ed. Potter) has apparently confused the passages John iii. 5 and Matt. xviii. 3 in a manner similar to that of Justin. The two principal deviations of Justin from the text of John — the use of ἀναγεννάω for γεννάω, and βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν for βασ. τ. θεοῦ — are both found in Irenæus, who quotes the passage thus: ἐὰν μή τις ἀναγεννηθῇ δι' ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος, οὐ μὴ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν (*Fragm.* xxxv. ed. Stieren). So also in Eusebius: ἐὰν μή τις ἀναγεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς τὴν βασ. τῶν οὐρανῶν (*Comm. in Is.* i. 16, 17, Opp. vi. 96c ed. Migne). Ἀναγεννάω in ver. 5 is also the reading of the Old Latin and Vulgate versions (*renatus fuerit*), and occurs in Athanasius (*De Incarn.* c. 14), Ephrem Syrus (*De Pœn.* Opp. iii. 133), and Chrysostom (*Hom. in* 1 Cor. xv. 29). The reading βασίλεια τῶν οὐρανῶν is not only found in Irenæus and Euseb. as above (see also Euseb. *in Is.* iii. 1, 2), but also in Hippolytus (quoting from the Docetæ), the Apostol. Constitutions, Origen (Lat. int.) Ephræm Syrus, Chrysostom (at least 5 times), Basil of Seleucia (*Orat.* xxviii. 33), Pseudo-Athanasius (*Quæstiones ad Antiochum*, c. 101), and Theodoret (*Quæst. in Num.* 35); in Tertullian, Jerome, Philastrius, Augustine, and other Latin fathers; and in the Codex Sinaiticus with two other Greek manuscripts, and is even adopted as genuine by Tischendorf in the 2d ed. of his *Synopsis Evangelica* (1864). Chrysostom in his Homilies on John iii. quotes the verse 3 times with the reading βασ. τ. θεοῦ (*Opp.* viii. 143ac, 148d, ed. Montf.), and 3 times with the reading βασ. τ. οὐρ. (*Opp.* viii. 149de, 144a, see also *Opp.* iv. 681d, xi. 250e). These facts show how natural such variations were, and how little ground they afford for the supposition that Justin derived the passage in question from some other source than the Gospel of John. The change from the indefinite singular to the definite plural is made in John itself in the immediate context (ver. 7): "Marvel not that I said unto thee, *ye* must be born again."

The length of this note may be partly excused by the fact that most of the passages of the fathers here referred to in illustration of the variations from the common text in Justin's quotation do not appear to have been noticed in any critical edition of the Greek Testament A.

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Baur, in one place, adduces John iii. 4 as an instance of the fictitious ascription to the Jews, on the part of the author of this Gospel, of incredible misunderstandings of the words of Jesus. If this be so, surely Justin must be indebted to this Gospel for the passage. Anxious to avoid this conclusion, and apparently forgetting what he had said before, Baur in another passage *of the same work* affirms that this same expression is borrowed alike by the author of John and by Justin from the Gospel of the Hebrews! (See Baur's *Kanon. Evang.* pp. 290, 300, compared with pp. 352, 353.) There were two or three other citations, however, in the Homilies, in which it was claimed that the same deviations are found as in corresponding citations in Justin. But if this circumstance lent any plausibility to the pretense that these passages in Justin were drawn from some other document than the canonical John, this plausibility vanished and the question was really set at rest by the publication of Dressel's edition of the Homilies. This edition gives the concluding portion, not found in Cotelerius, and we are thus furnished (*Hom.* xix. 22; comp. John ix 2, 3) with an undenied and undeniable quotation from John. This makes it evident that *Hom.* iii. 52 is a citation from John x. 9, 27, and also removes all doubt as to the source whence the quotation of John iii. 3–5 was derived. The similarity of the Homilies to Justin, in the few quotations referred to above, is probably accidental. If not, it simply proves that Justin was in the hands of their author. This may easily be supposed. The date of the Homilies is in the neighborhood of 170. (See, on these points, Meyer, *Einl.* p. 10; Bleek, p. 228; Semisch, p. 193 ff.) The objections of the skeptical critics, drawn from Justin's habit of quoting *ad sensum*, and from his not naming the authors of the Memoirs, are without force, as all scholars must see. His manner of citation was not unusual, and he was writing to heathen who knew nothing of the Evangelists. The supposition that Justin borrowed the passages, to which we have referred, from the apocryphal Gospel of Peter, which Hilgenfeld and others have advocated, hardly deserves a refutation. It is supported partly by the misinterpreted passage in *Tryph.* 106 (see Otto's note, *ad loc.*), and partly by conjectures respecting this apocryphal book, for which there is no historical warrant.

Justin's doctrine of the Logos and of the Incarnation must have been derived from some authoritative source, and this could only be the fourth Gospel. In one passage (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 105), he directly appeals for the truth of the Incarnation, 'that Christ became man by the Virgin," to the Memoirs. Scholten has labored to prove that a great diversity exists between Justin's conception of the Logos and that which is found in the Gospel; but there is no greater difference than might easily exist between an author and a somewhat inexact theological interpreter.

That Justin used our four Gospels and designates these as the Memoirs, Norton has cogently argued (*Gen. of the Gospels*, i. 237–239).

Papias, whom Irenæus calls "an ancient man — ἀρχαῖος ἀνήρ (*Euseb.* iii. 39) — had, according to the same Father, heard the Apostle John. Eusebius supposes that Irenæus is mistaken in this, and that it was the Presbyter John whom Papias personally knew. This, however, is doubtful; and the very existence of such a personage as the Presbyter John, in distinction from the Apostle of the same name, is an open question. However this may be Eusebius states that Papias "made use of testimonies from the First Epistle of John." Whether he quoted from the Gospel or not, Eusebius does not state. If it were shown that he did not do so his silence could not be turned into an argument against its genuineness, as we do not know the particular end he had in view in making his citations But the First Epistle was written by the author of the Gospel. (See De Wette, *Einl. in das N. Testament*, § 177 *a.*) So that the testimony of Papias to the First Epistle is likewise a testimony to the genuineness of the Gospel.

Turning to the Apostolic Fathers, we find not a few expressions, especially in the Ignatian Epistles, which remind us of passages peculiar to John. In one instance, such a reference can scarcely be avoided. Polycarp, in his Epistle to the Philippians, says: Πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι ἀντίχριστός ἐστι (c. 7). It is much more probable that this thought was taken from 1 John iv. 3, than that it was derived from any other source. Especially is this seen to be the case, when it is remembered that Polycarp was a disciple of John. John xxi. 24, coming from another hand than that of the author of the Gospel, is also a testimony to its genuineness.

The Artemonites, the party of Unitarians at Rome near the end of the second century, did not think of disputing the canonical authority of the fourth Gospel. Marcion was acquainted with it, but rejected it for the reason that he did not acknowledge any Apostles but Paul (Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* iv. 3, 2, 5. *De Carne Christi*, 3. For other passages to the same effect from Irenæus and Tertullian, see De Wette, *Einl. in d. N. T.* § 72 c, Anm. d.) The Valentinian Gnostics admitted the genuineness of this Gospel, and used it much (Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* iii. 11, § 7). Ptolemæus, a follower of Valentine's doctrine, explicitly acknowledges this Gospel (*Epist. ad Floram*, c. 1, ap. Epiph. *Hær.* xxxiii. 3. See Grabe, *Spicilegium*, ii. 70, 2d ed., or Stieren's Irenæus, i. 924). Heracleon, another follower, wrote a commentary on it, which Origen frequently quotes (Grabe, *Spicilegium*, vol. ii., and Stieren's ed. of Irenæus, i. 938–971) Scholten has attempted to show that Heracleon was late in the century. One of his arguments, that Irenæus does not mention him, is met by Tischendorf, who produces from Irenæus a passage in which he is named in connection with Ptolemæus. The use of the fourth Gospel by leading followers of Valentinus, and the need they have to apply a perverse interpretation to the statements of the Gospel, render it probable that their master also acknowledged the Gospel as genuine. This is implied by Tertullian (*De Præscript. Hæret.* c. 38). "If Valentine," says Tertullian, "appears (videtur) to make use of the entire instrument" — that is, the four Gospels, — "he has done violence to the truth," etc. The *videtur* may be the reluctant concession of an adversary, but the word is frequently used by Tertullian in the sense, *to be seen, to be fully apparent* (comp. Tert. *adv. Prax.* c. 26, 29, *adv. Marc.*, iv. 2; *de Orat.* c. 21; *Apol.*, c. 19; *Adv. Jud.* c. 5, quoted from Isaiah i. 12). Such is probably its meaning here. But Hippolytus, explaining the tenets of Valentine, writes as follows: "All the prophets and the law spoke from the Demiurg, a foolish god, he says — fools, knowing nothing. On this account it is, he says, that the Saviour says: 'All that came before me are

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thieves and robbers' (Hippol. *Refut. omnium Hæres.* vi. 35). The passage is obviously from John x. 8. It is pretended that the φησί — he says — refers not to Valentine, but to some unknown author among his disciples. But this, though possible, is surely much less probable than the supposition that he refers to a work of Valentine himself. Hippolytus distinguishes the various branches of the Valentinian sect and the phases of opinion that respectively belong to them. In the place referred to, he is speaking of the founder of the sect himself. A similar remark is to be made of Basilides and of the passages of Hippolytus relating to his use of John (*Ref. Hær.* vii. 22, 27). The early date of Basilides is shown by various proofs. (See Hofstede de Groot, *Basilides als erster Zeuge*, etc., Leipzig, 1868.) The work of Basilides "on *the Gospel*" (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 7) was not improbably a commentary on the four Gospels (see Norton, *Gen. of the Gospels*, iii. 238). How widely extended was the knowledge and use of the fourth Gospel among the heretics of the second century, is further illustrated by the numerous quotations that were made from it by the Ophites or Naasseni, and the Peratæ, which are preserved by Hippolytus (v. 7, 8, 9, 12, 16, 17). The opposition of the insignificant party of the Alogi is an argument for, rather than against, the genuineness of the Gospel. (Iren. iii. 11, § 9). We assume, what is most probable, that the party referred to by Irenæus is the same which Epiphanius designates by this name. Their opposition shows the general acceptance of the Gospel not long after the middle of the second century. Moreover, they attributed the Gospel to Cerinthus, a contemporary of John, — a testimony to its age. They rejected, also, the Apocalypse, which even the Tübingen school holds to be the work of John. (See, on the character of the Alogi, Schneider, p. 38 f.) Celsus refers to circumstances in the Evangelical history which are recorded only in John's Gospel. (For the passages, see Lardner, *Works*, vii. 220, 221, 239.)

The great doctrinal battle of the Church in the second century was with Gnosticism. The struggle began early. The germs of it are discovered in the Apostolic age. At the middle of the second century, the conflict with these elaborate systems of error was raging. We find that the Valentinians, the Basilidians, the Marcionites (followers either of Marcus or of Marcion) are denounced as warmly by Justin Martyr as by Irenæus and his contemporaries. (*Dial. c. Tryph.* c. 32). By both of the parties in this wide-spread conflict, by the Gnostics and by the Church theologians, the fourth Gospel is accepted as the work of John, without a lisp of opposition or of doubt. In that distracted period, with what incredible skill must an anonymous counterfeiter have proceeded, to be able to frame a system which should not immediately excite hostility and cause his false pretensions to be challenged!

The particular testimonies to the recognition of the fourth Gospel in the second century simply afford a glimpse of the universal, undisputed tradition on which that acceptance rested. From this point of view their significance and weight must be estimated. The Church of the second century was so situated that it could not be deceived on a question of this momentous nature. It was a great community, all of whose members were deeply interested in the life of the Lord for whom they were making so great sacrifices, and which comprised within its pale men of literary cultivation and critical judgment.

In considering the Internal Evidence for the genuineness of the fourth Gospel, we notice the following points: —

1. The Gospel claims to be the work of the Apostle John, and the manner of this claim is a testimony to its truth. The author declares himself an eye-witness of the transactions recorded (i. 14, cf. 1 John i. 1–3, iv. 14; John xix. 35; compare also xxi. 24). He is distinguished from Peter (xiii. 24, xx. 2 ff., xxi. 7, 20 ff.). He omits to attach the name ὁ βαπτιστής to John the Baptist, though he attaches some explanation in the case of Peter and of Judas. This would be natural for John *the Evangelist*, himself a disciple of the Baptist. It is held by Baur that the design of the writer is to lead the reader to the inference that John is the author. But the modest, indirect style in which the authorship is made known is wholly unlike the manner of apocryphal writings.

2. The Johannean authorship is confirmed by the graphic character of the narrative, the many touches characteristic of an eye-witness, and by other indications of an immediate knowledge, on the part of the writer, of the things he relates. (See John i. 35, xiii. 21, xviii. 15, xix. 26, 27, 34, 35 and the whole chapter, xx. 3–9, 24–29, xiii. 9, etc.) There are many passages which show that the author wrote from an interest in the story as such. (See Brückner's ed. of De Wette's *Comm. Einl.* p. xv.) Among these are the allusions to Nicodemus (John iii. 2; vii. 50; xix. 39); also the particular dates attached to occurrences, as in ii. 13; iv. 6, 40, 43; v. 1; vi. 4, 22; vii. 2, 14; xii. 1, 12; xviii. 27 ff.; xix. 14. See also John xviii. 10, iii. 23; v. 2; xii. 21; iii. 24; i. 45, 46; vi. 42, comp. i. 45; vi. 67 ("the twelve"); xi. 16, xx. 24, xxi. 2 (where *Didymus* is connected with the name of Thomas). In c. xi. 2, the Evangelist assumes that an occurrence is known, which he does not himself record until later (xii. 3).

3. The general structure and contents of the fourth Gospel, considered as a biography of Christ, are a convincing argument for its historical truth and genuineness. In regard to the plan of Christ's life, this Gospel, while it is not contradicted by the Synoptists, presents a very different conception from that which they themselves would suggest. This is true of the duration and of the theatre of the Lord's ministry. But, in the first place, this varying conception is one which a *falsarius* would not venture upon; and, in the second place, it is one which accords with probability, and is even corroborated incidentally by the Synoptists themselves. (1.) It is probable that Christ would make more journeys to Jerusalem and teach more there than the Synoptists relate of him. The Synoptists confirm this view (Matt. xxvii. 57 ff.; Luke xxiii. 50 ff.; Mark xv. 42 ff.; also, Luke xiii. 34 ff., and Matt. xxiii. 37 ff. — the Saviour's lament over Jerusalem, which no conjectures of Strauss can make to imply anything less than repeated and continued labors on the part of Christ for the conversion of the inhabitants of that city). The fourth Gospel gives the clearest and most natural account of the growing hostility of the Jews, and of the way in which the catastrophe was at length brought on. So strongly is Renan impressed by this characteristic of the Gospel, that he feels obliged to assume a *pretended* miracle in the case of Lazarus, which imposed upon the people and awakened a feeling which the Jewish Rulers felt obliged to meet by a summary and violent measure. (2.) In comparing

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the fourth Gospel, as to its contents, with the other three, we have to notice the apparent discrepancy upon the date of the crucifixion, and also the paschal controversies of the second century, in their bearing upon this point of chronology. The Synoptists appear to place the Lord's Supper on the evening when the Jews ate the Passover-meal, the 14th Nisan (or, according to the Jewish reckoning, the 15th); John, on the evening before. Dr. E. Robinson, Tholuck, Norton, Bäumlein, Riggenbach, and others believe themselves able to harmonize the statements of John with those of the other three. (See the question very fully discussed in Andrews's *Life of our Lord*, p. 425 ff.) If they are successful in this, there is no discrepancy to be explained. Assuming here, with most of the later critics, that there is a real difference, Bleek draws a strong argument in favor of the fourth Gospel. No sufficient motive can be assigned why a *falsarius* should deviate from the accepted view on this subject. The probability that the fourth Gospel is correct, is heightened by circumstances incidentally brought forward by the Synoptists themselves (Matt. xxvi. 5, xxvii. 59 ff.; Mark xv. 42, 46; Luke xxiii. 56). See Ellicott, *Life of Christ* (Amer. ed.), p. 292, n. 3.

The so-called Quartodecimans of Asia Minor observed a festival on the 14th of Nisan, on whatever day of the week it might occur. Roman and other Christians kept up, on the contrary, the preparatory fast until Easter Sunday. Hence the dispute on the occasion of Polycarp's visit to Anicetus, about the year 160; then ten years later, in which Claudius Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis, and Melito of Sardis took part; and especially at the end of the second century, when Victor of Rome was rebuked by Irenæus for his intolerance. The Asia Minor bishops, in these controversies, appealed to the authority of the Apostle John, who had lived in the midst of them. But what did the Quartodecimans commemorate on the 14th of Nisan? The Tübingen critics say, the Last Supper; and infer that John could not have written the Gospel that bears his name. But, to say the least, it is equally probable that the Quartodecimans commemorated the *crucifixion* of Jesus, the true passover-lamb; or that the theory of Bleek is correct, that their festival was originally the Jewish Passover, which Jewish Christians continued to observe, which took on naturally an association with the Last Supper, and with which John did not interfere. We should add that not improbably Apollinaris was himself a Quartodeciman, and was opposing a Judaizing faction of the party, who dissented from their common view. We do not find that Victor, the Roman opponent of Polycrates, appealed to the fourth Gospel, although he must have been familiar with it; and the course taken by the disputants on both sides at the end of the second century, shows that if it was written with the design which the negative critics affirm, it failed of its end. Had the Quartodecimans been called upon to receive a new Gospel, purporting to be from John, of which they had not before heard, and which was partly designed to destroy the foundation of their favorite observance, would they not have promptly rejected such a document, or, at least, called in question its genuineness?

4. The discourses of Christ in the fourth Gospel have been used as an argument against its apostolic origin But the contrast between them and the teachings of Christ recorded by the Synoptists may be explained on the supposition that each of the disciples apprehended Jesus from his own point of view, according to the measure of his own individuality. Jesus did not confine himself in his teaching to gnomes and parables (Matt. xiii. 16 ff.). The Synoptists occasionally report sayings which are strikingly in the Johannean style (Matt. xi. 25, comp. Luke xi. 21). On the contrary, the aphoristic style is met with in the reports of the fourth Gospel (John xii. 24, 26; xiii. 16, 20). Essentially the same conception of Christ is found in the fourth Gospel as in the other three (Matt. xi. 27; also Matt. xxii. 41 ff. compared with Mark xii. 35 ff., and Luke xx. 41 ff.). See particularly on this point, Row's *Jesus of the Evangelists*, London, 1868, p. 217 ff. The resemblance between the style of the discourses and of the narrative portion of the book is accounted for, if we suppose that the teachings of Jesus were fully assimilated and freshly reproduced by the Evangelist, after the lapse of a considerable period of time. Here and there, in the discourses, are incidental expressions which mark the fidelity of the Evangelist, as John xiv. 31. The interpretations affixed to sayings of Christ are an argument in the same direction (John ii. 19; xii. 32).

5. The Hellenic culture and the theological point of view of the author of the fourth Gospel are made an objection to the Johannean authorship. The author's mode of speaking of the Jews (ii. 6, 13; iii. 1; v. 1; vi. 4; vii. 2; xi. 55) is accounted for by the fact that the Gospel was written late in the apostolic age, and by a writer who was himself outside of Palestine, among Gentiles and Gentile Christians. For the special proofs that the writer was of Jewish and Palestinian extraction, see Bleek, *Einl.* p. 207 f. The probability is that "Sychar" was the name of a town distinct from Sichem, though near it. That the writer did not misplace Bethany where Lazarus dwelt, is demonstrated by John xi. 18. The book indicates no greater acquaintance with the Greek culture than John, from the circumstances of his early life and his long residence in Asia, may well be supposed to have gained. The Christology of the fourth Gospel, especially the use of the term *Logos*, constitutes no valid objection to its genuineness. Even if this term was taken up by John from the current speculations of the time, he simply adopted a fit vehicle for conveying his conception of the Son in his relation to the Father. After the first few verses, which define the term, we hear no more of the Logos. No allusion to the Logos is introduced into the report of the discourses of Christ. The free and liberal spirit of the fourth Gospel towards the Gentiles would be natural to the Apostle at the time, and under the circumstances, in which his work was composed. The objection of the Tübingen school, drawn from this characteristic of the Gospel, rests also upon their untenable and false assumption of a radical antagonism between the original Apostles and Paul. The differences between the Apocalypse and the Gospel, in regard to style and contents, have been much urged by the opponents of the genuineness of the latter. But a long interval elapsed between the composition of the two books. The state of the author's mind and feeling in the two cases was widely different. And Baur himself regards the Gospel as so far resembling the Apocalypse that the former is a general transmutation or spiritualization of the latter. If the community of authorship between the two works were disproved the weight of evidence would be in favor of the

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genuineness of the Gospel. But the difficulty of supposing a common author has been greatly magnified. See Gieseler, *K. G.* bk. i. § 127, n. 8.

The special theory of the Tübingen school in reference to the character and aim of the fourth Gospel is only sustained by an artificial and indefensible exegesis of its contents. On this branch of the subject, we may refer to the acute and candid criticisms of Brückner in his edition of De Wette's Commentary on the Gospel.

On the whole, the external evidence for the genuineness of this book is strong and unanswerable; and the proofs derived from its internal characteristics, notwithstanding minor difficulties, are equally convincing. They who consider a miracle to be something impossible, and therefore utterly incredible, will of course deny that the book had an Apostle for its author. But those who approach the inquiry with minds free from this unphilosophical bias, may reasonably rest with confidence in the opposite conclusion. G. P. F.

* LITERATURE. — It will be convenient to arrange the more recent literature relating to the Gospel of John under several heads.

1. *Genuineness and Credibility.* — In addition to the works referred to above, and under the art. GOSPELS, p. 959 ff., the following may be noticed.

Against the genuineness: Bruno Bauer, *Kritik d. evang. Gesch. d. Johannes*, Bremen, 1840; *Kritik d. Evangelien*, Th. i., Berl. 1850. Schwegler, *Der Montanismus*, Tüb. 1841, pp. 183–215; *Das nachapost. Zeitalter*, Tüb. 1846, ii. 346–374. F. C. Baur, *Über d. Comp. u. d. Charakter d. johan. Evangeliums*, three articles in Zeller's *Theol. Jahrb.* for 1844, republished, substantially, in his *Krit. Untersuchungen üb. d. kanon. Evangelien*, Tüb. 1847, an "epoch-making work," as the Germans say; see also his articles in the *Theol. Jahrb.* 1847, pp. 89–136 (against Bleek); 1848, pp. 264–286 (Paschal question); 1854, pp. 196–287 (against Luthardt, Delitzsch, Brückner, Hase); 1857, pp. 209–257 (against Luthardt and Steitz); *Das Christenthum u. s. w. der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, Tüb. 1853, 2e Aufl. 1860, pp. 146–172, a comprehensive summary; *An Herrn Dr. Karl Hase, Beantwortung*, u. s. w. Tüb. 1855, pp. 5–70; *Die Tübinger Schule*, Tüb. 1859, 2e Aufl. 1860, pp. 85–171 (against Weisse, Weizsäcker, Ewald). Zeller, *Die äusseren Zeugnisse üb. das Dasein u. d. Ursprung d. vierten Ev.*, in the *Theol. Jahrb.* 1845, pp. 579–656; *Einige weitere Bemerkungen*, ibid. 1847, pp. 136–174; and on the Gnostic quotations in Hippolytus, *ibid.* 1853, pp. 144–161. Köstlin, *Die pseudonyme Litteratur d. ältesten Kirche*, in the *Theol. Jahrb.* 1851, pp. 149–221, esp. p. 183 ff. Hilgenfeld, *Das Evang. u. die Briefe Johannis*, Halle, 1849 (ascribes to it a Gnostic character); *Die Evangelien*, Leipz. 1854; *Das Urchristenthum*, Jena, 1856; *Der Kanon u. die Krit. d. N. T.*, Halle, 1863, p. 218 ff.; also articles in the *Theol. Jahrb.* 1857, pp. 498–532, *Die johan. Evangelienfrage*; and in his *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1859, pp. 231–348, 383–448, *Das Johannes-Evang. u. seine gegenwärtigen Auffassungen*; ibid. 1865, pp. 76–102 (review of Aberle); pp. 196–212 (review of Weizsäcker); p. 329 ff. (review of Tischendorf); *ibid.* 1866, p. 118 ff. (against Paul); *ibid.* 1867, p. 13 ff. (against Tischendorf again); p 179 ff. (against Riggenbach); *ibid.* 1868, p. 213 ff. (notice of Hofstede de Groot, Keim, and Scholten). Volkmar, *Religion Jesu*, Leipz. 1857, pp. 433–476; *Ursprung unserer Evangelien*, Zürich, 1866, p. 91 ff. (against Tischendorf); also arts. in *Theol. Jahrb.* 1854, p. 446 ff., and *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1860, p. 208 ff. (J. T. Tobler) *Die Evangelienfrage in Allgemeinen u. d. Johannisfrage insbesondere*, Zürich, 1858, ascribes the Gospel to Apollos! comp. Hilgenfeld, in his *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1859, p. 407 ff., and Tobler, *ibid.* 1860, pp. 169–203. M. Schwalb, *Notes sur l'évang. de Jean*, in the Strasbourg *Rev. de Théol.* 1863, p. 113 ff., 249 ff. R. W. Mackay, *The Tübingen School and its Antecedents*, Lond. 1863, pp. 258–311. Martineau, art. on Renan's Life of Jesus, in *National Rev.* for Oct. 1863. Schenkel, *Das Charakterbild Jesu*, 3e Aufl. Wiesbaden, 1864, pp. 17–26, 248–258. Strauss, *Leben Jesu f. d. deutsche Volk*, Leipz. 1864, §§ 12, 13, 15–18, 22. Michel Nicolas, *Études crit. sur la Bible — N. T.*, Paris, 1864, pp. 127–221, ascribes the Gospel to a disciple of John, perhaps John the presbyter, towards the end of the first century, who derived the substance of it from his master. Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen üb. d. evang. Geschichte*, Gotha, 1864, pp. 220–302, takes nearly the same view. Comp. Weiss's review in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1866, p. 137 ff. J. H. Scholten, *Het Evangelie naar Johannes, krit. hist. onderzoek*, Leiden, 1865 (1864), and Suppl. 1866; French trans. by A. Réville in the Strasbourg *Revue de Théol.* 1864–66, German trans. (*Das Ev. nach Johannes, krit.-hist. Untersuchung*), Berl. 1867; comp. his *Die ältesten Zeugnisse betreffend die Schriften des N. T.* (from the Dutch), Bremen, 1867. A. Réville, *La question des Évangiles*, I., in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* 1er mai, 1866. Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, 13e éd. revue et augmentée, Paris, 1867, p. x. ff., lviii. ff., and appendix, "De l'usage qu'il convient de faire du quatrième Évangile en écrivant la vie de Jésus," pp. 477–541. Theodor Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich, 1867, i. 103–172 (assigns the date A. D. 110–115). J. C. Matthes, *De ouderdom van het Johannesevangelie volgens de uitwendige getuigenissen*, Leiden, 1867 (against Hofstede de Groot). J. J. Tayler, *Attempt to ascertain the Character of the Fourth Gospel*, Lond. 1867. S. Davidson, *Introd. to the N. T.*, Lond. 1868, ii. 323–468. *Was John the Author of the Fourth Gospel?* By a Layman. Lond. 1868. H. Spaeth, *Nathanael, ein Beitrag zum Verständniss d. Comp. d. Logos-Evang.*, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1858, pp. 168–213, 309–343 (identifies Nathanael with John!).

For the genuineness: Frommann, *Ueber die Echtheit u. Integrität des Ev. Johannis* (against Weisse), in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1840, pp. 853–930. Grimm, in Ersch u. Gruber's *Allgem. Encykl.* 2e Sect. Theil xxii. (1843) p. 18 ff. H. Merz, *Zur johan. Frage*, in the *Stud. d. ev. Geistlichkeit Würtembergs*, 1844, Heft 2 (against Baur). Ebrard, *Das Ev. Johannis u. d. neueste Hypothese üb. seine Entstehung*, Zürich, 1845; *Wissenschaftliche Kritik d. evang. Geschichte*, 2e Aufl. Erlangen, 1850, pp. 823–952. Bleek, *Beiträge zur Evangelien-Kritik*, Berl. 1846; *Einl. in das N. T.*, Berl. 1862, 2e Aufl. 1866, pp. 149–237, French translation of this part, entitled *Étude crit. sur l'Évang. selon saint Jean*, Paris, 1864. Hauff, *Über d. Comp. d. johan. Evang.*, in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1846, pp. 550–629 (against Baur); *Bemerkungen üb. einige Stellen des vierten Evang.*, ibid. 1849, pp. 106–130. A. Vigué, *Authenticité de l'Évang. de saint Jean*, Montaub. 1848 (40 pp.). Weitzel, *Das Selbstzeugniss des*

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werten Evangelisten üb. seine Person, in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1849, pp. 578–638. Ewald, arts. in his *Jahrb. d. Bibl. wissenschaft*, iii. 146 ff., v. 178 ff., viii. 100 ff., 186 ff., x. 83 ff., xii. 212 ff., and *Gött. Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1866, p. 913 ff.; also *Die johan. Schriften übers. u. erklärt*, 2 Bde. Gött. 1861–62, esp. ii. 400 ff. A. Niermeyer, *Verhandeling over de echtheid d. Joh. schriften*, 's Hage, 1852 (*Verhand. van het Haagsch genootschap*, 13e *dl.*) Da Costa, *De Apostel Johannes en zijne schriften*, Amst. 1853. C. P. Tiele, *Specimen theol. continens Annotationem in locos nonnullos Ev. Joan., ad vindic. hujus Ev. Authentiam*, (*inest Excursus de Cap.* xxi.), Amst. 1853. G. K. Mayer (Cath.), *Die Ächtheit d. Ev. nach Johannes*, Schaffhausen, 1854. K. F. T. Schneider, *Die Ächtheit d. johan. Ev. nach den äusseren Zeugnissen*, Berl. 1854. K. Hase, *Die Tübinger Schule. Sendschreiben an Dr. Baur*, Leips. 1855. L. H. Slotemaker, *Disquisitio, qua, comparatis nonnullis Evang. quarti et Synopt. locis, utrorumque Fides historica confirmatur*, Lugd. Bat. 1856. Art. in *National Rev.* July, 1857, pp. 82–127 (*Baur and others on the Fourth Gospel*). Aberle (Cath.), *Ueber d. Zweck d. Johannes-Ev.*, in *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1861, p. 37 ff., also arts. *ibid.* 1863, p. 437 ff., and 1864 (Papias), p. 3 ff. G. P. Fisher, *The Genuineness of the Fourth Gospel*, in *Bibl. Sacra* for April, 1864, reprinted, with additions, in his *Essays on the Supernatural Origin of Christianity*, New York, 1866, pp. 33–152. Godet, *Examen des princip. questions soulevées de nos jours au sujet du* 4e *évangile*, Paris, 1865 (separate issue of the Appendix to his *Commentaire*); German trans. (*Prüfung d. wichtigsten krit. Streitfragen*, u. s. w.), Zürich, 1866. Otto Thenius, *Das Evangelium der Evangelien*, Leips. 1865 (70 pp.). Tischendorf, *Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst?* Leipz. 1865, 4th ed., greatly enlarged, 1866, trans. by W. L. Gage with the title *Origin of the Four Gospels*, Boston, 1868 (Amer. Tract Soc.). C. A. Hase, *Von Evang. des Johannes*, Leipz. 1866 (pp. vii., 71). Riggenbach, *Die Zeugnisse für das Ev. Johannis neu untersucht*, Basel, 1866 (with special reference to Volkmar), presenting the case very fairly and clearly. Pressensé, *Jésus-Christ, son temps, sa vie*, etc. 3e éd. Paris, 1866, pp. 214–251; Engl. translation, Lond. 1866. C. A. Row, *Historical Character of the Gospels tested*, etc. in the *Journal of Sacred Lit.* Oct. 1865 and July 1866, valuable; see also his *Jesus of the Evangelists*, Lond. 1868, pp. 223 ff., 391 ff. J. I. Mombert, *Origin of the Gospels*, in *Bibl. Sacra* for Oct. 1866 (against Strauss). J. J. van Oosterzee, *Das Johannesevangelium, vier Vorträge* (from the Dutch), Gütersloh, 1867 (against Scholten). H. Jonker, *Het Evangelie van Johannes. Bedenkingen tegen Scholten's krit. hist. onderzoek*, Amst. 1867. Hofstede de Groot, *Basilides als erster Zeuge . . . des Johannesevangeliums in Verbindung mit andern Zeugen bis zur Mitte des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, deutsche vermehrte Ausg., Leips. 1868 (1867). . . F. Clarke, *The Fourth Gospel and its Author*, in the *Christian Examiner* for Jan. 1868. J. P. Deramey (the Abbé), *Défense du quatrième Évangile*, Paris, 1868. See also the commentaries of Lücke, Tholuck, Meyer, Luthardt, Bäumlein, Astié, Godet, and particularly Brückner's edition of De Wette. For a general view of the whole subject, and an historical sketch of the discussion, see Holtzmann in Bunsen's *Bibel-werk*, vol. viii. (1866) pp. 66–77

The history of the Paschal controversy in the second century has been the subject of much debate with reference to its supposed bearing upon the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel. The principal separate works are by Weitzel, *Die christl. Passafeier d. drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, Pforz. 1848, and Hilgenfeld, *Der Paschastreit der alten Kirche*, Halle, 1860. See also Schwegler, *Montanismus*, p. 191 ff.; Baur, *Die kanon. Evangelien*, pp. 269, 334 ff., 353 ff., also in *Theol. Jahrb.* for 1847, 1848, 1857, *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1858, and his *Christenthum*, u. s. w., 2e Aufl., p. 156 ff.; Hilgenfeld in *Theol. Jahrb.* for 1849 and 1857, and *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1858, 1861; Tayler and Davidson, as referred to above. On the other side, see Bleek, *Beiträge*, p. 156 ff., *Einl.* p. 189 ff. (2e Aufl.); Weitzel, in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* for 1848; Steitz, *ibid.* 1856, 1857, 1859, *Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.* 1861, and Herzog's *Real-Encyk.* art. *Pascha*. See also W. Milligan, *The Easter Controversies of the Second Century in their relation to the Gospel of John*, in the *Contemp. Review* for Sept. 1867. — On the interpretation of the passages in John supposed to be at variance with the Synoptic Gospels, there are recent articles by L. Paul, in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1866, p. 362 ff., 1867, p. 524 ff., Graf, *ibid.* 1867, p. 741 ff., and W. Milligan, *The Last Supper of our Lord as related in the Three Earlier Evangelists and in St. John*, in the *Contemp. Review* for Aug. 1868, to be followed by another article. [PASSOVER.]

2. *Commentaries.* — In addition to those already mentioned, the following are worthy of notice: — C. C. Tittmann, *Meletemata Sacra*, Lips. 1816, trans. with Notes by James Young, 2 vols. Edin. 1837 (Bibl. Cab.). Adalb. Maier (Cath.), *Comm. üb. d. Ev. des Johannes*, 2 Bde. Carlsruhe, 1843–45. There are other Catholic commentaries by Klee (1829), Patritius (1857), Messmer (1860), Klofutar (1863), and Bisping (1865). Baumgarten-Crusius, *Theol. Auslegung d. johan. Schriften*, 2 Bde. Jena, 1844–45. W. F. Besser, *Das Ev. St. Joh. in Bibelstunden ausgelegt*, 1851, 4e Aufl. Halle, 1860. James Ford, *The Gospel of St. John Illustrated from Ancient and Modern Authors*, Lond. 1852. Tholuck, *Comm. zum Ev. Johannis*, 7e umgearb. Aufl., Gotha, 1857, trans. by C. P. Krauth from the 6th Germ. ed. with additions from the 7th, Philad. 1859. Olshausen, *Bibl. Comm.* Bd. ii. Abth. 1, *Das Ev. d. Joh.*, 4e Aufl. umgearb. von Ebrard, 1862, and Abth. 2, *Die Leidensgeschichte nach den 4 Evv.*, revidirt von Ebrard, 4e Aufl. 1862 (the Engl. trans. is from the previous edition). J. P. Lange, *Das Ev. nach Johannes, theol.-homiletisch bearbeitet*, Bielefeld, 1860 (Theil iv. of his *Bibelwerk*), English trans. in press, New York, 1868. Ewald, *Die johan. Schriften übersetzt u. erklärt*, Bd. i. Götting. 1861, comp. *National Review* for July, 1863. Hengstenberg, *Das Ev. d. heil. Johannes erklärtert*, 3 Bde. Berl. 1861–63, Engl. trans., 2 vols., Edin. 1865, 2d Germ. ed. of vol. i. 1867. H. A. W. Meyer, *Krit. exeg. Handb. üb. d. Ev. d. Johannes*, 4e Aufl. Götting. 1862 (Abth. ii. of his *Kommentar*). Holtzmann in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, Bd. iv. Th. i. Leips. 1862. J. F. Astié, *Explication de l' Évang. selon St. Jean, trad. nouv. avec appendice*, 3 livr. Genève, 1862–64 (livr. 1, 2, anon.) W. Bäumlein, *Comm. üb. d. Ev. d. Johannes* Stuttg. 1863. De Wette, *Kurze Erklärung d. Ev. u. d. Briefe Johannes*, 5e Ausg. von B. Brückner (much enlarged and improved), Leips. 1863

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(Bd. i. Th. iii. of his *Exeg. Hdwb.*). F. Godet, *Comm. sur l'Évang. de St. Jean* 2 tom. Paris, 1864–65. (Anon.) *Erläuterungen d. Ev. St. Johannis*, Berl. 1865 (popular). C. H. A. von Burger, *Das Ev. nach Joh. deutsch erklärt*, Nördl. 1868 (1867). For the popular American commentaries of Barnes, Ripley, Livermore, Paige, Jacobus, Hall, Owen, Whedon, and Warren, and for other works, see the literature under GOSPELS, pp. 960, 961.

On the Proem of the Gospel, see also Prof. Stuart's *Examination of John* i. 1–18, in the *Bibl. Sacra*, 1850, vii. 13–54, 281–327, comp. Norton's *Statement of Reasons*, etc., 3d ed., pp. 307–331. Hoelemann, *De Evang. Joannei Introitu*, Lips. 1855. F. A. Philippi, *Der Eingang des Johannesevangeliums ausgelegt*, Stuttg. 1867. On John vi. 25–65, see E. P. Barrows in *Bibl. Sacra*, xi. 673–729; on John xi. 1–46, Gumlich, *Die Räthsel d. Erweckung Lazarus*, in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1862, pp. 65–110, 248–336.

3. *Doctrine.* — Passing by earlier and less important works, for which see Reuss, *Gesch. d. heil. Schriften N. T.* § 217, 3e Aufl., we may notice the following: F. W. Rettberg, *An Joannes in exhibenda Jesu Natura relig. canon. Scriptis vere repugnet?* Gotting. 1826. C. L. W. Grimm, *De Joannea Christologia Indole Paulinæ comparata*, Lips. 1833. L. A. Simson, *Summa Theologiæ Joannea*, Reg. 1839. Karl Frommann, *Der johanneische Lehrbegriff*, Leipz. 1839. Reuss, *Ideen zur Einl. in d. Ev. d. Johannes*, in the *Denkschrift d. theol. Gesellschaft zu Strassburg*, 1840, pp. 7–60; *Die johan. Theologie*, in the Strassburg *Beiträge zu den theol. Wissenschaften*, 1847, i. 1–84, and more fully in his *Hist. de la théol. chrétienne*, 2e éd. Strasb. 1860, ii. 369–600. C. R. Köstlin, *Der Lehrbegriff d. Ev. u. d. Briefe Johannis*, Berl. 1843, thorough; comp. Zeller's review in his *Theol. Jahrb.* 1845, iv. 75–100. Lutterbeck (Cath.), *Die neutest. Lehrbegriffe*, Mainz, 1852, ii. 252–299. Neander, *Pflanzung u. Leitung*, 4e Aufl. 1847, Engl. trans. revised by Robinson, N. Y. 1865, pp. 508–531. Hilgenfeld, *Das Ev. u. die Briefe Johannis, nach ihrem Lehrbegriff dargestellt*, Halle, 1849. Messner, *Die Lehre der Apostel*, Leipz. 1856, pp. 316–360. Lechler, *Das apost. u. d. nachapost. Zeitalter*, 2e Aufl. Stuttg. 1857, pp. 195–232. C. F. Schmid, *Bibl. Theol. des N. T.*, 2e Aufl. Stuttg. 1859, pp. 588–617. Weizsäcker, *Das Selbstzeugniss d. joh. Christus*, in the *Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.* 1857, ii. 154–206, and *Beiträge zur Char. d. joh. Ev.* ibid. 1859, iv. 685–767; comp. Hilgenfeld's review in his *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1859, pp. 283–313, and 1862, p. 25 ff. Weiss, *Der johan. Lehrbegriff*, Berl. 1862, comp. Hilgenfeld's review in his *Zeitschrift* u. s. w. 1863, vi. 96–116, 214–228, and Weizsäcker, *Die johan. Logoslehre*, in the *Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.* 1862, iii. 619–708. Baur, *Vorlesungen über neutest. Theol.*, Leipz. 1864, pp. 351–407. Beyschlag, *Die Christologie des N. T.*, Berl. 1866, pp. 65–107, comp. Pfleiderer's review in the *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* ix. 241–266. Scholten *Das Ev. nach Johannes*, Berl. 1867, pp. 77–171. Groos, *Über den Begriff der κρίσις bei Johannes*, in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1868, pp. 244–273.

On John's doctrine of the Logos one may also see E. G. Bengel, *Obss. de λόγῳ Joannis*, Part. i. 1834 (in his *Opusc. Acad.* 1834, pp. 407–426); Wiedner, *De Subsistentia τῷ θείῳ λόγῳ apud Philonem Jud. et Joannem Apost. tributa*, in his *Zeitschr. f. d. hist. Theol.*, 1849, Heft 3; Joh. Ochs (Cath.), *Der johan. Logosbegriff*, Hamb. 1848: Jordan Bucher (Cath.), *Des Apostels Johannes Lehre vom Logos*, Schaffhausen, 1856; and Röhricht, *Zur johan. Logoslehre*, in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1868, pp. 299–315. Lücke's dissertation on the Logos, prefixed to his commentary, is translated by Dr. Noyes in the *Christian Examiner* for March and May, 1849. Dorner's remarks on the same subject, *Lehre von der Person Christi*, 1845, i. 15 ff. (Engl. trans. i. 13 ff.) are translated by Prof. Stuart in the *Bibl. Sacra* for Oct. 1850.

4. *Style.* — See J. D. Schulze, *Der schriftstellerische Charakter u. Werth des Johannes*, Leipz. 1803. T. G. Seyffarth, *Beitrag zur Speciakharakteristik d. johan. Schriften*, Leipz. 1823. Credner, *Einl. in d. N. T.*, Halle, 1836, i. 223 ff., reproduced in Davidson's *Introd. to the N. T.* Lond. 1848, i. 341 ff., comp. his *Introd.* 1868, ii. 462 ff. T. P. C. Kaiser, *De speciali Joan. Apost. Grammatica Culpa Negligentiæ liberanda*, 2 Progr. Erlang. 1842. Wilke, *Neutest. Rhetorik*, 1843, *passim*. Luthardt, *Das johan. Evangelium*, 1852, i. 21–69. B. F. Westcott, *Introd. to the Study of the Gospels*, Boston, 1862, pp. 264–275. A.

JOHN, THE FIRST EPISTLE GENERAL OF. *Its Authenticity.* — The external evidence is of the most satisfactory nature. Eusebius places it in his list of ὁμολογούμενα [see above, p. 373], and we have ample proof that it was acknowledged and received as the production of the Apostle John in the writings of Polycarp (*Ep. ad Philipp.* c. 7); Papias, as quoted by Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 39); Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.* iii. 16); Origen (*apud Eus H. E.* vi. 25); Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* lib ii.); Tertullian (*Adv. Prax.* c. 15); Cyprian (*Ep.* xxviii.): and there is no voice in antiquity raised to the contrary.

On the grounds of internal evidence it has been questioned by [S. G.] Lange (*Die Schrift. Johannis übersetzt und erklärt*, vol. iii.); Cludius (*Ursichten des Christenthums*); Bretschneider (*Probabilia de Evang. et Epist. Joan. Ap. indole et origine*); Zeller (*Theologische Jahrbücher* for 1845). The objections made by these critics are too slight to be worth mentioning. On the other hand the internal evidence for its being the work of St. John from its similarity in style, language, and doctrine to the Gospel is overwhelming. Macknight (*Preface to First Epistle of John*) has drawn out a list of nineteen passages in the epistle which are so similar to an equal number of passages in the Gospel that we cannot but conclude that the two writings emanated from the same mind, or that one author was a strangely successful copyist both of the words and of the sentiments of the other. The allusion again of the writer to himself is such as would suit St. John the Apostle, and very few but St. John (1 Ep. i. 1).

Thus we see that the high probability of the authorship is established both by the internal evidence and by the external evidence taken apart. Unite them, and this probability rises to a moral certainty.

With regard to *the time* at which St. John wrote the epistle (for an epistle it essentially is, though not commencing or concluding in the epistolary form) there is considerable diversity of opinion. Grotius, Hammond, Whitby, Benson, Macknight, fix a date previous to the destruction of Jerusalem, understanding (but probably not correctly) the ex-

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pression "It is the last time" (ii. 18) to refer to the Jewish Church and nation. Lardner, Whiston, Lampe, Mill, Le Clerc, Basnage, Beausobre, Dupin, Davidson, assign it to the close of the first century. This is the more probable date. There are several indications of the epistle being posterior to the Gospel.

Like the Gospel it was probably written from Ephesus. Grotius fixes Patmos as *the place* at which it was written — Macknight, Judæa. But a late date would involve the conclusion that it was Ephesus. The *persons addressed* are certainly not the Parthians, according to the inscriptions of one Greek and several Latin MSS. There is however a somewhat widely spread Latin tradition to this effect resting on the authority of St. Augustine, Cassiodorus, and Bede; and it is defended by Estius. The Greek Church knew no such report. Lardner is clearly right when he says that it was primarily meant for the Churches of Asia under St. John's inspection, to whom he had already orally delivered his doctrine (i. 3, ii. 7).

The main *object* of the epistle does not appear to be that of opposing the errors of the Docetæ (Schmidt, Bertholdt, Niemeyer), or of the Gnostics (Kleuker), or of the Nicolaitans (Macknight), or of the Cerinthians (Michaelis), or of all of them together (Townsend), or of the Sabians (Barkey, Storr, Keil), or of Judaizers (Loeffler, Semler), or of apostates to Judaism (Lange, Eichhorn, Hänlein): the leading purpose of the Apostle appears to be rather constructive than polemical. St. John is remarkable both in his history and in his writings for his abhorrence of false doctrine, but he does not attack error as a controversialist. He states the deep truth and lays down the deep moral teaching of Christianity, and in this way rather than directly condemns heresy. In the introduction (i. 1–4) the Apostle states the purpose of his epistle. It is to declare the Word of life to those whom he is addressing, in order that he and they might be united in true communion with each other, and with God the Father, and his Son Jesus Christ. He at once begins to explain the nature and conditions of communion with God, and being led on from this point into other topics, he twice brings himself back to the same subject. The first part of the epistle may be considered to end at ii. 28. The Apostle begins afresh with the doctrine of sonship or communion at ii. 29, and returns to the same theme at iv. 7. His lesson throughout is, that the means of union with God are, on the part of Christ, his atoning blood (i. 7, ii. 2, iii. 5, iv. 10, 14, v. 6) and advocacy (ii. 1) — on the part of man, holiness (i. 6), obedience (ii. 3), purity (iii. 3), faith (iii. 23, iv. 3, v. 5), and above all love (ii. 10, iii. 14, iv. 7, v. 1). St. John is designated the Apostle of Love, and rightly; but it should be ever remembered that his "love" does not exclude or ignore, but embraces both faith and obedience as constituent parts of itself. Indeed, St. Paul's "faith that worketh by love," and St. James's "works that are the fruit of faith," and St. John's "love which springs from faith and produces obedience," are all one and the same state of mind described according to the first, third, or second stage into which we are able to analyze the complex whole.

There are two doubtful passages in this epistle, ii. 23, "but he that acknowledgeth the Son hath the Father also," and v. 7, "For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one." The question of their authenticity is argued at length by Mill (note at the end of 1 John v.), and Horne (*Introduction to H. S.* iv. p. 448, Lond. 1834 [or 10th ed., 1856, pp. 355 ff.]). It would appear without doubt that they are not genuine. The latter passage is contained in four only of the 150 [250] MSS. of the epistle, the Codex Guelpherbytanus of the seventeenth century, the Codex Ravianus, a forgery subsequent to the year 1514, the Codex Britannicus or Montfortii of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, and the Codex Ottobonianus of the fifteenth century. It is not found in the Syriac versions, in the Coptic, the Sahidic, the Ethiopic, the Armenian, the Arabic, the Slavonic, nor in any ancient version except the Latin; and the best editions of even the Latin version omit it. It was not quoted by one Greek Father or writer previous to the 14th century. It was not inserted in Erasmus's editions of the Greek Testament, published in 1516 and 1519, nor in that of Aldus, 1518; nor in that of Gerbelius, 1521; nor of Cephalæus, 1524; nor of Colinæus, 1534; nor in Luther's version of 1546. Against such an amount of external testimony no internal evidence, however weighty, could be of avail. For the exposition of the passage as containing the words in question, see (as quoted by Horne) Bp. Horsley's *Sermons* (i. p. 193). For the same passage interpreted without the disputed words, see Sir Isaac Newton's *Hist. of Two Texts* (Works, v. p. 528, Lond. 1779). See also Emlyn's *Enquiry*, etc., Lond. 1717. See further, Travis (*Letters to Gibbon*, Lond. 1785); Porson (*Letters to Travis*, Lond. 1790); Bishop Marsh (*Letters to Travis*, Lond. 1795); Michaelis (*Intr. to New Test.* iv. p. 412, Lond. 1802); Griesbach (*Diatribe* appended to vol. ii. of *Greek Test.* Halæ, 1806); Butler (*Horæ Biblicæ*, ii. p. 245, Lond. 1807); Clarke (*Succession*, etc., i. p. 71, Lond. 1807); Bishop Burgess (*Vindication of 1 John* v. 7, Lond. 1822 and 1823; *Annotationes Millii*, etc., 1822; *Letter to the Clergy of St. David's*, 1825; *Two Letters to Mrs. Joanna Baillie*, 1831, 1835). to which may be added a dissertation in the *Life of Bp. Burgess*, p. 398, Lond. 1840. F. M.

* It is far from correct to speak of the last clause of 1 John ii. 23 as "doubtful," and even, as is done above, to include it in the same category with 1 John v. 7, as "without doubt . . . not genuine." The clause in question, though omitted in the so-called "received text," is supported by decisive evidence, and is regarded as genuine by all critics of any note. Its omission in some manuscripts was obviously occasioned by the like ending (in the original) of the preceding clause.

To prevent a mistake which has often been made, it may be well to say explicitly that the *whole* of 1 John v. 7 is not spurious, but the words which follow "bear record," together with the first clause of ver. 8, "and there are three that bear witness in earth." The genuine text of vv. 7, 8 reads simply, "For there are three that bear record [or rather, 'bear witness,' as the same verb is rendered in ver. 6], the spirit, and the water, and the blood: and the three agree in one."

For a full account of the controversy on this famous passage, one may consult the Rev. William Orme's *Memoir of the Controversy respecting the Three Heavenly Witnesses*, published under the name of "Criticus," London, 1830; new edition, with notes and an Appendix, bringing the history of the discussion down to the present time, by E. Abbot New York, 1866. To the list of publications on

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the controversy given above the following deserves to be added for its signal ability, and the valuable information it contains: *A Vindication of the Literary Character of Professor Porson, from the Animadversions of the Rt. Rev. Thomas Burgess, . . . By Crito Cantabrigiensis*, Cambridge, 1827. The author was Dr. Thomas Turton, afterwards Bishop of Ely; and to him are probably to be ascribed the able articles which had previously appeared on the subject in the *Quarterly Review* for March 1822, and Dec. 1825. On the other side may be mentioned Cardinal Wiseman's *Two Letters on some Parts of the Controversy concerning the Genuineness of John* v. 7, in the *Cath. Mag.* for 1832 and 1833, reprinted in vol. i. of his *Essays*, Lond. 1853. These letters relate almost wholly to the reading of the passage in the Old Latin version. For an answer, see Dr. William Wright's Appendix to his translation of Seiler's *Bibl. Hermeneutics* (1835), pp. 633 ff.; Tregelles in Horne's *Introd.*, 10th ed., p. 363 f.; and the Appendix to the American edition of Orme's *Memoir*, pp. 186–191. Dr. Tregelles, in the *Journ. of Sac. Lit.* for April, 1858, p. 167 ff., has exposed the extraordinary misstatements of Dr. Joseph Turnbull in relation to this passage. The *New Plea for the Authenticity of the Text of the Three Heavenly Witnesses*, by the Rev. Charles Forster, London, 1867, deserves notice only as a literary and psychological curiosity.

Literature relating to the Epistles of John in general and the First Epistle in particular. — Besides the older general commentaries on the New Testament or the Epistles, as those of Calvin, Beza, Grotius, Bengel, Whitby, Doddridge, Macknight, and general works on the Catholic Epistles, as those of Geo. Benson (2d ed. 1756), J. B. Carpzov (1790), Augusti (1801–08), Grashof (1830), Jachmann (1838), Abp. Sumner (*Practical Exposition*, Lond. 1840), Barnes (*Notes, Explan. and Practical*, New York, 1847), Karl Braune (*Die sieben kl. Kathol. Briefe zur Erbauung ausgelegt*, 3 Hefte, Grimma, 1847–48), and the more recent editions of the Greek Testament by Bloomfield, Alford, Webster and Wilkinson, and Wordsworth, the following special works may be noticed: Whiston, *Comm. on the Three Cath. Epistles of John*, Lond. 1719. Semler, *Paraphr. in primam Joan. Epist. cum Prolegg. et Animadv.* Rigæ, 1792. Morus, *Prælectiones exeget. in tres Joannis Epistolas*, Lipsæ, 1796, also 1810. Rich. Shepherd, *Notes, Critical and Dissertatory, on the Gospel and Epistles of John*, Lond. 1796, also 1802, new ed. 1841. T. Hawkins, *Comm. on the First, Second, and Third Epistles of John*, Halifax, 1808. Karl Rickli, *Johannis erster Brief erklärt u. angewendet in Predigten, mit hist. Vorbericht u. exeget. Anhange*, Luzern, 1828. Paulus, *Die drey Lehrbriefe von Johannes übers. u. erklärt*, Heidelb. 1829. Lücke, *Comm. üb. d. Briefe des Ev. Johannes*, 2e Aufl. Bonn, 1836, Engl. trans. by T. G. Repp, Edin. 1837 (Bibl. Cab.), 3d German ed. by E. Bertheau, 1856. O. F. Fritzsche, *De Epistt. Johan. Locis difficilioribus Comm.* I., Turici, 1837, reprinted in Fritzschiorum *Opuscc. Acad.*, Lipsæ, 1838, pp. 276–308. Robt. Shepherd, *Notes on the Gospel and Epistles of John*, 1 ond. 1840. Neander, *Der erste Brief Johannis, praktisch erläutert*, Berl. 1851, Engl. trans. by Mrs. H. C. Conant, New York, 1852. I. E. F. Sardet, *Comm. ss d. Brr. Joh.* Elberf. 1851, not important. G. K. Mayer (Cath.), *Comm. üb. d. Brr. d Ap. Joh.*, Wien, 1851. W. F. Besser, *Die Briefe St. Johannis in Bibelstunden ausgelegt*, Halle, 1851, 3e Aufl. 1862. Düsterdieck, *Die drei johan. Briefe, mit vollständ. theol. Commentar*, 2 Bde. Gött. 1852–56. D. Erdmann, *Primæ Joannis Epist. argumentum*, etc. Berol. 1855. F. D. Maurice, *The Epistles of St. John. A Series of Lectures on Christian Ethics*, Camb. 1857, new ed. 1867. Myrberg, *Comm. in Epist. Johannis primam*, Upsal. 1859 (pp. xiv., 74). Ebrard, *Die Briefe Johannis*, u. s. w. Königsb. 1859 (Bd. vi. Abth. iv. of Olshausen's *Bibl. Comm.*), English transl. Edin. 1860 (Clark's *For. Theol. Libr.*). Karl Braune, *Die drei Briefe d. Apost. Johannes, theol.-homilet. bearbeitet*, Bielefeld, 1865 (Theil xv. of Lange's *Bibelwerk*), Engl. transl., with additions, by J. I. Mombert, New York, 1867 (part of vol. ix. of Lange's *Comm.*). R. S. Candlish, *The First Epistle of John expounded in a Series of Lectures*, Edin. 1866. For the commentaries of Baumgarten-Crusius (1845), Ewald (1861), and De Wette, 5th ed. by Brückner (1863), see the literature under JOHN, GOSPEL OF. Of the commentaries named above the most valuable are those of Lücke, Neander, Düsterdieck (rather prolix), and Huther. "The Epistles of John, with Introduction, Notes, and Dissertations, by the Rev. B. F. Westcott, B. D." is announced as in preparation (1868) and will be looked for with interest by Biblical students. An excellent sketch of the *history* of the interpretation of the First Epistle is given in Lücke's *Comm.* 2e Aufl. pp. 75–106.

For further information respecting the critical questions relating to the three epistles of John, one may consult the Introductions of De Wette, Reuss, Bleek, Guericke, and Davidson; see also Ewald's *Jahrb. d. Bibl. wissensch.* iii. 174 ff., x. 83 ff., and *Die johan. Schriften*, ii. 391 ff. Baur's view is set forth in the *Theol. Jahrb.* 1848, pp. 293–337, and *ibid.* 1857, pp. 315–331; Hilgenfeld's in his *Das Ev. u. die Briefe Johannis*, u. s. w. (1849), and *Theol. Jahrb.* 1855, p. 471 ff. On the Gospel and First Epistle of John as works of the same author, and on the First Epistle and its relation to the fourth Gospel, see two good articles by Wilibald Grimm, in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1847, p. 171 ff. and 1849, pp. 269–303.

On the *doctrine* of the epistle, see L. Thomas, *Études dogm. sur la première épître de Jean*, Genève, 1849, and the works referred to in the addition under JOHN, GOSPEL OF. A.

JOHN, THE SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES OF. *Their Authenticity.* — These two epistles are placed by Eusebius in the class of ἀντιλεγόμενα, and he appears himself to be doubtful whether they were written by the Evangelist, or by some other John (*H. E.* iii. 25). The evidence of antiquity in their favor is not very strong, but yet it is considerable. Clement of Alexandria speaks of the First Epistle as *the larger* (*Strom.* lib. ii. [c. 15, p. 464, ed. Potter]), and if the *Adumbrationes* are his, he bears direct testimony to the Second Epistle (*Adumbr.* p. 1011, ed. Potter). Origen appears to have had the same doubts as Eusebius (*apud Euseb. H. E.* vi. 25). Dionysius (*apud Euseb. H. E.* vii. 25) and Alexander of Alexandria (*apud Socr. H. E.* i. 6) attribute them to St. John. So does Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.* i. 16). [The Muratorian canon mentions two epistles of John.] Aurelius quoted them in the Council of Carthage, A. D. 256, as St. John's writing (Cyprian, *Opp.* ii. p. 120, ed. Oberthür). Ephrem Syrus speaks of them in the same way in the fourth cen-

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tary [though they are wanting in the Peshito]. In the fifth century they are almost universally received. A homily, wrongly attributed to St. Chrysostom, declares them uncanonical.

If the external testimony is not as decisive as we might wish, the internal evidence is peculiarly strong. Mill has pointed out that of the 13 verses which compose the Second Epistle, 8 are to be found in the First Epistle. Either then the Second Epistle proceeded from the same author as the First, or from a conscious fabricator who desired to pass off something of his own as the production of the Apostle. But if the latter alternative had been true, the fabricator in question would assuredly have assumed the title of John *the Apostle*, instead of merely designating himself as John *the elder*, and he would have introduced some doctrine which it would have been his object to make popular. The title and contents of the epistle are strong arguments against a fabricator, whereas they would account for its non-universal reception in early times. And if not the work of a fabricator, it must from style, diction, and tone of thought, be the work of the author of the First Epistle, and, we may add, of the Gospel.

The reason why St. John designates himself as πρεσβύτερος rather than ἀπόστολος (Ep. ii. 1, Ep. iii. 1), is no doubt the same as that which made St. Peter designate himself by the same title (1 Pet. v. 1), and which caused St. James and St. Jude to give themselves no other title than "the servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ" (Jam. i. 1), "the servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James" (Jude 1). St. Paul had a special object in declaring himself an apostle. Those who belonged to the original Twelve had no such necessity imposed upon them. With them it was a matter of indifference whether they employed the name of apostle like St. Peter (1 Pet. i. 1, 2 Pet. i. 1), or adopted an appellation which they shared with others like St. John and St. James, and St. Jude.

The Second Epistle is *addressed* ἐκλεκτῇ κυρίᾳ. This expression cannot mean the Church (Jerome), nor a particular church (Cassiodorus [so Davidson, *Introd.* ed. 1868]), nor the elect Church which comes together on Sundays (Michaelis), nor the Church of Philadelphia (Whiston), nor the Church of Jerusalem (Whitby). An individual woman who had children, and a sister and nieces, is clearly indicated. Whether her name is given, and if so, what it is, has been doubted. According to one interpretation she is "the Lady Electa," to another, "the elect Kyria," to a third, "the elect Lady." The first interpretation is that of Clement of Alexandria (if the passage above referred to in the *Adumbrationes* be his), Wetstein, Grotius, Middleton. The second is that of Benson, Carpzov, Schleusner, Heumann, Bengel, Rosenmüller, De Wette, Lücke, Neander, Davidson [*Introd.* ed. 1851, otherwise 1868]. The third is the rendering of the English version, Mill, Wall, Wolf, Le Clerc, Lardner, Beza, Eichhorn, Newcome, Wakefield, Macknight. For the rendering "the Lady Electa" to be right, the word κυρίᾳ must have preceded (as in modern Greek) the word ἐκλεκτῇ, not followed it; and further, the last verse of the epistle, in which her sister is also spoken of as ἐκλεκτή, is fatal to the hypothesis. The rendering "the elect Kyria," is probably wrong, because there is no article before the adjective ἐκλεκτῇ. It remains that the rendering of the English version is probably right, though here too we should have expected the article.

The Third Epistle is *addressed* to Gaius or Caius. We have no reason for identifying him with Caius of Macedonia (Acts xix. 29), or with Caius of Derbe (Acts xx. 4), or with Caius of Corinth (Rom. xvi. 23; 1 Cor. i. 14), or with Caius Bishop of Ephesus, or with Caius Bishop of Thessalonica, or with Caius Bishop of Pergamos. He was probably a convert of St. John (Ep. iii. 4), and a layman of wealth and distinction (Ep. iii. 5) in some city near Ephesus.

The *object* of St. John in writing the Second Epistle was to warn the lady to whom he wrote against abetting the teaching known as that of Basilides and his followers, by perhaps an undue kindness displayed by her towards the preachers of the false doctrine. After the introductory salutation, the Apostle at once urges on his correspondent the great principle of Love, which with him (as we have before seen) means right affection springing from right faith and issuing in right conduct. The immediate consequence of the possession of this love is the abhorrence of heretical misbelief, because the latter, being incompatible with right faith, is destructive of the producing cause of love, and therefore of love itself. This is the secret of St. John's strong denunciation of the "deceiver" whom he designates as "anti-Christ." Love is with him the essence of Christianity; but love can spring only from right faith. Wrong belief therefore destroys love and with it Christianity. Therefore says he, "If there come any unto you and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed, for he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds" (Ep. ii. 10, 11).

The Third Epistle was written for the purpose of commending to the kindness and hospitality of Caius some Christians who were strangers in the place where he lived. It is probable that these Christians carried this letter with them to Caius as their introduction. It would appear that the object of the travellers was to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles without money and without price (Ep. iii. 7). St. John had already written to the ecclesiastical authorities of the place (ἔγραψα, ver. 9, not "scripsissem," (*Vulg.*); but they, at the instigation of Diotrephes, had refused to receive the missionary brethren, and therefore the Apostle now commends them to the care of a layman. It is probable that Diotrephes was a leading presbyter who held Judaizing views, and would not give assistance to men who were going about with the purpose of preaching solely to the Gentiles. Whether Demetrius (ver. 12) was a tolerant presbyter of the same community, whose example St. John holds up as worthy of commendation in contradistinction to that of Diotrephes, or whether he was one of the strangers who bore the letter, we are now unable to determine. The latter supposition is the more probable.

We may conjecture that the two epistles were written shortly after the First Epistle from Ephesus. They both apply to individual cases of conduct the principles which had been laid down in their fullness in the First Epistle.

The title Catholic does not properly belong to the Second and Third Epistles. It became attached to them, although addressed to individuals, because they were of too little importance to be classed by themselves, and so far as doctrine went, were regarded as appendices to the First Epistle.

P. M.

* On the Second and Third Epistles of John

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the works most worthy of notice are referred to in the addition to the article on the First Epistle. The following may also be mentioned: J. B. Carpzov, *Comm. in Ep. sec. Joannis*, and *Brevis Enarratio in Joan. Apost. Epist. tertiam*, appended to his edition of F. Rappolt's *Theologia aphoristica Jonnæi*, Lips. 1688, also in his *Theologia Exegetica*, Lips. 1751, p. 101 ff.; praised by Walch. G. J. Sommelius, *Isag. in 2 et 3 Joh. Epist.*, Lund. 1798–99. P. L. Gachon, *Authenticité de la 2e et 3e ép. de Jean*, Montaub. 1851. Sam. Cox, *The Private Letters of St. Paul and John*, Lond. 1867. J. J. Rambonnet, *Spec. acad. de sec. Ep. Joannea*, Traj. ad Rhen. 1819. A. W. Knauer, *Ueber die Ἐκλεκτὴ Κυρία, an welche der zweite Brief Johannis gerichtet ist*, in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1833, pp. 452–458. J. C. M. Laurent, *Wer war die Κυρία im 2. Briefe Johannis?* in the *Zeitschr. f. luth. Theol.* 1865, p. 219 ff. (comp. his *Neutest. Studien*, p. 137 f.) takes Κυρία to represent the Latin *Curia*, not *Cyria*; and Guericke, *Neutest. Isagogik*, 3e Aufl. (1868), p. 477, regards this as unquestionable. On the Third Epistle, C. A. Heumann, *Diss. exhibens Comm. in Joan. Epist. tertiam*, Gotting. 1742, reprinted in his *Nova Sylloge Diss., etc.* (1752), i. 216 ff. A.

JOI'ADA (יוֹיָדָע [*Jehovah knows*]: Ἰωδαέ, Ἰωαδέ; [Vat. Neh. xii. 10, 11, Ἰωδα;] Alex. [Ἰωαδα,] Ἰωιαδα [and so FA.^{2} in Neh. xii. 22]: *Jviada*), high-priest after his father Eliashib, but whether in the lifetime of Nehemiah is not clear, as it is doubtful whether the title in Neh. xiii. 28 applies to him or his father. One of his sons married a daughter of Sanballat the Horonite. He was succeeded in the high-priesthood by his son Jonathan, or Johanan (Neh. xii. 11, 22). Josephus calls this Jehoiada, Judas. A. C. H.

JOI'AKIM (יוֹיָקִים [*Jehovah establishes, raises up*]: Ἰωακείμ; [Vat. Alex. FA. Ἰωακειμ:] *Joiacim*), a high-priest, son of the renowned Jeshua who was joint leader with Zerubbabel of the first return from Babylon. His son and successor was Eliashib (Neh. xii. 10). In Neh. xii. 12–26 is preserved a catalogue of the heads of the various families of priests and Levites during the high-priesthood of Joiakim.

The name is a contracted form of Jehoiakim.

JOI'ARIB (יוֹיָרִיב [*whom Jehovah defends*]: Ἰωαρίμ, Ἰωαρίβ; Alex. Ἰωαρειμ: *Joarib*). 1. [Ἰωαρίμ; Vat. Αρειβ: Alex. Ἰωαρειμ: *Joiarib.*] A layman who returned from Babylon with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 16).

2. [Neh. xi. 10, Ἰωαριβ; Vat. Ἰωρειβ; Alex. Ἰωριβ; FA. Ἰωρειμ; in Neh. xii. 6, 19, Vat. Alex. FA.^{1} omit, and so Rom. in ver. 6: *Joarib, Joiarib.*] The founder of one of the courses of priests, elsewhere called in full Jehoiarib. His descendants after the Captivity are given, Neh. xii. 6, 19, and also in xi. 10; though it is possible that in this passage another person is intended.

3. [Ἰωαριβ; Vat. Ἰωρειβ: FA. Ἰωρειμ, corr. Ἰωρειβ; Alex. Ἰωιαριβ: *Joiarib.*] A Shilonite — i. e. probably a descendant of Shelah the son of Judah — named in the genealogy of Maaseiah, the then head of the family (Neh. xi. 5).

JOK'DEAM (יָקְדְעָם [*possessed by the people*]: Ἀρικάμ; [Vat. Ιαρικαμ;] Alex. Ἰακδααμ: *Iacadam*), a city of Judah, in the mountains (Josh. xv. 56), named in the same group with Maon, Carmel, and Ziph, and therefore apparently to be looked for south of Hebron, where they are situated. It has not, however, been yet met with, nor was it known to Eusebius and Jerome. G.

JO'KIM (יוֹקִים [*Jehovah establishes*]: Ἰωακείμ; [Vat.] Alex. Ἰωακειμ: *qui stare fecit solem*), one of the sons of Shelah (the third according to Burrington) the son of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 22), of whom nothing further is known. It would be difficult to say what gave rise to the rendering of the Vulgate or the Targum on the verse. The latter translates, "and the prophets and scribes who came forth from the seed of Joshua." The reading which they had was evidently יָקוּם, which some rabbinical tradition applied to Joshua, and at the same time identified Joash and Saraph, mentioned in the same verse, with Mahlon and Chilion. Jerome quotes a Hebrew legend that Jokim was Elimelech the husband of Naomi, in whose days the sun stood still on account of the transgressors of the law (*Quæst. Heb. in Paral.*).

JOK'MEAM (יָקְמְעָם [*assembled by the people*]: [in 1 K., Rom. Vat. Λουκάμ; Alex. Ἰεκμααν, but united with preceding word; in 1 Chr.,] Ἰεκμαάν; [Vat. Ινααμ: *Jecmaan,*] *Jecmaam*), a city of Ephraim, given with its suburbs to the Kohathite Levites (1 Chr. vi. 68). The catalogue of the towns of Ephraim in the book of Joshua is unfortunately very imperfect (see xvi.), but in the parallel list of Levitical cities in Josh. xxi., Kibzaim occupies the place of Jokmeam (ver. 22). The situation of Jokmeam is to a certain extent indicated in 1 K. iv. 12, where it is named with places which we know to have been in the Jordan Valley at the extreme east boundary of the tribe. (Here the A. V. has, probably by a printer's error, Jokneam.) This position is further supported by that of the other Levitical cities of this tribe — Shechem in the north, Beth-horon in the south, and Gezer in the extreme west, leaving Jokmeam to take the opposite place in the east (see, however, the contrary opinion of Robinson, iii. 115 *note*). With regard to the substitution of Kibzaim — which is not found again — for Jokmeam, we would only draw attention to the fact of the similarity in appearance of the two names, יקמעם and קבצים. G.

JOK'NEAM (יָקְנְעָם [*possessed by the people*]: [Ἰεκόμ,] Ἰεκμάν, ἡ Μαάν; Alex. Ἰεκναμ, Ἰεκναμ, η Εκναμ: *Jachanan, Jeconam, Jecnam*), a city of the tribe of Zebulun, allotted with its suburbs to the Merarite Levites (Josh. xxi. 34), but entirely omitted in the catalogue of 1 Chr. vi. (comp. ver. 77). It is doubtless the same place as that which is incidentally named in connection with the boundaries of the tribe — "the torrent which faces Jokneam" (xix. 11), and as the Canaanite town, whose king was killed by Joshua — "Jokneam of Carmel" (xii. 22). The requirements of these passages are sufficiently met by the modern site *Tell Kaimon*, an eminence which stands just below the eastern termination of Carmel, with the Kishon at its feet about a mile off. Dr. Robinson has shown (*B. R.* iii. 115, *note*) that the modern name is legitimately descended from the ancient: the Cyamon of Jud. vii. 3 being a step in the pedigree. (See also Van de Velde, i. 331, and *Memoir*, 326.) Jokneam is found in the A. V

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of 1 K. iv. 12, but this is unwarranted by either Hebrew text, Alex. LXX. or Vulgate (both of which have the reading Jokmeam, the Vat. LXX. is quite corrupt), and also by the requirements of the passage, as stated under JOKMEAM.[a] G.

JOK'SHAN (יָקְשָׁן [prob. *fowler*]: Ἰεζάν, Ἰεξάν; [Alex. ** Ἰεξαν, Ἰεκσαν:] *Jecsan*), a son of Abraham and Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2, 3; 1 Chr. i. 32), whose sons were Sheba and Dedan. While the settlements of his two sons are presumptively placed on the borders of Palestine, those of Jokshan are not known. The Keturahites certainly stretched across the desert from the head of the Arabian, to that of the Persian, gulf; and the reasons for supposing this, especially in the case of Jokshan, are mentioned in art. DEDAN. If those reasons be accepted, we must suppose that Jokshan returned westwards to the trans-Jordanic country, where are placed the settlements of his sons, or at least the chief of their settlements; for a wide spread of these tribes seems to be indicated in the passages in the Bible which make mention of them. Places or tribes bearing their names, and consequently that of Jokshan, may be looked for over the whole of the country intervening between the heads of the two gulfs.

The writings of the Arabs are rarely of use in the case of Keturahite tribes, whom they seem to confound with Ishmaelites in one common appellation. They mention a dialect of Jokshan ("Yákish, who is Yokshán," as having been formerly spoken near 'Aden and El-Jened, in Southern Arabia, Yakoot's *Moajam*, cited in the *Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, viii. 600–1, x. 30–1): but that Midianites penetrated so far into the peninsula we hold to be highly improbable [see ARABIA]. E. S. P.

JOK'TAN (יָקְטָן, *small*, Ges. [or, *made small*]: Ἰεκτάν: *Jectan*), son of Eber (Gen. x. 25; 1 Chr. i. 19); and the father of the Joktanite Arabs. His sons were Almodad, Sheleph, Hazarmaveth, Jerah, Hadoram, Uzal, Diklah, Obal, Abimael, Sheba, Ophir, Havilah, and Jobab; progenitors of tribes peopling southern Arabia, many of whom are clearly identified with historical tribes, and the rest probably identified in the same manner. The first-named identifications are too well proved to admit of doubt; and accordingly scholars are agreed in placing the settlements of Joktan in the south of the Peninsula. The original limits are stated in the Bible, "their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the East" (Gen. x. 30). The position of Mesha, which is reasonably supposed to be the western boundary, is still uncertain [MESHA]; but Sephar is well established as being the same as Zafári, the sea port town on the east of the modern Yemen, and formerly one of the chief centres of the great Indian and African trade [SEPHAR; ARABIA]. Besides the genealogies in Gen. x., we have no record of Joktan himself in the Bible; but there are mentions of the peoples sprung from him, which must guide all researches into the history of the race. The subject is naturally divided into the history of Joktan himself, and that of his sons and their descendants.

The native traditions respecting Joktan commence with a difficulty. The ancestor of the great southern peoples were called Kahtán, who, say the Arabs, was the same as Joktan. To this some European critics have objected that there is no good reason to account for the change of name, and that the identification of Kahtán with Joktan is evidently a Jewish tradition adopted by Mohammed or his followers, and consequently at or after the promulgation of El-Islám. M. Caussin de Perceval commences his essay on the history of Yemen (*Essai*, i. 39) with this assertion, and adds, "Le nom de Cahtân, disent-ils [les Arabes], est le nom de Yectân, légèrement altéré en passant d'une langue étrangère dans la langue arabe." In reply to these objectors, we may state: —

1. The Rabbins hold a tradition that Joktan settled in India (see Joseph. *Ant.* i. 6, § 4), and the supposition of a Jewish influence in the Arab traditions respecting him is therefore untenable.[b] In the present case, even were this not so, there is an absence of motive for Mohammad's adopting traditions which alienate from the race of Ishmael many tribes of Arabia: the influence here suspected may rather be found in the contradictory assertion, put forward by a few of the Arabs, and rejected by the great majority, and the most judicious, of their historians, that Kahtán was descended from Ishmael.

2. That the traditions in question are post-Mohammedan cannot be proved; the same may be said of everything which Arab writers tell us dates before the Prophet's time; for then oral tradition alone existed, if we except the rock-cut inscriptions of the Himyerites, which are too few, and our knowledge of them is too slight, to admit of much weight attaching to them.

3. A passage in the *Mir-át ez-Zemán*, hitherto unpublished, throws new light on the point. It is as follows: "Ibn-El-Kelbee says, Yuktan [whose name is also written Yuktán] is the same as Kahtán son of 'A'bir," *i. e.* Eber, and so say the generality of the Arabs. "El-Beládhiree says, People differ respecting Kahtán; some say he is the same as Yuktán, who is mentioned in the Pentateuch; but the Arabs arabicized his name, and said Kahtán the son of Hood [because they identified their prophet Hood with Eber, whom they call 'A'bir]; and some say, son of Es-Semeyfa'," or as is said in one place by the author here quoted, "El-Hemeysa', the son of Nebt [or Nábit, *i. e.* Nebaioth], the son of Ismá'eel," *i. e.* Ishmael. He then proceeds, in continuation of the former passage, "Aboo-Haneefeh Ed-Deenawaree says, He is Kahtán the son of 'A'bir; and was named Kahtán only because of his suffering from drought" [which is termed in Arabic Kaht]. (*Mir-át ez-Zemán*, account of the sons of Shem.) Of similar changes of names by the Arabs there are numerous instances. Thus it is evident that the name of "Saul" (שָׁאוּל) was changed by the Arabs to "Tálootu" (طَالُوت), because of his *tallness*, from طول (tallness) or طَال (he was tall); al-

[a] *See addition to CYAMON (Amer. ed.) Nothing but the name (*Tell Kaimún*) and the mound "too regular to be natural," remain to attest the ancient site. (Tristram, *Land of Israel*, p. 119, 2d ed.). H.

[b] It is remarkable that in historical questions, the Rabbins are singularly wide of the truth, displaying a deficiency of the critical faculty that is characteristic of Shemitic races.

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though the latter name, being imperfectly declinable, is not to be considered as *Arabic* (which several Arabian writers assert it to be), but as a *variation* of a *foreign* name. (See the remarks on this name, as occurring in the Kur-án, ch. ii. 248, in the *Expositions* of Ez-Zamakhsheree and El-Beydáwee.) We thus obtain a reason for the change of name which appears to be satisfactory, whereas the theory of its being arabicized is not readily to be explained unless we suppose the term "arabicized" to be loosely employed in this instance.

4. If the traditions of Kahtan be rejected (and in this rejection we cannot agree), they are, it must be remembered, immaterial to the fact that the peoples called by the Arabs descendants of Kahtán, are certainly Joktanites. His sons' colonization of Southern Arabia is proved by indisputable, and undisputed, identifications, and the great kingdom, which there existed for many ages before our era, and in its later days was renowned in the world of classical antiquity, was as surely Joktanite.

The settlements of the sons of Joktan are examined in the separate articles bearing their names, and generally in ARABIA. They colonized the whole of the south of the peninsula, the old "Arabia Felix," or the Yemen (for this appellation had a very wide significance in early times), stretching, according to the Arabs (and there is in this case no ground for doubting their general correctness), to Mekkeh, on the northwest, and along nearly the whole of the southern coast eastwards, and far inland. At Mekkeh, tradition connects the two great races of Joktan and Ishmael, by the marriage of a daughter of Jurhum the Joktanite with Ishmael. It is necessary in mentioning this Jurhum, who is called a "son" of Joktan (Kahtân), to observe that "son" in these cases must be regarded as signifying "descendant" (cf. CHRONOLOGY) in Hebrew generations, and that many generations (though how many, or in what order, is not known) are missing from the existing list between Kahtán (embracing the most important time of the Joktanites), and the establishment of the comparatively modern Himyerite kingdom; from this latter date, stated by Caussin, *Essai*, i. 63, at B. C. *circ.* 100, the succession of the Tubbaas is apparently preserved to us.[a] At Mekkeh, the tribe of Jurhum long held the office of guardians of the Kaabeh, or temple, and the sacred enclosure, until they were expelled by the Ishmaelites (Kutb-ed-Deen, *Hist. of Mekkeh*, ed. Wüstenfeld, pp. 35 and 39 ff.; and Caussin, *Essai*, i. 194). But it was at Seba, the Biblical Sheba, that the kingdom of Joktan attained its greatness. In the southwestern angle of the peninsula, San'à (Uzal), Seba (Sheba), and Hadramáwt (Hasarmaveth), all closely neighboring, formed together the principal known settlements of the Joktanites. Here arose the kingdom of Sheba, followed in later times by that of Himyer. The dominant tribe from remote ages seems to have been that of Seba (or Shaba, the *Sabæi* of the Greeks): while the family of Himyer (*Homeritæ*) held the first place in the tribe. The kingdom called that of Himyer we believe to have been merely a late phasis of the old Sheba, dating, both in its rise and its name, only shortly before our era.

In ARABIA we have alluded to certain curious indications in the names of Himyer, OPHIR, the Phœnicians, and the Erythræan Sea, and the traces of their westward spread, which would well repay a careful investigation; as well as the obscure relations of a connection with Chaldæa and Assyria, found in Berosus and other ancient writers, and strengthened by presumptive evidence of a connection closer than that of commerce, in religion, etc. between those countries and Arabia. An equally interesting and more tangible subject, is the apparently proved settlement of Cushite races along the coast, on the ground also occupied by Joktanites, involving intermarriages between these peoples, and explaining the Cyclopean masonry of the so-called Himyerite ruins which bear no mark of a Shemite's hand, the vigorous character of the Joktanites and their sea-faring propensities (both qualities not usually found in Shemites), and the Cushitic elements in the rock-cut inscriptions in the "Himyeritic" language.

Next in importance to the tribe of Seba was that of Hadramäwt, which, till the fall of the Himyerite power, maintained a position of independence and a direct line of rulers from Kahtán (Caussin, i. 135–6). Joktanite tribes also passed northwards, to Heereh, in El-'Irák, and to Ghassán, near Damascus. The emigration of these and other tribes took place on the occasion of the rupture of a great dyke (the Dyke of El-'Arim), above the metropolis of Sebà; a catastrophe that appears, from the concurrent testimony of Arab writers, to have devastated a great extent of country, and destroyed the city Ma-rib or Sebà. This event forms the commencement of an era, the dates of which exist in the inscriptions on the Dyke and elsewhere; but when we should place that commencement is still quite an open question. (See the extracts from El-Mes'oodee and other authorities, edited by Schultens; Caussin, i. 84 ff.; and ARABIA.)

The position which the Joktanites hold (in native traditions) among the successive races who are said to have inhabited the peninsula has been fully stated in art. ARABIA; to which the reader is referred for a sketch of the inhabitants generally, their descent, history, religion, and language. There are some existing places named after Joktan and Kahtán (El-Idreesee, ed. Jaubert; Niebuhr, *Descr.* 238[b]); but there seems to be no safe ground for attaching to them any special importance, or for supposing that the name is ancient, when we remember that the whole country is full of the traditions of Joktan. E. S. P.

JOK'THEËL (יָקְתְאֵל [*subdued* or *made tributary by God*]). 1. (Ἰακαρεήλ [Vat. -καρ-]: Alex. Ἰεχθαηλ: *Jecthel.*) A city in the low country of Judah (Josh. xv. 38), named next to Lachish — probably *Um-Lakis*, on the road between *Beit-gibrin* and Gaza. The name does not appear to have been yet discovered.

2. (Ἰεθοήλ; [Vat. Καθεηλ;] Alex. Ἰεχθηλ: *Jectehel.*) "God-subdued," the title given by

[a] It is curious that the Greeks first mention the Himyerites in the expedition of Ælius Gallus, towards the close of the 1st century B. C., although Himyer himself lived long before; agreeing with our belief that his family was important before the establishment of the so-called kingdom. See Caussin, *l. c.*

[b] Niebuhr also (*Descr.* 249) mentions the reputed tomb of Kahtán, but probably refers to the tomb of the prophet Hood, who, as we have mentioned, is by some thought to be the father of Kahtán.

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Amaziah to the cliff (הַסֶּלַע, A. V. Selah) — the stronghold of the Edomites — after he had captured it from them (2 K. xiv 7). The parallel narrative of 2 Chr. xxv. 11–13 supplies fuller details. From it we learn that, having beaten the Edomite army with a great slaughter in the "Valley of Salt" — the valley south of the Dead Sea — Amaziah took those who were not slain to the cliff, and threw them headlong over it. This cliff is asserted by Eusebius (*Onomast.* πέτρα) to be "a city of Edom, also called by the Assyrians Rekem," by which there is no doubt that he intends Petra (see *Onomasticon*, Ῥεκέμ, and the quotations in Stanley's *S. & P.* 94, *note*). The title thus bestowed is said to have continued "unto this day." This, Keil remarks, is a proof that the history was nearly contemporary with the event, because Amaziah's conquest was lost again by Ahaz less than a century afterwards (2 Chr. xxviii. 17). G.

JO'NA ('Ιωνᾶ: *Jona* [see below]), the father of the Apostle Peter (John i. 42 [Gr. 43]), who is hence addressed as Simon Barjona in Matt. xvi. 17. In the A. V. of John xxi. 15–17 he is called JONAS, though the Greek is 'Ιωάννης, and the Vulg. *Johannes* throughout. The name in either form would be the equivalent of the Hebrew Johanan.

* In *all* the passages in John the received text reads 'Ιωνᾶ, for which Lachm. and Treg. adopt the reading 'Ιωάνου, Tisch. 'Ιωάννου. The Clementine Vulg. has *Jonæ* in John i. 42, but the Cod. Amiatinus reads *Johanna*, and the Sixtine edition *Joanna*. The reading of the received text would have been properly represented in our translation by *Jonas* throughout. A.

JON'ADAB. 1. (יוֹנָדָב, and once יְהוֹנָדָב, *i. e.* Jehonadab [*whom Jehovah impels*]: 'Ιωναδάβ: *Jonadab*), son of Shimeah and nephew of David. He is described as "very subtil" (*σοφὸς σφόδρα*; the word is that usually translated "wise," as in the case of Solomon, 2 Sam. xiii. 3). He seems to have been one of those characters who, in the midst of great or royal families, pride themselves, and are renowned, for being acquainted with the secrets of the whole circle in which they move. His age naturally made him the friend of his cousin Amnon, heir to the throne (2 Sam. xiii. 3). He perceived from the prince's altered appearance that there was some unknown grief — "Why art *thou*, the king's son, so lean?" — and, when he had wormed it out, he gave him the fatal advice, for ensnaring his sister Tamar (5, 6).

Again, when, in a later stage of the same tragedy, Amnon was murdered by Absalom, and the exaggerated report reached David that all the princes were slaughtered, Jonadab was already aware of the real state of the case. He was with the king, and was able at once to reassure him (2 Sam. xiii. 32, 33).

2. Jer. xxxv. 6, 8, 10, 14, 16, 18, 19, in which it represents sometimes the long, sometimes the shorter Heb. form of the name. [JEHONADAB.] A. P. S.

JO'NAH (יוֹנָה [*dove*]: 'Ιωνᾶς, LXX. and Matt. xii. 39), a prophet, son of Amittai (whose name, confounded with אֲמָה, used by the widow of Zarephath, 1 K. xvii. 24, has given rise to an old tradition, recorded by Jerome, that Jonah was her son, and that Amittai was a prophet himself). We further learn from 2 K. xiv. 25, he was of Gath-hepher, a town of Lower Galilee, in Zebulun. This verse enables us to approximate to the time at which Jonah lived. It was plainly after the reign of Jehu, when the losses of Israel (2 K. x. 32) began; and it may not have been till the latter part of the reign of Jeroboam II. The general opinion is that Jonah was the first of the prophets (Rosenm., Bp. Lloyd, Davison, Browne, Drake); Hengstenberg would place him after Amos and Hosea, and indeed adheres to the order of the books in the canon for the chronology. The king of Nineveh at this time is supposed (Ussher and others) to have been Pul, who is placed by Layard (*Nin. and Bab.* 624) at B. C. 750; but an earlier king, Adrammelech II., B. C. 840, is regarded more probable by Drake. Our English Bible gives B. C. 862.

The personal history of Jonah is brief, and well known; but is of such an exceptional and extraordinary character, as to have been set down by many German critics to fiction, either in whole or in part. The book, say they, was composed, or compounded, some time after the death of the prophet, perhaps (Rosenm.) at the latter part of the Jewish kingdom, during the reign of Josiah (S. Sharpe), or even later. The supposed improbabilities are accounted for by them in a variety of ways; *e. g.* as merely fabulous, or fanciful ornaments to a true history, or allegorical, or parabolical and moral, both in their origin and design. A list of the critics who have advanced these several opinions may be seen in Davidson's *Introduction*, p. 956. Rosenmüller (*Proleg. in Jonam*) refutes them in detail; and then propounds his own, which is equally baseless. Like them, he begins with proposing to escape the difficulties of the history, but ends in a mere theory, open to still greater difficulties. "The fable of Hercules," he says, "devoured and then restored by a sea-monster, was the foundation on which the Hebrew prophet built up the story. Nothing was really true in it." We feel ourselves precluded from any doubt of the reality of the transactions recorded in this book, by the simplicity of the language itself; by the historical allusions in Tob. xiv. 4–6, 15, and Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 10, § 2; by the accordance with other authorities of the historical and geographical notices; by the thought that we might as well doubt all other miracles in Scripture as doubt these ("Quod aut omnia divina miracula credenda non sint, aut hoc cur non credetur causa nulla sit," Aug. *Ep.* cii. in *Quæst.* 6 *de Jona*, ii. 284; cf. Cyril. Alex. *Comment. in Jonam*, iii. 367–389); above all, by the explicit words and teaching of our blessed Lord Himself (Matt. xii. 39, 41, xvi. 4; Luke xi. 29), and by the correspondence of the miracles in the histories of Jonah and of the Messiah.

We shall derive additional arguments for the same conclusion from the history and meaning of the prophet's mission. Having already, as it seems (from ו in i. 1), prophesied to Israel, he was sent to Nineveh. The time was one of political revival in Israel; but ere long the Assyrians were to be employed by God as a scourge upon them. The Israelites consequently viewed them with repulsiveness; and the prophet, in accordance with his name (יוֹנָה, *a dove*), out of timidity and love for his country, shrunk from a commission which he felt sure would result (iv. 2) in the sparing of a hostile city. He attempted therefore to escape to Tarshish either Tartessus in Spain (Bochart, Titcomb

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Hengst.), or more probably (Drake) Tarsus in Cilicia, a port of commercial intercourse. The providence of God, however, watched over him, first in a storm, and then in his being swallowed by a large fish (דָּג גָּדוֹל) for the space of three days and three nights. We need not multiply miracles by supposing a great fish to have been created for the occasion, for Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. pp. 752–754) has shown that there is a sort of shark which devours a man entire, as this did Jonah while cast into the water (August. *Ep.* 49, ii. 284).

After his deliverance, Jonah executed his commission; and the king, "believing him to be a minister from the supreme deity of the nation" (Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*), and having heard of his miraculous deliverance (Dean Jackson *On the Creed*, bk. ix. c. 42), ordered a general fast, and averted the threatened judgment. But the prophet, not from personal but national feelings, grudged the mercy shown to a heathen nation. He was therefore taught, by the significant lesson of the "gourd," whose growth and decay (a known fact to naturalists, Layard's *Nineveh*, i. 123, 124) brought the truth at once home to him, that he was sent to testify by deed, as other prophets would afterwards testify by word, the capacity of Gentiles for salvation, and the design of God to make them partakers of it. This was "the sign of the prophet Jonas" which was given to a proud and perverse generation of Jews after the ascension of Christ by the preaching of His Apostles. (Luke xi. 29, 30, 32; Jackson's *Comm. on the Creed*, ix. c. 42.)

But the resurrection of Christ itself was also shadowed forth in the history of the prophets, as is made certain to us by the words of our Saviour. (See Jackson, as above, bk. ix. c. 40.) Titcomb (*Bible Studies*, p. 237, n.) sees a correspondence between Jon. i. 17 and Hosea vi. 2. Besides which, the fact and the faith of Jonah's prayer in the belly of the fish betokened to the nation of Israel the intimation of a resurrection and of immortality.

We thus see distinct purposes which the mission of Jonah was designed to serve in the Divine economy; and in these we have the reason of the history's being placed in the *prophetic* canon. It was highly symbolical. The facts contained a concealed prophecy. Hence, too, only so much of the prophet's personal history is told us as suffices for setting forth the symbols divinely intended, which accounts for its fragmentary aspect. Exclude the symbolical meaning, and you have no adequate reason to give of this history: admit it, and you have images here of the highest facts and doctrines of Christianity. (Davison, *On Prophecy*, p. 275.)

For the extent of the site of Nineveh, see NINEVEH.

The old tradition made the burial-place of Jonah to be Gath-hepher; the modern tradition places it at *Nebi-Yunus*, opposite Mosul. See the account of the excavations in Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 596, 597. And consult Drake's *Notes on Jonah* (Macmillan and Co., 1853).

See Leusden's *Jonas Illustratus*, Trajecti ad Rhen. 1692; Rosenmüller's *Scholia in Vet. Test.*; *Exposition upon the Prophet Jonah*, by Abp. Abbot (reprinted), London, 1845; *Notes on the Prophecies of Jonah and Hosea*, by Rev. W. Drake, Cambridge, 1853; Ewald; Umbreit; Henderson, *Minor Prophets*. H. B.

* The passages in which our Lord asserts the truth of the story of Jonah, and the Divine authority of his book, and its intimate connection with himself, are full and explicit. See especially Matt. xii. 39–41, xvi. 1–4, Luke xi. 29–32. It was one great object of our Lord's mission to interpret and confirm the Old Testament (Matt. v. 17–19). Much of his time was spent in explaining the O. T. to his disciples. We read, for example, that "Beginning at Moses, and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself." (See Luke xxiv. 27–32, 45.)

His authority on this subject is just as good as it is on any other; and if we reject his sanctions and interpretations of the O. T., we reject his whole mission. No one can say, without absurdity and self-contradiction, "I admit that Christ brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel; but I do not admit that he understood the O. T., or was an accurate and safe interpreter of it." A miracle is always a direct exertion of creative power; and so far as the physical fact is concerned, one miracle is just as easy, and just as probable, and just as natural, as another. There is no question of hard or easy, natural or unnatural, probable or improbable, in regard to a real miracle. The exertion of creative power is to the Creator always natural, whatever the product of the creative act may be; there can, in such a problem, be no question in regard to the actual facts. The only question must be a moral one, whether the alleged fact has a purpose worthy of God, and is appropriate to the object intended; and this question we are authorized and required by God himself to ask. (See Deut. xiii. 1–5.)

The country which was the scene of Jonah's activity has many traditions analogous to his story, which seem to rest on some basis of actual facts which once occurred among the people of that region.

Neptune sent a monstrous serpent to ravage the coast in the neighborhood of Joppa (whence Jonah sailed), and there was no remedy but to expose Andromeda, the daughter of king Cepheus, to be devoured. As she stood chained to the rocks awaiting her fate, Perseus, who was returning through the air from his expedition against the Gorgons, captivated by her beauty, turned the monster into a rock by showing him Medusa's head, and then liberated and married the maiden. Jerome informs us that the very rock, outside the port of Joppa, was in his day pointed out to travellers.

At Troy, more northerly, on the same Mediterranean coast, Neptune in anger sent out a devouring sea-monster, which with every returning tide committed fearful ravages on the people. There was no help till king Laomedon gave up his beautiful daughter Hesione to be devoured. While the monster with extended jaws was approaching her chained to the rocks, Hercules, sword in hand, leaped into his throat, and for three days and three nights maintained a tremendous conflict in the monster's bowels, from which he at length emerged victorious and unharmed, except with the loss of his hair, which the heat of the animal had loosened from the scalp. For this exploit Hercules was surnamed Τριέσπερος (*Threesight*).

Asa, the daughter of the king of Beirût, a city north of Joppa, on the same coast, for the salvation of her country was about to be devoured by a frightful dragon. St. George, in full armor, assaulted the dragon, and after an obstinate conflict of several days' continuance, slew him and delivered

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the princess. He is the patron saint of Armenia and England, of the Franconian and Swabian knights, and of the crusades generally.

According to Babylonian tradition, a fish-god or fish-man, named Oannes, was divinely sent to that country, the region of the Euphrates and Tigris, to teach the inhabitants the fear of God and good morals, to instruct them in astronomy and agriculture, the sciences and useful arts, legislation and civil polity. He came from the sea and spake with a man's voice, teaching only in the daytime, and returning again every night to the sea. Sculptures of this fish-god are frequently found among the ruins of Nineveh. The head and face of a dignified and noble-looking man are seen just below the mouth of the fish, the hands and arms project from the pectoral fins, and the feet and ankles from the ventral; and there are other forms, but it is always *a man in a fish*.

The Assyrian Ninevites were of the same race as the Hebrews, and spoke a language very like the Hebrew. The Greek name Oannes may be derived from the oriental Jonah, just as Euphrates is derived from the oriental *Phrath*. For a fuller discussion of these oriental traditions illustrative of the book of Jonah, the reader may see an essay by the writer in the *Bibl. Sacra* for October, 1853. Consult especially Creuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie der Alten Voelker*, ii. 22, 74–81, &c.

Jonah was probably born about 850 B. C., and prophesied during the reign of Jeroboam II., from 825 to 789 B. C. He was a child when Homer was an old blind bard singing his rhapsodies on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean; a contemporary of the Spartan lawgiver, Lycurgus; by a century the senior of Romulus, and four centuries more ancient than Herodotus. He is the oldest of the prophets, any of whose writings have reached our times. This hoary antiquity, the rough manners of the time, and the simplicity of the people who were his contemporaries, must be taken into consideration in an estimate of the book. It is throughout in keeping, eminently appropriate to the times and circumstances in which it claims to have originated. God always adapts his revelations to the character and circumstances of those to whom he makes them, and never stands on dignity as men do. Human notions of dignity are a small matter with him; his field of observation is so large that he is not much affected by trifles of this sort.

Jonah was evidently a man of hypochondriac temperament, easily discouraged and easily elated; timid and courageous at rapid intervals; in his ideas of God a good deal under the influence of the heathenism of his time; yet a God-fearing man, a patriotic lover of his own people, and an earnest hater of their idolatrous oppressors, the Ninevite Assyrians. A consideration of these traits explains the oddities of his history, and illustrates the condescension and patience of his God.

The *Carcharias* of the Mediterranean is of sufficient size to swallow a man, and God was under no necessity of creating a fish for this special purpose.[a] The king in Nineveh was at this time either Adrammelech II. or Pul; the city was at least 60 miles (three days' journey) in circumference, and there is nothing in the least strange or inconsistent with the ideas of the time, that the Ninevites and their king should be alarmed by a threat from the God of the Hebrews; and their mode of fasting, and repenting, and manifesting sorrow, is just what we find described by other ancient authors, such as Herodotus, Plutarch, Virgil, etc. (Herod. ix. 27).

The plant which shaded Jonah is treated in the story as miraculous. Such rapidly growing and suddenly withering plants, however, are still found in the east, and have been well described by our American missionaries, and by such travellers as Niebuhr [GOURD]. The castor-oil bean, cultivated in some of our gardens, will give us a good idea of the kind of plant referred to.[b]

The Orientals have always had a high regard for Jonah, and his tomb is still shown with veneration near the ruins of Nineveh, as well as at Gath-hepher. The Rabbins, who make two Messiahs, one the son of David, and the other the son of Joseph, affirm that Jonah was the Messiah the son of Joseph.[c] The respect shown to him by the Mohammedans is also remarkable. In the Koran one entire chapter is inscribed with his name.

In one passage he is called *Dhu'lnun*, that is, *the dweller in the fish*; and in the thirty-seventh chapter the following narrative is given of him: "Jonah was one of our ambassadors. When he fled in the fully laden ship, the sailors cast lots, and by that he was condemned; and then the fish swallowed him, because he merited punishment. . . . We cast him upon the naked shore, and he felt himself sick; and therefore we caused a vine to grow over him, and sent him to a hundred thousand men, or more; and when they believed, we granted them their lives for a definite time." In the twenty-first chapter it is said: "Remember Dhu'lnun (the *dweller in the fish*, that is, *Jonah*), how he departed from us in wrath and believed that we could exercise no power over him. And in the darkness he prayed to us in these words: 'There is no God but thee. Honor and glory be to thee. Truly I have been a sinner, but thou art merciful beyond all the power of language to express.' And we heard him, and delivered him from his distress; as we are always accustomed to deliver the believers." This brief prayer, which the Koran represents Jonah as uttering in the belly of the fish, the Mohammedans regard as one of the holiest and most efficacious of all prayers, and they often use it in their own devotions. Certainly it is simple, expressive, and beautiful, and reminds us of the prayer of the publican in the Gospel. The tenth chapter of the Koran says: "It is only the people of Jonah, whom we, after they had believed, did deliver from the punishment of shame in this world, and granted them the enjoyment of their goods for a certain time."

The Mohammedan writers say that the ship in which Jonah had embarked stood still in the sea and would not be moved. The seamen, therefore, cast lots, and the lot falling upon Jonah, he cried out, *I am the fugitive*, and threw himself into the water. The fish swallowed him. The time he remained in the fish is differently stated by them as three, seven, twenty, or forty days; but when he was thrown upon the land he was in a state of great suffering and distress, his body having become like that of a new-born infant. When he went to Nineveh, the inhabitants at first treated him harshly, so that he was obliged to flee, after

[a] For proofs of this statement, see *Bibl. Sacra*, x. 320; Bochart, *Hieroz.* iii. 668; and Bleibberr's *Hist. in d. A. T.* iv. 340, 341. C. E. S.

[b] Rosenmüller's *Alterthumskunde*, iv. 128–25.

[c] Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, ii. 725.

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he had declared that the city should be destroyed within three days, or, as some say, forty. As the time approached, a black cloud, shooting forth fire and smoke, rolled itself directly over the city; and put the inhabitants into dreadful consternation, so that they proclaimed a fast and repented, and God spared them.

From all the oriental traditions on the subject, it is very plain that the men of the old East, the men of the country where Jonah lived, and who were acquainted with the manners and modes of thought there prevalent, never felt any of those objections to the prophet's narrative, which have so much stumbled the men of other nations and other times. God deals with men just as their peculiar circumstances and habits of thought require; and the sailors and fishermen of Palestine, three thousand years ago, are not to be judged of by the standard of culture at the present day; and a mode of treatment might have been very suitable for them, which would be quite inappropriate to modern fashionable society; and they, we doubt not, in the sight of God, were of quite as much importance in their time as we are in ours. Christ himself so far honors Jonah as to make his history a type of His own resurrection.

The place of the book in the Hebrew Canon in the time of Christ, and in all previous and all subsequent time, is unquestionable and unquestioned. See the apocryphal book of Tobit, xiv. 7, 8.

A consideration of the real state of both the heathen and the Jewish mind, at that time and in that land, will show the utter groundlessness of the objection sometimes made to the credibility of the book of Jonah, because it represents a Hebrew prophet as being sent to a heathen city, and preaching there with great acceptance and power. Compare 1 K. xx. 23–26; 2 K. viii. 7–10, xvi. 10–15; 2 Chr. xxi. 31; Am. ix. 7, 8.

To understand the feelings of the prophet in regard to Nineveh, and the failure of his prophecy, we must call to mind the circumstances in which he lived. He was a native of Gath-hepher, in the northern part of Israel, where the people had been greatly corrupted by constant intercourse with idolatry; and they were continually exposed to the cruelty and oppression of their northern and eastern neighbors, especially from the powerful empire of Nineveh, by which they had been greatly injured.

Among the prophetic utterances of Moses, God had declared in respect to his people (Deut. xxxii. 21): "*I will move them to jealousy with those which are not a people; I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation.*" This they understood to imply that the time would come when the Israelites would be rejected for their sins, and some Pagan nation received to favor instead of them; and this is the use which the Apostle Paul makes of the text in Rom. x. 19. Jonah had seen enough of the sins of the Israelites to know that they deserved rejection; and the favor which God showed to the Ninevites, on their repentance, might have led him to fear that the event so long before predicted by Moses was now about to occur, and that too by his instrumentality. Israel would be rejected, and the proud, oppressive, hateful Nineveh, odious to the Israelites for a thousand cruelties (2 K. xv. 19, 20), might then be received, on their repentance and reformation, as the people of God. It was to him a thought insupportably painful, and God had made him unwillingly the means of bringing this about. He thought he did well to be angry — to be displeased, grieved, distressed — for such is the import of the original phrase in Jon. iv. 1, 9.

Alone, unprotected, at the hazard of his life, and most reluctantly, he had, on his credit as a prophet, made a solemn declaration of the Divine purpose in regard to that city, and God was now about to falsify it. Why should he not be distressed, the poor hypochondriac, and pray to die rather than live? Everybody is against him; everything goes against him; God himself exposes him to disgrace and disregards his feelings. So he feels; so every hypochondriac would feel in like circumstances. He cannot bear to remain an hour in the hated city; he retires to the neighboring field, exposed to the dreadful burning of the sun, which is so intolerable that the inhabitants of the cities on the Tigris find it necessary, at the present day, to construct apartments under ground to protect themselves from the noon-day heat. God causes a spacious, umbrageous plant to spread its broad leaves over the booth and afford him the needed shelter. He rejoices in its shade; but before the second day has dawned, the shade is gone; the sirocco of the desert beats upon him with the next noon-day sun, he is distracted with pains in his head, he faints with the insupportable heat, and alone, disconsolate, unfriended, thinking that everybody despises him and scorns him as a lying prophet, hypochondriac-like, he again wishes himself dead. Prophetic inspiration changed no man's natural temperament or character. The prophets, just like other men, had to struggle with their natural infirmities and disabilities, with only such Divine aid as is within the reach of all religious men. The whole representation in regard to Jonah is in perfect keeping; it is as true to nature as any scene in Shakespeare, and represents hypochondria as graphically as Othello represents jealousy or Lear madness.

Jonah is not peculiarly wicked, but peculiarly uncomfortable, and to none so much so as to himself; and his kind and forgiving God does not hastily condemn him, but pities and expostulates, and by the most significant of illustrations justifies his forbearance towards the repentant Nineveh.

The prophets, in the execution of their arduous mission, often came to places in which they felt as if it would be better for them to die rather than live. For example, of Elijah, who was of a very different temperament from Jonah, far more cheerful and self-relying, we have a similar narrative in 1 K. xix. 4–10.

Dr. Pusey has given us an excellent commentary on Jonah. There is a more ancient one of great value by John King, D. D.; and some excellent suggestions in regard to the book may be found in Davison on Prophecy, disc. vi. pt. 2. P. Friedrichsen's *Kritische Uebersicht der verschiedenen Ansichten von dem Buche Jonas*, etc. (Leips. 1841) is a useful work. The commentaries on the book are well-nigh innumerable. A formidable catalogue of them is given in Rosenmüller's *Scholia in Vet. Test.* For the later writers on Jonah as one of the minor prophets, see HABAKKUK (Amer. ed.).

C. E. S.

JONAN ('Ιωνάν; [Tisch. Treg. 'Ιωνάμ:] *Jona*), son of Eliakim, in the genealogy of Christ, in the 7th generation after David, *i. e.* about the time of king Jehoram (Luke iii. 30). The name is probably only another form of Johanan, which occurs so frequently in this genealogy. The sequence of names, Jonan, Joseph, Juda, Simeon

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Levi, Matthat, is singularly like that in vv. 26, 27, Joanna, Judah, Joseph, Semei — Mattathias.

A. C. H.

JONAS. 1. ('Ιωνάς; [Vat. Ιωανας;] Alex. Ιουδας: *Elionas.*) This name occupies the same position in 1 Esdr. ix. 23 as Eliezer in the corresponding list in Ezr. x. 23. Perhaps the corruption originated in reading אליעוני for אליעזר, as appears to have been the case in 1 Esdr. ix. 32 (comp. Ezr. x. 31). The former would have caught the compiler's eye from Ezr. x. 22, and the original form Elionas, as it appears in the Vulg., could easily have become Jonas.

2. ('Ιωνᾶς: *Jonas.*) The prophet Jonah (2 Esdr. 39; Tob. xiv. 4, 8; Matt. xii. 39, 30, 41, xvi. 4).

3. ([Rec. text, 'Ιωνᾶς; Lachm. Treg. 'Ιωάννης; Tisch.] 'Ιωάννης: *Johannes*), John xxi. 15–17. [JONA.]

JON'ATHAN (יְהוֹנָתָן, *i. e.* Jehonathan, and יוֹנָתָן; the two forms are used almost alternately: 'Ιωνάθαν, Jos. 'Ιωνάθης: *Jonathan*), the eldest son of king Saul. The name (*the gift of Jehovah*, corresponding to *Theodorus* in Greek) seems to have been common at that period; possibly from the example of Saul's son (see JONATHAN, the nephew of David, JONATHAN, the son of Abiathar, JONATHAN, the son of Shage, and NATHAN the prophet).

He first appears some time after his father's accession (1 Sam. xiii. 2). If his younger brother Ishbosheth was 40 at the time of Saul's death (2 Sam. ii. 8), Jonathan must have been at least 30, when he is first mentioned. Of his own family we know nothing, except the birth of one son, 5 years before his death (2 Sam. iv. 4). He was regarded in his father's lifetime as heir to the throne. Like Saul, he was a man of great strength and activity (2 Sam. i. 23), of which the exploit at Michmash was a proof. He was also famous for the peculiar martial exercises in which his tribe excelled — archery and slinging (1 Chr. xii. 2). His bow was to him what the spear was to his father: "the *bow* of Jonathan turned not back" (2 Sam. i. 22). It was always about him (1 Sam. xviii. 4, xx. 35). It is through his relation with David that he is chiefly known to us, probably as related by his descendants at David's court. But there is a background, not so clearly given, of his relation with his father. From the time that he first appears he is Saul's constant companion. He was always present at his father's meals. As Abner and David seem to have occupied the places afterwards called the captaincies of "the host" and "of the guard;" so he seems to have been (as Hushai afterwards) "the friend" (comp. 1 Sam. xx. 25; 2 Sam. xv. 37). The whole story implies, without expressing, the deep attachment of the father and son. Jonathan can only go on his dangerous expedition (1 Sam. xiv. 1) by concealing it from Saul. Saul's vow is confirmed, and its tragic effect deepened, by his feeling for his son, "though it be Jonathan my son" (*ib.* xiv. 39). "Tell me what thou hast done" (*ib.* xiv. 43). Jonathan cannot bear to believe his father's enmity to David, "my father will do nothing great or small, but that he will show it to me: and why should my father hide this thing from me? it is not so" (1 Sam. xx. 2). To him, if to any one, the wild frenzy of the king was amenable — "Saul hearkened unto the voice of Jonathan" (1 Sam. xix. 6). Their mutual affection was indeed interrupted by the growth of Saul's insanity. Twice the father would have sacrificed the son: once in consequence of his vow (1 Sam. xiv.); the second time, more deliberately, on the discovery of David's flight: and on this last occasion, a momentary glimpse is given of some darker history. Were the phrases "son of a perverse rebellious woman," — "shame on thy mother's nakedness" (1 Sam. xx. 30, 31), mere frantic invectives? or was there something in the story of Ahinoam or Rizpah which we do not know? "In fierce anger" Jonathan left the royal presence (*ib.* 34). But he cast his lot with his father's decline, not with his friend's rise, and "in death they were not divided" (2 Sam. i. 23; 1 Sam. xxiii. 16).

His life may be divided into two main parts.

1. The war with the Philistines; commonly called, from its locality, "the war of Michmash," as the last years of the Peloponnesian War were called for a similar reason "the war of Decelea" (1 Sam. xiii. 22, LXX.). In the previous war with the Ammonites (1 Sam. xi. 4–15) there is no mention of him; and his abrupt appearance, without explanation, in xiii. 2, may seem to imply that some part of the narrative has been lost.

He is already of great importance in the state. Of the 3,000 men of whom Saul's standing army was formed (xiii. 2, xxiv. 2, xxvi. 1, 2), 1,000 were under the command of Jonathan at Gibeah. The Philistines were still in the general command of the country; an officer was stationed at Geba, either the same as Jonathan's position or close to it. In a sudden act of youthful daring, as when Tell rose against Gessler, or as in sacred history Moses rose against the Egyptian, Jonathan slew this officer,[a] and thus gave the signal for a general revolt. Saul took advantage of it, and the whole population rose. But it was a premature attempt. The Philistines poured in from the plain, and the tyranny became more deeply rooted than ever. [SAUL.] Saul and Jonathan (with their immediate attendants) alone had arms, amidst the general weakness and disarming of the people (1 Sam. xiii. 22). They were encamped at Gibeah, with a small body of 600 men, and as they looked down from that height on the misfortunes of their country, and of their native tribe especially, they wept aloud (ἔκλαιον, LXX.; 1 Sam. xiii. 16).

From this oppression, as Jonathan by his former act had been the first to provoke it, so now he was the first to deliver his people. On the former occasion Saul had been equally with himself involved in the responsibility of the deed. Saul "blew the trumpet;" Saul had "smitten the officer of the Philistines" (xiii. 3, 4). But now it would seem that Jonathan was resolved to undertake the whole risk himself. "The day," the day fixed by him (γίνεται ἡ ἡμέρα, LXX.; 1 Sam. xiv. 1) approached; and without communicating his project to any one, except the young man, whom, like all the chiefs of that age, he retained as his armor-bearer, he sallied forth from Gibeah to attack the garrison of the Philistines stationed on the other side of the steep defile of Michmash (xiv. 1). His words are short, but they breathe exactly the ancient and peculiar spirit of the Israelite warrior. "Come, and let us go over unto the garrison of these uncircumcised; it may be that Jehovah will work for us: for there is no restraint to Jehovah

[a] (A. V. "Garrison") τὴν Νασίβ, LXX.; 1 Sam xiii. 3, 4. See Ewald, ii. 476.

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to save by many or by few." The answer is no less characteristic of the close friendship of the two young men: already like to that which afterwards sprang up between Jonathan and David. "Do all that is in thine heart; behold, *I* am with thee; as thy heart is my heart (LXX.; 1 Sam. xiv. 7)." After the manner of the time (and the more, probably, from having taken no counsel of the high-priest or any prophet before his departure) Jonathan proposed to draw an omen for their course from the conduct of the enemy. If the garrison, on seeing them, gave intimations of descending upon them, they would remain in the valley; if, on the other hand, they raised a challenge to advance, they were to accept it. The latter turned out to be the case. The first appearance of the two warriors from behind the rocks was taken by the Philistines as a furtive apparition of "the Hebrews coming forth out of the holes where they had hid themselves;" and they were welcomed with a scoffing invitation (such as the Jebusites afterwards offered to David), "Come up, and we will show you a thing" (xiv. 4–12). Jonathan immediately took them at their word. Strong and active as he was, "strong as a lion, and swift as an eagle" (2 Sam. i. 23), he was fully equal to the adventure of climbing on his hands and feet up the face of the cliff. When he came directly in view of them, with his armor-bearer behind him, they both, after the manner of their tribe (1 Chr. xii. 2) discharged a flight of arrows, stones, and pebbles,[a] from their bows, crossbows, and slings, with such effect that 20 men fell at the first onset [ARMS, vol. i. p. 160 *b*.]. A panic seized the garrison, thence spread to the camp, and thence to the surrounding hordes of marauders; an earthquake combined with the terror of the moment; the confusion increased; the Israelites who had been taken slaves by the Philistines during the last 3 days (LXX.) rose in mutiny: the Israelites who lay hid in the numerous caverns and deep holes in which the rocks of the neighborhood abound, sprang out of their subterranean dwellings. Saul and his little band had watched in astonishment the wild retreat from the heights of Gibeah — he now joined in the pursuit, which led him headlong after the fugitives, over the rugged plateau of Bethel, and down[b] the pass of Beth-horon to Ajalon (xiv. 15–31). [GIBEAH, p. 915.] The father and son had not met on that day: Saul only conjectured his son's absence from not finding him when he numbered the people. Jonathan had not heard of the rash curse (xiv. 24) which Saul invoked on any one who ate before the evening. In the dizziness and darkness (Hebrew, 1 Sam. xiv. 27) that came on after his desperate exertions, he put forth the staff which apparently had (with his sling and bow) been his chief weapon, and tasted the honey which lay on the ground as they passed through the forest. The pursuers in general were restrained even from this slight indulgence by fear of the royal curse; but the moment that the day, with its enforced fast, was over, they flew, like Muslims at sunset during the fast of Ramadan, on the captured cattle; and devoured them, even to the brutal neglect of the law which forbade the dismemberment of the fresh carcases with the blood. This violation of the law Saul endeavored to prevent and to expiate by erecting a large stone, which served both as a rude table and as an altar; the first altar that was raised under the monarchy. It was in the dead of night after this wild revel was over that he proposed that the pursuit should be continued till dawn; and then, when the silence of the oracle of the high-priest indicated that something had occurred to intercept the Divine favor, the lot was tried, and Jonathan appeared as the culprit. Jephthah's dreadful sacrifice would have been repeated, but the people interposed in behalf of the hero of that great day; and Jonathan was saved[c] (xiv. 24–46).

2. This is the only great exploit of Jonathan's life. But the chief interest of his career is derived from the friendship with David, which began on the day of David's return from the victory over the champion of Gath, and continued till his death. It is the first Biblical instance of a romantic friendship, such as was common afterwards in Greece, and has been since in Christendom; and is remarkable both as giving its sanction to these, and as filled with a pathos of its own, which has been imitated, but never surpassed, in modern works of fiction. "The soul of Jonathan was knit with the soul of David, and Jonathan loved him as his own soul" — "Thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women" (1 Sam. xviii. 1; 2 Sam. i. 26). Each found in each the affection that he found not in his own family: no jealousy of rivalry between the two, as claimants for the same throne, ever interposed: "Thou shalt be king in Israel, and I shall be next unto thee" (1 Sam. xxiii. 17) The friendship was confirmed, after the manner of the time, by a solemn compact often repeated. The first was immediately on their first acquaintance. Jonathan gave David as a pledge his royal mantle, his sword, his girdle, and his famous bow (xviii. 4). His fidelity was soon called into action by the insane rage of his father against David. He interceded for his life, at first with success (1 Sam. xix. 1–7). Then the madness returned and David fled. It was in a secret interview during this flight, by the stone of Ezel, that the second covenant was made between the two friends, of a still more binding kind, extending to their mutual posterity — Jonathan laying such emphasis on this portion of the compact, as almost to suggest the belief of a slight misgiving on his part of David's future conduct in this respect. It is this interview which brings out the character of Jonathan in the liveliest colors — his little artifices — his love for both his father and his friend — his bitter disappointment at his father's unmanageable fury — his familiar sport of archery. With passionate embraces and tears the two friends parted, to meet only once more (1 Sam. xx.). That one more meeting was far away in the forest of Ziph, during

[a] We have taken the LXX. version of xiv 13, 14: ἐπέβλεψαν κατὰ πρόσωπον Ἰωνάθαν, καὶ ἐνέταξεν αὐτοὺς ἐν βόλεσι καὶ ἐν τετροβόλοις καὶ ἐν σφενδόναις τοῦ ποιῆσαι, for "they fell before Jonathan . . . within as it were a half acre of ground, which a yoke of oxen might plough." The alteration of the Hebrew necessary to produce this reading of the LXX. is given by Kennicott (*Dissert. on* 1 *Chron.* xi. p. 453). Ewald (iii. 490) makes this last to be, "Jonathan and his friend were as a yoke of oxen ploughing, and resisting the sharp ploughshares."

[b] In xiv 23, 31, the LXX. reads "Bamoth" for "Beth-aven," and omits "Ajalon."

[c] Josephus *Ant.* (vi. 6, § 5) puts into Jonathan's mouth a speech of patriotic self-devotion, after the manner of a Greek or Roman. Ewald (ii. 483) supposes that a substitute was killed in his place. There is no trace of either of these in the sacred narrative

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Saul's pursuit of David. Jonathan's alarm for his friend's life is now changed into a confidence that he will escape: "He strengthened his hand in God." Finally, and for the third time, they renewed the covenant, and then parted forever (1 Sam. xxiii. 16–18).

From this time forth we hear no more till the battle of Gilboa. In that battle he fell, with his two brothers and his father, and his corpse shared their fate (1 Sam. xxxi. 2, 8). [SAUL.] His ashes were buried first at Jabesh-Gilead (*ibid.* 13), but afterwards removed with those of his father to Zelah in Benjamin (2 Sam. xxi. 12). The news of his death occasioned the celebrated elegy of David, in which he, as the friend, naturally occupies the chief place (2 Sam. i. 22, 23, 25, 26), and which seems to have been sung in the education of the archers of Judah, in commemoration of the one great archer, Jonathan: "He bade them teach the children of Judah the use of the bow" (2 Sam. i. 17, 18).

He left one son, five years old at the time of his death (2 Sam. iv. 4), to whom he had probably given his original name of Merib-baal, afterwards changed for Mephibosheth (comp. 1 Chr. viii. 34, ix. 40). [MEPHIBOSHETH.] Through him the line of descendants was continued down to the time of Ezra (1 Chr. ix. 40), and even then their great ancestor's archery was practiced amongst them. [SAUL.]

2. (יְהוֹנָתָן.) Son of Shimea, brother of Jonadab, and nephew of David (2 Sam. xxi. 21; 1 Chr. xx. 7). He inherited the union of civil and military gifts, so conspicuous in his uncle. Like David, he engaged in a single combat and slew a gigantic Philistine of Gath, who was remarkable for an additional finger and toe on each hand and foot (2 Sam. xxi. 21). If we may identify the Jonathan of 1 Chr. xxvii. 32 with the Jonathan of this passage, where the word translated "uncle" may be "nephew," he was (like his brother Jonadab) "wise" — and as such, was David's counsellor and secretary. Jerome (*Quæst. Heb.* on 1 Sam. xvii. 12) conjectures that this was Nathan the prophet, thus making up the 8th son, not named in 1 Chr. ii. 13–15. But this is not probable

3. [*Jonathas.*] The son of Abiathar, the high-priest. He is the last descendant of Eli, of whom we hear anything. He appears on two occasions. 1. On the day of David's flight from Absalom, having first accompanied his father Abiathar as far as Olivet (2 Sam. xv. 36), he returned with him to Jerusalem, and was there, with Ahimaaz the son of Zadok, employed as a messenger to carry back the news of Hushai's plans to David (xvii. 15–21). 2. On the day of Solomon's inauguration, he suddenly broke in upon the banquet of Adonijah, to announce the success of the rival prince (1 K. i. 42, 43). It may be inferred from Adonijah's expression ("Thou art a valiant man, and bringest good tidings"), that he had followed the policy of his father Abiathar in Adonijah's support.

On both occasions, it may be remarked that he appears as the swift and trusty messenger.

4. The son of Shage the Hararite (1 Chr. xi. 34; 2 Sam. xxiii. 32). He was one of David's heroes (*gibborim*). The LXX. makes his father's name *Sola* (Σωλά), and applies the epithet "Arite" (ὁ Ἀραεί) to Jonathan himself. "Harar" is not mentioned elsewhere as a place; but it is a poetical word for "Har" (mountain), and, as such, may possibly signify in this passage "the mountaineer." Another officer (Ahiam) is mentioned with Jonathan, as bearing the same designation (1 Chr. xi. 35). A. P. S.

5. (יְהוֹנָתָן.) The son, or descendant, of Gershom the son of Moses, whose name in the Masoretic copies is changed to Manasseh, in order to screen the memory of the great lawgiver from the disgrace which attached to the apostasy of one so closely connected with him (Judg. xviii. 30). While wandering through the country in search of a home, the young Levite of Bethlehem-Judah came to the house of Micah, the rich Ephraimite, and was by him appointed to be a kind of private chaplain, and to minister in the house of gods, or sanctuary, which Micah had made in imitation of that at Shiloh. He was recognized by the five Danite spies appointed by their tribe to search the land for an inheritance, who lodged in the house of Micah on their way northwards. The favorable answer which he gave when consulted with regard to the issue of their expedition probably induced them, on their march to Laish with the warriors of their tribe, to turn aside again to the house of Micah, and carry off the ephod and teraphim, superstitiously hoping thus to make success certain. Jonathan, to whose ambition they appealed, accompanied them, in spite of the remonstrances of his patron; he was present at the massacre of the defenseless inhabitants of Laish, and in the new city, which rose from its ashes, he was constituted priest of the graven image, an office which became hereditary in his family till the Captivity. The Targum of R. Joseph, on 1 Chr. xxiii. 16, identifies him with Shebuel the son of Gershom, who is there said to have repented (עָבַד תְּרוּבָא) in his old age, and to have been appointed by David as chief over his treasures. All this arises from a play upon the name Shebuel, from which this meaning is extracted in accordance with a favorite practice of the Targumist.

6. (יוֹנָתָן.) One of the sons of Adin (Ezr. viii. 6), whose representative Ebed returned with Ezra at the head of fifty males, a number which is increased to two hundred and fifty in 1 Esdr. viii. 32, where Jonathan is written Ἰωνάθας.

7. [In 1 Esdr., Ἰωνάθας: *Jonathas.*] A priest, the son of Asahel, one of the four who assisted Ezra in investigating the marriages with foreign women, which had been contracted by the people who returned from Babylon (Ezra x. 15; 1 Esdr. ix. 14).

8. [Vat. Alex. FA.[1] omit.] A priest, and one of the chiefs of the fathers in the days of Joiakim, son of Jeshua. He was the representative of the family of Melicu (Neh. xii. 14).

9. One of the sons of Kareah, and brother of Johanan (Jer. xl. 8). The LXX. in this passage omit his name altogether, and in this they are supported by two of Kennicott's MSS., and the parallel passage of 2 K. xxv. 23. In three others of Kennicott's it was erased, and was originally omitted in three of De Rossi's. He was one of the captains of the army who had escaped from Jerusalem in the final assault by the Chaldæans, and, after the capture of Zedekiah at Jericho, had crossed the Jordan, and remained in the open country of the Ammonites till the victorious army had retired with their spoils and captives. He accompanied his brother Johanan and the other captains, who re-

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torted to Gedaliah at Mizpah, and from that time we hear nothing more of him. Hitzig decides against the LXX. and the MSS. which omit the name (*Der Proph. Jeremias*), on the ground that the very similarity between Jonathan and Johanan favors the belief that they were brothers.

W. A. W.

10. (יוֹנָתָן: Ἰωνάθαν; [FA. once Ἰωναθάν.]) Son of Joiada, and his successor in the high-priesthood. The only fact connected with his pontificate recorded in Scripture, is that the genealogical records of the priests and Levites were kept in his day (Neh. xii. 11, 22), and that the chronicles of the state were continued to his time (*ib.* 23). Jonathan (or, as he is called in Neh. xii. 22, 23, John [Johanan]) lived, of course, long after the death of Nehemiah, and in the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Josephus, who also calls him John, as do Eusebius [a] and Nicephorus likewise, relates that he murdered his own brother Jesus in the Temple, because Jesus was endeavoring to get the high-priesthood from him through the influence of Bagoses the Persian general. He adds that John by this misdeed brought two great judgments upon the Jews: the one, that Bagoses entered into the Temple and polluted it; the other, that he imposed a heavy tax of 50 shekels upon every lamb offered in sacrifice, to punish them for this horrible crime (*A. J.* xi. 7, § 1). Jonathan, or John, was high-priest for 32 years, according to Eusebius and the Alexandr. Chron. (Seld. *de Success. in P. E.* cap. vi., vii.). Milman speaks of the murder of Jesus as "the only memorable transaction in the annals of Judæa from the death of Nehemiah to the time of Alexander the Great" (*Hist. of Jews*, ii. 29).

11. [Vat. FA.[1] Ἰωναν.] Father of Zechariah, a priest who blew the trumpet at the dedication of the wall (Neh. xii. 35). He seems to have been of the course of Shemaiah. The words "son of" seem to be improperly inserted before the following name, *Mattaniah*, as appears by comparing xi. 17.

A. C. H.

12. (Ἰωνάθας.) 1 Esdr. viii. 32. [See No. 6.]

13. [Sin.[1] 1 Macc. ii. 5, Ἰωναθης; Sin.[ca] Alex. Ἰωναθας; so Sin. in v. 17: *Jonathas.*] A son of Mattathias, and leader of the Jews in their war of independence after the death of his brother Judas Maccabæus, B. C. 161 (1 Macc. ix. 19 ff.). [MACCABEES.]

14. [Alex. in xi. 70 Ἰωναθου, gen.] A son of Absalom (1 Macc. xiii. 11), sent by Simon with a force to occupy Joppa, which was already in the hands of the Jews (1 Macc. xii. 33), though probably held only by a weak garrison. Jonathan expelled the inhabitants (τοὺς ὄντας ἐν αὐτῇ; cf. Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 6, § 3) and secured the city. Jonathan was probably a brother of Mattathias (2) (1 Macc. xi. 70).

15. [Ἰωνάθας; Alex. in viii. 22, Ἰωναθης: *Jonathas.*] A priest who is said to have offered up a solemn prayer on the occasion of the sacrifice made by Nehemiah after the recovery of the sacred fire (2 Macc. i. 23 ff.: cf. Ewald, *Gesch. d. V. Isr.* iv. 184 f.). The narrative is interesting, as it presents a singular example of the combination of public prayer with sacrifice (Grimm, *ad* 2 *Macc.* l. c.).

B. F. W.

[a] *Chron. Can.* Hb. poster. p. 340. But in the *Demonst. Evang.* Hb. viii., Jonathan.

JON'ATHAS (Ἰωνάθας; [Vat. Alex. Ἰωαθαν [Vulg. omits; Old Lat.] *Jonathus*; alii, *Nathan*) the Latin form of the common name Jonathan, which is preserved in A. V. in Tob. v. 13.

B. F. W.

JONATH-ELEM-RECHO'KIM (יוֹנַת אֵלֶם רְחֹקִים, *a dumb dove of* (in) *distant places*), a phrase found once only in the Bible, as a heading to the 56th psalm. Critics and commentators are very far from being agreed on its meaning. Rashi considers that David employed the phrase to describe his own unhappy condition when, exiled from the land of Israel, he was living with Achish, and was an object of suspicion and hatred to the countrymen of Goliath: thus was he amongst the Philistines as a mute (אִלְּמִית) dove. Kimchi supplies the following commentary: "The Philistines sought to seize and slay David (1 Sam. xxix. 4–11), and he, in his terror, and pretending to have lost his reason, called himself *Jonath*, even as a dove driven from her cote." Knapp's explanation "on the oppression of foreign rulers" — assigning to *Elem* the same meaning which it has in Ex. xv. 15 — is in harmony with the contents of the psalm, and is worthy of consideration. De Wette translates *Jonath Elem Rechokim* "dove of the distant terebinths," or "of the dove of dumbness (Stummheit) among the strangers" or "in distant places." According to the Septuagint, ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων μεμακρυμμένου, "on the people far removed from the holy places" (probably אוּלָם = אֻלָם, the Temple-hall; see *Orient. Literatur-Blatt*, p. 579, year 1841), a rendering which very nearly accords with the Chaldee paraphrase: "On the congregation of Israel, compared with a mute dove while exiled from their cities, but who come back again and offer praise to the Lord of the Universe." Aben Ezra, who regards *Jonath Elem Rechokim* as merely indicating the modulation or the rhythm of the psalm (comp. the title אַיֶּלֶת הַשַּׁחַר, Ps. xxii.), appears to come the nearest to the meaning of the passage in his explanation, "after the melody of the air which begins *Jonath-elem-Rechokim.*" In the *Biour* to Mendelssohn's version of the Psalms *Jonath Elem Rechokim* is mentioned as a musical instrument which produced dull, mournful sounds. "Some take it for a pipe called in Greek ἔλυμος, יוֹנַת, from יוֹן, *Greek*, which would make the inscription read "the long Grecian pipe," but this does not appear to us admissible" (Biourist's Preface, p. 26).

D. W. M.

JOP'PA (יָפוֹ, *i. e. Yafo, beauty*; the A. V. follows the Greek form, except once, JAPHO: Ἰόππη, LXX. N. T. and Vulg. [*Joppe*]; Ἰόπη, Joseph. — at least in the most recent editions — Strabo, and others: now *Yâfa* or Jaffa), a town on the S. W. coast of Palestine, the port of Jerusalem in the days of Solomon, as it has been ever since.[b] Its etymology is variously explained; some deriving it from "Japhet," others from "lopa," daughter of Æolus and wife of Cepheus, Andromeda's father, its reputed founder; others interpreting it "the

[b] The *Ordnance Survey* (p. 21) makes Joppa a little over 39 miles from Jerusalem (Olivet) by the way of Jimzu (Gimzo).

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watch-tower of joy," or "beauty," and so forth (Reland, *Palæstina*, p. 864). The fact is, that from its being a sea-port, it had a profane, as well as a sacred history. Pliny following Mela (*De situ Orb.* i. 12) says, that it was of ante-diluvian antiquity (*Nat. Hist.* v. 14); and even Sir John Maundeville, in the 14th century, bears witness — though it must be confessed a clumsy one — to that tradition (*Early Travels in P.* p. 142). According to Josephus, it originally belonged to the Phœnicians (*Ant.* xiii. 15, § 4). Here, writes Strabo, some say Andromeda was exposed to the whale (*Geograph.* xvi. p. 759; comp. Müller's *Hist. Græc. Fragm.* vol. iv. p. 325, and his *Geograph. Græc. Min.* vol. i. p. 79), and he appeals to its elevated position in behalf of those who laid the scene there; though in order to do so consistently, he had already shown that it would be necessary to transport Æthiopia into Phœnicia (Strab. i. p. 43). However, in Pliny's age — and Josephus had just before affirmed the same (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 9, § 3) — they still showed the chains by which Andromeda was bound; and not only so, but M. Scaurus the younger, the same that was so much employed in Judæa by Pompey (*Bell. Jud.* i. 6, § 2 ff.), had the bones of the monster transported to Rome from Joppa — where till then they had been exhibited (Mela, *ibid.*) — and displayed them there during his ædileship to the public amongst other prodigies. Nor would they have been uninteresting to the modern geologist, if his report be correct. For they measured 40 feet in length; the span of the ribs exceeding that of the Indian elephant; and the thickness of the spine or vertebra being one foot and a half "sesquipedalis," *i. e.* in circumference — when Solinus says "semipedalis," he means in diameter, see Plin. *Nat. Hist.* ix. 5 and the note, Delphin ed.). Reland would trace the adventures of Jonah in this legendary guise (see above); but it is far more probable that it symbolizes the first interchange of commerce between the Greeks, personified in their errant hero Perseus, and the Phœnicians, whose lovely — but till then unexplored — clime may be well shadowed forth in the fair virgin Andromeda. Perseus, in the tale, is said to have plunged his dagger into the right shoulder of the monster. Possibly he may have discovered or improved the harbor, the roar from whose foaming reefs on the north, could scarcely have been surpassed by the barkings of Scylla or Charybdis. Even the chains shown there may have been those by which his ship was attached to the shore. Rings used by the Romans for mooring their vessels are still to be seen near Terracina in the S. angle of the ancient port (Murray's *Handbk. for S. Italy*, p. 10, 2d ed.).

Returning to the province of history, we find that Japho or Joppa was situated in the portion of Dan (Josh. xix. 46) on the coast towards the south; and on a hill so high, says Strabo, that people affirmed (but incorrectly) that Jerusalem was visible from its summit. Having a harbor attached to it — though always, as still, a dangerous one — it became the port of Jerusalem, when Jerusalem became metropolis of the kingdom of the house of David, and certainly never did port and metropolis more strikingly resemble each other in difficulty of approach both by sea and land. Hence, except in journeys to and from Jerusalem, it was not much used. In St. Paul's travels, for instance, the starting-points by water are, Antioch (Acts xv. 39, viâ the Orontes, it is presumed — xviii. 22, 23, was probably a land-journey throughout): Cæsarea (ix. 30, and xxvii. 2), and once Seleucia (xiii. 4, namely that at the mouth of the Orontes). Also once Antioch (xiv. 26) and once Tyre, as a landing place (xxi. 3).[a] And the same preference for the more northern ports is observable in the early pilgrims, beginning with him of Bordeaux.

But Joppa was the place fixed upon for the cedar and pine-wood, from Mount Lebanon, to be landed by the servants of Hiram king of Tyre; thence to be conveyed to Jerusalem by the servants of Solomon — for the erection of the first "house of habitation" ever made with hands for the invisible Jehovah. It was by way of Joppa, similarly, that like materials were conveyed from the same locality, by permission of Cyrus, for the rebuilding of the 2d Temple under Zerubbabel (1 K. v. 9; 2 Chr. ii. 16; Ezr. iii. 7). Here Jonah, whenever and wherever he may have lived (2 K. xiv. 25 certainly does not clear up the first of these points), "took ship to flee from the presence of his Maker," and accomplished that singular history, which our Lord has appropriated as a type of one of the principal scenes in the great drama of His own (Jon. i. 3; Matth. xii. 40). Here, lastly, on the house-top of Simon the tanner, "by the sea-side" — with the view therefore circumscribed on the E. by the high ground on which the town stood; but commanding a boundless prospect over the western waters — St. Peter had his "vision of tolerance," as it has been happily designated, and went forth like a 2d Perseus — but from the East — to emancipate, from still worse thraldom, the virgin daughter of the West. The Christian poet Arator has not failed to discover a mystical connection between the raising to life of the aged Tabitha — the occasion of St. Peter's visit to Joppa — and the baptism of the first Gentile household (*De Act. Apost.* i. 840, ap. Migne, *Patrol. Curs. Compl.* lxviii. 164).

These are the great Biblical events of which Joppa has been the scene. In the interval that elapsed between the Old and New Dispensations it experienced many vicissitudes. It had sided with Apollonius, and was attacked and captured by Jonathan Maccabæus (1 Macc. x. 76). It witnessed the meeting between the latter and Ptolemy (*ibid.* xi. 6). Simon had his suspicions of its inhabitants, and set a garrison there (*ibid.* xii. 34), which he afterwards strengthened considerably (*ibid.* xiii. 11). But when peace was restored, he reëstablished it once more as a haven (*ibid.* xiv. 5). He likewise rebuilt the fortifications (*ibid.* ver. 34). This occupation of Joppa was one of the grounds of complaint urged by Antiochus, son of Demetrius, against Simon; but the latter alleged in excuse the mischief which had been done by its inhabitants to his fellow-citizens (*ibid.* xv. 30 and 35). It would appear that Judas Maccabæus had burnt their

[a] "The statement here is not strictly accurate. Paul starting from Antioch on his 2d missionary journey did not go by sea (Acts xv. 39) but travelled by land through Syria and Cilicia (ver. 41). Nor was Tyre his "landing place" on his last journey to Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 3), for though the vessel touched there the voyage terminated (τὸν πλοῦν διανύσαντες) at Ptolemais (ver. 7). Possibly also Paul disembarked at Seleucia, not Antioch (Acts xiv. 26), for in such cases it was very common to speak of the town and its harbor as one (comp. Acts xx. 6). The Orontes, it is true, was navigable at that time (though it is no longer so) as far up as Antioch. H

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seven some time back for a gross act of barbarity (2 Macc. xii. 6). Tribute was subsequently exacted for its possession from Hyrcanus by Antiochus Sidetes. By Pompey it was once more made independent, and comprehended under Syria (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 4, § 4); but by Cæsar it was not only restored to the Jews, but its revenues — whether from land or from export-duties — were bestowed upon the 2d Hyrcanus, and his heirs (xiv. 10, § 6). When Herod the Great commenced operations, it was seized by him, lest he should leave a hostile stronghold in his rear, when he marched upon Jerusalem (xiv. 15, § 1), and Augustus confirmed him in its possession (xv. 7, § 4). It was afterwards assigned to Archelaus, when constituted ethnarch (xvii. 11, § 4), and passed with Syria under Cyrenius, when Archelaus had been deposed (xvii. 12, § 5). Under Cestius (*i. e.* Gessius Florus) it was destroyed amidst great slaughter of its inhabitants (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 18, § 10; and such a nest of pirates had it become, when Vespasian arrived in those parts, that it underwent a second and entire destruction — together with the adjacent villages — at his hands (iii. 9, § 3). Thus it appears that this port had already begun to be the den of robbers and outcasts which it was in Strabo's time (*Geograph.* xvi. p. 759); while the district around it was so populous, that from Jamnia, a neighboring town, and its vicinity, 40,000 armed men could be collected (*ibid.*). There was a vast plain around it, as we learn from Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 4, § 4); it lay between Jamnia and Cæsarea — the latter of which might be reached "on the morrow" from it (Acts x. 9 and 24) — not far from Lydda (Acts ix. 38), and distant from Antipatris 150 stadia (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 15, § 1).

When Joppa first became the seat of a Christian bishop is unknown; but the subscriptions of its prelates are preserved in the acts of various synods of the 5th and 6th centuries (Le Quien, *Oriens Christian.* iii. 629). In the 7th century Arculfus sailed from Joppa to Alexandria, the very route usually taken now by those who visit Jerusalem; but he notices nothing at the former place (*Early Travels in P.* by Wright, p. 10). Sæwulf, the next who set sail from Joppa, A. D. 1103, is not more explicit (*ibid.* p. 47). Meanwhile Joppa had been taken possession of by the forces of Godfrey de Bouillon previously to the capture of Jerusalem. The town had been deserted and was allowed to fall into ruin: the Crusaders contenting themselves with possession of the citadel (William of Tyre, *Hist.* viii. 9); and it was in part assigned subsequently for the support of the Church of the Resurrection (*ibid.* ix. 16); though there seem to have been bishops of Joppa (perhaps only titular after all) between A. D. 1253 and 1363 (Le Quien, 1291; comp. p. 1241). Saladin, in A. D. 1188, destroyed its fortifications (Sanut. *Secret. Fid. Crucis*, lib. iii. part x. c. 5); but Richard of England, who was confined here by sickness, rebuilt them (*ibid.*, and Richard of Devizes in Bohn's *Ant. Lib.* p 61). Its last occupation by Christians was that of St. Louis, A. D. 1253, and when he came, it was still a city and governed by a count. "Of the immense sums," says Joinville, "which it cost the king to inclose Jaffa, it does not become me to speak; for they were countless. He inclosed the town from one side of the sea to the other; and there were 24 towers, including small and great. The ditches were well scoured, and kept clean, both within and without. There were 3 gates" . . . (*Chron. of Crus.* p. 495, Bohn). So restored it fell into the hands of the Sultans of Egypt, together with the rest of Palestine, by whom it was once more laid in ruins. So much so, that Bertrand de la Brocquiere visiting it about the middle of the 15th century, states that it then only consisted of a few tents covered with reeds; having been a strong place under the Christians. Guides, accredited by the Sultan, here met the pilgrims and received the customary tribute from them; and here the papal indulgences offered to pilgrims commenced (*Early Travels*, p. 286). Finally, Jaffa fell under the Turks, in whose hands it still is, exhibiting the usual decrepitude of the cities possessed by them and depending on Christian commerce for its feeble existence. During the period of their rule it has been three times sacked — by the Arabs in 1722; by the Mamelukes in 1775; and lastly, by Napoleon I. in 1799, upon the glories of whose early career "the massacre of Jaffa" leaves a stain that can never be washed out (v. Moroni, *Dizion. Eccl* s. v.; Porter, *Handbk.* pp. 238, 239).

The existing town contains in round numbers about 4,000 inhabitants, and has three convents, Greek, Latin, and Armenian; and as many, or more mosques. Its bazaars are worth a visit; yet few places could exhibit a harbor or landing more miserable. Its chief manufacture is soap. The house of Simon the tanner of course purports to be shown still: nor is its locality badly chosen (Stanley, *S. & P.* 263, 274; and see Seddon's *Memoir*, 86, 87, 185).

The oranges of Jaffa are the finest in all Palestine and Syria: its promegranates and water-melons are likewise in high repute, and its gardens and orange and citron-groves deliciously fragrant and fertile. But among its population are fugitives and vagabonds from all countries; and Europeans have little security, whether of life or property, to induce a permanent abode there. E. S. Ff.

JOP'PE ('Ιόππη; [Alex. 2 Macc. iv. 21, Ιοππη:] *Joppe;* [in 2 Macc. xii. 3, 7, 'Ιοππῖται: *Joppitæ*]), 1 Esdr. v. 55; 1 Macc. x. 75, 76, xi. 6, xii. 33, xiii. 11, xiv. 5, 34, xv. 28, 35; 2 Macc. iv. 21, xii. 3, 7. [JOPPA.]

JO'RAH (יוֹרָה [*born in autumn*, First; = יוֹרֶה, *early rain*, Gen.]: 'Ιωρά; [Vat. Ωφρα:] *Jora*), the ancestor of a family of 112 who returned from Babylon with Ezra (Ezr. ii. 18). In Neh. vii. 24 he appears under the name Hariph,[a] or more correctly the same family are represented as the Bene-Hariph, the variation of name originating probably in a very slight confusion of the letters which compose it. In Ezr. two of De Rossi's MSS., and originally one of Kennicott's, had יוֹדָה, *i. e.* Jodah, which is the reading of the Syr. and Arab. versions. One of Kennicott's MSS. had the original reading in Ezr. altered to יוֹרָם, *i. e.* Joram; and two in Neh. read חָרִיִם, *i. e.* Harim, which corresponds with 'Αφελμ of the Alex. MS., and *Hurom* of the Syriac. In any case the change or confusion of letters which might have caused the variation of the name is so slight, that it is difficult to pronounce which is the true form, the corruption of Jorah into Hariph being as easily conceivable as the reverse. Burrington (*Geneal.* ii. 75) decides

[a] * Possibly Jorah and Hariph are interchanged as equivalent in sense (see note a, ii. 1003). H

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n favor of the latter, but from a comparison of both passages with Ezr. x. 31 we should be inclined to regard Harim (חָרִם) as the true reading in all cases. But on any supposition it is difficult to account for the form Azephurith, or more properly Ἀσιφουρίθ, in 1 Esdr. v. 16, which Burrington considers as having originated in a corruption of the two readings in Ezra and Nehemiah, the second syllable arising from an error of the transcriber in mistaking the uncial Ε for Χ. W. A. W.

JO'RAI [2 syl.] (יוֹרַי [*taught by Jehovah*, Ges.]: Ἰωρεέ; Alex. Ἰωρες; [Comp. Ἰωρεῖ; Ald. Ἰωρά:] *Jorai*). One of the Gadites dwelling in Gilead in Bashan, whose genealogies were recorded in the reign of Jotham king of Judah (1 Chr. v. 13). Four of Kennicott's MSS., and the printed copy used by Luther, read יוֹדַי, *i. e.* Jodai.

JO'RAM (יְהוֹרָם, and יוֹרָם, apparently indiscriminately: Ἰωράμ: *Joram*). 1. Son of Ahab; king of Israel (2 K. viii. 16, 25, 28, 29; ix. 14, 17, 21–23, 29). [JEHORAM, 1.]

2. Son of Jehoshaphat; king of Judah (2 K. viii. 21, 23, 24; 1 Chr. iii. 11; 2 Chr. xxii. 5, 7. Matt. i. 8). [JEHORAM, 2.]

3. [Vat. Ἰωραν: *Joran.*] A priest [JEHORAM in A. V.] in the reign of Jehoshaphat, one of those employed by him to teach the law of Moses through the cities of Judah (2 Chr. xvii. 8).

4. (יוֹרָם.) A Levite, ancestor of Shelomith in the time of David (1 Chr. xxvi. 25).

5. (Ἰεδδουράμ; [Vat.] Alex. Ἰεδδουραν.) Son of Toi, king of Hamath, sent by his father to congratulate David on his victories over Hadadezer (2 Sam. viii. 10). [HADORAM.]

6. 1 Esdr. i. 9. [Vulg. *Coraba?*] [JOZABAD, 3.] A. C. H.

JOR'DAN (יַרְדֵּן, *i. e. Yarden*, always with the definite article הַיַּרְדֵּן, except Ps. xlii. 6 and Job xl. 23, from יָרַד, *Jarad*, "to descend:" Ἰορδάνης: *Jordanes:* now called by the Arabs *esh-Sheriah*, or "the watering-place," with the addition of *el-Kebir*, "the great," to distinguish it from the *Sheriat el-Mandhûr*, the Hieromax), a river that has never been navigable (see below), flowing into a sea that has never known a port — has never been a high road to more hospitable coasts — has never possessed a fishery — a river that has never boasted of a single town of eminence upon its banks. It winds through scenery remarkable rather for sameness and tameness than for bold outline. Its course is not much above 200 miles from first to last, less than 1–15th of that of the Nile — from the roots of Anti-Lebanon, where it bursts forth from its various sources in all its purity, to the head of the Dead Sea, where it loses itself and its tributaries in the unfathomable brine. Such is the river of the "great plain" of Palestine — the "Descender" — if not "the river of God" n the book of Psalms, at least that of His chosen people throughout their history.

As Joppa could never be made easy of access or commodious for traffic as a commercial city, so neither could Jordan ever vie with the Thames or the Tiber as a river of the world, nor with the rivers of Naaman's preference, the Pharpar and Abana, for the natural beauty of its banks. These last could boast of the same superiority, in respect of the picturesque, over the Jordan, that Geraisa and Samaria could over Zion and Jerusalem.

We propose to inquire, (i.) what is said about the Jordan in Holy Scripture; (ii.) the accounts given of it by Josephus and others of the same date; (iii.) the statements respecting it by later writers and travellers.

I. There is no regular description of the Jordan to be met with in Holy Scripture, and it is only by putting scattered notices of it together that we can give the general idea which runs through the Bible respecting it.

And 1, the earliest allusion is not so much to the river itself as to the plain or plains which it traversed: "Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered everywhere . . . even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt" (Gen. xiii. 10). Abram had just left Egypt (xii. 10–20), and therefore the comparison between the fertilizing properties of the Jordan and of the Nile is very apposite, though it has since been pushed much too far, as we shall see. We may suppose Lot to have had his view from one of the summits of those hills that run north in the direction of Scythopolis (*B. J.* iv. 7, § 2), bounding the plains of Jordan on the W.; for Lot and Abram were now sojourning between Bethel and Ai (Gen. xiii. 3). How far the plain extended in length or breadth is not said: other passages speak of "Jordan and his border" (Josh. xiii. 27), "the borders of Jordan" (xxii. 11), and "the plains of Jericho" (iv. 13; comp. 2 K. xxv. 5); all evidently subdivisions of the same idea, comprehending the east bank equally with the west (Josh. xiii. 27).

2. We must anticipate events slightly to be able to speak of the fords or passages of the Jordan. Jordan is inexhaustible in the book of Job (xl. 23), and deep enough to prove a formidable passage for belligerents (1 Macc. ix. 48); yet, as in all rivers of the same magnitude, there were shallows where it could be forded on foot. There were fords over against Jericho, to which point the men of Jericho pursued the spies (Josh. ii. 7), the same probably that are said to be "toward Moab" in the book of Judges, where the Moabites were slaughtered (iii. 28). Higher up, perhaps over against Succoth, some way above where the little river Jabbok (Zerka) enters the Jordan, were the fords or passages of Bethbarah (probably the Bethabara, "house of passage," of the Gospel, though most moderns would read "Bethany," see Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 308, note, 2d ed.), where Gideon lay in wait for the Midianites (Judg. vii. 24), and where the men of Gilead slew the Ephraimites (xii. 6). Not far off, in "the clay ground between Succoth and Zarthan," were the brass foundries of king Solomon (1 K. vii. 46). These fords undoubtedly witnessed the first recorded passage of the Jordan in the O. T.: we say recorded, because there can be little dispute but that Abraham must have crossed it likewise. But only the passage of Jacob is mentioned, and that in remarkable language: "With my staff I passed over this Jordan, and now I am become two bands" (Gen. xxxii. 10, and Jabbok in connection with it, ver. 22). And Jordan was next crossed — over against Jericho — by Joshua the son of Nun, at the head of the descendants of the twelve sons of him who signalized the first passage. The magnitude of their operations may be inferred from the fact, that — of the children of Reuben and of Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh

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only — "about 40,000 prepared for war passed over before the Lord unto battle." . . . (Josh. iv. 12 and 13.)

The ceremonial of this second crossing is too well known to need recapitulation. It may be observed, however, that, unlike the passage of the Red Sea, where the intermediate agency of a strong east wind is freely admitted (Ex. xiv. 21), it is here said, in terms equally explicit, not only that the river was then unusually full of water, but that "the waters which came down from above stood and rose up upon an heap . . . while those that came down toward the sea of the plain . . . failed and were cut off," as soon as ever "the feet of the priests that bare the ark were dipped in the brim of the water" (Josh. iii. 15, 16). That it happened in harvest-time is seen also from ch. v. 10–12. Finally, with regard to the memorial of the twelve stones, such had been the altar erected by Moses "under the hill" (Ex. xxiv. 4); such, probably, the altar erected by Joshua upon Mount Ebal, though the number of stones is not defined (Josh. viii. 31); and such, long afterwards, the altar erected by Elijah (1 K. xviii. 31). Whether these twelve stones were deposited in, or on the banks of, the Jordan, or whether there were two sets, one for each locality, has been disputed. Josephus only recognizes a single construction — that of an altar — in either case; and this was built, according to him, in the present instance, 50 stadia from the river, and 10 stadia from Jericho, where the people encamped, with the stones which the heads of their tribes had brought from out of the bed of the Jordan. It may be added that Josephus seems loth to admit a miracle, both in the passage of the Jordan and that of the Red Sea (*Ant.* v. 1, § 4, ii. 16, § 5). From their vicinity to Jerusalem these lower fords were much used; David, it is probable, passed over them in one instance to fight the Syrians (2 Sam. x. 17); and subsequently, when a fugitive himself, in his way to Mahanaim (xvii. 22), on the east bank. Hither Judah came to reconduct the king home (2 Sam. xix. 15), and on this one occasion a ferry-boat — if the Hebrew word has been rightly rendered — is said to have been employed (ver. 18). Somewhere in these parts Elijah must have smitten the waters with his mantle, "so that they divided hither and thither" (2 K. ii. 8), for he had just left Jericho (ver. 4), and by the same route that he went did Elisha probably return (ver. 14). Naaman, on the other hand, may be supposed to have performed his ablutions in the upper fords, for Elisha was then in Samaria (v. 3), and it was by these fords doubtless that the Syrians fled when miraculously discomfited through his instrumentality (vii. 15). Finally, it was probably by these upper fords that Judas and his followers went over into the great plain before Bethsan — not that they crossed over against Bethsan (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8, § 5), when they were retracing their steps from the land of Galaad to Jerusalem (1 Macc. v. 52).

Thus there were two customary places, at which the Jordan was fordable, though there may have been more, particularly during the summer, which are not mentioned. And it must have been at one of these, if not at both, that baptism was afterwards administered by St. John and by the disciples of our Lord. The plain inference from the Gospels would appear to be that these baptisms were administered in more places than one. There was one place where St. John baptized in the first instance (τὸ πρῶτον, John x. 40), though it is not named. There was Bethabara — probably the upper fords — where the Baptist, having previously baptized our Lord — whether there or elsewhere — bears record to the descent of the Holy Ghost upon Him which ensued (i. 29–34). There was Ænon, near to Salim, to the north, where St. John was baptizing upon another occasion, "because there was much water there" (iii. 23). [ÆNON.] This was during the summer evidently (comp. ii. 13–23), that is, long after the feast of the Passover, and the river had become low, so that it was necessary to resort to some place where the water was deeper than at the ordinary fords. There was some place "in the land of Judæa" where our Lord, or rather his disciples, baptized about the same time (iii. 22). And lastly, there was the place — most probably the lower ford near Jericho — where all "Jerusalem and Judæa" went out to be baptized of John in the Jordan (Matt. iii. 5; Mark i. 5).

Where our Lord was baptized is not stated expressly. What is stated is, (1) that as St. John was a native of some "city in the hill-country of Judæa" (Luke i. 39), so his preaching, commencing "in the wilderness of Judæa" (Matt. iii. 1), embraced "all the country about Jordan" (Luke iii. 3), and drew persons from Galilee, as far off as Nazareth (Mark i. 9) and Bethsaida (John i. 35, 40, 44), as well as from Jerusalem; (2) that the baptism of the multitude from Jerusalem and Judæa preceded that of our Lord (Matt. iii. 6, 13; Mark i. 5, 9); (3) that our Lord's baptism was also distinct from that of the said multitude (Luke iii. 21); and (4) that He came from Nazareth in Galilee, and not from Jerusalem or Judæa, to be baptized. The inference from all which would seem to be, (1) that the first (τὸ πρῶτον) baptisms of St. John took place at the lower ford near Jericho, to which not only he himself, a native of Judæa, but all Jerusalem and Judæa likewise, would naturally resort as being the nearest; where similarly our Lord would naturally take refuge when driven out from Jerusalem, and from whence He would be within reach of tidings from Bethany, the scene of his next miracle (John x. 39, 40, xi. 1); (2) that his second baptisms were at the upper ford, or Bethabara, whither he had arrived in the course of his preachings, and were designed for the inhabitants of the more northern parts of the Holy Land, among whom were Jesus and Andrew, both from Galilee; (3) that his third and last baptisms were in the neighborhood of Ænon and Salim, still further to the north, where there was not generally so much of a ford, but, on the contrary, where the water was still sufficiently deep, notwithstanding the advanced season. Thus St. John would seem to have moved upwards gradually towards Galilee, the seat of Herod's jurisdiction, by whom he was destined to be apprehended and executed; while our Lord, coming from Galilee, probably by way of Samaria, as in the converse case (John iv. 3, 4), would seem to have met him half way, and to have been baptized in the ford nearest to that locality — a ford which had been the scene of the first recorded crossing. The tradition which asserts Christ to have been baptized in the ford near Jericho, has been obliged to invent a Bethabara near that spot, of which no trace exists in history, to appear consistent with Scripture (Origen, quoted by Alford on John i. 28).

3. These fords — and more light will be thrown upon their exact site presently — were rendered so

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much the more precious in these days from two circumstances. First, it does not appear that there were then any bridges thrown over, or boats regularly established on, the Jordan, for the purpose of transporting either pedestrians or merchandise from one bank to the other. One case, perhaps, of either bridge or boat is upon record; but it would seem to have been got up expressly for the occasion (2 Sam. xix. 18).[a] Neither the LXX. nor Vulg. contain a word about a "boat," and Josephus says expressly that it was a "bridge" that was then extemporized (*Ant.* vii. 2 [11], § 2). And secondly, because, in the language of the author of the book of Joshua (iii. 15), "Jordan overflowed all his banks all the time of harvest:" a "swelling" which, according to the 1st book of Chronicles (xii. 15), commenced "in the first month" (*i. e.* about the latter end of our March), drove the lion from his lair in the days of Jeremiah (xii. 5, xlix. 19, l. 44), and had become a proverb for abundance in the days of Jesus the son of Sirach (Ecclus. xxiv. 26). The context of the first of these passages may suffice to determine the extent of this exuberance. The meaning is clearly that the channel or bed of the river became brimfull, so that the level of the water and of the banks was then the same. Dr. Robinson seems therefore to have good reason for saying that the ancient rise of the river has been greatly exaggerated (i. 540, 2d ed.), so much so as to have been compared to that of the Nile (Reland, *Palest.* xl. 111). Evidently too there is nothing extraordinary whatever in this occurrence. On the contrary, it would be more extraordinary were it otherwise. All rivers that are fed by melting snows are fuller between March and September than between September and March; but the exact time of their increase varies with the time when the snows melt. The Po and Adige are equally full during their harvest-time with the Jordan; but the snows on Lebanon melt earlier than on the Alps, and harvest begins later in Italy than in the Holy Land. "The heavy rains of November and December," as Dr. Robinson justly remarks, "find the earth in a parched and thirsty state, and are consequently absorbed into the soil as they fall. The melting of the snows, on the other hand, on the mountains can only affect the rivers. Possibly 'the basins of Hûleh and Tiberias' may so far act as 'regulators' upon the Jordan as to delay its swelling till they have been replenished. On the other hand, the snows on Lebanon are certainly melting fast in April.

4. The last feature which remains to be noticed in the Scriptural account of the Jordan is its frequent mention as a boundary: "over Jordan," "this," and "the other side," or "beyond Jordan," were expressions as familiar to the Israelites as "across the water," "this," and "the other side of the Channel," are to English ears. In one sense indeed, that is, in so far as it was the eastern boundary of the land of Canaan, it was the eastern boundary of the promised land (Num. xxxiv. 12). In reality, it was the long serpentine vine, trailing over the ground from N. to S., round which the whole family of the twelve tribes were clustered. Four fifths of their number — nine tribes and a half — dwelt on the W. of it, and one fifth, or two tribes and a half, on the E. of it, with the Levites in their cities equally distributed amongst both, and it was theirs from its then reputed fountain-head to its exit into the Dead Sea. Those who lived on the E. of it had been allowed to do so on condition of assisting their brethren in their conquests on the W. (Num. xxxii. 20–33); and those who lived on the W. "went out with one consent" when their countrymen on the E. were threatened (1 Sam. xi. 6–11). The great altar built by the children of Reuben, of Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, on the banks of the Jordan, was designed as a witness of this intercommunion and mutual interest (Josh. xxii. 10–29). In fact, unequal as the two sections were, they were nevertheless regarded as integral parts of the whole land; and thus there were three cities of refuge for the man-slayer appointed on the E. of the Jordan; and there were three cities, and no more, on the W. — in both cases moreover equi-distant one from the other (Num. xxxv. 9–15; Josh. xx. 7-9; Lewis, *Heb. Republ.* ii. 13). When these territorial divisions had been broken up in the captivities of Israel and Judah, some of the "coasts beyond Jordan" seem to have been retained under Judæa. [JUDÆA.]

II. As the passage which is supposed to speak of "the fountain of Daphne" (Num. xxxiv. 11, and Patrick *ad l.*, see below) is by no means clear, we cannot appeal to Holy Scripture for any information respecting the sources of the Jordan. What Josephus and others say about the Jordan may be briefly told. Panium, says Josephus (*i. e.* the sanctuary of Pan), appears to be the source of the Jordan; whereas it has a secret passage hither under ground from Phiala, as it is called, about 120 stadia distant from Cæsarea, on the road to Trachonitis, and on the right hand side of, and not far from the road. Being a wheel-shaped pool, it is rightly called Phiala from its rotundity (περιφερείας); yet the water always remains there up to the brim, neither subsiding nor overflowing. That this is the true source of the Jordan was first discovered by Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis — for by his orders chaff was cast into the water at Phiala, and it was taken up at Panium. Panium was always a lovely spot; but the embellishments of Agrippa, which were sumptuous, added greatly to its natural charms (from *Bell. Jud.* i. 21, § 3; and *Ant.* xv. 10, § 3, it appears that the temple there was due to Herod the Great). It is from this cave at all events that the Jordan commences his ostensible course above ground; traversing the marshes and fens of Semechonitis (L. Merom or *Hûleh*), and then, after a course of 120 stadia, passing by the town Julias, and intersecting the Lake of Gennesaret, winds its way through a considerable wilderness, till it finds its exit in the Lake Asphaltites (*B. J.* iii. 10, § 7). Elsewhere he somewhat modifies his assertion respecting the nature of the great plain [JERICHO]; while on the physical beauties of Gennesaret, the palms and figs, olives and grapes,

[a] * The A. V. has in that passage "ferry-boat"; with the article in Hebrew, probably denoting the one provided for David, and not the one in use at that station. This is the proper sense of עֲבָרָה, and generally accepted. (See Thenius, *Bücher Samuels*, p. 216.) Tristram says there is but one single ferry-boat even on the Lake of Galilee at the present time (*Land of Israel*, p. 80, 2d ed.). Some explorers, as Costigan, Molyneaux, and Lynch, have launched boats on the Jordan, and with difficulty have made their way to the Dead Sea; but for ordinary uses boating was and still is impracticable on account of the many violent rapids in the river, and to some extent unnecessary on account of the fords. G.

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hat flourished round it, and the fish for which ts waters were far-famed, he is still more eloquent (*B. J.* iii. 10, § 8). In the first chapter of the next book (iv. 1, § 1) he notices more fountains at a place called Daphne (still *Difneh*, see Rob. *Bibl. Res.* vol. iii. p. 393, note), immediately under the temple of the golden calf, which he calls the sources of the little, and its communication with the great, Jordan (comp. *Ant.* i. 10, § 1, v. 3, § 1, and viii. 8, § 4). While Josephus dilates upon its sources, Pausanias, who had visited the Jordan, dilates upon its extraordinary disappearance. He cannot get over its losing itself in the Dead Sea, and compares it to the submarine course of the Alpheus from Greece to Sicily (lib. v. 7, 4, ed. Dindorf.). Pliny goes so far as to say that the Jordan instinctively shrinks from entering that dread lake by which it is swallowed up. On the other hand Pliny attributes its rise to the fountain of Paneas, from which, he adds, Cæsarea was surnamed (*H. N.* v. 15). Lastly, Strabo speaks of the aromatic reeds and rushes, and even balsam, that grew on the shores and marshes round Gennesaret; but can he be believed when he asserts that the Aradians and others were in the habit of *sailing up Jordan with cargo*? (xvi. 2, 16.) It will be remembered that he wrote during the first days of the empire, when there were boats in abundance upon Gennesaret (John vi. 22–24).

III. Among the latest travellers who have explored and afterwards written upon the course or sources of the Jordan, are Messrs. Irby and Mangles (*Journal of Trav.*), Dr. Robinson, Lieut. Lynch and party (*Narrat. and Off. Rep.*), Capt. Newbold (*Journal of R. Asiat. S.*, vol. xvi. p. 8 ff.), Rev. W. Thomson (*Bibl. Sac.*, vol. iii. p. 184 ff.), and Professor Stanley. While making our best acknowledgments to these writers for what is contained in the following summary, we shall take the liberty of offering one or two criticisms where personal inspection constrains our demurring to their conclusions. According to the older commentators "Dan" was a stream that rose in a fountain called Phiala, in the district called Paniun, and among the roots of Lebanon; then after a subterraneous course, reappeared near the town called Paneas, Dan, or Cæsarea Philippi, where it was joined by a small stream called "Jor;" and henceforth united both names in one — Jordan (*Corn. a Lap.* in Deut. xxxiii. 22). But it has been well observed that the Hebrew word יַרְדֵּן, *Jarden*, has no relation whatever to the name Dan; and also that the river had borne that name from the days of Abraham, and from the days of Job, at least five centuries before the name of Dan was given to the city at its source (Robinson, iii. 412). It should be added that the number of streams meeting at or about Bâniâs very far exceeds two.

This is one of the points on which we are compelled to dissent from one and all of the foregoing travellers — not one of them dwells upon the phenomenon that from the village of *Hashbeiya* on the N. W. to the village of *Shib'a* on the N. E. of *Bâniâs*, the entire slope of Anti-Lebanon is alive with bursting fountains and gushing streams every one of which, great or small, finds its way sooner or later into the swamp between *Bâniâs* and lake *Hûleh*, and eventually becomes part of the Jordan. Incidentally this of course comes out; but surely this, and not those three prime sources exclusively, to which Captain Newbold has most justly added a fourth, passed over without a word by the rest — should be made the prominent feature of that charmed locality. The fact is, that with the exception of Messrs. Irby and Mangles, he is the only traveller of them all who has in any degree explored the S. E. side of the slope; the route of the others being from *Bâniâs* to *Hashbeiya* on the western side. Then again all have travelled in the months of April, May, or June — that is, before the melting of the snows had ceased to have influence — except Messrs. Irby and Mangles, whose scanty notices were made in February, or just after the heavy rains. Whereas in order to be able to decide to which of those sources Jordan is most indebted, the latter end of October, the end of the dry season, and just before the rains set in — when none but streams possessed of inherent vitality are in existence — should have been chosen. Far be it from us to depreciate those time-honored parent springs — the noble fountain (of Daphne) under the Tell, or hill of Dan (*Tell el-Kâdy*), which "gushes out all at once a beautiful river of delicious water" in the midst of verdure and welcome shade; still less, that magnificent "burst of water out of the low slope" in front of the picturesque cave of *Bâniâs*, inscriptions in the niches of which still testify to the deity that was once worshipped there, and to the royal munificence that adorned his shrine. Travellers, nevertheless, who have seen Clitumnus (and to read of it in Pliny, *Ep.* lib. viii. 8, is almost to see), Vaucluse, or even Holywell in N. Wales, will have seen something of the kind. But what shall we say to "the bold perpendicular rock" near Hashbeiya, "from beneath which," we are told, "the river gushes copious, translucent, and cool, in two rectangular streams, one to the N. E., and the other to the N. W.?" for if this source, being the most distant of all, may "claim in a strictly scientific sense to be the parent stream of the whole valley," then let us be prepared on the same principle to trace the Mississippi back to the Missouri. Besides, Captain Newbold — and we can here vouch for his statement — has *detected* a 4th source, which according to the Arabs, is never dry, in what Mr. Thomson hastily dismisses as the mountain-torrent *Wady el-Kid*, and Messrs. Irby and Mangles as a "rivulet;" but which the Captain appears to have followed to the springs called *Esh-Shar*, though we must add, that its sources, according to our impression, lie considerably more to the N. It runs past the ruined walls and forts of *Bâniâs* on the S. E. Nobody that has seen its dizzy cataracts in the month of April, or its deep-rock-hewn bed at all other seasons, can speak lightly of it; though it is naturally lost upon all those who quit *Bâniâs* for the N. W.

Again, we make bold to say, that the Phiala of Josephus has not yet been identified. Any lake would have been called Phiala by the Greeks that bore that shape (Reland, *Palæst.* 41; comp. Hofmann's *Lex. Univ.* s. v.; if we mistake not, the Lake of Delos is a further instance). But *Birket er-Ram*, or the alleged Phiala, lying to the S. E. of, and at some distance from, the cave of *Bâniâs*, we are not surprised that the story of Josephus should be voted absurd; for he is thus made to say seriously, what even to a tragic poet was the climax of improbabilities (Eur. *Med.* 410), that "the fountains of sacred streams flow backwards," or up-hill. The Arabs doubtless heard of the story of the chaff through some dragoman who heard it from his masters; but the direction of *Shib'a* — "six hours higher

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up the southern declivity of Mount Hermon," and therefore to the N. E. of *Bânias* — is beyond doubt the true one, as long since pointed out by Reland (*ibid.*, and see his Map) for the site of the lake. According to Lynch, "a very large fountain issuing from the base of a high rock" exists there (*Off. Rep.* 112). Lastly, the actual description given by Captain Newbold of the lake *Merj el-Man*, "3 hrs. E. 10° N. from *Bânias*," *proves*, at all events, that *there is one circular lake*, besides *Birket er-Ram*, in those regions, and in the very direction indicated by the historian. We cannot help, therefore, entertaining a suspicion that *Merj el-Man* will turn out to be the true Phiala.

Once more, Mr. Thomson had stated that "the *Hashbeiya*, when it reaches the *L. Hûleh*, has been immensely enlarged by the waters from the great fountains of *Bânias*, *Tell el-Kâdy*, *el-Mellâhah*, *Derâkit* or *Beldt*" (both on the western side of the plain), "and innumerable other springs." Captain Newbold, on the other hand, found it impossible to ascertain whether such a junction took place, or not, before they enter the lake (p. 15). His Arabs strongly maintained the negative. It was reserved for Dr. Robinson in 1852 to settle the question of their previous junction, which according to him may be witnessed one third of a mile N. of *Tell Sheikh Yûsuf*: so that they enter *Hûleh*, as they depart from it, in one united stream (vol. iii. 395). Its passage through and from Gennesaret is that of uninterrupted unity. But that the waters of the Jordan do not condescend to mingle in any sense with those of the lake, is as true as that the Rhone and the Lake of Geneva never embrace. Any comparison between the waters of the Jordan, as a fertilizer, or as a beverage, with those of the Nile, would be no less unreal; while from the immense amount of vegetable matter which they contain, the former decompose with a rapidity perfectly marvelous when kept. Travellers, therefore, who are desirous of preserving them, will do well to go to the fountain-heads for their supply. There alone they sparkle and look inviting.

"The Jordan enters Gennesaret about two miles below the ruins of the ancient city Julias, or the Bethsaida of Gaulonitis, which lay upon its eastern bank. At its mouth it is about 70 feet wide, a lazy, turbid stream, flowing between low alluvial banks. There are several bars not far from its mouth, where it can be forded. . . . From the site of Bethsaida to *Jisr Benât Ya'kôb* is about six miles. The Jordan here rushes along, a foaming torrent (much of course depending on the season when it is visited), through a narrow winding ravine, shut in by high precipitous banks. Above the bridge the current is less rapid and the banks are lower. The whole distance from the lake *el-Hûleh* to the Sea of Tiberias is nearly nine miles, and the fall of the river is about 600 feet" (Porter's *Handbook*, part ii. pp. 426–27; comp. Stanley's *S. & P.* p. 364, note 1, 2d ed.).

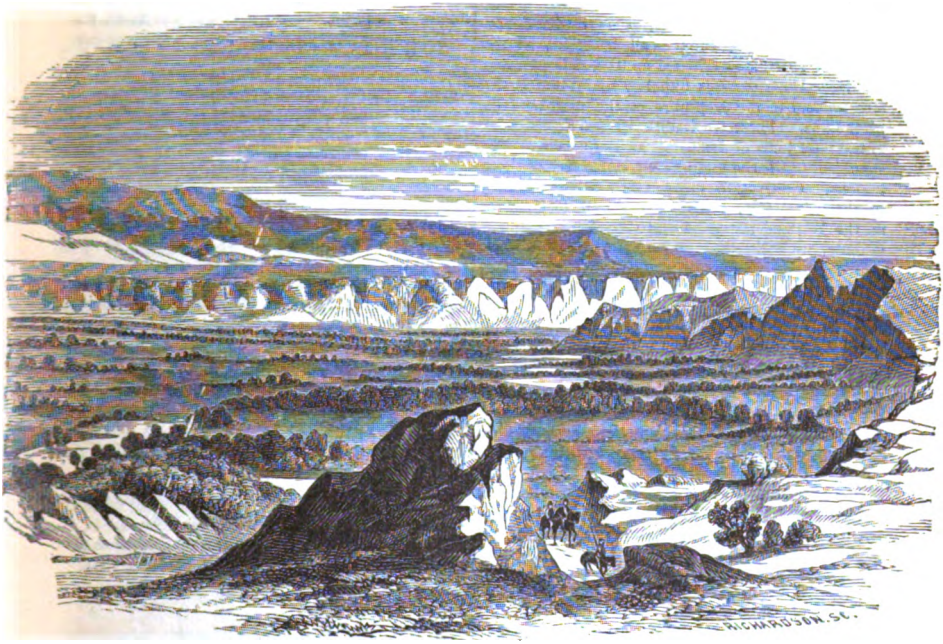
The two principal features in the course of the Jordan are its descent and its sinuosity. From its fountain-heads to the point where it is lost to nature, it rushes down one continuous inclined plane, only broken by a series of rapids or precipitous falls. Between the Lake of Tiberias and the Dead Sea, Lieutenant Lynch passed down 27 rapids which he calls threatening; besides a great many more of lesser magnitude. According to the computations which were then made, the descent of the Jordan in each mile was about 11.8 English feet; the depression of the Lake of Tiberias below the level of the Mediterranean 653.3; and that of the Dead Sea 1316.7 (Robinson, i. 612, note xxx.). Thus "the Descender" may be said to have fairly earned his name. Its sinuosity is not so remarkable in the upper part of its course. Lieutenant Lynch would regard the two phenomena in the light of cause and effect. "The great secret," he says, "of the depression between Lake Tiberias and the Dead Sea is solved by the tortuous course of the Jordan. In a space of 60 miles of latitude and 4 or 5 miles of longitude, the Jordan traverses at least 200 miles" (*Off. Letter*, p. 265 *of Narrat.*). During the whole passage of 8¼ days, the time which it took his boats to reach the Dead Sea from Gennesaret, only one straight reach of any length, about midway between them, *i. e.* on the 4th day, is noticed. The rate of stream seems to have varied with its relative width and depth. The greatest width mentioned was 180 yards, the point where it enters the Dead Sea. Here it was only 3 feet deep. On the 6th day the width in one place was 80 yards, and the depth only 2 feet; while the current on the whole varied from 2 to 8 knots. On the 5th day the width was 70 yards, with a current of 2 knots, or 30 yards with a current of 6 knots.

The only living tributaries to the Jordan noticed particularly below Gennesaret were the *Yarmûk* (Hieromax) and the *Zerka* (Jabbok). The mouth of the former of these was passed on the 3d day, 40 yards wide, with moderate current; while the latter, whose course became visible on the 7th day, was, on the 8th day, discovered to have two distinct outlets into the main stream, one of which was then dry. Older writers had distinguished two beds and banks of the Jordan; the first, that occupied by the river in its normal state; the second, comprising the space which it occupied during its swelling or overflow (Martiniere, *Dict. Geograph.* s. v.). Similarly Lieutenant Lynch has remarked, "There are evidently two terraces to the Jordan, and through the lowest one the river runs its serpentine course. From the stream, *above the immediate banks*, there is, on each side, a singular terrace of low hills, like truncated cones, which is the bluff terminus of an extended table-land, reaching quite to the mountains of Hauran on the E., and the high hills on the western side" (*Narrat.*, April 13, and comp. what Capt. Newbold says, p. 23). There are no bridges over Jordan to which an earlier date has been assigned than that of the Roman occupation; and there are vestiges of Roman roads in different parts of the country — between *Nâbulus* and *Beisân* for instance — that may well have crossed by these bridges. The Saracens afterwards added to their number, or restored those which they found in ruins. Thus the bridge called *el-Ghujar* over the *Hashbeiya*, has two pointed arches and one round (Newbold, p. 13), while the entire architecture of the *Jisr Benât Ya'kôb* (of the daughters of Jacob), 2½ miles to the S. of L. Hûleh, as well as of the khan adjacent to it on the eastern side, is pronounced to be Saracenic (*ibid.*, p. 20). A Roman bridge of ten arches, *Jisr Semakh*, spans the Jordan near the village bearing that name, and was doubtless on the route from Tiberias and Tarichea to Gadara and Decapolis (*ibid.*, p. 21, Irby p. 90). Lastly, the bridge of *Mejâmieh* which crosses the Jordan about six miles from the Lake of Gennesaret, was Saracenic; while that near the ford *Dâmieh* was more Roman (Newbold, p. 2[illegible] and Lynch, *Narr.*, April 16).

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Turning from these artificial constructions to the old bridges of nature — the fords — we find a remarkable yet perfectly independent concurrence between the narrative of Lieutenant Lynch and what has been asserted previously respecting the fords or passages of the Bible. We do not indeed affirm that the localities fit into each other like the pieces of a puzzle. Yet still it is no slight coincidence that no more than three, or at most four regular fords should have been set down by the chroniclers of the American expedition. The two first occur on the same day within a few hours of each other, and are called respectively *Wacubes* and *Sákwa* (*Off. Rep.* pp. 25 and 26). Eighteen miles E. by N. of the last of these were the ruins of Jerash (which our authority confounds with Pel'a), exactly in a line with which is placed the site of Succoth, or *Sakút*, in the map of Dr. Robinson; though he admits that arguments are not wanting for placing it some way to the S. (vol. iii. p. 310). The next ford is passed the following, or the 7th day, the ford of *Dámieh*, as it is called, opposite to the commencement of the *Wady Zerka*, some miles above the junction of that river with the Jordan, and where the road from *Nábulus* to *es-Salt* crossed. Could we ascertain the true site of Succoth, we might be better able to decide which of these two fords answered best to the Beth-barah of the Old Test., or Bethabara of the New; and then Ænon might be the ford, or one of the two fords, to the N. of it. It is perhaps worthy of note that the neighborhood of the ford *Sákwa* is represented as the dreariest wild imaginable — fearful solitude and monotony (*Narr.*, April 15). That Messrs. Irby and Mangles forded the Jordan near Tariches was probably due to the ruins of the old Roman bridge; on the contrary, where they forded it on horseback, 1¼ hour from *Beisán*, Lynch found the water between 5 and 6 feet deep.

The ford *el-Mashra'a* over against Jericho was the last ford put upon record, and it is too well known to need any lengthened notice. Here tra-



The Jordan on the road from Nablûs to es-Salt.

dition has chosen to combine the passage of the Israelites under Joshua with the baptism of our Lord — a more distant ford would have been found highly inconvenient for the Jerusalem pilgrims; and here accordingly, three miles below the ruined convent of St. John — in honor of these events — the annual bathing of the Oriental pilgrims takes place; of which Professor Stanley has given a lively picture (*S. & P.* pp. 314–16; comp. *Off. Rep.* pp. 29, 30).

We have observed that not a single city ever crowned the banks of the Jordan. Still Bethshan and Jericho to the W., Gerasa, Pella, and Gadara to the E. of it, were important cities, and caused a good deal of traffic between the two opposite banks. Under the sway of the Egyptian sultans, the bridge of the Daughters of Jacob seems to have been one of the high-roads to Damascus. Another road to Damascus was from *Nábulus* through *Beisán*, and was brought over by the bridge at the mouth of the *Yarmúk*. The sites of these cities, with their history, are discussed under their respective names; and for the same reason we abstain from going deeply into the physical features of the Jordan or of the Ghor, for these will be treated of more at large under the general head of Palestine. We shall confine ourselves therefore to the most cursory notice. As there were slime-pits, or pits of bitumen, and salt-pits (Gen. xi. 3; Zeph. ii. 9) in the vale of Siddim, on the extreme south, so Mr. Thomson speaks of bitumen wells 20 minutes from the bridge over the *Hushbeiya* on the extreme north; while *Ain el-Mellâhah* above *L. Hûleh* is emphatically "the fountain of the salt works"

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(Lynch's *Narrat.*, p. 470). Thermal springs are frequent about the Lake of Tiberias; the most celebrated, below the town bearing that name (Robinson, ii. 384, 385); some near Emmaus (Lynch, p. 467), some near Magdala, and some not far from Gadara (Irby, pp. 90, 91). The hill of Dan is said to be an extinct crater, and masses of volcanic rock and tufa are noticed by Lynch not far from the mouth of the *Yarmûk* (*Narrat.*, April 12). Dark basalt is the characteristic of the rocks in the upper stage; trap, limestone, sandstone, and conglomerate in the lower. On the 2d day of the passage a bank of fuller's-earth was observed.

How far the Jordan in olden time was ever a zone of cultivation like the Nile is uncertain. Now, with the exception of the eastern shores of the *L. Hûleh*, the hand of man may be said to have disappeared from its banks. The genuine Arab is a nomad by nature, and contemns agriculture. There, however, Dr. Robinson, in the month of May, found the land tilled almost down to the lake; and large crops of wheat, barley, maize, sesame, and rice rewarded the husbandman. Horses, cattle, and sheep — all belonging to the *Ghawârineh* tribe — fattened on the rich pasture; and large herds of black buffaloes luxuriated in the streams and in the deep mire of the marshes (vol. iii. p. 396). These are doubtless lineal descendants of the "fat bulls of Bashan," as the "oaks of Bashan" are still the magnificent staple tree of those regions. Cultivation degenerates as we advance southwards. Corn-fields wave round Gennesaret on the W., and the palm and vine, fig and pomegranate, are still to be seen here and there. Melons grown on its shores are of great size and much esteemed. Pink oleanders, and a rose-colored species of hollyhock, in great profusion, wait upon every approach to a rill or spring. These gems of nature reappear in the lower course of the Jordan. There the purple thistle, the bright yellow marigold and scarlet anemone saluted the adventurers of the New World: the laurestinus and oleander, cedar and arbutus, willow and tamarisk, accompanied them on their route. As the climate became more tropical and the lower Ghor was entered, large ghurrah trees, like the aspen, with silvery foliage, overhung them; and the cane, frequently impenetrable and now in blossom, "was ever at the water's edge." Only once during the whole voyage, on the 4th day, were patches of wheat and barley visible, but the hand that had sowed them lived far away. As Jeremiah in the O. T., and St. Jerome and Phocas (see Reland as above) among Christian pilgrims, had spoken of the Jordan as the resort of lions, so tracks of tigers, wild boars, and the like, presented themselves from time to time to these explorers. Flocks of wild ducks, of cranes, of pigeons, and of swallows, were scared by their approach; and a specimen of the bulbul, or Syrian nightingale, fell into their hands. The scenery throughout was not inspiring — it was of a subdued character when they started; profoundly gloomy and dreary near ford *Sûkwa*; and then utterly sterile just before they reached Jericho. With the exception of a few Arab tribes — so savage as scarce to be considered exceptions — humanity had become extinct on its banks.

We cannot take leave of our subject without expressing our warmest thanks to our Transatlantic brethren. It was not enough that Dr. Robinson should have eclipsed all other writers who had preceded him in his noble work upon Palestine, but that a nation from the extreme W. — from a continent utterly unknown to the Old or New Testament — should have been the first to accomplish the navigation of that sacred river, which has been before the world so prominently for nearly 4000 years; this is a fact which surely ought not to be passed over by any writer on the Jordan in silence, or uncommemorated.[a] E. S. Ff.

JORIBAS ('Ιώριβος: *Joribus*) = JARIB (1 Esdr. viii. 44; comp. Ezr. viii. 16).

JORIBUS ('Ιώριβος: *Joribus*) = JARIB (1 Esdr. ix. 19; comp. Ezr. x. 18).

JO'RIM ('Ιωρείμ: [*Jorim*]), son of Matthat, in the genealogy of Christ (Luke iii. 29), in the 13th generation from David inclusive; about contemporary, therefore, with Ahaz. The form of the name is anomalous, and should probably be either Joram or Joiarim. A. C. H.

JOR'KOAM (יָרְקְעָם [*diffusion of the people*, Fürst]: 'Ιακλάν; [Vat. Ιακλαν;] Alex. Ιερκααν: *Jercaam*), either a descendant of Caleb the son of Hezron, through Hebron, or, as Jarchi says, the name of a place in the tribe of Judah, of which Raham was prince (1 Chr. ii. 44). It was probably in the neighborhood of Hebron. Jerome gives it in the form Jerchaam (*Quæst. Hebr. in Paral.*).

JOS'ABAD. 1. (יוֹזָבָד [*Jehovah is giver*]: 'Ιωζαβδά [Vat. -βαβ]; Alex. Ιωζαβαδ; FA. Ιωζαβαβ: *Jezabad.*) Properly JOZABAD, the Gederathite, one of the hardy warriors of Benjamin who left Saul to follow the fortunes of David during his residence among the Philistines at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 4).

2. ('Ιωσαβδός; [Vat. Ιωσαβεες; Ald. 'Ιωσάβαδος:] *Josadus*) = Jozabad, son of Jeshua the Levite (1 Esdr. viii. 63; comp. Ezr. viii. 33).

3. ([Rom. 'Ιωζάβδος; Vat. Ζαβδος; Ald. 'Ιωσάβαδος:] Alex. Ωζαβαδος: *Zabdias*), one of the sons of Bebai (1 Esdr. ix. 29). [ZABBAI.]

JOS'APHAT ('Ιωσαφάτ: *Josaphat*) = JEHOSHAPHAT, king of Judah (Matt. i. 8).

JOSAPHI'AS ('Ιωσαφίας: *Josaphias*) = JOSIPHIAH (1 Esdr. viii. 36; comp. Ezr. viii. 10).

* JO'SE, A. V., Luke iii. 29 incorrectly for JOSES, which see. A.

JOS'EDEC ('Ιωσεδέκ: *Josedec, Josedech*) 1 Esdr. v. 5, 48, 56, vi. 2, ix. 19; Ecclus. xlix. 12, = JEHOZADAK or JOZADAK, the father of Jeshua, whose name also appears as JOSEDECH (Hag. i. 1).

JO'SEPH (יוֹסֵף [see *infra*]: 'Ιωσήφ: *Joseph*). 1. The elder of the two sons of Jacob by Rachel. Like his brethren, he received his name on account of the circumstances of his birth. We read that Rachel was long barren, but that at length she "bare a son; and said, God hath taken away (אָסַף) my reproach: and she called his name Joseph (יוֹסֵף); saying, The Lord will add (יֹסֵף) to me another son" (Gen. xxx. 23, 24); a hope fulfilled in the birth of Benjamin (comp. xxxv. 17). This

[a] For general sketches of the Jordan Valley the reader may see, also, Robinson, *Phys. Geogr. of Palestine*, p. 82 f., pp. 144–164; Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, iv. 266, 277; Tristram, *Natural History of the Bible*, pp. 5, 10, 22; and, especially, Gage's translation of Ritter's *Geogr. of Palestine*, ii. 14, 50–53, 161, &c. H.

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passage seems to indicate a double etymology (from אָסַף and יָסַף). There is nothing improbable in this explanation, because of the relation of the taking away the reproach to the expectation of another son. Such double etymologies are probably more common in Hebrew names than is generally supposed.

The date of Joseph's birth relatively to that of the coming of Jacob into Egypt is fixed by the mention that he was thirty years old when he became governor of Egypt (xli. 46), which agrees with the statement that he was "seventeen years old" (xxxvii. 2) about the time that his brethren sold him. He was therefore born about 39 years before Jacob came into Egypt, and, according to the chronology which we hold to be the most probable, B. C. cir. 1906.

After Joseph's birth he is first mentioned when a youth, seventeen years old. As the child of Rachel, and "son of his old age" (xxxvii. 3), and doubtless also for his excellence of character, he was beloved by his father above all his brethren. Probably at this time Rachel was already dead and Benjamin but an infant, Benjamin, that other "child of his old age" (xliv. 20), whom Jacob afterwards loved as all that remained of Rachel when he supposed Joseph dead — "his brother is dead, and he alone is left of his mother, and his father loveth him" (*l. c.*).[a] Jacob at this time had two small pieces of land in Canaan, Abraham's burying-place at Hebron in the south, and the "parcel of a field, where he [Jacob] had spread his tent" (Gen. xxxiii. 19), at Shechem in the north, the latter being probably, from its price, the lesser of the two. He seems then to have stayed at Hebron with the aged Isaac while his sons kept his flocks. Joseph, we read, brought the evil report of his brethren to his father, and they hated him because his father loved him more than them, and had shown his preference by making him a dress (כְּתֹנֶת פַּסִּים), which appears to have been a long tunic with sleeves, worn by youths and maidens of the richer class.[b] The hatred of Joseph's brethren was increased by his telling of a dream foreshowing that they would bow down to him, which was followed by another of the same import.[c] It is remarkable that thus early prophetic dreams appear in Joseph's life. This part of the history (xxxvii. 3–11) may perhaps be regarded as a retrospective introduction to the narrative of the great crime of the envious brethren. They had gone to Shechem to feed the flock, and Joseph was sent thither from the vale of Hebron by his father to bring him word of their welfare and that of the flock. They were not at Shechem, but were gone to Dothan, which appears to have been not very far distant, pasturing their flock like the Arabs of the present day, wherever the wild country (ver. 22) was unowned. On Joseph's approach, his brethren, except Reuben, resolved to kill him; but Reuben saved him, persuading them to cast him into a dry pit with the intent that he might restore him to his father. Accordingly when Joseph was come, they stripped him of his tunic and cast him into the pit, "and they sat down to eat bread: and they lifted up their eyes and looked, and behold, a company of Ishmaelites came from Gilead, with their camels bearing spicery [?] and balm and gum ladanum [?], going to carry [it] down to Egypt" (ver. 25). — In passing we must call attention to the interest of this early notice of the trade between Palestine and Egypt. — The Ishmaelites are also called Midianites in the narrative: that the two names are used interchangeably is evident from ver. 28; it must therefore be supposed that one of them is generic; the caravan "came from Gilead" and brought balm;[d] so that it is reasonable to infer the merchants to have been Midianites, and that they are also called Ishmaelites by a kind of generic use of that name. Judah suggested to his brethren to sell Joseph to the Ishmaelites, appealing at once to their covetousness and, in proposing a less cruel course than that on which they were

[a] According to the order of the narrative, Rachel's death preceded the selling of Joseph; it is unlikely that 17 years should have elapsed between the birth of Joseph and that of Benjamin; and as Benjamin had ten sons at the coming into Egypt (xlvi. 21), it is scarcely probable that he was born no more than 22 years before. There is moreover no mention of Rachel besides the allusion in the speech of Judah to Joseph, quoted above (xliv. 20), in the whole subsequent narrative, until dying Jacob, when he blesses Ephraim and Manasseh, returns to the thought of his beloved wife, and says, "And as for me, when I came from Padan, Rachel died by me in the land of Canaan in the way, when yet [there was] but a little way to come unto Ephrath: and I buried her there in the way of Ephrath; the same [is] Beth-lehem" (xlviii. 7). Joseph's anxiety in Egypt to see Benjamin seems to favor the idea that he had known him as a child. When Joseph was sold, Benjamin can, however, have only been very young.

[b] The name of this dress seems to signify "a tunic reaching to the extremities." It was worn by David's daughter Tamar, being the dress of "the king's daughters [that were] virgins" (2 Sam. xiii. 18, see 19). There seems no reason for the LXX. rendering χιτὼν ποικίλος, or the Vulg. *polymita*, except that it is very likely that such a tunic would be ornamented with colored stripes, or embroidered. The richer classes among the ancient Egyptians wore long dresses of white linen. The people of Palestine and Syria, represented on the Egyptian monuments as enemies e. tributaries, wore similar dresses, partly colored, generally with a stripe round the skirts and the borders of the sleeves.

[c] From Joseph's second dream, and his father's rebuke, it might be inferred that Rachel was living at the time that he dreamt it. It is indeed possible that it may have occurred some time before the selling of Joseph, and been interpreted by Jacob of Rachel, who certainly was not alive at its fulfillment, so that it could not apply to her. Yet, if Leah only survived, Jacob might have spoken of her as Joseph's mother. The dream, moreover, indicates eleven brethren besides the father and mother of Joseph; if therefore Benjamin were already born, Rachel must have been dead: the reference is therefore more probably to Leah, who may have been living when Jacob went into Egypt.

[d] The three articles of commerce carried by the caravan we have rendered spicery, balm, and gum ladanum. The meaning of נְכֹאת is extremely doubtful: there is nothing to guide us but the renderings of the LXX. στακτή and the Vulg. *aromata*, and the congruity of their meaning with that of the name of the second article. As to the צֳרִי, there can be no doubt that it was a kind of balm, although its exact kind is difficult to determine. The meaning of לֹט is not certain: perhaps gum ladanum is a not improbable conjecture.

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probably still resolved, to what remnant of brotherly feeling they may still have had. Accordingly they took Joseph out of the pit and sold him "for twenty [shekels] of silver" (ver. 28), which we find to have been, under the Law, the value of a male from five to twenty years old (*Lev.* xxvii. 5).[a] Probably there was a constant traffic in white slaves, and the price, according to the unchangeableness of eastern customs, long remained the same. It is worthy of remark that we here already find the descendants of Abraham's concubines oppressing the lawful heirs. Reuben was absent, and on his return to the pit was greatly distressed at not finding Joseph. His brethren pretended to Jacob that Joseph had been killed by some wild beast, taking to him the tunic stained with a kid's blood, while even Reuben forbore to tell him the truth, all speaking constantly of the lost brother as though they knew not what had befallen him, and even as dead. "And Jacob rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his loins, and mourned for his son many days. And all his sons and all his daughters rose up to comfort him; but he refused to be comforted; and he said, For I will go down unto my son mourning into the grave. Thus his father wept for him" (Gen. xxxvii. 34, 35).[b] Jacob's lamentation shows that he knew of a future state, for what comfort would he have in going into his own grave when he thought that his lost son had been torn by wild beasts? This is one of the cases in which we should certainly understand "Hades" by "the grave," and may translate, "For I will go down unto my son mourning to Hades."[c]

The Midianites sold Joseph in Egypt to Potiphar, "an officer of Pharaoh, captain of the executioners, an Egyptian" (xxxix. 1; comp. xxxvii. 36).[d] We have probably no right to infer, as Gesenius has done (*Thes.* s. v. טַבָּח), that by the executioners we are to understand the same as the king's guard or body-guard.[e] This may be the case when the Chaldæans are spoken of, for the immediate infliction of punishment under the very eye of the sovereign was always usual both with Shemites and Tartars, as a part of their system of investing the regal power with terror; but the more refined Egyptians and their responsible kings do not seem to have practiced a custom which nothing but necessity could render tolerable. That in this case the title is to be taken literally, is evident from the control exercised by Potiphar over the king's prison (xxxix. 20), and from the fact that this prison is afterwards shown to have been in the house of the captain of the executioners, that officer then being doubtless a successor of Potiphar (xl. 3, 4). The name Potiphar is written in hieroglyphics PET-PA-RA or PET-P-RA, and signifies "belonging to Ra" (the sun). It occurs again, with a slightly different orthography, Poti-pherah, as the name of Joseph's father-in-law, priest or prince of On. It may be remarked that as Ra was the chief divinity of On, or Heliopolis, it is an interesting undesigned coincidence that the latter should bear a name indicating devotion to Ra. [POTIPHAR.]

It is important to observe that a careful comparison of evidence has led us to the conclusion that, at the time that Joseph was sold into Egypt, the country was not united under the rule of a single native line, but governed by several dynasties, of which the Fifteenth Dynasty, of Shepherd Kings, was the predominant line, the rest being tributary to it. The absolute dominions of this dynasty lay in Lower Egypt, and it would therefore always be most connected with Palestine. The manners described are Egyptian, although there is apparently an occasional slight tinge of Shemitism. The date of Joseph's arrival we should consider B. C. cir. 1890. [EGYPT: CHRONOLOGY.]

In Egypt, the second period of Joseph's life begins. As a child he had been a true son, and withstood the evil example of his brethren. He is now to serve a strange master in the hard state of slavery, and his virtue will be put to a severer proof than it had yet sustained. Joseph prospered in the house of the Egyptian, who, seeing that God blessed him, and pleased with his good service, "set him over his house, and all [that] he had he gave into his hand" (xxxix. 4, comp. 5). He was placed over all his master's property with perfect trust, and "the Lord blessed the Egyptian's house for Joseph's sake" (ver. 5). The sculptures and paintings of the ancient Egyptian tombs bring vividly before us the daily life and duties of Joseph. The property of great men is shown to have been managed by scribes, who exercised a most methodical and minute supervision over all the operations of agriculture, gardening, the keeping of live stock, and fishing. Every product was carefully registered to check the dishonesty of the laborers, who in Egypt have always been famous in this respect. Probably in no country was farming ever more systematic. Joseph's previous knowledge of tending flocks, and perhaps of husbandry, and his truthful character, exactly fitted him for the post of overseer. How long he filled it we are not told. "Joseph was fair of form and fair in appearance" (xxxix. 6). His master's wife, with the well-known profligacy of the Egyptian women, tempted him, and failing, charged him with the crime she would have made him commit. Potiphar, incensed against Joseph, cast him into prison. It must not be supposed, from the lowness of the morals of the Egyptians in practice, that the sin of unfaithfulness in

[a] Kalisch remarks (*ad loc.*) that twenty shekels was "a price less than that ordinarily paid for a Hebrew slave (Ex. xxi. 32; Lev. xxvii. 5)." The former reference is to the fine to be paid, thirty shekels of silver, to the owner of a slave, male or female, gored to death by an ox: the latter disproves his assertion. The payment must have been by weight, since there is no reason to believe that coined money was known at this remote period. [MONEY.]

[b] The daughters here mentioned were probably the wives of Jacob's sons: he seems to have had but one daughter; and if he had many grand-daughters, few would have been born thus early.

[c] For this interesting inference we are indebted to Dr. Marks. On the knowledge of the future state among the Israelites during and after the sojourn in Egypt, see art. EGYPT.

[d] The word סָרִיס, which we have rendered "officer," with the A. V., properly means "eunuch," as explained in the margin, although it is also used in the Bible in the former sense (Gesen. *Thes.* s. v.) Potiphar's office would scarcely have been given to a eunuch, and there is, we believe, no evidence that there were such in the Egyptian courts in ancient times. This very word first occurs in hieroglyphics, written SARS, as a title of Persian functionaries, in inscriptions of the time of the Persian dominion.

[e] שַׂר הַטַּבָּחִים must mean "captain of the executioners," from Potiphar's connection with the prison, although the LXX. renders it ἀρχιμάγειρος.

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wife was not ranked among the heaviest vices. The punishment of adulterers was severe, and a moral tale recently interpreted, "*The Two Brothers*," is founded upon a case nearly resembling that of Joseph. It has, indeed, been imagined that this story was based upon the trial of Joseph, and as it was written for the heir to the throne of Egypt at a later period, there is some reason in the idea that the virtue of one who had held so high a position as Joseph might have been in the mind of the writer, were this part of his history well known to the priests, which, however, is not likely. This incident, moreover, is not so remarkable as to justify great stress being laid upon the similarity to it of the main event of a moral tale.[a] The story of Bellerophon might as reasonably be traced to it, were it Egyptian and not Greek. The Muslims have founded upon the history of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, whom they call Yoosuf and Zeleekha, a famous religious allegory. This is much to be wondered at, as the Kur-án relates the tempting of Joseph with no material variation in the main particulars from the authentic narrative. The commentators say, that after the death of Potiphar (Kitfeer) Joseph married Zeleekha (Sale, ch. xii.). This mistake was probably caused by the circumstance that Joseph's father-in-law bore the same name as his master.

Potiphar, although convinced of Joseph's guilt, does not appear to have brought him before a tribunal, where the enormity of his alleged crime, especially after the trust placed in him, and the fact of his being a foreigner, which was made much of by his master's wife (xxxix. 14, 17), would probably have insured a punishment of the severest kind. He seems to have only cast him into the prison, which appears to have been in his house, or, at least, under his control, since afterwards prisoners are related to have been put "in ward [in] the house of the captain of the executioners, into the prison" (xl. 3), and simply, "in ward [in] the captain of the executioners' house" (xli. 10, comp. xl. 7). The prison is described as "a place where the king's prisoners [were] bound" (xxxix. 20). Here the hardest time of Joseph's period of probation began. He was cast into prison on a false accusation, to remain there for at least two years, and perhaps for a much longer time. At first he was treated with severity; this we learn from Ps. cv., "He sent a man before them, Joseph [who]: was sold for a slave: whose feet they afflicted with the fetter: the iron entered into his soul" (ver. 17, 18). There is probably here a connection between "fetter" and "iron" (comp cxlix. 8), in which case the signification of the last clause would be "the iron entered into him," meaning that the fetters cut his feet or legs. This is not inconsistent with the statement in Genesis that the keeper of the prison treated Joseph well (xxxix. 21), for we are not justified in thence inferring that he was kind from the first.[b]

In the prison, as in Potiphar's house, Joseph was found worthy of complete trust, and the keeper of the prison placed everything under his control, God's especial blessing attending his honest service. After a while, Pharaoh was incensed against two of his officers, "the chief of the cup-bearers" (שַׂר הַמַּשְׁקִים), and "the chief of the bakers" (שַׂר הָאֹפִים), and cast them into the prison where Joseph was. Here the chief of the executioners, doubtless a successor of Potiphar (for, had the latter been convinced of Joseph's innocence, he would not have left him in the prison, and if not so convinced, he would not have trusted him), charged Joseph to serve these prisoners. Like Potiphar, they were "officers" of Pharaoh (xl. 2), and though it may be a mistake to call them grandees, their easy access to the king would give them an importance that explains the care taken of them by the chief of the executioners. Each dreamed a prophetic dream, which Joseph interpreted, disclaiming human skill and acknowledging that interpretations were of God. It is not necessary here to discuss in detail the particulars of this part of Joseph's history, since they do not materially affect the leading events of his life; they are however very interesting from their perfect agreement with the manners of the ancient Egyptians as represented on their monuments.[c] Joseph, when he told the chief of the cup-bearers of his coming restoration to favor, prayed him to speak to Pharaoh for him; but he did not remember him.

"After two years,"[d] Joseph's deliverance came. Pharaoh dreamed two prophetic dreams. "He stood by the river" [יְאוֹר, the Nile].[e] And, behold, coming up out of the river seven kine [or 'heifers'], beautiful in appearance and fat-fleshed, and they fed in the marsh-grass [אָרוּחַ].[f] And, behold, seven other kine coming up after them out

[a] This remarkable "Tale of the Two Brothers" is found in a papyrus in the British Museum, dating from the 19th Dynasty. Some of the points of resemblance between this Egyptian romance and the story of Joseph are,—a similar temptation overcome, the spurned woman's hatred, prolonged disappointment, and a final succession to the throne. For a translation of the tale see the *Cambridge Essays* for 1858. J. P. T.

[b] Joseph's complaint to the chief of the cupbearers, "And here also have I done nothing that they should put me into the dungeon" (בַּבּוֹר, xl. 15), does not throw light upon this matter; for although the word used seems properly to mean the worst kind of prison, or the worst part of a prison, here it must be merely equivalent, as in xli. 14, to עֲזִית־הַסֹּהַר (xxxix. 20, &c.), which seems properly a milder term.

[c] It has been imagined, from the account of the dream of the chief of the cupbearers, that the wine then drunk by the king of Egypt may have been the fresh unfermented juice of the grape; but the nature of the dream, which embraces a long period, and merely indicates the various stages of the growth of the tree and fruit as though immediately following one another, would allow the omission of the process of preparing the wine. The evidence of the monuments makes it very improbable that unfermented wine was drunk by the ancient inhabitants, so that it seems impossible that it should ever have taken the place of fermented or true wine, which was the national beverage of the higher classes at least.

[d] Lat. "at the end of two years of days;" but we may read "after" for "at the end;" and the word "days" appears merely to indicate that the year was a period of time, or possibly is used to distinguish the ordinary year from a greater period, the year of days from the year of years.

[e] This word is probably of Egyptian origin. [Egypt; Nile]

[f] There can be no doubt that this is an Egyptian word. The LXX. does not translate it (Gen. xli. 2, 18; Is. xix. 7); and Jesus the son of Sirach, an

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of the river, evil in appearance, and lean-fleshed" (xli. 1–3). These, afterwards described still more strongly, ate up the first seven, and yet, as is said in the second account, when they had eaten them remained as lean as before (xli. 1–4, 17–21). Then Pharaoh had a second dream — "Behold, seven ears of corn coming up on one stalk, fat [or 'full,' ver. 22] and good. And, behold, seven ears, thin and blasted with the east wind,[a] sprouting forth after them" (ver. 5, 6). These, also described more strongly in the second account, devoured the first seven ears (ver. 5–7, 22–24). In the morning Pharaoh sent for the "scribes," (חַרְטֻמִּים), and the "wise men," and they were unable to give him an interpretation. Then the chief of the cupbearers remembered Joseph, and told Pharaoh how a young Hebrew, "servant to the captain of the executioners," had interpreted his and his fellow-prisoner's dreams. "Then Pharaoh sent and called Joseph, and they made him hasten out of the prison: and he shaved [himself], and changed his raiment, and came unto Pharaoh" (ver. 14). The king then related his dreams, and Joseph, when he had disclaimed human wisdom, declared to him that they were sent of God to forewarn Pharaoh. There was essentially but one dream. Both kine and ears symbolized years. There were to be seven years of great plenty in Egypt, and after them seven years of consuming and "very heavy famine." The doubling of the dream denoted that the events it foreshadowed were certain and imminent. On the interpretation it may be remarked, that it seems evident that the kine represented the animal products, and the ears of corn the vegetable products, the most important object in each class representing the whole class. Any reference to Egyptian superstitions, such as some commentators have imagined, is both derogatory to revelation and, on purely critical grounds, unreasonable. The perfectly Egyptian color of the whole narrative is very noticeable, and nowhere more so than in the particulars of the first dream. The cattle coming up from the river and feeding on the bank may be seen even now, though among them the lean kine predominate; and the use of one Egyptian word, if not of two, in the narrative, probably shows that the writer knew the Egyptian language. The corn with many ears on one stalk must be wheat, one kind of which now grown in Egypt has this peculiarity. Another point to be remarked is, that Joseph shaved before he went into Pharaoh's presence, and we find from the monuments that the Egyptians, except when engaged in war, shaved both the head and face, the small beard that was worn on the chin being probably artificial. Having interpreted the dream, Joseph counselled Pharaoh to choose a wise man and set him over the country, in order that he should take the fifth part of the produce of the seven years of plenty against the years of famine. To this high post the king appointed Joseph. Thus, when he was thirty years of age, was he at last released from his state of suffering, and placed in a position of the greatest honor. About thirteen years' probation had prepared him for this trust; some part passed as Potiphar's slave, some part, probably the greater,[b] in the prison. If our views of Hebrew and Egyptian chronology be correct, the Pharaoh here mentioned was Asa, Manetho's Asis or Asos, whose reign we suppose to have about occupied the first half of the nineteenth century B. C.

Pharaoh, seeing the wisdom of giving Joseph, whom he perceived to be under God's guidance, greater powers than he had advised should be given to the officer set over the country, made him not only governor of Egypt, but second only to the sovereign. We read: "And Pharaoh took off his signet[c] from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen (שֵׁשׁ, *byssus*), and put a collar of gold about his neck; and he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had; and they cried before him, Abrech (אַבְרֵךְ), even to set him over all the land of Egypt" (xli. 42, 43). The monuments show that on the investiture of a high official in Egypt, one of the chief ceremonies was the putting on him a collar of gold (see *Ancient Egyptians*, pl. 80); the other particulars, the vestures of fine linen and the riding in the second chariot, are equally in accordance with the manners of the country. The meaning of what was cried before him has not been satisfactorily determined.[d] We are told that Pharaoh named Joseph Zaphnath-paaneah (xli. 45) (צָפְנַת פַּעְנֵחַ, Ψονθομφανήχ), the signification of which

Egyptian Jew, uses it untranslated (Ecclus. xl. 16): it is written in these places ἄχι, ἄχεα. Jerome remarks that when he asked the learned Egyptians what this word meant, they said that in their language this name was given to every kind of marsh-plant ("*omne quod in palude virens nascitur*," *Com. in Is.* l. c.).

The change of the ancient Egyptian vowel ⲉ to ⲏ is quite consistent with the laws of permutation which we discover by a comparison of Egyptian and Hebrew *Enc. Brit.* 8th ed. "Hieroglyphics"). This word occurs with גֹּמֶא in Job viii. 11. The latter we have supposed to be there used generically, as "the reed" [EGYPT]; but from the occurrence of an Egyptian word with it, it may be inferred to have its special signification, "the papyrus." The former word, however, seems to be always generic. [FLAG, Amer. ed.]

[a] Bunsen remarks upon this word: "Der Ostwind, der wegen seiner fünfzigtägigen Dauer jetzt in Ägypten Chamsin heisst, ist sehr trocken und hat Verwandschaft mit dem Samum (d. h. der Giftige), dem erstickenden Sturmwind des wüsten Arabien, der im April und Mai herrscht" (*Bibelwerk*, ad loc.). But it should be observed: 1. The east wind does not blow during the Khamáseen. 2. The spring hot winds are southerly. 3. They do not last fifty days. 4. They are not called Chamsin (Khamseen) or Khamáseen. 5. They prevail, usually for three days at a time, during the seven weeks (49 days) following Easter, vulgarly called in Egypt Khamáseen, which is a plural of Khamseen, a term applied in the singular to neither winds nor period, though they are not strictly confined to this fluctuating period. 6. They have no relation to the Samoom, which occurs in any hot weather, and seldom lasts more than a quarter of an hour. 7. The Samoom is not peculiar to Arabia.

[b] We only know that Joseph was two years in prison after the liberation of the chief of the cupbearers. The preponderance of evidence, however, seems in favor of supposing that he was longer in prison than in Potiphar's house.

[c] The signet was of so much importance with the ancient Egyptian kings that their names (except perhaps in the earliest period) were always inclosed in an oval which represented an elongated signet.

[d] We do not here except Bunsen's etymology (*Bibelwerk*, ad loc.), for we doubt that the root bears the signification he gives it, and think the construction inadmissible.

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is doubtful. [See ZAPHNATH-PAANEAH.] He also "gave him to wife Asenath daughter of Potipherah, priest [or 'prince,' כֹּהֵן] of On" (ver. 45). Whether Joseph's father-in-law were priest or prince cannot, we think, be determined,[a] although the former seems more likely, since On was a very priestly city, and there is no good reason to think that a priest would have been more exclusive than any other Egyptian functionary. His name, implying devotion to Rā, the principal object of worship at On, though, as already noticed, appropriate to any citizen of that place, would be especially so to a priest. [POTIPHAR.] It is worthy of remark that On appears to have been the capital, and seems to have been certainly the religious capital, as containing the great temple, of Apepee, a shepherd-king, probably of the same line as Joseph's Pharaoh. (*Select Papyri;* Brugsch, *Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morgenland. Gesellschaft.*) The name of Joseph's wife we are disposed to consider to be Hebrew.[b] [ASENATH.]

Joseph's history, as governor of Egypt, shows him in two relations, which may be here separately considered. We shall first speak of his administration of the country, and then of his conduct to his brethren. In one respect, as bearing upon Joseph's moral character, the two subjects are closely connected, but their details may be best treated apart, if we keep this important aspect constantly in view.

Joseph's first act was to go "throughout all the land of Egypt" (ver. 46). During "the seven plenteous years" there was a very abundant produce, and he gathered the fifth part, as he had advised Pharaoh, and laid it up. The narrative, according to Semitic usage, speaks as though he had taken the whole produce of the country, or the whole surplus produce (ver. 48); but a comparison with a parallel passage shows that our explanation must be correct (ver. 34, 35). The abundance of this store is evident from the statement that "Joseph gathered corn as the sand of the sea, very much, until he left numbering; for [it was] without number" (ver. 49). The representations of the monuments, which show that the contents of the granaries were accurately noted by the scribes when they were filled, well illustrate this passage.

Before the years of famine Asenath bare Joseph two sons, of whom we read that he named "the firstborn Manasseh [a forgetter]: For God [said he] hath made me forget all my toil, and all my father's house. And the name of the second called he Ephraim [fruitful?];[c] For God hath caused me to be fruitful in the land of my affliction" (50–52). Though, as was natural, the birth of a son made Joseph feel that he had at last found a home, that his father's house was no longer his home, yet it was not in utter forgetfulness of his country that he gave this and the other, both born of his Egyptian wife, Hebrew names, still less, names signifying his devotion to the God of his fathers.

When the seven good years had passed, the famine began. We read that "the dearth was in all lands; but in all the land of Egypt there was bread. And when all the land of Egypt was famished, the people cried to Pharaoh for bread: and Pharaoh said unto all the Egyptians, Go unto Joseph, what he saith to you, do. And the famine was over all the face of the earth. And Joseph opened all the storehouses [lit. 'all wherein' *was*], and sold unto the Egyptians; and the famine waxed sore in the land of Egypt. And all countries came into Egypt to Joseph for to buy [corn]; because that the famine was [so] sore in all lands" (ver. 54–57). The expressions here used do not require us to suppose that the famine extended beyond the countries around Egypt, such as Palestine, Syria, and Arabia, as well as some part of Africa, although of course it may have been more widely experienced. It may be observed, that although famines in Egypt depend immediately upon the failure of the inundation, and in other countries upon the failure of rain, yet that, as the rise of the Nile is caused by heavy rains in Ethiopia, an extremely dry season there and in Palestine would produce the result described in the sacred narrative. It must also be recollected that Egypt was anciently the granary of neighboring countries, and that a famine there would cause first scarcity, and then famine, around. Famines are not very unfrequent in the history of Egypt; but the famous seven years' famine in the reign of the Fātimee Khaleefeh El-Mustansir-b-illāh is the only known parallel to that of Joseph: of this an account is given under FAMINE. Early in the time of famine, Joseph's brethren came to buy corn, a part of the history which we mention here only as indicating the liberal policy of the governor of Egypt, by which the storehouses were opened to all buyers of whatever nation they were.

After the famine had lasted for a time, apparently two years, there was "no bread in all the land; for the famine [was] very sore, so that the land of Egypt and [all] the land of Canaan fainted by reason of the famine. And Joseph gathered up all the money that was found in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, for the corn which they bought: and Joseph brought the money into Pharaoh's house"[d] (xlvii. 13, 14). When all the money of Egypt and Canaan was exhausted, barter became necessary. Joseph then obtained all the cattle of Egypt,[e] and in the next year, all the land, except that of the priests, and apparently, as a consequence, the Egyptians themselves. He demanded, however, only a fifth part of the produce as Pharaoh's right. It has been attempted to trace this enactment of Joseph in the fragments of Egyptian history preserved by profane writers, but the result has not been satisfactory. Even were the latter sources trustworthy as to the early period of Egyp-

[a] The very old opinion that כֹּהֵן means prince as well as priest has been contradicted by Gesenius, but not disproved.

[b] It may be remarked, as indicating that Joseph's family did not maintain an Egyptian mode of life, that Manasseh took an Aramitess as a concubine (1 Chr. vii. 14). This happened in his father's lifetime; for Joseph lived to see the children of Machir the son of his concubine (Gen. l. 23).

[c] The derivation of Ephraim can scarcely be doubted although there is difficulty in determining it. This difficulty we may perhaps partly attribute to the pointing.

[d] It appears from this narrative that purchase by money was, in Joseph's time, the general practice in Egypt. The representations of the monuments show that in early times money was abundant, not coined, but, in the form of rings of gold and silver, weighed out when purchases were made.

[e] It does not appear whether, after the money of Canaan was exhausted, Joseph made conditions with the Canaanites like those he had made with the Egyptians.

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tian history, it would be difficult to determine the age referred to, as the actions of at least two kings are ascribed by the Greeks to Sesostris, the king particularized. Herodotus says that, according to the Egyptians, Sesostris "made a division of the soil of Egypt among the inhabitants, assigning square plots of ground of equal size to all, and obtaining his chief revenue from the rent which the holders were required to pay him every year" (ii. 109). Elsewhere he speaks of the priests as having no expenses, being supported by the property of the temples (37), but he does not assign to Sesostris, as has been rashly supposed, the exemption from taxation that we may reasonably infer. Diodorus Siculus ascribes the division of Egypt into nomes to Sesostris, whom he calls Sesoösis. Taking into consideration the general character of the information given by Herodotus, respecting the history of Egypt at periods remote from his own time, we are not justified in supposing anything more than that some tradition of an ancient allotment of the soil by the crown among the population was current when he visited the country. The testimony of Diodorus is of far less weight.

The evidence of the narrative in Genesis seems favorable to the theory we support that Joseph ruled Egypt under a shepherd-king. It appears to have been his policy to give Pharaoh absolute power over the Egyptians, and the expression of their gratitude — "Thou hast saved our lives: let us find grace in the sight of my Lord, and we will be Pharaoh's servants" (xlvii. 25) — seems as though they had been heretofore unwilling subjects. The removing the people to cities probably means that in that time of suffering the scattered population was collected into the cities for the more convenient distribution of the corn.

There is a notice, in an ancient Egyptian inscription, of a famine which has been supposed to be that of Joseph. The inscription is in a tomb at Benee-Hasan, and records of Amenee, a governor of a district of Upper Egypt, that when there were years of famine, his district was supplied with food. This was in the time of Sesertesen I., of the XIIth Dynasty. It has been supposed by Baron Bunsen (*Egypt's Place*, iii. 334) that this must be Joseph's famine, but not only are the particulars of the record inapplicable to that instance,[a] but the calamity it relates was never unusual in Egypt, as its ancient inscriptions and modern history equally testify.[b]

Joseph's policy towards the subjects of Pharaoh is important in reference to the forming an estimate of his character. It displays the resolution and breadth of view that mark his whole career. He perceived a great advantage to be gained, and he lost no part of it. He put all Egypt under Pharaoh. First the money, then the cattle, last of all the land, and the Egyptians themselves became the property of the sovereign, and that too by the voluntary act of the people, without any pressure. This being effected, he exercised a great act of generosity, and required only a fifth of the produce as a recognition of the rights of the crown. Of the wisdom of this policy there can be no doubt. Its justice can hardly be questioned when it is borne in mind that the Egyptians were not forcibly deprived of their liberties, and that when they had been given up, they were at once restored. We do not know all the circumstances, but if, as we may reasonably suppose, the people were warned of the famine and yet made no preparation during the years of overflowing abundance, the government had a clear claim upon its subjects for having taken precautions they had neglected. In any case it may have been desirable to make a new allotment of land, and to reduce an unequal system of taxation to a simple claim to a fifth of the produce. We have no evidence whether Joseph were in this matter divinely aided, but we cannot doubt that, if not, he acted in accord with a judgment of great clearness in distinguishing good and evil.

We have now to consider the conduct of Joseph at this time towards his brethren and his father. Early in the time of famine, which prevailed equally in Canaan and Egypt, Jacob reproved his helpless sons and sent them to Egypt, where he knew there was corn to be bought. Benjamin alone he kept with him. Joseph was now governor, an Egyptian in habits and speech, for like all men of large mind he had suffered no scruples of prejudice to make him a stranger to the people he ruled. In his exalted station he labored with the zeal that he showed in all his various charges, presiding himself at the sale of corn. We read: "And the sons of Israel came to buy [corn] among those that came; for the famine was in the land of Canaan And Joseph, the governor over the land, he [it was] that sold to all the people of the land; and Joseph's brethren came, and bowed down themselves before him [with] their faces to the earth" (xlii. 5, 6). His brethren did not know Joseph, grown from the boy they had sold into a man, and to their eyes an Egyptian, while they must have been scarcely changed, except from the effect of time, which would have been at their ages far less marked. Joseph remembered his dreams, and behaved to them as a stranger, using, as we afterwards learn, an interpreter, and spoke hard words to them, and accused them of being spies. In defending themselves they thus spoke of their household. "Thy servants [are] twelve brethren, the sons of one man in the land of Canaan, and, behold, the youngest [is] this day with our father, and one [is] not" (13). Thus to Joseph himself they maintained the old deceit of his disappearance. He at once

[a] Baron Bunsen's quotation, "When, in the time of Sesortosis I., the great famine prevailed in all the other districts of Egypt, there was corn in mine" (*Egypt's Place*, i. c.), is nowhere in the original. See Birch in *Transactions R. Soc. Lit.* 2d Ser. v. Pt. ii. 232, 233; Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, i. 56.

[b] Dr. Brugsch remarks on this inscription: "La dernière partie de cette curieuse inscription où Amenj, se reportant à une famine qui avait lieu pendant les années de son gouvernement, se fait un panégyrique d'avoir prévenu les malheurs de la disette sans se partialiser, a attiré la plus grande attention de ceux qui y voient, et nous ajoutons très à propos, un pendant de l'histoire de Joseph en Égypte, et des sept années de famine de ce pays. Cependant il ne faut pas croire, que le roi Ousertésen I., sous le règne duquel une famine eut lieu en Égypte, soit le Pharaon de Joseph, ce qui n'est guère admissible, par suite de raisons chronologiques. Du reste ce n'est pas la seule inscription qui fasse mention de la famine; il en existe l'autres, qui datant de rois tout-à-fait différents, parlent du même fléau et des mêmes précautions prises pour le prévenir." — *Histoire d'Égypte*, i. 66. We are glad to learn from this new work that Dr. Brugsch though differing from us as to the Exodus, is disposed to hold Joseph to have governed Egypt under a Shepherd-king (pp 79, 87).

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desires to see his brother, first refusing that they should return without sending for and bringing Benjamin, then putting them in prison three days, but at last releasing them that they might take back corn, on the condition that one should be left as a hostage. They were then stricken with remorse, and saw that the punishment of their great crime was come upon them. "And they said one to another, We [are] verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear; therefore is this distress come upon us. And Reuben answered them, saying, Spake I not unto you, saying, Do not sin against the child, and ye would not hear? therefore, behold, also his blood is required. And they knew not that Joseph understood [them]; for an interpreter [was] between them. And he turned himself about from them, and wept; and returned to them again, and communed with them, and took from them Simeon, and bound him before their eyes" (21–24). Thus he separated one of them from the rest, as they had separated him from his father. Yet he restored their money in their sacks, and gave them provision for the way, besides the corn they had purchased. The discovery of the money terrified them and their father, who refused to let them take Benjamin. Yet when the famine continued, and they had eaten the supply, Jacob desired his sons to go again to Egypt. But they could not go without Benjamin. At the persuasion of Judah, who here appears as the spokesman of his brethren, Jacob was at last prevailed on to let them take him, Judah offering to be surety. It may be remarked that Reuben had made the same offer, apparently, at once after the return, when Jacob had withheld his consent, telling his father that he might slay his two sons if he did not bring back Benjamin (37, 38). Judah seems to have been put forward by his brethren as the most able, and certainly his after-conduct in Egypt would have justified their choice, and his father's trusting him rather than the rest. Jacob, anxious for Benjamin, and not unmindful of Simeon, touchingly sent to the governor out of his scanty stock a little present of the best products of Palestine, as well as double money that his sons might repay what had been returned to them.

When they had come into Egypt, Joseph's brethren, as before, found him presiding at the sale of corn. Now that Benjamin was with them he told his steward to slay and make ready, for they should dine with him at noon. So the man brought them into Joseph's house. They feared, not knowing, as it seems, why they were taken to the house (xliii. 25), and perhaps thinking they might be imprisoned there. Joseph no doubt gave his command in Egyptian, and apparently did not cause it to be interpreted to them. They were, however, encouraged by the steward, and Simeon was brought out to them. When Joseph came they brought him the present, again fulfilling his dreams, as twice they bowed before him. At the sight of Benjamin he was greatly affected. "And he lifted up his eyes and saw his brother Benjamin, his mother's son, and said, [Is] this your younger brother, of whom ye spake unto me? And he said, God be gracious unto thee, my son. And Joseph made haste, for his bowels did yearn upon his brother, and he sought [where] to weep, and he entered into [his] chamber, and wept there. And he washed his face, and went out, and refrained himself" (29–31). The description of Joseph's dinner is in accordance with the representations of the monuments. The governor and each of his guests were served separately, and the brethren were placed according to their age. But though the youngest thus had the lowest place, yet when Joseph sent messes from before him to his brethren, he showed his favor to Benjamin by a mess five times as large as that of any of them. "And they drank, and were merry with him" (32–34). It is mentioned that the Egyptians and Hebrews sat apart from each other, as to eat bread with the Hebrews was "an abomination unto the Egyptians" (32). The scenes of the Egyptian tombs show us that it was the custom for each person to eat singly, particularly among the great, that guests were placed according to their right of precedence, and that it was usual to drink freely, men and even women being represented as overpowered with wine, probably as an evidence of the liberality of the entertainer. These points of agreement in matters of detail are well worthy of attention. There is no evidence as to the entertaining foreigners, but the general exclusiveness of the Egyptians is in harmony with the statement that they did not eat with the Hebrews.

The next morning, when it was light, they left the city (for here we learn that Joseph's house was in a city), having had their money replaced in their sacks, and Joseph's silver cup put in Benjamin's sack. His steward was ordered to follow them, and say (claiming the cup), "Wherefore have ye rewarded evil for good? [Is] not this [it] in which my lord drinketh, and whereby indeed he divineth? Ye have done evil in so doing" (xliv. 4, 5). When they were thus accused, they declared that the guilty person should die, and that the rest should be bondmen. So the steward searched the sacks, and the cup was found in Benjamin's sack; whereupon they rent their clothes, and returned to the city, and went to Joseph's house, and "fell before him on the ground. And Joseph said unto them, What deed [is] this that ye have done? wot ye not that such a man as I can certainly divine?" Judah then, instead of protesting innocence, admitted the alleged crime, and declared that he and his brethren were the governor's servants. But Joseph replied that he would alone keep him in whose hand the cup was found. Judah, not unmindful of the trust he held, then laid the whole matter before Joseph, showing him that he could not leave Benjamin without causing the old man's death, and as surety nobly offered himself as a bondman in his brother's stead. Then, at the touching relation of his father's love and anxiety, and, perhaps, moved by Judah's generosity, the strong will of Joseph gave way to the tenderness he had so long felt, but restrained, and he made himself known to his brethren. If hitherto he had dealt severely, now he showed his generosity. He sent forth every one but his brethren. "And he wept aloud. . . . And Joseph said unto his brethren, I [am] Joseph; doth my father yet live? And his brethren could not answer him; for they were troubled at his presence. And Joseph said unto his brethren, Come near to me, I pray you. And they came near. And he said, I [am] Joseph your brother, whom ye sold into Egypt. Now therefore be not grieved, nor angry with yourselves, that ye sold me hither: for God did send me before you to preserve life For these two years [hath] the famine [been] in the land: and yet [there are] five

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years in the which [there shall] neither [be] earing nor harvest. And God sent me before you to preserve you a posterity in the earth, and to save your lives by a great deliverance. So now [it was] not you [that] sent me hither, but God" (xlv. 2–8). He then desired them to bring his father, that he and all his offspring and flocks and herds might be preserved in the famine, and charged them to tell his father of his greatness and glory. "And he fell upon his brother Benjamin's neck, and wept; and Benjamin wept upon his neck. Moreover he kissed all his brethren, and wept upon them" (14, 15). Pharaoh and his servants were well pleased that Joseph's brethren were come, and the king commanded him to send for his father according to his desire, and to take wagons for the women and children. He said, "Also let not your eye spare your stuff; for the good of all the land of Egypt [is] yours" (20). From all this we see how highly Joseph was regarded by Pharaoh and his court. Joseph then gave presents to his brethren, distinguishing Benjamin as before, and sent by them a present and provisions to his father, dismissing them with this charge, "See that ye fall not out by the way" [a] (24). He feared that even now their trials had taught them nothing.

Joseph's conduct towards his brethren and his father, at this period, must be well examined before we can form a judgment of his character. We have no evidence that he was then acting under the Divine directions: we know indeed that he held that his being brought to Egypt was providentially ordered for the saving of his father's house: from some points in the narrative, especially the matter of the cup, which he said that he used for divination, he seems to have acted on his own judgment. Supposing that this inference is true, we have to ask whether his policy towards his brethren were founded on a resolution to punish them from resentment or a sense of justice, as well as his desire to secure his union with his father, or again, whether the latter were his sole object. Joseph had suffered the most grievous wrong. According to all but the highest principles of self-denial he would have been justified in punishing his brethren as an injured person: according to these principles he would have been bound to punish them for the sake of justice, if only he could put aside a sense of personal injury in executing judgment. This would require the strongest self-command, united with the deepest feeling, self-command that could keep feeling under, and feeling that could subdue resentment, so that justice would be done impartially. These are the two qualities that shine out most strongly in the noble character of Joseph. We believe therefore that he punished his brethren, but did so simply as the instrument of justice, feeling all the while a brother's tenderness. It must be remembered what they were. Reuben and Judah, both at his selling and in the journeys into Egypt, seem better than the rest of the elder brethren. But Reuben was guilty of a crime that was lightly punished by the loss of his birthright, and Judah was profligate and cruel. Even at the time of reconciliation Joseph saw, or thought, as his parting charge shows, that they were either not less wicked or not wiser than of old. After his father's death, with the suspicion of ungenerous and deceitful men, they feared Joseph's vengeance, and he again tenderly assured them of his love for them. Joseph's conduct to Jacob at this time can, we think, be only explained by the supposition that he felt it was his duty to treat his brethren severely: otherwise his delay and his causing distress to his father are inconsistent with his deep affection. The sending for Benjamin seems hard to understand, except we suppose that Joseph felt he was the surest link with his father, and perhaps that Jacob would more readily receive his testimony as to the lost son.

There is no need here to speak largely of the rest of Joseph's history: full as it is of interest, it throws no new light upon his character. Jacob's spirit revived when he saw the wagons Joseph had sent. Encouraged on the way by a Divine vision, he journeyed into Egypt with his whole house. "And Joseph made ready his chariot, and went up to meet Israel his father, to Goshen, and presented himself unto him; and he fell on his neck, and wept on his neck a good while. And Israel said unto Joseph, Now let me die, since I have seen thy face, because thou [art] yet alive" (xlvi. 29, 30). Then Jacob and his house abode in the land of Goshen, Joseph still ruling the country. Here Jacob, when near his end, gave Joseph a portion above his brethren, doubtless including the "parcel of ground" at Shechem, his future burying-place (comp. John iv. 5). Then he blessed his sons, Joseph most earnestly of all, and died in Egypt. "And Joseph fell upon his father's face, and wept upon him, and kissed him" (l. 1). When he had caused him to be embalmed by "his servants the physicians" he carried him to Canaan, and laid him in the cave of Machpelah, the burying-place of his fathers. Then it was that his brethren feared that, their father being dead, Joseph would punish them, and that he strove to remove their fears. From his being able to make the journey into Canaan with "a very great company" (9), as well as from his living apart from his brethren and their fear of him, Joseph seems to have been still governor of Egypt. We know no more than that he lived "a hundred and ten years" (22, 26), having been more than ninety in Egypt; that he "saw Ephraim's children of the third" [generation], and that "the children also of Machir the son of Manasseh were borne upon Joseph's knees" (23); and that dying he took an oath of his brethren that they should carry up his bones to the land of promise: thus showing in his latest action the faith (Heb. xi. 22) which had guided his whole life. Like his father he was embalmed, "and he was put in a coffin in Egypt" (l. 26). His trust Moses kept, and laid the bones of Joseph in his inheritance in Shechem, in the territory of Ephraim his offspring.

The character of Joseph is wholly composed of great materials, and therefore needs not to be minutely portrayed. We trace in it very little of that balance of good and evil, of strength and weakness, that marks most things human, and do not anywhere distinctly discover the results of the conflict of motives that generally occasions such great difficulty in judging men's actions. We have as full an account of Joseph as of Abraham and Jacob, a fuller one than of Isaac; and if we compare their histories, Joseph's character is the least marked by wrong or indecision. His first quality seems to have been the greatest resolution. He not only believed faithfully, but could endure patiently, and could command equally his good and evil passions. Hence his strong sense of duty, his zealous work, his strict justice, his clear discrimination of good

[a] This is the most probable rendering.

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and evil. Like all men of vigorous character, he loved power, but when he had gained it he used it with the greatest generosity. He seems to have striven to get men unconditionally in his power that he might confer benefits upon them. Generosity in conferring benefits, as well as in forgiving injuries, is one of his distinguishing characteristics. With this strength was united the deepest tenderness. He was easily moved to tears, even weeping at the first sight of his brethren after they had sold him. His love for his father and Benjamin was not enfeebled by years of separation, nor by his great station. The wise man was still the same as the true youth. These great qualities explain his power of governing and administering, and his extraordinary flexibility, which enabled him to suit himself to each new position in life. The last characteristic to make up this great character was modesty, the natural result of the others.

In the history of the chosen race Joseph occupies a very high place as an instrument of Providence. He was "sent before" his people, as he himself knew, to preserve them in the terrible famine, and to settle them where they could multiply and prosper in the interval before the iniquity of the Canaanites was full. In the latter days of Joseph's life, he is the leading character among the Hebrews. He makes his father come into Egypt, and directs the settlement. He protects his kinsmen. Dying, he reminds them of the promise, charging them to take his bones with them. Blessed with many revelations, he is throughout a God-taught leader of his people. In the N. T. Joseph is only mentioned: yet the striking particulars of the persecution and sale by his brethren, his resisting temptation, his great degradation and yet greater exaltation, the saving of his people by his hand, and the confounding of his enemies, seem to indicate that he was a type of our Lord. He also connects the Patriarchal with the Gospel dispensation, as an instance of the exercise of some of the highest Christian virtues under the less distinct manifestation of the Divine will granted to the fathers.

The history of Joseph's posterity is given in the articles devoted to the tribes of EPHRAIM and MANASSEH. Sometimes these tribes are spoken of under the name of Joseph, which is even given to the whole Israelite nation. Ephraim is, however, the common name of his descendants, for the division of Manasseh gave almost the whole political weight to the brother-tribe. That great people seems to have inherited all Joseph's ability with none of his goodness, and the very knowledge of his power in Egypt, instead of stimulating his offspring to follow in his steps, appears only to have constantly drawn them into a hankering after that forbidden land which began when Jeroboam introduced the calves, and ended only when a treasonable alliance laid Samaria in ruins and sent the ten tribes into captivity. R. S. P.

* "Joseph's conduct towards his brethren and his father," prior to the disclosure in Egypt, is susceptible of a somewhat different interpretation from that which is offered in a preceding paragraph. The mental distress which the brothers endured, was both a deserved punishment and a needful discipline, and it was a fitting retribution of Divine Providence that the injured brother should be the agent in inflicting it. Its evident justice, if not the motive for its infliction, may have well reconciled him to it, and his conviction of its necessity must have been such as to overcome his great reluctance to cause his honored father an additional pang, even though his sorrow would soon be turned into joy. The assumed part which he acted, and the harsh tone which he adopted, were foreign to every sentiment of his heart, and it cost a violent struggle with his noble nature, to bear this alien attitude to a point essential to the end which he had in view. And what was this end? Was it, as suggested above, to punish his brethren? — not indeed to gratify an unfraternal vindictiveness, but as a calm instrument of God's justice, and for their good. This effect was, doubtless, secured, but it seems to us that he had an object, apart from this, which dictated his policy, while he neither sought, nor desired, their punishment — willingly leaving that to the Being who had been his Protector.

Before revealing himself to them, it was necessary for him to know whether they still cherished the feelings which had prompted their wicked treatment of him. Had he sought their punishment, or a mere personal triumph, he could have had it at an earlier period. This he did not seek, but waited for the day, which he must have anticipated from the time of his elevation, when he could put them to the test, and ascertain if the way were open for the resumption of the lost relation — which he did desire with the longings of a filial and fraternal soul, intensified by the experience of an exile from home. The hour has come, and he must now know whether they have repented of their wickedness towards him — whether the old rancor has been changed to contrition and tenderness. Their relation to his own brother Benjamin, will furnish a decisive test. The partiality which the doting father had felt for himself, and which had cost him so dearly, would have inevitably passed over to the surviving son of the lamented Rachel, the son of his old age. Joseph cannot be certain that Benjamin is alive, or if living, that he is not persecuted — that, having the same pretext for it, their treatment of him has not been as treacherous and cruel as it was of himself. He must see them together and judge for himself, and learn whether their dispositions are changed. Their brief imprisonment and the detention of Simeon (the eldest next to Reuben, who was comparatively guiltless) were severe, but necessary, expedients to induce them to bring Benjamin, or rather, to deter them from coming without him, on their second visit, which would be equally a necessity with the first.

The plan succeeds, and Benjamin arrives with his brothers. Joseph bestows special attentions upon him, and has the opportunity of observing whether their former envy survives. He finally causes him to be arrested as a thief, and proposing to retain him as a prisoner, bids the others return in peace to their father. Will they do it! They not merely abandoned Joseph — they sold him as a slave, and only not murdered him. Will they now simply desert Benjamin, and leave him to his fate? They did not scruple to shock their father with the tidings of Joseph's death. Are they still so callous as to consent to return and tell him that Benjamin is gone also? They committed an enormous crime to rid themselves of the other favorite. Are they willing to be freed from this, without any culpable agency of their own? The result shows that their hearts are softened. The recollection of their injustice to Joseph, has made them even tender of Benjamin. The sight of the suffering which they have brought upon their father, has made them

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careful of his feelings and sympathetically devoted to his happiness. The arrest of the youngest brings them all, with rent garments, into Joseph's presence, when Judah, the orator of the company, draws near and addresses his unknown brother in a strain which stands unequaled, perhaps, among recorded speeches, as an exhibition of pathetic eloquence. With entire artlessness he tells the whole story, and with the generous devotion of a true son and brother, asks leave to abide as a bondman "instead of the lad," "lest, peradventure, I see the evil that shall come on my father."

Joseph, under Divine guidance, has refrained from a premature disclosure, and the fit time has fully come. He has no disposition to injure or reproach his brothers, or punish them in any way. He has put them to the test, as it was his duty to do, and satisfied that their feelings are now right, the struggling emotions of his nature, long pent up, find an irrepressible vent. Troubled by the disclosure and unable to speak, he calms their agitation and seeks to soothe their self-upbraiding, thrice reminding them of the wisdom of God's plan, which had been broader than theirs. This is followed by affectionate embraces, and the charge to hasten homeward with a reviving message to their aged father — sitting in his loneliness, day after day, in the door of his tent at Hebron, and anxiously waiting for tidings from Egypt. And years after, when on the decease of their father they humbly asked the forgiveness of their brother, he still comforted them with the reflection that God had overruled their conduct for good. From first to last, the narrative appears to us to countenance the view, which also seems to us most consonant with the eminent magnanimity of this noble Hebrew, that the leading design of his harsh policy was to subject them to a needful test, which the Lord used as a means of deepening their penitence, and that he gladly desisted, and with a brother's sympathy sought to assuage their bitter regrets, as soon as he was convinced that they were no longer false brothers, but true.

We would further suggest that the charge to them to "fall not out by the way" on their return, does not necessarily indicate that he thought them "not less wicked or not wiser than of old." Now that their associated guilt had been brought home to them, nothing was more natural than that they should seek to throw off individual responsibility. Reuben had already put in his exculpating plea, and the design of the charge was to turn them from unprofitable mutual criminations, and lead them to a devout recognition of the divine sovereignty and goodness.

It is intimated above, that Joseph was not wholly acting under Divine direction. The divining cup may not be fully explicable; it plainly reveals an Egyptian superstition, but does not necessarily imply Joseph's participation in it, and the allusion must be construed by what is known of his life. If consummate wisdom in plan and skill in execution, if a spirit beautiful in every relation, if the fruits of a manly and lovely piety, if a character as nearly faultless as has been delineated in human biography, be marks of Divine guidance, we must accord it to him, whose bow abode in strength and whose arms were made strong by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob.

It is obvious to add, that the wisdom of the providential dealings, as related to the family in Hebron, was not less marked as related to Joseph in Egypt. The course of discipline through which he passed was an indispensable qualification for the high service in reserve for him — enabling him to learn the most difficult lesson, and be prepared to bear without injury one extreme of fortune, by having properly endured the other. S. W.

* Ewald, in his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, comments upon the statesmanship of Joseph in taking advantage of the pressure of famine to reduce the entire population to a tenantry of the crown, thus accomplishing without violence a great social revolution; — a statesmanship "careful at once of the weal of populous nations, and for the consolidation and increase of the royal authority, and winning its best victories through the combination of these seemingly opposite aims. By providently storing up in his garners supplies of corn sufficient for many years of possible scarcity, Joseph was enabled not only to secure to the people the present means of existence and the possibility of better times in future, but to establish a more solid organization of government, such as a nation is very loath to accede to except in a time of overmastering necessity." (Martineau's translation, p. 413.)

The present state of Egyptian chronology will hardly warrant the positive conclusions of Mr. Poole concerning the epoch of Joseph; and, therefore, while his views are retained in the text, the data are here appended for a more comprehensive view of the subject. The problem concerning the Israelites in Egypt is mixed with the question of the Hyksos whose date is still unsettled. Bunsen makes Joseph the Grand-vizir of Sesortosis, second king of the 12th Dynasty, about 2180 B. C., and 200 years before the usurpation of the Hyksos; as the Hyksos were Semitic tribes, the Hebrews were undisturbed during their supremacy; but after their expulsion, the Israelites were reduced to forced labor as a means of consolidating the Pharaonic power. But this theory, which makes the sojourn in Egypt outlast the coming and going of the Hyksos, prolongs the stay of the Israelites beyond the utmost stretch of our Biblical chronology. (*Egypt's Place*, vol. v. p. 68.) Brugsch regards the Hyksos as Ishmaelitish Arabs, who invaded Egypt about 2115 B. C. and ruled over the Delta for 511 years. Taking the second Meneptah of the 19th Dynasty, 1341–1321 B. C. for the Pharaoh of the Exodus, and computing backward 430 years, he places Joseph in office under one of the Shepherd kings. (*Histoire d'Égypte*, i. 79.) Mr. Poole also makes the Pharaoh of Joseph one of the Shepherd kings in the first half of the nineteenth century, B. C. But if the Hebrews were in Egypt under the Hyksos — though this may account for the favorable reception of Jacob, and the undisturbed growth of his posterity in Goshen — it is not easy to imagine how so large a foreign population, of a kindred race with the Hyksos, was suffered to remain in the Delta when the Shepherds were expelled by the reviving native empire; and the notion that the Exodus of the Israelites and the expulsion of the Hyksos were the same event, has no foundation either in Egyptian or in Hebrew history. To meet this difficulty, Lepsius places the migration of Jacob into Egypt after the expulsion of the Hyksos, with an interval sufficient for the fear of another Arab invasion to have died out though the prejudice of the Egyptians against the nomadic "shepherds" remained. His dates are for the expulsion of the Hyksos about 1591 B. C. the arrival of Jacob 1414, the Exodus 1314. (*Königsbuch.*) But this brings the Exodus down to

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very late period, and reduces the sojourn in Egypt to one hundred years. Ewald, with his usual boldness in inventing an hypothesis to solve a difficulty, conjectures that at the first, only a small portion of the Israelitish family followed Joseph into Egypt, — then under the rule of the Hykscs: that, at the expulsion of the latter, the Israelites took sides with the Egyptians, and that Joseph then "summoned Israel in a body out of Canaan, and established them in Goshen as a frontier-guard of the kingdom against any new attacks of the Hyksos." In the date of the Hyksos invasion and the duration of the Shepherd dynasties in Egypt, all these writers are substantially agreed. They agree also in the main facts concerning Joseph as an historical person, and the residence of the Israelites in Egypt until the exodus under Moses. Even Ewald concedes that the "Blessing of Jacob" (Gen. xlix. 22–26), from the complexion of the language and poetry, must be referred to pre-Mosaic times. The order of the historical events is not strictly dependent upon chronology. J. P. T.

2. Father of Igal who represented the tribe of Issachar among the spies (Num. xiii. 7).

3. A lay Israelite of the family of Bani, who was compelled by Ezra to put away his foreign wife (Ezr. x. 42). In 1 Esdr. it is given as JOSEPHUS.

4. [Vat. Alex. FA.[1] omit.] Representative of the priestly family of Shebaniah, in the next generation after the return from Captivity (Neh. xii. 14).

5. (Ἰώσηφος; [in ver. 56, Ἰωσήφ; in ver. 18, Sin. Ἰωσηπος; in ver. 60, Sin. Ἰωσηφως or Ἰωσηφ ως, Sin[ca]. Ἰωσηπος: *Josephus*]). A Jewish officer defeated by Gorgias c. 164 B. C. (1 Macc. v. 18, 56, 60).

6. [Alex. Ἰωσηπος: *Josephus.*] In 2 Macc. viii. 22, x. 19, Joseph is named among the brethren of Judas Maccabæus apparently in place of John (Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 384, *note;* Grimm *ad* 2 Macc. viii. 22). The confusion of Ἰωάννης, Ἰωσήφ, Ἰωσῆς is well seen in the various readings in Matt. xiii. 55.

7. [Ἰωσήφ: *Joseph.*] An ancestor of Judith (Jud. viii. 1). B. F. W.

8. One of the ancestors of Christ (Luke iii. 30), son of Jonan, and the eighth generation from David inclusive, about contemporary therefore with king Ahaziah.

9. [Ἰωσήφ; but Tisch. Treg. and Lachm. *marg.* Ἰωσήχ: *Joseph.*] Another ancestor of Christ, son of Judah or Abiud, and grandson of Joanna or Hananiah the son of Zerubbabel, Luke iii. 26. Alford adopts the reading Josek, a mistake which seems to originate with the common confusion in Heb. MSS. between ה and ך.

10. Another, [Luke iii. 24,] son of Mattathias, in the seventh generation before Joseph the husband of the Virgin.

11. Son of Heli [Luke iii. 23], and reputed father of Jesus Christ. The recurrence of this name in the three above instances, once before, and twice after Zerubbabel, whereas it does not occur once in St. Matthew's genealogy, is a strong evidence of the paternal descent of Joseph the son of Heli, as traced by St. Luke to Nathan the son of David.

All that is told us of Joseph in the N. T. may be summed up in a few words. He was a just man, and of the house and lineage of David, and was known as such by his contemporaries, who called Jesus the son of David, and were disposed to own Him as Messiah, as being Joseph's son. The public registers also contained his name under the reckoning of the house of David (John i. 45; Luke iii. 23; Matt. i. 20; Luke ii. 4). He lived at Nazareth in Galilee, and it is probable that his family had been settled there for at least two preceding generations, possibly from the time of Matthat, the common grandfather of Joseph and Mary, since Mary lived there too (Luke i. 26, 27). He espoused Mary, the daughter and heir of his uncle Jacob, and before he took her home as his wife received the angelic communication recorded in Matt. i. 20. It must have been within a very short time of his taking her to his home, that the decree went forth from Augustus Cæsar which obliged him to leave Nazareth with his wife and go to Bethlehem. He was there with Mary and his first-born, when the shepherds came to see the babe in the manger, and he went with them to the Temple to present the infant according to the law, and there heard the prophetic words of Simeon, as he held him in his arms. When the wise men from the East came to Bethlehem to worship Christ, Joseph was there; and he went down to Egypt with them by night, when warned by an angel of the danger which threatened them; and on a second message he returned with them to the land of Israel, intending to reside at Bethlehem the city of David; but being afraid of Archelaus he took up his abode, as before his marriage, at Nazareth, where he carried on his trade as a carpenter. When Jesus was 12 years old, Joseph and Mary took him with them to keep the Passover at Jerusalem, and when they returned to Nazareth he continued to act as a father to the child Jesus, and was reputed to be so indeed. But here our knowledge of Joseph ends. That he died before our Lord's crucifixion is indeed tolerably certain by what is related John xix. 27, and perhaps Mark vi. 3 may imply that he was then dead. But where, when, or how he died, we know not. What was his age when he married, what children he had, and who was their mother, are questions on which tradition has been very busy, and very contradictory, and on which it affords no available information whatever. In fact the different accounts given are not *traditions*, but the attempts of different ages of the early Church to reconcile the narrative of the Gospels with their own opinions, and to give support, as they thought, to the miraculous conception. It is not necessary to detail or examine these accounts here, as they throw light rather upon the history of those opinions during four or five centuries, than upon the history of Joseph. But it may be well to add that the origin of all the earliest stories and assertions of the fathers concerning Joseph, as e. *g.*, his extreme old age, his having sons by a former wife, his having the custody of Mary given to him by lot, and so on, is to be found in the apocryphal Gospels, of which the earliest is the Protevangelium of St. James, apparently the work of a Christian Jew of the second century, quoted by Origen, and referred to by Clement of Alexandria and Justin Martyr (Tischendorf, *Proleg.* xiii.). The same stories are repeated in the other apocryphal Gospels. The monophysite Coptic Christians are said to have first assigned a festival to St. Joseph in the Calendar, namely, on the 20th July, which is thus inscribed in a Coptic almanac: "Requies sancti senis justi Josephi fabri lignarii, Deiparæ Virginis Mariæ sponsi, qui pater Christi

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vocari promeruit." The apocryphal *Historia Josephi fabri lignarii*, which now exists in Arabic, is thought by Tischendorf to have been originally written in Coptic, and the festival of Joseph is supposed to have been transferred to the Western Churches from the East as late as the year 1399.[a] The above-named history is acknowledged to be quite fabulous, though it belongs probably to the 4th century. It professes to be an account given by our Lord himself to the Apostles on the Mount of Olives, and placed by them in the library of Jerusalem. It ascribes 111 years to Joseph's life, and makes him old and the father of 4 sons and 2 daughters before he espoused Mary. It is headed with this sentence: "Benedictiones ejus et preces servent nos omnes, O fratres. Amen." The reader who wishes to know the opinion of the ancients on the obscure subject of Joseph's marriage, may consult Jerome's acrimonious tract *Contra Helvidium*. He will see that Jerome highly disapproves the common opinion (derived from the apocryphal Gospels) of Joseph being twice married, and that he claims the authority of Ignatius, Polycarp, Irenæus, Justin Martyr, and "many other apostolical men," in favor of his own view, that our Lord's brethren were his cousins only, or at all events against the opinion of Helvidius, which had been held by Ebion, Theodotus of Byzantium, and Valentine, that they were the children of Joseph and Mary. Those who held this opinion were called *Antidicomarianitæ*, as enemies of the Virgin. (Epiphanius, *Adv. Hæres.* l. iii. t. ii. *Hær.* lxxviii., also *Hær.* li. See also Pearson *on the Creed*, Art. Virgin Mary; Mill, *on the Brethren of the Lord*; Calmet, *de S. Joseph. S. Mar. Virg. conjuge*; and for an able statement of the opposite view, Alford's *note on Matt.* xiii. 55; Winer, *Realwb.* s. vv. *Jesus* and *Joseph*.) A. C. H.

* 12. Joseph is the reading of the oldest MSS. (adopted by Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles, instead of Joses of the received text) in Matt. xiii. 55, as the name of one of the brethren of our Lord. [JOSES, 2.] A.

* 13. Joseph (instead of Joses) is the proper name of Barnabas (Acts iv. 36) according to the oldest MSS. and the best critical editions. [JOSES, 3.] A.

JO'SEPH OF ARIMATHÆ'A [A. V. Arimathe'a] (Ἰωσὴφ ὁ ἀπὸ Ἁριμαθαίας), a rich and pious Israelite who had the privilege of performing the last offices of duty and affection to the body of our Lord. He is distinguished from other persons of the same name by the addition of his birth-place Arimathæa, a city supposed by Robinson to be situated somewhere between Lydda and Nobe, now *Beit Nuba*, a mile northeast of *Yalo* (*Bibl. Res.* ii. 239–41, iii. 142).

Joseph is denominated by St. Mark (xv. 43) an honorable councillor, by which we are probably to understand that he was a member of the Great Council, or Sanhedrim. He is further characterized as "a good man and a just" (Luke xxiii. 50), one of those who, bearing in their hearts the words of their old prophets, was waiting for the kingdom of God (Mark xv. 43; Luke ii. 25, 38, xxiii. 51). We are expressly told that he did not "consent to the counsel and deed" of his colleagues in conspiring to bring about the death of Jesus; but he seems to have lacked the courage to protest against their judgment. At all events we know that he shrank, through fear of his countrymen, from professing himself openly a disciple of our Lord.

The awful event, however, which crushed the hopes while it excited the fears of the chosen disciples, had the effect of inspiring him with a boldness and confidence to which he had before been a stranger. The crucifixion seems to have wrought in him the same clear conviction that it wrought in the centurion who stood by the cross; for on the very evening of that dreadful day, when the triumph of the chief priests and rulers seemed complete, Joseph "went in boldly unto Pilate and craved the body of Jesus." The fact is mentioned by all four Evangelists. Pilate, having assured himself that the Divine Sufferer was dead, consented to the request of Joseph, who was thus rewarded for his faith and courage by the blessed privilege of consigning to his own new tomb the body of his crucified Lord. In this sacred office he was assisted by Nicodemus, who, like himself, had hitherto been afraid to make open profession of his faith, but now dismissing his fears brought an abundant store of myrrh and aloes for the embalming of the body of his Lord according to the Jewish custom.

These two masters in Israel then having enfolded the sacred body in the linen shroud which Joseph had bought, consigned it to a tomb hewn in a rock — a tomb where no human corpse had ever yet been laid.

It is specially recorded that the tomb was in a garden belonging to Joseph, and close to the place of crucifixion.

The minuteness of the narrative seems purposely designed to take away all ground or pretext for any rumor that might be spread, after the Resurrection, that it was some other, not Jesus himself, that had risen from the grave. But the burial of Jesus in the new private sepulchre of the rich man of Arimathæa must also be regarded as the fulfillment of the prophecy of Isaiah (liii. 9): according to the literal rendering of Bishop Lowth, "with the rich man was his tomb." Nothing, but of the merest legendary character, is recorded of Joseph, beyond what we read in Scripture. There is a tradition, surely a very improbable one, that he was of the number of the seventy disciples. Another, whether authentic or not, deserves to be mentioned as generally current, namely — that Joseph, being sent to Great Britain by the Apostle St. Philip, about the year 63, settled with his brother disciples at Glastonbury, in Somersetshire; and there erected of wicker-twigs the first Christian oratory in England, the parent of the majestic abbey which was afterwards founded on the same site. The local guides to this day show the miraculous thorn (said to bud and blossom every Christmas-day) that sprung from the staff which Joseph stuck in the ground as he stopped to rest himself on the hill-top. (See Dugdale's *Monasticon*, i. 1; and Hearne, *Hist. and Ant. of Glastonbury*; Assemann, *Bibl. Orient.* iii. 319.) Winer refers to a monograph on Joseph — Broemel, *Diss. de Josepho Arimath.* Viteb. 1683, 4to. E. H. . . . s.

JO'SEPH, called **BAR'SABAS** [or BARSAB'BAS, Lachm. Tisch. Treg.], and surnamed Justus; one of the two persons chosen by the assembled church (Acts i. 23) as worthy to fill the place in the Apostolic company from which Judas

[a] Calmet, however, places the admission of Joseph into the calendar of the Western Church as early as before the year 900. See Tischendorf, *ut sup.*

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had fallen. He, therefore, had been a companion of the disciples all the time that they followed Jesus, from his baptism to his ascension.

Papias (ap. Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39) calls him Justus Barsabas, and relates that having drunk some deadly poison he, through the grace of the Lord, sustained no harm. Eusebius (*H. E.* i. 12) states that he was one of the seventy disciples. He is to be distinguished from Joses Barnabas (Acts iv. 36) and from Judas Barsabas (Acts xv. 22). The signification of Barsabas is quite uncertain. Lightfoot (*Hor. Hebr.* Acts i. 23) gives five possible interpretations of it, namely, the son of conversion, of quiet, of an oath, of wisdom, of the old man. He prefers the last two; and suggests that Joseph Barsabas may be the same as Joses the son of Alphæus, and that Judas Barsabas may be his brother the Apostle.[a] W. T. B.

JOSE'PHUS ('Ιώσηφος; [Vat. Φοσηπος: *Josephus*]), 1 Esdr. ix. 34. [JOSEPH, 3.]

JO'SES ('Ιωσῆς [or Ιωσῆς; Lachm. Tisch. Treg.] Alford 'Ιησοῦς; 'Ιωσή [or 'Ιωσῆ] is the genitive case: [*Jesus*]). 1. Son of Eliezer, in the genealogy of Christ (Luke iii. 29), 15th generation from David, *i. e.* about the reign of Manasseh.

* The A. V. gives the name as JOSE, which is merely the form of the genitive case. A.

2. [In Matt. xiii. 55, Lachm. Tisch. Treg. 'Ιωσήφ; and so Sin. in Mark vi. 3; Tisch. reads 'Ιωσήφ also in Matt. xxvii. 56: *Joseph.*] One of the Lord's brethren (Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3). His name connects him with the preceding. For the inquiry who these brethren of the Lord were, see JAMES. All that appears with certainty from Scripture is that his mother's name was Mary, and his brother's James (Matt. xxvii. 56; [Mark xv. 40, 47]).

3. [Lachm. Tisch. Treg. 'Ιωσήφ: *Joseph.*] JOSES [or JOSEPH] BAR'NABAS (Acts iv. 36). [BARNABAS.] A. C. H.

JO'SHAH (יוֹאָשׁ [perh. *Jehovah lets dwell*, Ges.]: 'Ιωσία; [Vat. Ιωσεια;] Alex. Ιωσιας: *Josa*), a prince of the house of Simeon, son of Amaziah, and connected with the more prosperous branch of the tribe, who, in the days of Hezekiah, headed a marauding expedition against the peaceable Hamite shepherds dwelling in Gedor, exterminated them, and occupied their pasturage (1 Chr. iv. 34, 38–41).

JOSH'APHAT (יְהוֹשָׁפָט [*Jehovah judges*]: 'Ιωσαφάτ; FA.[1] Ιωσαφας: *Josaphat*), the Mithnite, one of David's guard, apparently selected from among the warriors from the east of Jordan (1 Chr. xi. 43). Buxtorf (*Lex. Talm.* col. 1284) gives Mathnan as the Chaldee equivalent of Bashan, by which the latter is always represented in the Targ. Onk.; and if this were the place which gave Joshaphat his surname, he was probably a Gadite. In the Syriac, Joshaphat and Uzziah (ver. 44) are interchanged, and the latter appears as "Azi of Anathoth."

JOSHAVI'AH (יוֹשַׁוְיָה [*Jehovah makes to dwell*, Ges.]: 'Ιωσία; [Vat. FA.] Ιωσεια: *Josaïa*), the son of Elnaam, and one of David's guards (1 Chr. xi. 46). The LXX. make him the son of Jeribai, by reading וְאֶבְנָי for וְיָרִבַי. The name appears in eight, and probably nine, different forms in the MSS. collated by Kennicott.

JOSHBEK'ASHAH (יָשְׁבְּקָשָׁה: 'Ιεσβακασά; [Vat. Ιεβασακα, Βακατα;] Alex. Σεβακαταν, [Ιεσβακαταν:] *Jesbacasa*), head of the 16th course of musicians. [JESHARELAH.] He belonged to the house of Heman (1 Chr. xxv. 4 24). [A. C. H.]

JOSH'UA (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ: 'Ιησοῦς: *Jesus*; i. e. *whose help is Jehovah*, Ges., or rather "*God the Saviour*," Pearson, *On the Creed*, Art. II., p. 89, ed. 1843: on the import of his name, and the change of it from Oshea or Hoshea, Num. xiii. 16 = "welfare" or "salvation," see Pearson, *l. c.*: it appears in the various forms of HOSHEA, OSHEA, JEHOSHUA, JESHUA, and JESUS). 1. The son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim (1 Chr. vii. 27). The future captain of invading hosts grew up a slave in the brick-fields of Egypt. Born about the time when Moses fled into Midian, he was a man of nearly forty years when he saw the ten plagues, and shared in the hurried triumph of the Exodus. The keen eye of the aged Lawgiver soon discerned in Hoshea those qualities which might be required in a colleague or successor to himself. He is mentioned first in connection with the fight against Amalek at Rephidim, when he was chosen (Ex. xvii. 9) by Moses to lead the Israelites. When Moses ascended Mount Sinai to receive for the first time (compare Ex. xxiv. 13, and xxxiii. 11) the two Tables, Joshua, who is called his minister or servant, accompanied him part of the way, and was the first to accost him in his descent (Ex. xxxii. 17). Soon afterwards he was one of the twelve chiefs who were sent (Num. xiii. 17) to explore the land of Canaan, and one of the two (xiv. 6) who gave an encouraging report of their journey. The 40 years of wandering were almost passed, and Joshua was one of the few survivors, when Moses, shortly before his death, was directed (Num. xxvii. 18) to invest Joshua solemnly and publicly with definite authority, in connection with Eleazar the priest, over the people. And after this was done, God Himself gave Joshua a charge by the mouth of the dying Lawgiver (Deut. xxxi. 14, 23).

Under the direction of God again renewed (Josh i. 1), Joshua, now in his 85th year (Joseph. *Ant.* v 1, § 29), assumed the command of the people at Shittim, sent spies into Jericho, crossed the Jordan, fortified a camp at Gilgal, circumcised the people, kept the passover, and was visited by the Captain[b] of the Lord's Host. A miracle made the fall of Jericho more terrible to the Canaanites. A miraculous repulse in the first assault on Ai impressed upon the invaders the warning that they were the instruments of a holy and jealous God. Ai fell.

[a] * Barnabas, says Meyer, is a patronymic (*son of Nabas*), and Justus a Roman surname such as Jews often adopted at that time (*Apostelgesch* i. 23). H.

[b] It has been questioned whether the Captain of the Lord's Host was a created being or not. Dr. W H. Mill discusses this point at full length and with great learning and decides in favor of the former alternative (*On the Historical Character of St. Luke's First Chapter*, Camb. 1841, p. 92). But J. G. Abicht (*De Duce Exercitus, &c.*, ap. *Nov. Thes. Theologico-philolog.* i. 503) is of opinion that He was the uncreated Angel, the Son of God. Compare also Pfeiffer *Diff. Script. Loc.* p. 178.

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and the law was inscribed on Mount Ebal, and read by their leader in the presence of all Israel.

The treaty which the fear-stricken Gibeonites obtained deceitfully was generously respected by Joshua. It stimulated and brought to a point the hostile movements of the five confederate chiefs of the Amorites. Joshua, aided by an unprecedented hailstorm, and a miraculous prolongation of the day, obtained a decisive victory over them at Makkedah, and proceeded at once to subjugate the south country as far as Kadesh-barnea and Gaza. He returned to the camp at Gilgal, master of half of Palestine.

In another campaign he marched to the waters of Merom, where he met and overthrew a confederacy of the Canaanitish chiefs in the north, under Jabin king of Hazor; and in the course of a protracted war he led his victorious soldiers to the gates of Zidon and into the Valley of Lebanon under Hermon. In six years, six nations with thirty-one kings swell the roll of his conquests; and amongst others the Anakim — the old terror of Israel — are specially recorded as destroyed everywhere except in Philistia. It must be borne in mind that the extensive conquests of Joshua were not intended to achieve and did not achieve the complete extirpation of the Canaanites, many of whom continued to occupy isolated strongholds throughout the land.

Joshua, now stricken in years, proceeded in conjunction with Eleazar and the heads of the tribes to complete the division of the conquered land; and when all was allotted, Timnath-serah in Mount Ephraim was assigned by the people as Joshua's peculiar inheritance. The Tabernacle of the congregation was established at Shiloh, six cities of refuge were appointed, forty-eight cities assigned to the Levites, and the warriors of the trans-Jordanic tribes dismissed in peace to their homes.

After an interval of rest, Joshua convoked an assembly from all Israel. He delivered two solemn addresses reminding them of the marvelous fulfillment of God's promises to their fathers, and warning them of the conditions on which their prosperity depended; and lastly, he caused them to renew their covenant with God, at Shechem, a place already famous in connection with Jacob (Gen. xxxv. 4), and Joseph (Josh. xxiv. 32).

He died at the age of 110 years, and was buried in his own city, Timnath-serah.

Joshua's life has been noted as one of the very few which are recorded in history with some fullness of detail, yet without any stain upon them. In his character have been traced, under an oriental garb, such features as chiefly kindled the imagination of western chroniclers and poets in the Middle Ages: the character of a devout warrior, blameless and fearless, who has been taught by serving as a youth how to command as a man; who earns by manly vigor a quiet honored old age; who combines strength with gentleness, ever looking up for and obeying the Divine impulse with the simplicity of a child, while he wields great power and directs it calmly, and without swerving, to the accomplishment of a high unselfish purpose.

All that part of the book of Joshua which relates his personal history seems to be written with the unconscious, vivid power of an eye-witness. We are not merely taught to look with a distant reverence upon the first man who bears the name which is above every name. We stand by the side of one who is admitted to hear the words of God, and see the vision of the Almighty. The image of the armed warrior is before us as when in the sight of two armies he lifted up his spear over unguarded Ai. We see the majestic presence which inspired all Israel (iv. 14) with awe; the mild father who remonstrated with Achan; the calm, dignified judge who pronounced his sentence; the devout worshipper prostrating himself before the Captain of the Lord's host. We see the lonely man in the height of his power, separate from those about him, the last survivor, save one, of a famous generation; the honored old man of many deeds and many sufferings, gathering his dying energy for an attempt to bind his people more closely to the service of God whom he had so long served and worshipped, and whom he was ever learning to know more and more.

The great work of Joshua's life was more exciting but less hopeful than that of Moses. He gathered the first fruits of the autumn harvest where his predecessor had sown the seed in spring. It was a high and hopeful task to watch beside the cradle of a mighty nation, and to train its early footsteps in laws which should last for centuries. And it was a fit end to a life of expectation to gaze with longing eyes from Pisgah upon the Land of Promise. But no such brightness gleamed upon the calm close of Joshua's life. Solemn words, and dark with foreboding, fell from him as he sat "under the oak that was by the sanctuary of the Lord in Shechem." The excitement of his battles was past; and there had grown up in the mind of the pious leader a consciousness that it is the tendency of prosperity and success to make a people wanton and worldly-minded, idolaters in spirit if not in act, and to alienate them from God.

Holy Scripture itself suggests (Heb. iv. 8) the consideration of Joshua as a type of Christ. Many of the Christian Fathers have enlarged upon this view; and Bishop Pearson, who has collected their opinions (*On the Creed*, Art. ii. pp. 87-90, and 94-96, ed. 1843), points out the following and many other typical resemblances: (1) the name common to both; (2) Joshua brings the people of God into the land of promise, and divides the land among the tribes; Jesus brings his people into the presence of God, and assigns to them their mansions; (3) as Joshua succeeded Moses and completed his work, so the Gospel of Christ succeeding the Law, announced One by whom all that believe are justified from all things from which we could not be justified by the Law of Moses (Acts xiii. 39); (4) as Joshua the minister of Moses renewed the rite of circumcision, so Jesus the minister of the circumcision brought in the circumcision of the heart (Rom. xv. 8, ii. 29).

The treatment of the Canaanites by their Jewish conquerors is fully discussed by Dean Graves (*On the Pentateuch*, pt. 3, lect. i.). He concludes that the extermination of the Canaanites was justified by their crimes, and that the employment of the Jews in such extermination was quite consistent with God's method of governing the world. Prof. Fairbairn (*Typology of Scripture*, bk. iii. ch. 4, § 1, ed. 1854) argues with great force and candor in favor of the complete agreement of the principles on which the war was carried on by Joshua with the principles of the Christian dispensation.

Among the supernatural occurrences in the life of Joshua, none has led to so much discussion as the prolongation of the day of the battle of Makkedah (x. 12-14). No great difficulty is found, is

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deciding, as Pfeiffer has done (*Diff. Script. l. c.* p. 175), between the lengths of this day and that of Hezekiah (2 K. xx. 11); and in connecting both days with the Egyptian tradition mentioned by Herodotus, ii. 142. But since modern science revealed the stupendous character of this miracle, modern criticism has made several attempts to explain it away. It is regarded by Le Clerc, Dathe, and others, as no miracle but an optical illusion; by Rosenmüller, following Ilgen, as a mistake of the time of day; by Winer and many recent German critics, with whom Dr. Davidson (*Introd. to O. T.* p. 644) seems to agree, as a mistake of the meaning or the authority of a poetical contributor to the book of Jasher. So Ewald (*Gesch. Isr.* ii. 326) traces in the latter part of verse 13 an interpolation by the hand of that anonymous Jew whom he supposes to have written the book of Deuteronomy, and here to have misunderstood the vivid conception of an old poet: and he cites numerous similar conceptions from the old poetry of Greece, Rome, Arabia, and Peru. But the literal and natural interpretation of the text as intended to describe a miracle is sufficiently vindicated by Deyling, *Observ. Sacr.* i. § 19, p. 100; and J. G. Abicht, *De stutione Solis* ap. *Nov. Thes. Theol.-Philol.* i. 516; and is forcibly stated by Bishop Watson in the 4th letter in his *Apology for the Bible*.—[For the view of Hengstenberg on the "Standing still of the Sun and Moon," see *Evang. Kirchenzeitung*, 1832, No. 88: and the same translated in the *Bibl. Repository*, iii. 721-739.—H.]

Procopius, who flourished in the 6th century, relates (*Vandal.* ii. 10) that an inscription existed at Tingis in Mauritania, set up by Phœnician refugees from Canaan, and declaring in the Phœnician language, "We are they who fled from the face of Joshua the robber the son of Nun." Ewald (*Gesch. Isr.* ii. 297, 298) gives sound reasons for forbearing to use this story as authentic history. It is, however, accepted by Rawlinson (*Bampton Lectures*, for 1859, iii. 91).

Lightfoot (*Hor. Heb.* in Matt. i. 5, and *Chorogr. Lucæ præmis.* iv. § 3) quotes Jewish traditions to the effect that Rahab became a proselyte, and the wife of Joshua, and the ancestress of nine prophets and priests; also that the sepulchre of Joshua was adorned with an image of the Sun in memory of the miracle of Ajalon. The LXX. and the Arab. Ver. add to Josh. xxiv. 30 the statement that in his sepulchre were deposited the flint-knives which were used for the circumcision at Gilgal (Josh. v. 2).

The principal occurrences in the life of Joshua are reviewed by Bishop Hall in his *Contemplations on the O. T.* bks. 7, 8, and 9. W. T. B.

* Joshua, the son of Nun, is meant, Heb. iv. 8, where the A. V. employs Jesus for Ἰησοῦς, though the translators add in the margin "that is, Joshua." The object may have been to represent the Greek name in a uniform manner in the N. T. Most of the preceding English versions avoid this confusion. See Trench, *Authorized Version*, p. 75 f. (2d ed. 1859). [JESUS, 3.] H.

2. [Ὡσηέ; Alex. Ἰησους: *Josue*.] An inhabitant of Beth-shemesh, in whose land was the stone at which the milch-kine stopped, when they drew the ark of God with the offerings of the Philistines from Ekron to Beth-shemesh (1 Sam. vi 14, 18).

3. [Ἰησοῦς: *Josue*.] A governor of the city who gave his name to a gate of Jerusalem (2 K. xxiii. 8).

4. [Ἰησοῦς: *Jesus*.] Called Jeshua in Ezra and Nehemiah; a high priest, who returned from the Captivity with Zerubbabel. [See Hag. i. 1, 12. 14, ii. 2, 4; Zech. iii. 1, 3, 6, 8, 9, vi. 11.] For details, see JOSHUA, No. 4. W. T. B.

JOSH'UA, BOOK OF. 1. *Authority.* — The claim of the book of Joshua to a place in the Canon of the O. T. has never been disputed. [See CANON.] (Bp. Cosin's *Scholastical History of the Canon*; Dr. Wordsworth's *Discourses on the Canon*.) Its authority is confirmed by the references, in other books of Holy Scripture, to the events which are related in it; as Ps. lxxviii. 53-65; Is. xxviii. 21; Hab. iii. 11-13; Acts vii. 45; Heb. iv. 8, xi. 30-32; James ii. 25. The miracles which it relates, and particularly that of the prolongation of the day of the battle of Makkedah, have led some critics to entertain a suspicion of the credibility of the book as a history. But such an objection does not touch the book of Joshua only. It must stand or fall with nearly every historical book of the Bible. Some Christians may be more or less disposed by excess of candor, or a desire to conciliate opposition, to regard as the effect of natural and ordinary causes, occurrences which have always been and still are commonly regarded as miraculous; and such persons cannot be blamed so long as their views are consistent with a fair interpretation of the Bible. But it cannot be allowed that any canonical book is the less entitled to our full belief because it relates miracles.

The treatment of the Canaanites which is sanctioned in this book has been denounced for its severity by Eichhorn and earlier writers. But there is nothing in it inconsistent with the divine attribute of justice, or with God's ordinary way of governing the world. Therefore the sanction which is given to it does not impair the authority of this book. Critical ingenuity has searched it in vain for any incident or sentiment inconsistent with what we know of the character of the age, or irreconcilable with other parts of canonical Scripture. Some discrepancies are alleged by De Wette and Hauff to exist within the book itself, and have been described as material differences and contradictions. But they disappear when the words of the text are accurately stated and weighed, and they do not affect the general credibility of the book. Thus, it cannot be allowed that there is any real disagreement between the statement xi. 16 and xii. 7, that Joshua took all the land and gave it to Israel, and the subsequent statement xviii. 3 and xvii. 1, 16, that the people were slack to possess the land which was given to them, and that the Canaanites were not entirely extirpated; of course it was intended (Ex. xxiii. 28, 30) that the people should occupy the land by little and little. It cannot be allowed that there is any irreconcilable contradiction between the statement xii. 10-12, that the kings of Jerusalem and Gezer were smitten and their country divided, and the statement, xv. 63, xvi. 10, that their people were not extirpated for some time afterward. It cannot be allowed that the general statement, xi. 23, that Joshua gave the land unto all Israel according to their divisions by their tribes, is inconsistent with the fact (xviii. 1, xix. 51), that many subsequent years passed before the process of division was completed, and the allotments finally adjusted. Other discrepancies have been alleged by Dr. Davidson, with the view not of disparaging the credibility of the book, but of supporting the

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theory that it is a compilation from two distinct documents. The boundaries of the different tribes, it is said, are stated sometimes with greater, sometimes with less exactness. Now, this may be a fault of the surveyors employed by Joshua; but it is scarcely an inconsistency to be charged on the writer of the book who transcribed their descriptions. Again, the Divine promise that the coast of Israel shall extend to the Euphrates (i. 4) is not inconsistent with the fact that the country which Joshua was commanded to divide (xiii. 16) does not extend so far Again, the statement (xiii. 3) that Ekron, etc., remained yet to be possessed is not inconsistent with the subsequent statement (xv. 45) that it was assigned to Judah. Dr. Davidson gives no proof either of his assertion that the former text is in fact subsequent to the latter, or of his supposition that Ekron was in the possession of Judah at the time of its assignment. Again, it would seem that Dr. Davidson pushes a theory too far when he assumes (*Introd. to O. T.* 637, 638) that one and the same writer would hardly denote a "tribe" by one Hebrew word in some passages, and by a synonymous Hebrew word in others; or that he would not in some passages designate Moses as the servant of the Lord, and in others mention Moses without so designating him; or that he would not describe the same class of persons in one place as "priests," and in another as "sons of Aaron." Such alleged discrepancies are not sufficient either to impair the authority of the book, or to prove that it was not substantially the composition of one author.

2. *Scope and contents.* — The book of Joshua is a distinct whole in itself. Although to later generations it became a standing witness of the faithfulness of God in fulfilling his promises to Israel, yet the immediate aim of the inspired writer was probably of a more simple character. He records, for the information of the nation to which he belonged, the acts of Joshua so far as they possessed a national interest. The book was not intended to be a mere ascription of praise to God, nor a mere biography, nor a mere collection of documents. While it serves as a link between that which precedes, and that which follows it, it has a distinct purpose, which it fulfills completely. There is not sufficient ground for treating it as a part of the Pentateuch, or a compilation from the same documents as formed the groundwork of the Pentateuch. The fact that its first sentence begins with a conjunction does not show any closer connection between it and the Pentateuch than exists between Judges and it. The references in i. 8, viii. 31, xxiii. 6, xxiv. 26, to the "book of the law" rather show that that book was distinct from Joshua. Other references to events recorded in the Pentateuch tend in the same direction. No quotation (in the strict modern sense of the word) from the Pentateuch can be found in Joshua. The author quotes from memory, like the writers of the N. T., if he quotes at all (comp. xiii. 7 with Num. xxxiv. 13; xiii. 17 with Num. xxxii. 37; xiii. 21, 22 with Num. xxxi. 8; xiii. 14, 33, and xiv. 4 with Deut. xviii. 1, 2; and Num. xviii. 20, xxi. with Num. xxxv.).

Perhaps no part of Holy Scripture is more injured than the first half of this book by being printed in chapters and verses. The first twelve chapters form a continuous narrative, which seems never to halt or flag. And the description is frequently so minute as to show the hand not merely of a contemporary, but of an eye-witness. An awful sense of the Divine Presence reigns throughout. We are called out from the din and tumult of each battle-field to listen to the still, small Voice. The progress of events is clearly foreshadowed in the first chapter (vv. 5, 6). Step by step we are led on through the solemn preparation, the arduous struggle, the crowning triumph. Moving everything around, yet himself moved by an unseen Power, the Jewish leader rises high and calm amid all.

The second part of the book (ch. xiii.–xxi.) has been aptly compared to the Domesday-book of the Norman conquerors of England. The documents of which it consists were doubtless the abstract of such reports as were supplied by the men whom Joshua sent out (xviii. 8) to describe the land. In the course of time it is probable that changes were introduced into their reports — whether kept separately among the national archives, or embodied in the contents of a book — by transcribers adapting them to the actual state of the country in later times when political divisions were modified, new towns sprung up, and old ones disappeared (comp. the two lists of Levitical towns, Josh. xxi. and 1 Chr. vi. 54, &c.).

The book may be regarded as consisting of three parts: (*a*) the conquest of Canaan, (*b*) the partition of Canaan, (*c*) Joshua's farewell.

a. The preparations for the war, and the passage of the Jordan, ch. 1–5; the capture of Jericho, 6; the conquest of the south, 7–10; the conquest of the north, 11; recapitulation, 12.

b. Territory assigned to Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, 13; the lot of Caleb and of the tribe of Judah, 14, 15; Ephraim and half Manasseh, 16, 17; Benjamin, 18; Simeon, Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, and Dan, 19; the appointment of six cities of refuge, 20; the assignment of forty-eight cities to Levi, 21; the departure of the trans-Jordanic tribes to their homes, 22.

c. Joshua's convocation of the people and first address, 23; his second address at Shechem, and his death, 24.

The events related in this book extend over a period of about 25 years, from B. C. 1451 to 1426. The declaration of Caleb, xiv. 10, is useful in determining the chronology of the book.

3. *Author.* — Nothing is really known as to the authorship of the book. Joshua himself is generally named as the author by the Jewish writers and the Christian Fathers; and a great number of critics acquiesce more or less entirely in that belief. But no contemporary assertion or sufficient historical proof of the fact exists, and it cannot be maintained without qualification. Other authors have been conjectured, as Phinehas by Lightfoot; Eleazar by Calvin; Samuel by Van Til; Jeremiah by Henry; one of the elders who survived Joshua, by Keil. Von Lengerke thinks it was written by some one in the time of Josiah; Davidson by some one in the time of Saul, or somewhat later; Masius, Le Clerc, Maurer, and others by some one who lived after the Babylonish Captivity. The late date is now advocated for the most part in connection with a theory, which may perhaps help to explain the composition of the Pentateuch; but which, when applied to a book so uniform in its style as Joshua, seems to introduce more difficulties than it removes. It has been supposed that the book as it now stands is a compilation from two earlier documents; one the original, called Elohistic, the other supplementary, called Jehovistic; they are distinguished by

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the names given in them to God, and by some other characteristic differences on which the supporters of the hypothesis are not perfectly agreed. Ewald's theory is that the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua form one complete work: that it is mainly compiled from contemporary and ancient documents, and that it has grown into its present form under the hands of five successive writers or editors; the first of whom composed his book in the time of the judges, and the last (to whom the book of Deuteronomy is assigned) in the time of Manasseh. His account of these authors or compilers may be seen in *Gesch. Isr.* i. 81–174, and his method of apportioning various parts of the book of Joshua to the several writers in *Gesch. Isr.* i. 84 and ii. 299–305. The theory of this able critic, so conjectural, complicated, and arbitrary, has met with many opponents, and few, if any, supporters even in his own country.

No one would deny that some additions to the book might be made after the death of Joshua without detracting from the possible fact that the book was substantially his composition. The last verses (xxiv. 29–33) were obviously added by some later hand. If, as is possible, though not certain, some subordinate events, as the capture of Hebron, of Debir (Josh. xv. 13–19, and Judg. i. 10–15), and of Leshem (Josh. xix. 47, and Judg. xviii. 7), and the joint occupation of Jerusalem (Josh. xv. 63, and Judg. i. 21) did not occur till after Joshua's death, they may have been inserted in the book of Joshua by a late transcriber. The passages xiii. 2–6, xvi. 10, xvii. 11, which also are subsequently repeated in the book of Judges, may doubtless describe accurately the same state of things existing at two distinct periods.

The arguments which, though insufficient to prove that Joshua was the author, yet seem to give a preponderance in favor of him when compared with any other person who has been named, may be thus briefly stated: (*a*) It is evident (xxiv. 26) that Joshua could and did write some account of at least one transaction which is related in this book; (*b*) the numerous accounts of Joshua's intercourse with God (i. 1, iii. 7, iv. 2, v. 2, 9, vi. 2, vii. 10, viii. 1, x. 8, xi. 6, xiii. 1, 2, xx. 1, xxiv. 2), and with the Captain of the Lord's Host (v. 13), must have emanated from himself; (*c*) no one is more likely than the speaker himself to have committed to writing the two addresses which were Joshua's legacy to his people (xxiii. and xxiv.); (*d*) no one was so well qualified by his position to describe the events related, and to collect the documents contained in the book; (*e*) the example of his predecessor and master, Moses, would have suggested to him such a record of his acts; (*f*) one verse (vi. 25) must have been written by some person who lived in the time of Joshua; and two other verses, v. 1 and 6 — assuming the common reading of the former to be correct — are most fairly interpreted as written by actors in the scene.

Hävernick's assertion that some grammatical forms used in Joshua are less ancient than the corresponding forms in Judges, may be set against Keil's list of expressions and forms which are peculiar to this book and the Pentateuch; and Hävernick is not supported by facts when he supposes that no expedition of any separate tribe against the Canaanites could have occurred in the lifetime of Joshua, and that the book was therefore written some time afterwards. It has been said that the expression "to this day," which is found fourteen times in the book, presupposes so considerable an interval of time between the occurrence of the event and the composition of the history, that Joshua could not have lived long enough to write in such language. But a careful examination of the passages will scarcely bear out that observation. For instance, in three places (xxii. 3, xxiii. 8, 9) the phrase denotes a period unquestionably included within the twenty-five years which Joshua lived in Canaan; in xxii. 17 it goes but a little farther back; in iv. 9, vii. 26, viii. 29, and x. 27 it describes certain piles of stones which he raised as still remaining — a remark which does not necessarily imply that more than twenty years had elapsed since they were raised; and in vi. 25 it defines a period within the lifetime of a contemporary of Joshua, and therefore probably within his own. In the remaining passages (viii. 28, xiii. 13, xiv. 14, xv. 63, xvi. 10) there is nothing which would make it impossible that Joshua should have used this expression.

4. There is extant a Samaritan book of Joshua in the Arabic language. It was printed for the first time at Leyden in 1848, with the title "Liber Josuæ; Chronicon Samaritanum, edidit, Latine vertit, etc., T. G. J. Juynboll." Its contents were known previously from the accounts given of it by Hottinger and others. It was written in the 13th century. It recounts the late acts of Moses amplified from the book of Numbers, a history of Joshua interspersed with various legends, portions of the Jewish law, and several unconnected historical passages more or less falsified, extending down to the time of Hadrian.

5. *Literature.* — The best Commentary which is accessible to the English reader is the translation of Keil's *Commentary on Joshua* (Clark, Edinburgh, [1857.]) A complete list of commentaries may be found in Rosenmüller's *Scholia*. Among the Fathers, Ephrem Syrus has written an explanation, and Augustine and Theodoret have discussed questions connected with the book. The following commentaries may be selected as most useful: — That of *Jarchi* or *Rashi* (Solomon ben Isaac), translated into Latin by Breithaupt, Gothæ, 1710; the commentary of Masius, Antwerp, 1574, inserted in the *Critici Sacri*; those of Le Clerc, Amsterdam, 1708; Rosenmüller, Leipsic, 1833; and Keil, Erlangen, 1847. W. T. B.

* Other commentators who should be mentioned are Maurer, *Comm. in Vet. Test.* i. 97-126 (1835); Knobel, *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteron. u. Josua erklärt*, Leipz. 1861 (Lief. xiii. of the *Kurzgef. exeget. Handb. zum A. T.*); Keil and Delitzsch, *Bibl. Comm. üb. d. A. T.*, Theil ii. Bd. i. (*Josua, Richter u. Ruth*, von Keil), Leips. 1863, English transl. Edin. 1865; Chr. Wordsworth, *Holy Bible with Notes, etc.*, ii. pt. i. 1–74 (Lond. 1865); and in our own country, George Bush, *Notes Critical and Practical, on the Books of Joshua and Judges*, N. Y. 1838. See also Baumgarten's art. *Josua*, in Herzog's *Real-Encyk.* vii. 38–43; J. L. König, *Alttestamentliche Studien*, Heft 1 (Meurs, 1836); Bertheau, on Joshua's wars and conquest of Canaan *Zur Gesch. der Israeliten*, pp. 266–273 (Göts. 1842); Kurtz, *Gesch. des A. Bundes*, vol. ii., English transl. by Edersheim, Edin. 1859; Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, 3e Ausg. ii. 322 ff., English transl. by Martineau, Lond. 1868; Bleek, *Einl. in das A. Test.* pp. 311–332; Keil's *Einl. in das A. Test.* pp. 142–153; Palfrey's *Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures*, ii. 134–183; Davidson's *Introd. to*

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the Old Tes. i. 409–448; and Rawlinson's *Historical Evidences*, etc., Lect. iii. See also the literature under PENTATEUCH.

We have some words from Ritter respecting the geographical and historical accuracy of the book of Joshua, which deserve attention. The subject of the book being the subjugation and conquest of the land of Canaan, its predominant character, as he remarks, must from the nature of the case be geographical. But beyond this it is true also that the entire political and religious life of the Hebrews was interwoven in the closest manner, like a piece of network, with the geography of the country; far more so than is true of modern European nations; so that, especially at this time when we know so much of the topography of Palestine, we are able to subject the history to a rigorous scrutiny. The test has been applied, and the result has been to establish the accuracy of the book even in minute details, and comparatively unimportant and trivial local relations. Its notices, not only of distinct regions, but of valleys, fountains, mountains, villages, have been confirmed, often with surprising certainty and particularity. The great geographer refers as an example of this to the account of Joshua's second campaign in the south of Palestine (Josh. xi. 16 ff. xv. 21, ff.). He shows that the division of the country there into five parts, the scene of that expedition, rests upon a basis in nature, upon a diversity of geographical position which none but an eye-witness could have remarked, and which modern travellers find to be entirely characteristic of the region still. He shows, in addition to this general accuracy in the outline, that the specialities are equally true; that many of the cities and towns which are mentioned have remained under their ancient names to the present day, and also occur together in groups, precisely in the manner that the sacred writers represent them as having been arranged of old. This agreement between the Old Testament records in general and the geography of the land as now more and more fully illustrated, furnishes an important evidence of their authenticity. (*Ein Blick auf Palästina und seine Christliche Bevölkerung*, Berlin, 1852.)

On no side perhaps has this book been so violently assailed as that of its morality involved in the mission of Joshua to subdue and extirpate the aboriginal Canaanites. The reader will find some very pertinent remarks on this subject, in Dean Stanley's *History of the Jewish Church*, i. 278 ff. (Amer. ed.). We quote, after his example, a few sentences from one of Dr. Arnold's Sermons on the Wars of the Israelites (vi. 35 ff.): "It is better that the wicked should be destroyed a hundred times over than that they should tempt those who are as yet innocent to join their company. Let us but think what might have been our fate, and the fate of every other nation under heaven at this hour, had the sword of the Israelites done its work more sparingly. Even as it was, the small portions of the Canaanites who were left, and the nations around them, so tempted the Israelites by their idolatrous practices, that we read continually of the whole people of God turning away from his service. But had the heathen lived in the land in equal numbers, and, still more, had they intermarried largely with the Israelites, how was it possible, humanly speaking, that any sparks of the light of God's truth should have survived to the coming of Christ?

"They seem of very small importance to us now, — those perpetual contests with the Canaanites and the Midianites and the Ammonites and the Philistines, with which the books of Joshua and Judges and Samuel are almost filled. We may half wonder that God should have interfered in such quarrels, or have changed the course of nature, in order to give one of the nations of Palestine the victory over another. But in these contests, on the fate of one of these nations of Palestine, the happiness of the human race depended. The Israelites fought not for themselves only, but for us. . . . They did God's work; they preserved unhurt the seed of eternal life, and were the ministers of blessing to all other nations, even though they themselves failed to enjoy it." H.

JOSI'AH (יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ [*Jehovah heals* or *saves*:] Ἰωσίας; [Vat. almost everywhere Ἰωσείας; Sin.[1] in Zeph. i. 1, Ἰουσίας:] *Josias*). 1. The son of Amon and Jedidah, succeeded his father B. C. 641, in the eighth year of his age, and reigned 31 years. His history is contained in 2 K. xxii.–xxiii. 30; 2 Chr. xxxiv., xxxv.; and the first twelve chapters of Jeremiah throw much light upon the general character of the Jews in his days.

He began in the eighth year of his reign to seek the Lord; and in his twelfth year, and for six years afterwards, in a personal progress throughout all the land of Judah and Israel, he destroyed everywhere high places, groves, images, and all outward signs and relics of idolatry. Those which Solomon and Ahaz had built, and even Hezekiah had spared, and those which Manasseh had set up more recently, now ceased to pollute the land of Judah; and in Israel the purification began with Jeroboam's chapel at Bethel, in accordance with the remarkable prediction of the disobedient prophet, by whom Josiah was called by name three centuries before his birth (1 K. xiii. 2). The Temple was restored under a special commission; and in the course of the repairs Hilkiah the priest [HILKIAH] found that book of the Law of the Lord which quickened so remarkably the ardent zeal of the king. The question as to the contents of that book has been discussed elsewhere; in forming an opinion on it we should bear in mind that it is very difficult for us in this age and country to estimate the scantiness of the opportunities which were then open to laymen of acquiring literary knowledge connected with religion. The special commission sent forth by Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xvii. 7) is a proof that even under such kings as Asa and his son, the Levites were insufficient for the religious instruction of the people. What then must have been the amount of information accessible to a generation which had grown up in the reigns of Manasseh and Amon? We do not know that the Law was read as a stated part of any ordinary public service in the Temple of Solomon (unless the injunction, Deut. xxxi. 10, was obeyed once in seven years), though God was worshipped there with daily sacrifice, psalmody, and prayer. The son of Amon began only when he was sixteen years old to seek the God of David, and for ten years he devoted all his active energies to destroying the gross external memorials of idolatry throughout his dominions, and to strengthening and multiplying the visible signs of true religion. It is not surprising that in the 26th year of his age he should find the most awful words in which God denounces sin come home to his heart on a particular occasion with a new and strange power, and that he should send to a prophetess to inquire in what degree of closeness those words were to be

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applied to himself and his generation. That he had never read the words is probable. But his conduct is no sufficient proof that he had never heard them before, or that he was not aware of the existence of a "Book of the law of the Lord."

The great day of Josiah's life was that on which he and his people, in the eighteenth year of his reign, entered into a special covenant to keep the law of the Lord, and celebrated the feast of the Passover at Jerusalem with more munificent offerings, better arranged services, and a larger concourse of worshippers than had been seen on any previous occasion.

After this, his endeavors to abolish every trace of idolatry and superstition were still carried on. But the time drew near which had been indicated by Huldah (2 K. xxii. 20). When Pharaoh-Necho went from Egypt to Carchemish to carry on his war against Assyria (comp. Herodotus, ii. 159), Josiah, possibly in a spirit of loyalty to the Assyrian king, to whom he may have been bound,[a] opposed his march along the sea-coast. Necho reluctantly paused and gave him battle in the Valley of Esdraelon; and the last good king of Judah was carried wounded from Hadadrimmon, to die before he could arrive at Jerusalem.

He was buried with extraordinary honors; and a funeral dirge, in part composed by Jeremiah, which the affection of his subjects sought to perpetuate as an annual solemnity, was chanted probably at Hadadrimmon. Compare the narrative in 2 Chr. xxxv. 25 with the allusions in Jer. xxii. 10, 18, and Zech. xii. 11, and with Jackson, *On the Creed*, bk. viii. ch. 23, p. 878. The prediction of Huldah, that he should "be gathered into the grave in peace," must be interpreted in accordance with the explanation of that phrase given in Jer. xxxiv. 5. Some excellent remarks on it may be found in Jackson, *On the Creed*, bk. xi. ch. 36, p. 664. Josiah's reformation and his death are commented on by Bishop Hall, *Contemplations on the O. T.* bk. xx.

It was in the reign of Josiah that a nomadic horde of Scythians overran Asia (Herodotus, i. 104–106). A detachment of them went towards Egypt by the way of Philistia: somewhere southward of Ascalon they were met by messengers from Psammetichus and induced to turn back. They are not mentioned in the historical accounts of Josiah's reign. But Ewald (*Die Psalmen*, 165) conjectures that the 59th Psalm was composed by king Josiah during a siege of Jerusalem by these Scythians. The town Beth-ahan is said to derive its Greek name, Scythopolis (Reland, *Pal.* 992; Lightfoot, *Chor. Marc.* vii. § 2), from these invaders. The facility with which Josiah appears to have extended his authority in the land of Israel is adduced as an indication that the Assyrian conquerors of that land were themselves at this time under the restraining fear of some enemy. The prophecy of Zephaniah is considered to have been written amid the terror caused by their approach. The same people are described at a later period by Ezekiel (xxviii.). See Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* iii. 689. Abarbanel (ap. Eisenmenger, *Ent. Jud.* i. 858) records an oral tradition of the Jews to the effect that the Ark of the Covenant, which Solomon deposited in the Temple (1 K. vi. 19), was removed and hidden by Josiah, in expectation of the destruction of the Temple; and that it will not be brought again to light until the coming of Messiah. W. T. B.

2. The son of Zephaniah, at whose house the prophet Zechariah was commanded to assemble the chief men of the Captivity, to witness the solemn and symbolical crowning of Joshua the high-priest (Zech. vi. 9). It has been conjectured that Josiah was either a goldsmith, or treasurer of the Temple, or one of the keepers of the Temple, who received the money offered by the worshippers, but nothing is known of him. Possibly he was a descendant of Zephaniah, the priest mentioned in Jer. xxi. 1, xxxvii. 3, and if Hen in Zech. vi. 14 be a proper name, which is doubtful, it probably refers to the same person, elsewhere called Josiah. W. A. W.

JOSI'AS. 1. ('Ιωσίας; [Vat. Ιωσειας; so Sin. in Ecclus. and Matt., and Lachm. Tisch. Treg. in Matt.:] *Josias.*) Josiah, king of Judah (1 Esdr. i. 1, 7, 18, 21-23, 25, 28, 29, 32-34; Ecclus xlix. 1, 4; Bar. i. 8; Matt. i. 10, 11).

2. ('Ιεσίας; [Vat. with preceding word Αμεσσιας;] Alex. Ιεσσιας: *Maasias.*) Jeshaiah the son of Athaliah (1 Esdr. viii. 33; comp. Ezr. viii. 7).

JOSIBI'AH (יוֹשִׁבְיָה, *i. e.* Joshibiah [*Jehovah makes to dwell*]: 'Ασαβία; [Vat.] Alex. Ισαβια: *Josabias*), the father of Jehu, a Simeonite, descended from that branch of the tribe of which Shimei was the founder, and which afterwards became most numerous (1 Chr. iv. 35).

JOSIPHI'AH (יוֹסִפְיָה [*whom Jehovah adds* = Joseph]: 'Ιωσεφία [Vat. -φεια]: *Josphias*), the father or ancestor of Shelomith, who returned with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 10). A word is evidently omitted in the first part of the verse, and is supplied both by the LXX. and the Syr., as well as by the compiler of 1 Esdr. viii. 36. The LXX. supply Βαανί, *i. e.* בָּנִי, which, from its resemblance to the preceding word בְּנֵי, might easily have been omitted by a transcriber. The verse would then read, "of the sons of Bani, Shelomith the son of Josiphiah." In the Syriac Shelomith is repeated, but this is not likely to have been correct. Josiphiah is called in Esdras JOSAPHIAS.

* **JOTAPA'TA** ('Ιωτάπατα), a famous fortress in Galilee, which figured largely in the early post-Biblical Jewish history. Josephus, who commanded the forces in it, and was captured there, has given a full description of the place, which he had fortified, and of the siege by Vespasian, in which 40,000 persons perished before it was reduced. (*B. J.* iii. 7 ff.) The site, which had been searched for by modern travelers, was discovered by Schultz in 1847, and identified with the modern *Jefât* — an

[a] Such is at least the conjecture of Prideaux (*Connexion*, anno 610), and of Milman (*History of the Jews*, .313). But the Bible ascribes no such chivalrous motive to Josiah: and it does not occur to Josephus, who attributes (*Ant.* x. 5, § 1) Josiah's resistance merely to Fate urging him to destruction; nor to the author of 1 Esdr. i. 28, who describes him as acting wilfully against Jeremiah's advice; nor to Ewald, who (*Gesch. Isr.* iii. 707) conjectures that it may have been the constant aim of Josiah to restore not only the ritual, but also the kingdom of David in its full extent and independence, and that he attacked Necho as an invader of what he considered as his northern dominions. This conjecture, if equally probable with the former, is equally without adequate support in the Bible, and is somewhat derogatory to the character of Josiah.

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uninhabited *Tell*, about fifteen miles southeast from Akka. The spot was visited and described by Dr. Robinson in 1853 (*Later Bibl. Res.* p. 105 ff.), who also identifies it with the *Jiphthah-el* of Joshua. [JIPHTHAH-EL.] S. W.

JOTBAH (יָטְבָה [*goodness*]: Ἰερέβα; [Vat. Ἰεσεβαλ;] Alex. Ἰεραχαλ; Jos. Ἰαβδτη: *Jeteba*), the native place of Meshullemeth, the queen of Manasseh, and mother of Amon king of Judah (2 K. xxi. 19). The place is not elsewhere named as a town of Palestine, and is generally identified with Jotbath, or Jotbathah, mentioned below. This there is nothing either to prove or disprove. [G.]

JOTBATH or JOTBATHAH (יָטְבָתָה [*goodness, pleasantness*]: Ἐτεβαθᾶ; [Vat. in Deut. Ταβαθα, in Num. Vat.[1] Ἐτεβαθα;] Alex. Ἰετεβαθαν, [or -θα: *Jetebatha*], Deut. x. 7; Num. xxxiii. 33), a desert station of the Israelites: it is described as "a land of torrents of waters;" there are several confluences of wadies on the W. of the Arabah, any one of which might in the rainy season answer the description, and would agree with the general locality. H. H.

JOTHAM (יוֹתָם [*Jehovah is upright*]: Ἰωαθαμ; [Vat. Ἰωαθαν; Alex. in ver. 5, Ιαθαμ, ver. 21, Ἰωθαμ:] *Joatham*). 1. The youngest son of Gideon (Judg. ix. 5, [7, 21, 57]), who escaped when his brethren, to the number of 69 persons, were slain at Ophrah by their half-brother Abimelech. When this bloody act of Abimelech had secured his election as king, Jotham, ascending Mount Gerizim, boldly uttered, in the hearing of the men of Shechem, his well-known warning parable of the reign of the bramble. Nothing is known of him afterwards, except that he dwelt at BEER.

2. [Ἰωαθαμ, Ἰωαθαν; Vat. 2 K. xv. 5, 7, 32, Ιωναθαν, and so Alex. 2 K. xv. 30, 1 Chr. iii. 12, 2 Chr. xxvi. 23; Alex. 1 Chr. v. 17, Ἰωθαν: *Joathan, Joatham.*] The son of king Uzziah or Azariah and Jerushah. After administering the kingdom for some years during his father's leprosy, he succeeded to the throne B. C. 758, when he was 25 years old, and reigned 16 years in Jerusalem. He was contemporary with Pekah and with the prophet Isaiah. His history is contained in 2 K. xv. and 2 Chr. xxvii. He did right in the sight of the Lord, and his reign was prosperous, although the high-places were not removed. He built the high gate of the Temple, made some additions to the wall of Jerusalem, and raised fortifications in various parts of Judah. After a war with the Ammonites he compelled them to pay him the tribute they had been accustomed to pay his father. Towards the end of his reign Rezin king of Damascus, and Pekah, began to assume a threatening attitude towards Judah. W. T. B.

3. A descendant of Judah, son of Jahdai (1 Chr. ii. 47).

* **JOURNEY, DAY'S.** [DAY'S JOURNEY, Amer. ed.]

* **JOURNEY, SABBATH-DAY'S.** [SABBATH.]

JOZ'ABAD. 1. (יוֹזָבָד [*gift of Jehovah*]: Ἰωζαβδ; [Vat. FA. Τωζαβαδ;] Alex. Ἰωζαβαδ: *Jozabad.*) A captain of the thousands of Manasseh, who deserted to David before the battle of Gilboa, and assisted him in his pursuit of the marauding band of Amalekites (1 Chr. xii. 20). One

[1] Kennicott's MSS. reads יוחבר, *i. e.* Jochabar.

2. (Ἰωσαβαλθ; [FA. Ιωσαβεθ;] Alex. Ἰωζαβεδ.) A hero of Manasseh, like the preceding (1 Chr. xii. 20).

3. (Ἰωζαβδδ; [Vat. Ἐζαβαδ;] Alex. Ἰωζαβαδ, in 2 Chr. xxxi. 13.) A Levite in the reign of Hezekiah, who was one of the overseers of offerings and dedicated things in the Temple, under Cononiah and Shimei, after the restoration of the true worship.

4. (*Jozabad.*) One of the princes of the Levites, who held the same office as the preceding, and took part in the great Passover kept at Jerusalem in the reign of Josiah (2 Chr. xxxv. 9).

5. [*Jozabed.*] A Levite, son of Jeshua, who assisted Meremoth and Eleazar in registering the number and weight of the vessels of gold and silver belonging to the Temple, which they brought with them from Babylon (Ezr. viii. 33). He is called JOSABAD in the parallel narrative of 1 Esdr. viii. 63, and is probably identical with 7.

6. (Ἰωζαβδδ in Ezra; Ὠκιδηλος in 1 Esdr. ix. 22: *Jozabed.*) A priest of the sons of Pashur, who had married a foreigner on the return from the Captivity (Ezr. x. 22). He appears as OCIDELUS in the A. V. of 1 Esdr.

7. (Ἰωζαβδος [Vat. Ἰωζαβδος] in 1 Esdr. ix 23: *Josabed*, Ezr. x. 22; *Jorabdus*, 1 Esdr. ix. 23.) A Levite among those who returned with Ezra and had married foreign wives. He is probably identical with Jozabad the Levite, who assisted when the law was read by Ezra (Neh. viii. 7); and with Jozabad, one of the heads of the Levites who presided over the outer work of the Temple (Neh. xi. 16). W. A. W.

JOZ'ACHAR (יוֹזָכָר [*whom Jehovah remembers*]: Ἰεζιρχάρ; [Vat. Ἰεζειχαρ;] Alex. Ἰωζαχαρ: *Josachar*), the son of Shimeath the Ammonitess, and one of the murderers of Josah king of Judah (2 K. xii. 21). The writer of the Chronicles (2 Chr. xxiv. 26) calls him ZABAD, which is nothing more than a clerical error for Jozachar: the first syllable being omitted in consequence of the final letters of the preceding word עליו. In 18 MSS. of Kennicott's collation the name in the Kings is יוזבד, *i. e.* Jozabad, and the same is the reading of 32 MSS. collated by De Rossi. Another MS. in De Rossi's possession had יוזכד, *i. e.* Jozachad, and one collated by Kennicott יוזבר, or Jozabar, which is the reading of the Peshito-Syriac. Burrington concludes that the original form of the word was יוזבד, or Jozabad; but for this there does not seem sufficient reason, as the name would then be all but identical with that of the Moabite Jehozabad, who was the accomplice of Jozachar in the murder. It is uncertain whether their conspiracy was prompted by a personal feeling of revenge for the death of Zechariah, as Josephus intimates (*Ant.* ix. 8, § 4), or whether they were urged to it by the family of Jehoiada. The care of the chronicler to show that they were of foreign descent seems almost intended to disarm a suspicion that the king's assassination was an act of priestly vengeance. But it is more likely that the conspiracy had a different origin altogether, and that the king's murder was regarded by the chronicler as an instance of Divine retribution. On the accession of Amaziah the conspirators were execu'ed. W. A. W.

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JOZ'ADAK (יוֹצָדָק [*Jehovah righteous*]: Ἰωσεδέκ; [Vat. in Neh., Ἐωσεδεκ:] *Josedec*), Ezr. iii. 2, 8, v. 2, x. 18; Neh. xii. 26. The name is a contraction of JEHOZADAK.

JU'BAL (יוּבָל [*sound, blast of trumpets*]: Ἰουβάλ: *Jubal*), a son of Lamech by Adah, and the inventor of the "harp and organ" (Gen. iv. 21; *kinnôr veúgab*, probably general terms for stringed and wind instruments). His name appears to be connected with this subject, springing from the same root as *yobel*, "jubilee." That the inventor of musical instruments should be the brother of him who introduced the nomad life, is strictly in accordance with the experience of the world. The connection between music and the pastoral life is indicated in the traditions of the Greeks, which ascribed the invention of the pipe to Pan and of the lyre to Apollo, each of them being also devoted to pastoral pursuits. W. L. B.

JUBILEE, THE YEAR OF (שְׁנַת הַיּוֹבֵל, and simply יוֹבֵל: ἔτος τῆς ἀφέσεως, ἀφέσεως σημασία, and ἄφεσις: *annus jubilæi*, and *jubilæus*), the fiftieth year after the succession of seven sabbatical years, in which all the land which had been alienated returned to the families of those to whom it had been allotted in the original distribution, and all bondmen of Hebrew blood were liberated. The relation in which it stood to the sabbatical year and the general directions for its observance are given Lev. xxv. 8–16 and 23–55.[a] Its bearing on lands dedicated to Jehovah is stated Lev. xxvii. 16–25. There is no mention of the Jubilee in the book of Deuteronomy, and the only other reference to it in the Pentateuch is in the appeal of the tribe of Manasseh, on account of the daughters of Zelophehad (Num. xxxvi. 4: see below, § VI. note *d*).

II. The year was inaugurated on the Day of Atonement[b] with the blowing of trumpets[c] throughout the land, and by a proclamation of universal liberty.

1. The soil was kept under the same condition of rest as had existed during the preceding sabbatical year. There was to be neither ploughing, sowing, nor reaping; but the chance produce was to be left for the use of all comers. [SABBATICAL YEAR.]

2. Every Israelite returned to "his possession and to his family;" that is, he recovered his right in the land originally allotted to the family of which he was a member, if he, or his ancestor, had parted with it.

(*a.*) A strict rule to prevent fraud and injustice in such transactions is laid down: if a Hebrew, urged by poverty,[d] had to dispose of a field, the price was determined according to the time of the sale in reference to the approach of the next Jubilee The transfer was thus, not of the land itself, but of the usufruct for a limited time. Deduction was

[a] Ewald observes that vv. 17–22 in this chapter should be read immediately after ver. 7, since they carry on the account of the sabbatical year, and have no reference to the year of Jubilee.

[b] It does not seem likely that the rites of solemn humiliation which marked the great fast of the year were disturbed. The joyful sound probably burst forth in the afternoon, when the high-priest had brought the services of Atonement to a conclusion. The contrast between the quiet of the day and the loud blast of the trumpets at its close, must have rendered deeply impressive the hallowing of the year of release from poverty and bondage. But Hupfeld is so offended with the incongruity of this arrangement, that he would fain repair what he thinks must be a defect in the Hebrew text, in order that he may put back the commencement of the year of Jubilee from the Day of Atonement, on the 10th, to the Feast of Trumpets, on the 1st of Tisri. "Hic (*i. e.* in ver. 9) vetus mendum latere suspicor, forte in diei numero, עֲשׂוֹר, primitus positum (pro תְּרוּעָה) cui deinde glossa accessit 'die expiationis'" (*Comment. de vera fest. rat.* pt. iii. p 20). In the same vein of criticism, considering that the rest of the soil is alien to the idea of the Jubilee, he would expunge ver. 11 as an interpolation. He is disposed to deal still more freely with that part of the chapter which relates to the sabbatical year.

[c] The trumpets used in the proclamation of the Jubilee appear to have been curved horns, not the long, straight trumpets represented on the arch of Titus, and which, according to Hengstenberg (*Egypt and the Books of Moses*, p. 131, Eng. trans.), are the only ones represented in Egyptian sculptures and paintings. The straight trumpet was called חֲצֹצְרָה, the other, שׁוֹפָר and קֶרֶן. The Jubilee horns used in the siege of Jericho are called שׁוֹפְרוֹת הַיּוֹבְלִים (Josh. vi. 4); and, collectively, in the following verse, קֶרֶן הַיּוֹבֵל. (See Keil on Josh. vi. 4.) It is not quite certain whether they were the horns of oxen or formed of metal (Kranold, p. 50), but the latter seems by far more probable. Connected with the mistake as to the origin of the word יוֹבֵל (which will be noticed below), was the notion that they were rams' horns. R. Jehuda, in the Mishna, says that the horns of rams (זכרים) were used at the Feast of Trumpets, and those of wild goats (יעלים) at the Jubilee. But Maimonides and Bartenora say that rams' horns were used on both occasions (*Rosh Hashana*, p. 342, edit. Surenh.). Bochart and others have justly objected that the horns of rams, or those of wild goats, would form but sorry trumpets. [CORNET.]

It is probable that on this, as on other occasions of public proclamation, the trumpets were blown by the priests, in accordance with Num. x. 8. (See Kranold, *Comment. de Jubilæo*, p. 50; with whom agree Ewald, Bähr, and most modern writers.) Bähr supposes that, at the proclamation of the Jubilee, the trumpets were blown in all the priests' cities and wherever a priest might be living; while, on the Feast of Trumpets, they were blown only in the Temple. Maimonides says that every Hebrew at the Jubilee blew nine blasts, so as to make the trumpet literally "sound throughout the land" (Lev. xxv. 9). Such a usage may have existed, as a mere popular expression of rejoicing, but it could have been no essential part of the ceremony.

[d] It would seem that the Israelites never parted with their land except from the pressure of poverty. The objection of Naboth to accept the offer of Ahab (1 K. xxi. 1), appears to exemplify the sturdy feeling of a substantial Hebrew, who would have felt it to be a shame and a sin to give up any part of his patrimony — "The Lord forbid it me that I should give the inheritance of my fathers to thee." If Michaelis had felt as most Englishmen do in such matters, he would have had more respect for the conduct of Naboth. (See *Comment. on the Mosaic Law*, art. 78.) But the conduct of Naboth has been questioned on different ground in a dissertation by S. Andreas, in the *Critici Sacri*, vol. xiii. p. 608.

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systematically made on account of the number of sabbatical years, which would deprive the purchaser of certain crops within that period.[a]

(*b.*) The possession of the field could, at any time, be recovered by the original proprietor, if his circumstances improved, or by his next of kin[b] (גֹּאֵל, i. e. *one who redeems*). The price to be paid for its redemption was to be fixed according to the same equitable rule as the price at which it had been purchased (ver. 16).

(*c.*) Houses in walled cities[c] were not subject to the law of Jubilee, but a man who sold his house could redeem it at any time within a full year of the time of its sale. After that year, it became the absolute property of the purchaser.

(*d.*) Houses and buildings in villages, or in the country, being regarded as essentially connected with the cultivation of the land, were not excepted, but returned in the Jubilee with the land on which they stood.

(*e.*) The Levitical cities were not, in respect to this law, reckoned with walled towns. If a Levite sold the use of his house, it reverted to him in the Jubilee, and he might redeem it at any previous time. The lands in the suburbs of the Levites' cities could not be parted with under any condition, and were not therefore affected by the law of Jubilee (ver. 34).

(*f.*) If a man had sanctified a field of his patrimony unto the Lord, it could be redeemed at any time before the next year of Jubilee, on his paying one fifth in addition to the worth of the crops, rated at a stated valuation (Lev. xxvii. 19). If not so redeemed, it became, at the Jubilee, devoted for ever. If the man had previously sold the usufruct of the field to another, he lost all right to redeem it (vv. 20, 21).

(*g.*) If he who had purchased the usufruct of a field sanctified it, he could redeem it till the next Jubilee, that is, as long as his claim lasted; but it then, as justice required, returned to the original proprietor (ver. 22–24).

3. All Israelites who had become bondmen, either to their countrymen, or to resident foreigners, were set free in the Jubilee (Lev. xxv. 40, 41), when it happened to occur before their seventh year of servitude, in which they became free by the operation of another law (Ex. xxi. 2). Those who were bound to resident foreigners might redeem themselves, if they obtained the means, at any time; or they might be redeemed by a relation. Even the bondman who had submitted to the ceremony of having his ears bored (Ex. xxi. 6) had his freedom at the Jubilee.[d]

Such was the law of the year of Jubilee, as it is given in the Pentateuch. It was, of course, like the law of the sabbatical year, and that of those rites of the great festivals which pertain to agriculture, delivered proleptically. The same formula is used — "When ye be come into the land which I give unto you" — both in Lev. xxv. 2, and Lev xxiii. 10.

III. Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 12, § 3) states that all debts were remitted in the year of Jubilee, while the Scripture speaks of the remission of debts only in connection with the sabbatical year (Deut. xv. 1, 2). [SABBATICAL YEAR.] He also describes the terms on which the holder of a piece of land resigned it in the Jubilee to the original proprietor. The former (he says) produced a statement of the value of the crops, and of the money which he had laid out in tillage. If the expenses proved to be more than the worth of the produce, the balance was paid by the proprietor before the field was restored. But if the balance was on the other side, the proprietor simply took back the field, and allowed him who had held it to retain the profit.

Philo (*De Septenario*, cc. 13, 14, vol. v. p. 37, edit. Tauch.) gives an account of the Jubilee agreeing with that in Leviticus, and says nothing of the remission of debts.[e]

IV. There are several very difficult questions connected with the Jubilee, of which we now proceed to give a brief view: —

1. *Origin of the word Jubilee.* — The doubt on this point appears to be a very old one. The Hebrew word is treated by the LXX. in different modes. They have retained it untranslated in Josh. vi. 8, 13 (where we find κεραίναι τοῦ Ἰωβήλ, and σάλπιγξ τοῦ Ἰωβήλ). In Lev. xxv. they generally render it by ἄφεσις, or ἀφέσεως σημάσια; but where the context suits it, by φάνη σάλπιγγος. In Ex. xix. 13 they have αἱ φωναὶ καὶ αἱ σάλπιγγες. The Vulgate retains the original word in Lev. xxv., as well as in Josh. vi. ("buccinæ quarum usus est in Jubilæo"), and [renders it] by *buccina* in Ex. xix. 13. It seems, therefore, beyond doubt that uncertainty respecting the word must have been felt when the most ancient versions of the O. T. were made.

Nearly all of the many conjectures which have been hazarded on the subject are directed to explain the word exclusively in its bearing on the year of Jubilee. This course has been taken by Josephus — ἐλευθερίαν δὲ σημαίνει τοὔνομα; and by St. Jerome — *Jobel est demittens aut mittens.* Many modern writers have exercised their ingenuity in the same track. Now in all such attempts at explanation there must be an anachronism, as the word is used in Ex. xix. 13, before the institution of the Law, where it can have nothing to do with the year of Jubilee, or its observances. The expression there used is בְּמָשֹׁךְ הַיּוֹבֵל; similar to that in Josh. vi. 5, בִּמְשֹׁךְ בְּקֶרֶן הַיּוֹבֵל. The question seems to be, can יוֹבֵל here mean

[a] This must be the meaning of the price being calculated on "the years of fruits," שְׁנֵי־תְבוּאֹת (Lev. xxv. 15, 16), the years of tillage, exclusive of the years of rest.

[b] Kranold observes (p. 54) that there is no record of the *goel* ever exercising his right till after the death of him who had sold the field. But the inference that the *goel* could not previously exercise his power seems to be hardly warranted, and is opposed to what is perhaps the simplest interpretation of Ruth iv. 3, 4. See note *b*, § V.

[c] A Jewish tradition, preserved by Maimonides and others, states that no cities were thus reckoned, as regards the Jubilee, but such as were walled in the time of Joshua. According to this, Jerusalem was excluded.

[d] Maimonides says that the interval between the Feast of Trumpets and the Day of Atonement, in the year of Jubilee, was a time of riotous rejoicing to all servants. If there is any truth in the tradition that he records (which is in itself probable enough), the eight days must have been a sort of Saturnalia.

[e] The Mishna contains nothing on the Jubilee but unimportant scattered notices, though it has a considerable treatise on the sabbatical year (*Schbiith*).

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the peculiar sound, or the instrument for producing the sound? Ewald favors the latter notion, and so does Gesenius (*Thes.* sub מְיָזֵּד), following the old versions (with which our own agrees), though under יָבַל he explains יוֹבֵל as *clangor*. De Wette inclines the same way, rendering the words in Ex. xix. 13 — "beim Blasen des Jobelhorns." Luther translates the same words — "wenn es wird aber lange tönen" (though he is not consistent with himself in rendering Josh. vi. 5);—Bähr renders them, "cum trahetur sonus," and most recent critics agree with him. It would follow from this view that what is meant in Joshua, when the trumpet is expressly mentioned, is, "When the sound called *Jubilee* (whatever that may be) is prolonged on the horn." [a]

As regards the derivation of the word, it is now very generally ascribed to the root יָבַל, "undavit, copiose et cum quodam impetu fluxit." Hence Kranold explains יוֹבֵל, "id quod magno strepitu fluit"; and he adds, "duplex igitur in ea radice vis distinguitur, fluendi et sonandi altera in מַבּוּל (diluvium), Gen. vi. 17, altera in יוּבָל (artis musicæ inventor), Gen. iv. 21, conspicua." The meaning of *Jubilee* would thus seem to be, *a rushing, penetrating sound*. [b] But in the uncertainty, which, it must be allowed, exists, our translators have taken a safer course by retaining the original word in Lev. xxv. and xxvii., than that which was taken by Luther, who has rendered it by *Halljahr*.

2. *Was the Jubilee every 49th or 50th year?* — If the plain words of Lev. xxv. 10 are to be followed, this question need not be asked. The statement that the Jubilee was the 50th year, after the succession of seven weeks of years, and that it was distinguished from, not identical with, the seventh sabbatical year, is as evident as language can make it. But the difficulty of justifying the wisdom of allowing the land to have two years of rest in succession has been felt by some, and deemed sufficient to prove that the Jubilee could only have been the 49th year, that is, one with the seventh Sabbatical year. But in such a case, a mere *à priori* argument cannot justly be deemed sufficient to overthrow a clear unequivocal statement, involving no inconsistency, or physical impossibility. [c]

Hug has suggested that the sabbatical year might have begun in Nisan and the Jubilee Year in Tisri (Winer, *sub voce*). In this way the labors of the husbandmen would only have been intermitted for a year and a half. But it is surely a very harsh supposition to imagine that Moses would have spoken of the institution of the two years, and of the relation in which they stand to each other, without noticing such a distinction, had it existed. It is most probable that the sabbatical year and the year of Jubilee both began in Tisri, as is stated in the Mishna (*Rosh Hashana*, p. 300, edit. Suren.). [SABBATICAL YEAR.]

The simplest view, and the only one which accords with the sacred text, is, that the year which followed the seventh sabbatical year was the Jubilee, which was intercalated between two series of sabbatical years, so that the next year was the first of a new half century, and the seventh year after that was the first sabbatical year of the other series. Thus the Jubilee was strictly a Pentecost year, holding the same relation to the preceding seven sabbatical years, as the day of Pentecost did to the seven Sabbath days. Substantially the same formula, in reference to this point, is used in each case [d] (cf. Lev. xxiii. 15, 16, xxv. 8–10).

3. *Were Debts remitted in the Jubilee?* — Not a word is said of this in the O. T., or in Philo. The affirmative rests entirely on the authority of Josephus. Maimonides says expressly that the remission of debts [e] was a point of distinction between the sabbatical year and the Jubilee. The Mishna is to the same effect (*Shebiith*, cap. x. p. 194, edit. Suren.) [f] It seems that Josephus must either have

[a] The grounds on which the opposite view rests are stated elsewhere. [See CORNET.]

[b] Carpzov (App. p. 449) appears to have been the first who put forth this view of the origin and meaning of the word. The figure of the pouring along of the "rich stream of music" is familiar enough in most languages to recommend it as probable. But Gesenius prefers to make a second root, יָבַל, *jubilare*, which he ascribes to onomatopœa, like the Latin *jubilare*, and the Greek ἀλολύζειν.

The fanciful notion that יוֹבֵל signifies a ram has some interest, from its being held by the Jews so generally and by the Chaldee Paraphrast; and from its having influenced our translators in Josh. vi. to call the horns on which the Jubilee was sounded, *trumpets of rams' horns*. It appears to come from the strange nonsense which some of the Rabbis in early times began to talk respecting the ram which was sacrificed in the place of Isaac. They said (R. Bechai in Ex. xix. ap. Kranold) that after the ram was burnt, God miraculously restored the body. His muscles were deposited in the golden altar; from his viscera were made the strings of David's harp; his skin became the mantle of Elijah; his left horn was the trumpet of Sinai; and his right horn was to sound when Messiah comes (Is. xxvii. 13). R Akiba, to connect this with the Jubilee, affirms that יוֹבֵל is the Arabic for a ram, though the best Arabic scholars say there is no such word in the language.

The other notions respecting the word may be found in Fuller (*Misc. Sac.* p. 1026 *f.*; *Critici Sacri*, vol. ix.), in Carpzov (p. 448 *f.*), and, most completely given, in Kranold (p. 11 *f.*).

[c] The only distinguished Jewish teacher who advocated the claims of the 49th year was R. Jehuda. He was followed by the Gaonim, certain doctors who took up the exposition of the Talmud after the work was completed, from the seventh to the eleventh century (Winer, *sub voce*). The principal Christian writers on the same side are, Scaliger, Petavius, Usher, Cunæus, and Schrueder.

[d] Ewald (*Alterthümer*, p. 419) and others, have referred the words of Is. xxxvii. 30 to the Jubilee year succeeding the sabbath year. But Gesenius adopts another view of the passage, which accords better with the context. He regards it as merely referring to the continuance of the desolation occasioned by the war for two years.

The language of Josephus and of Philo, and of every eminent Jewish and Christian writer, except those that have been mentioned, are in favor of the fiftieth year. Ideler has taken up the matter very satisfactorily (*Handb. der Chron.* i. p. 505).

[e] Whether this was an absolute remission of debts, or merely a *justitium* for the year, will be considered under SABBATICAL YEAR.

[f] Ginsburg, in his art. on the year of Jubilee in Kitto's *Cycl. of Bibl. Lit.*, 3d ed., says that this reference to the Mishna is erroneous, the passage in question not speaking of the Jubilee at all. A.

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wholly made a mistake, or that he has drawn too wide an inference from the general character of the year. Of course to those who were in bondage for their debts, the freedom conferred by the Jubilee must have amounted to a remission; as did, not less, their freedom at the end of their seven years of servitude.

The first Jubilee year must have fallen in due course after the first seven sabbatical years. For the commencement of the series on which the succession of sabbatical years was reckoned, see CHRONOLOGY, vol. i. p. 437, and SABBATICAL YEAR.

V. Maimonides, and the Jewish writers in general, consider that the Jubilee was observed till the destruction of the first Temple. But there is no direct historical notice of its observance on any one occasion, either in the books of the O. T., or in any other records. The only passages in the Prophets which can be regarded with much confidence, as referring to the Jubilee in any way, are Is. v. 7, 8, 9, 10; Is. lxi. 1, 2; Ez. vii. 12, 13; Ez. xlvi. 16, 17, 18. Regarding Is. xxxvii. 30, see note *d*, p. 1485. Some have doubted whether the law of Jubilee ever came into actual operation (Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, art. lxxvi., and Winer, *sub voce*), others have confidently denied it (Kranold, p. 80; Hupfeld, pt. iii. p. 20). But Ewald contends that the institution is eminently practical in the character of its details, and that the accidental circumstances of no particular instance of its observance having been recorded in the Jewish history proves nothing. Besides the passages to which reference has been made, he applies several others to the Jubilee. He conceives that "the year of visitation" mentioned in Jer. xi. 23, xxiii. 12, xlviii. 44, denotes the punishment of those who, in the Jubilee, withheld by tyranny or fraud the possessions or the liberty of the poor.[a] From Jer. xxxii. 6–12 he infers that the Law was restored to operation in the reign of Josiah[b] (*Alterthümer*, p. 424, note 1).

VI. The Jubilee is to be regarded as the outer circle of that great sabbatical system which comprises within it the sabbatical year, the sabbatical month, and the Sabbath day. [FEASTS.] The rest and restoration of each member of the state, in his spiritual relation, belongs to the weekly Sabbath and the sabbatical month, while the land had its rest and relief in the sabbatical year. But the Jubilee is more immediately connected with the body politic; and it was only as a member of the state that each person concerned could participate in its provisions. It has less of a formally religious aspect than either of the other sabbatical institutions, and its details were of a more immediately practical character. It was not distinguished by any prescribed religious observance peculiar to itself, like the rites of the Sabbath day and of the sabbatical month; nor even by anything like the reading of the Law in the sabbatical year. But in the Hebrew state, polity and religion were never separated, nor was their essential connection ever dropped out of sight. Hence the year was hallowed, in the strict sense of the word, by the solemn blast of the Jubilee trumpets, on the same day on which the sins of the people had been acknowledged in the general fast, and in which they had been symbolically expiated by the entrance of the high-priest into the holy of holies with the blood of the appointed victims. Hence also the deeper ground of the provisions of the institution is stated with marked emphasis in the Law itself. — The land was to be restored to the families to which it had been at first allotted by divine direction (Josh. xiv. 2), because it was the Lord's. "The land shall not be sold for ever: for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me" (Lev. xxv. 23). "I am the Lord your God which brought you forth out of the land of Egypt, to give you the land of Canaan, and to be your God" (ver. 38). — The Hebrew bondman was to have the privilege of claiming his liberty as a right, because he could never become the property of any one but Jehovah. "For they are my servants which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt; they shall not be sold as bondmen" (ver. 42). "For unto me the children of Israel are servants, whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt"[c] (ver. 55).

If regarded from an ordinary point of view, the Jubilee was calculated to meet and remedy those incidents which are inevitable in the course of human society; to prevent the accumulation of inordinate wealth in the hands of a few; and to relieve those whom misfortune or fault had reduced to poverty. As far as legislation could go, its provisions tended to restore that equality in outward circumstances which was instituted in the first settlement of the land by Joshua.[d] But if we look

[a] The words of Isaiah (v. 7–10) may, it would seem with more distinctness, be understood to the same effect, as denouncing woe against those who had unrighteously hindered the Jubilee from effecting its object.

[b] Is there not a difficulty in considering this passage to have any bearing on the Jubilee, from its relating, apparently, to a priest's field? (See § II. 2 (*c*).) At all events, the transaction was merely the transfer of land from one member of a family to another, with a recognition of a preference allowed to a near relation to purchase. The case mentioned in Ruth iv. 3 f. appears to go further in illustrating the Jubilee principle. — Naomi is about to sell a field of Elimelech's property. Boaz proposes to the next of kin to purchase it of her, in order to prevent it from going out of the family, and, on his refusal, takes it himself, as having the next right.

[c] The foundation of the law of Jubilee appears to be so essentially connected with the children of Israel, that it seems strange that Michaelis should have confidently affirmed its Egyptian origin, while yet he acknowledges that he can produce no specific evidence on the subject (*Mos. Law*, art. 78). The only well-proved instance of anything like it in other nations appears to be that of the Dalmatians, mentioned by Strabo, lib. vii. (p. 315, edit. Casaub.). He says that they redistributed their land every eight years. Ewald following the statement of Plutarch, refers to the institution of Lycurgus; but Mr. Grote has given another view of the matter (*Hist. of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 580).

[d] A collateral result of the working of the Jubilee must have been the preservation of the genealogical tables, and the maintenance of the distinction of the tribes. Ewald and Michaelis suppose that the tables were systematically corrected and filled up at each Jubilee. This seems reasonable enough, in order that the fresh names might be filled in, that irregularities arising from the dying out of families might be rectified, and that disputed claims might be, as far as possible, authoritatively met.

Its effect in maintaining the distinction of the tribes is illustrated in the appeal made by the tribe of Manasseh in regard to the daughters of Zelophehad (Num. xxxvi. 4). The sense of the passage is, however, ob

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upon it in its more special character, as a part of the divine law appointed for the chosen people, its practical bearing was to vindicate the right of each Israelite to his part in the covenant which Jehovah had made with his fathers respecting the land of promise. The loud notes of the Jubilee horns symbolized the voice of the Lord proclaiming the restoration of political order, as (according to Jewish tradition) the blast in the Feast of Trumpets had, ten days before, commemorated the creation of the world and the completion of the material kosmos.

In the incurable uncertainty respecting the fact of the observance of the Jubilee, it is important that we should keep in mind that the record of the Law, whether it was obeyed or not, was, and is, a constant witness for the truth of those great social principles on which the theocracy was established.[a] Moreover, from the allusions which are made to it by the prophets, it must have become a standing prophecy in the hearts of the devout Hebrews. They who waited in faith for the salvation of Israel were kept in mind of that spiritual Jubilee which was to come (Luke iv. 19), in which every one of the spiritual seed of Abraham was to have, in the sight of God, an equality which no accident could ever disturb; and a glorious freedom, in that liberty with which He that was to come was to make him free, and which no force or fraud could ever take from him.

There are several monographs on the Jubilee, of which Kranold has given a catalogue. There is a treatise by Maimonides, *de Anno Sabbatico et Jubilæo*. Of more recent works, the most important are that of J. G. C. Kranold himself, *Commentatio de anno Hebræorum Jubilæo*, Göttingen, 1837, 4to, and that of Carpzov, first published in 1730, but afterwards incorporated in the *Apparatus Historico-Criticus*, p. 447 ff.; Ewald (*Alterthümer*, p. 415, ff.) and Bähr (*Symbolik*, vol. ii. p. 572 ff.), but especially the latter, have treated the subject in a very instructive manner. Hupfeld (*Commentatio de Hebræorum Festis*, pt. iii. 1852) has lately dealt with it in a willful and reckless style of criticism. Of other writers, those who appear to have done most to illustrate the Jubilee, are Cunæus (*de Rep. Hebr.* c. ii. § iv., in the *Critici Sacri*, vol. ix. p. 378 ff.), and Michaelis (*Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*, vol. i. p. 376 ff., English translation). Vitringa notices the prophetical bearing of the Jubilee in lib. iv. c. 4 of the *Observationes Sacræ*. Lightfoot (*Harm. Evang. in Luc.* iv. 19) pursues the subject in a fanciful manner, and makes out that Christ suffered in a Jubilee year. For this he is well rebuked by Carpzov (*App. Hist. Crit.* p. 468). Schubert (*Symbolik des Traums*) has followed in nearly the same track, and has been answered by Bähr. S. C.

JU'CAL (יוּכָל [prob. *Jehovah is mighty*, Dietr.]: Ἰωδχαλ: *Juchal*), son of Shelemiah (Jer. xxxviii. 1). Elsewhere called JEHUCAL.

JU'DA (Ἰούδας, *i. e.* Judas; Ἰούδα being only the genitive case).

1. [*Juda.*] Son of Joseph in the genealogy of Christ (Luke iii. 30), in the ninth generation from David, about the time of King Josah.

2. [*Juda.*] Son of Joanna [Joannas] or Hananiah [HANANIAH, 3] (Luke iii. 26). He seems to be certainly the same person as Abiud in Matt. i. 13. His name, יְהוּדָה, is identical with that of אֲבִיהוּד, only that אב is prefixed; and when Rhesa is discarded from Luke's line, and allowance is made for St. Matthew's omission of generations in his genealogy, their times will agree perfectly Both may be the same as Hodaiah of 1 Chr. iii 24. See Hervey's *Genealogies*, p. 118 ff.

3. [*Judas.*] One of the Lord's brethren, enumerated in Mark vi. 3. [JOSES; JOSEPH.] On the question of his identity with Jude the brother of James, one of the twelve Apostles (Luke vi. 16; Acts i. 18), and with the author of the general Epistle, see art. JUDE. In Matt. xiii. 55 his name is given in the A. V. as JUDAS [and should be so given, Mark vi. 3].

4. [*Judas.*] The patriarch JUDAH (Sus. 56; Luke iii. 33; Heb. vii. 14; Rev. v. 5, vii. 5) [or in the last three passages, the name of the tribe.] A. C. H.

[a] This view is powerfully set forth by Bähr.

JUDA, A CITY OF (A. V.), for πόλις Ἰούδα in Luke i. 39, where Zacharias and Elizabeth lived, and where probably John the Baptist was born. But whether a town so named is meant, or the territory of Juda (= Ἰουδαία) is disputed. In the latter case the city is spoken of merely as one "in the hill country (ὀρεινὴ, Luke)" of Judæa, the name of which may have been unknown to Luke. Some suppose that the nameless city may have been Hebron, as that was both among the hills and belonged to the priests (Josh. xxvi. 11). So Lightfoot (*Hor. Hebr.* ii. 493, Rotterd. 1686), Sepp (*Leben Christi*, ii. 8), and Andrews (*Life of our Lord*, p. 65). The Franciscans have a Convent of St. John at *'Ain Kârim*, a little west of Jerusalem, where they place the house of Zacharias and the nativity of the Forerunner (Thomson's *Land and Book*, ii. 536 ff.). Others regard this Juda as the name of the town itself, and identical with the modern *Jûtta*, found in the neighborhood of Hebron. Dr. Robinson, after Reland (*Palæstina*, p. 870), adopts this view (*Bibl. Res.* ii. 206, and *Greek Harm.*, Notes, § 4). That this *Jûtta* and Juttah in Josh. xxi. 16, are the same, no one can doubt; but it does not follow from this that *Jûtta* and Juda are the same. Meyer (on Luke i. 39) calls it an arbitrary supposition. Bleek also objects (*Synopt. Erklärung*, i. 53) that if Luke had been acquainted with the name, he would naturally have introduced it in ver. 23. If Juda answers to Juttah (= *Yûtta*), it can be only as a very mutilated form; for otherwise Juda and Juttah (יְהוּדָה) have no etymological relation to each other. H.

JUDÆ'A or **JUDE'A** (Ἰουδαία), a territorial division which succeeded to the overthrow of the ancient landmarks of the tribes of Israel and

soured in most versions. It is, "And even when the Jubilee comes, their inheritance will be in another tribe." The rendering the particle אִם by *etiamsi* is satisfactorily vindicated by Kranold, p. 33.

As regards the reason of the exception of houses in towns from the law of Jubilee, Bähr has observed that as they were chiefly inhabited by artificers and tradesmen, whose wealth did not consist in lands, it was reasonable that they should retain them in absolute possession. It has been conjectured that many of these tradesmen were foreign proselytes, who could not hold property in the land which was subject to the law of Jubilee.

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Judah in their respective captivities. The word first occurs Dan. v. 13 (A. V. "Jewry"), and the first mention of the "province of Judæa" is in the book of Ezra (v. 8); it is alluded to in Neh. xi. 3 (Hebr. and A. V. "Judah"), and was the result of the division of the Persian empire mentioned by Herodotus (iii. 89–97), under Darius (comp. Esth. viii. 9; Dan. vi. 1). In the Apocryphal Books the word "province" is dropped, and throughout the books of Esdras, Tobit, Judith, and Maccabees, the expressions are the "land of Judæa," "Judæa" (A. V. frequently "Jewry"), and throughout the N. T. In the words of Josephus, "The Jews made preparations for the work (of rebuilding the walls under Nehemiah) — a name which they received forthwith on their return from Babylon, from the tribe of Judah, which being the first to arrive in those parts, gave name both to the inhabitants and the territory" (*Ant.* xi. 5, § 7). But other tribes also returned from Babylon, such as the tribes of Benjamin and Levi (Ezr. i. 5, and x. 5–9; Neh. xi. 4–36), scattered remnants of the "children of Ephraim and Manasseh" (1 Chr. ix. 3), or "Israel," as they are elsewhere called (Ezr. ii. 70, iii. 1, and x. 5; Neh. vii. 73), and others whose pedigree was not ascertainable (Ezr. ii. 59). In fact so many returned that in the case of the sin-offering the number of he-goats offered was twelve, according to the original number of the tribes (*ibid.* vi. 17, see also viii. 35). There had indeed been more or less of an amalgamation from the days of Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxx.–xxxi.), which continued ever afterwards, down to the very days of our Lord. Anna, wife of Phanuel, for instance, was of the tribe of Asher (St. Luke ii. 36), St. Paul of the tribe of Benjamin (Rom. xi. 1), St. Barnabas, a Levite, and so forth (Acts iv. 36; comp. Acts xxvi. 7; and Prideaux, *Connection*, vol. i. p. 128–130, ed. McCaul). On the other hand the schismatical temple upon Mount Gerizim drew many of the disaffected Jews from their own proper country (Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8); Nazareth, a city of Galilee, was the residence of our Lord's own parents; Bethsaida, that of three of his Apostles; the borders of the sea of Galilee generally, that of most of them. The scene of his preaching — intended as it was, during his earthly ministry, for the lost sheep of the house of Israel — was, with the exception of the last part of it, confined to Galilee. His disciples are addressed by the two angels subsequently to his Ascension, as "men of Galilee" (Acts i. 11), and it was asked by the multitude that came together in wonder on the day of Pentecost, "Are not all these who speak, Galileans?" (Acts ii. 7). Thus, neither did all who were Jews inhabit that limited territory called Judæa; nor again was Judæa inhabited solely by that tribe which gave name to it, or even in sole conjunction with Benjamin and Levi.

Once more as regards the territory. In a wide and more improper sense, the term Judæa was sometimes extended to the whole country of the Canaanites, its ancient inhabitants (Joseph. *Ant.* i. § 2); and even in the Gospels we seem to read of the coasts of Judæa *beyond Jordan* (St. Matt. xix. 1; St. Mark x. 1), a phrase perhaps countenanced by Josephus no less (*Ant.* xii. 4, § 11; comp. Josh. xix. 34), if the usual rendering of these passages is to be followed (see Reland, *Palæstina*, i. 61). "He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Jewry (καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας) *beginning from Galilee*, unto this place," said the chief priests of our Lord (St. Luke xxiii. 5). With Ptolemy, moreover (see Reland, *ibid.*), and with Dion Cassius (xxxviii. 16), Judæa is synonymous with Palestine-Syria; the latter adding that the term Palestine had given place to it. With Strabo (xvi. p. 760 ff.) it is the common denomination for the whole inland country between Gaza and Anti-Libanus, thus including Galilee and Samaria. Similarly, the Jews, according to Tacitus (*Hist.* v 6), occupied the country between Arabia on the E. Egypt on the S., Phœnicia and the sea on the W. and Syria on the N.; and by the same writer both Pompey and Titus are said to have conquered Judæa, the other and less important divisions of course included.

Still, notwithstanding all these large significations which have been affixed to it, Judæa was, in strict language, the name of the third district, west of the Jordan, and south of Samaria. Its northern boundary, according to Josephus (*B. J.* iii. 3, § 5) was a village called Anuath, its southern another village named Jardas. Its general breadth was from the Jordan to Joppa, though its coast did not end there, and it was latterly subdivided into eleven lots or portions, with Jerusalem for their centre (Joseph. *ibid.*). In a word it embodied "the original territories of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, together with Dan and Simeon; being almost the same with the old kingdom of Judah, and about 100 miles in length and 60 in breadth" (Lewis, *Heb. Republ.* i. 2).

It was made a portion of the Roman province of Syria upon the deposition of Archelaus, the ethnarch of Judæa in A. D. 6, and was governed by a procurator, who was subject to the governor of Syria. The procurator resided at Cæsarea on the coast, and not at Jerusalem (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 13, § 5; xviii. 1, § 1; 2, § 1; 3, § 1). Its history as a Roman province is related under JERUSALEM (p. 1301 ff.), and the physical features of the country are described in the article PALESTINE. E. S. Ff.

* JUDÆ'A, THE LAND OF (ἡ Ἰουδαία χώρα, Mark i. 5; or ἡ Ἰουδαία γῆ, John iii. 22), the country of Judæa as distinguished from the capital or Jerusalem. H.

* JUDÆ'A, THE WILDERNESS OF (ἡ ἔρημος τῆς Ἰουδαίας: *desertum Judææ*), designates the region in which John the Baptist made his first appearance as the herald of the Messiah (Matt. iii. 1). It is the same, no doubt, as the "wilderness of Judah" (מִדְבַּר יְהוּדָה) in Judg. i. 16. It lay along the eastern border of Judæa towards the Dead Sea, in which were the "six cities with their villages" mentioned in Josh. xv. 61 f. It was the scene of many of David's perils and escapes during the days of his persecution by Saul [ADULLAM; EN-GEDI; TEKOA]. It was a desert, of course, not in our own, but the oriental sense; i. e., fit for cultivation at intervals, thinly inhabited, and resorted to mainly as pasture-ground. As such terms must be more or less fluctuating, it may have included also the western shore of the Jordan north of the Dead Sea, which Josephus also designates as ἔρημος (*B. J.* iii. 10, § 7, and iv. 8, §§ 2, 3). (See Bleek's *Synopt. Erklärung der drei ersten Evangelien*, i. 141.)

Mark (i. 4) and Luke (iii. 2) refer to the same desert simply as ἔρημος. Luke's ἡ περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου (iii. 3) includes the wider circuit of John's labors at a later period, as in the course

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of his ministry he preached now on this side of the Jordan and now on that. It is unnecessary, as well as incorrect, to suppose that any part of this Judæan desert lay on the east of the river. It certainly is not just to regard ἡ ἔρημος τῆς Ἰουδαίας (Matt. iii. 1), as equivalent to ἡ περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου (Matt. iii. 5); for the latter (the *Ghor*, or Jordan Valley) denotes the general region from which, and not that to which, the people came for baptism. (See also *Bibl. Sacra*, xxiii. 590.) Hence, if the desert of the Saviour's temptation (Matt. iv. 1 ff.) was in Perœa (Stanley, Ellicott), it was a different one from that in Judæa. To urge no other reason, the proximity of Matt. iii. 1 to iv. 1 is adverse to that opinion. Probably the Saviour went to be tempted to a remoter part of the desert previously mentioned; but on returning to John after the lapse of forty days, he found him at Bethabara, or Bethany, beyond the Jordan (John i. 28). The actual place of the temptation may have been *Kŭrntŭl* (a corruption of *quadraginta*, 40 days), a part of the desert back of Jericho towards Jerusalem. It is a high mountain cut off from the plain by a wall of rock 1,200 or 1,500 feet high, is frightfully desolate, is infested with wild beasts and reptiles, and thus answers fully to Mark's significant intimation (i. 13) respecting the wildness of the scene (μετὰ τῶν θηρίων). H.

JU'DAH (יְהוּדָה, i. e. Yehûda [*praise, honor*]: Ἰούδαν in Gen. xxix. 35; Alex. Ἰουδα; elsewhere Ἰούδας in both MSS. and in N. T.; and so also Josephus: *Judas*), the fourth son of Jacob and the fourth of Leah, the last before the temporary cessation in the births of her children. His whole brothers were Reuben, Simeon, and Levi, elder than himself — Issachar and Zebulun younger (see xxxv. 23). The name is explained as having originated in Leah's exclamation of "praise" at this fresh gift of Jehovah — "She said, 'now will I praise (אוֹדֶה, *ôdeh*) Jehovah,' and she called his name Yehudah" (Gen. xxix. 35). The same play is preserved in the blessing of Jacob — "Judah, thou whom thy brethren shall praise!" (xlix. 8). The name is not of frequent occurrence in the O. T. In the Apocrypha, however, it appears in the great hero Judas Maccabæus; in the N. T. in Jude, Judas Iscariot, and others. [JUDA; JUDAS.]

Of the individual Judah more traits are preserved than of any other of the patriarchs with the exception of Joseph. In the matter of the sale of Joseph, he and Reuben stand out in favorable contrast to the rest of the brothers. But for their interference he, who was "their brother and their flesh," would have been certainly put to death. Though not the firstborn, he "prevailed above his brethren" (1 Chr. v. 2), and we find him subsequently taking a decided lead in all the affairs of the family. When a second visit to Egypt for corn had become inevitable, it was Judah who, as the mouthpiece of the rest, headed the remonstrance against the detention of Benjamin by Jacob, and finally undertook to be responsible for the safety of the lad (xliii. 3–10). And when, through Joseph's artifice, the brothers were brought back to the palace, he is again the leader and spokesman of the band. In that thoroughly Oriental scene it is Judah who unhesitatingly acknowledges the guilt which had never been committed, throws himself on the mercy of the supposed Egyptian prince, offers himself as a slave, and makes that wonderful appeal to the feelings of their disguised brother which renders it impossible for Joseph any longer to conceal his secret (xliv. 14, 16–34). So too it is Judah who is sent before Jacob to smooth the way for him in the land of Goshen (xlvi. 28). This ascendency over his brethren is reflected in the last words addressed to him by his father — "Thou whom thy brethren shall praise! thy father's sons shall bow down before thee! unto him shall be the gathering of the people" (Gen. xlix. 8–10).[a] In the interesting traditions of the Koran and the Midrash his figure stands out in the same prominence. Before Joseph his wrath is mightier and his recognition heartier than the rest. It is he who hastens in advance to bear to Jacob the fragrant robe of Joseph (Weil's *Biblical Legends*, pp. 88–90).

His sons were five. Of these three were by his Canaanite wife Bath-shua; they are all insignificant, two died early, and the third, SHELAH, does not come prominently forward, either in his person, or his family. The other two, PHAREZ and ZERAH — twins — were illegitimate sons by the widow of Er, the eldest of the former family. As is not unfrequently the case, the illegitimate sons surpassed the legitimate, and from Phares, the elder, were descended the royal, and other illustrious families of Judah. These sons were born to Judah while he was living in the same district of Palestine, which, centuries after, was repossessed by his descendants — amongst villages which retain their names unaltered in the catalogues of the time of the conquest. The three sons went with their father into Egypt at the time of the final removal thither (Gen. xlvi. 12; Ex. i. 2).

When we again meet with the families of Judah they occupy a position among the tribes similar to that which their progenitor had taken amongst the patriarchs. The numbers of the tribe at the census at Sinai were 74,600 (Num. i. 26, 27), considerably in advance of any of the others, the largest of which — Dan — numbered 62,700. On the borders of the Promised Land they were 76,500 (xxvi. 22), Dan being still the nearest. The chief of the tribe at the former census was NAHSHON, the son of Amminadab (Num. i. 7, ii. 3, vii. 12, x. 14), an ancestor of David (Ruth iv. 20). Its representative amongst the spies, and also among those appointed to partition the land, was the great Caleb the son of Jephunneh (Num. xiii. 6; xxxiv.) During the march through the desert Judah's place was in the van of the host, on the east side of the Tabernacle, with his kinsmen Issachar and Zebulun (ii. 3–9; x. 14). The traditional standard of the tribe was a lion's whelp, with the words, Rise up, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered! (Targ. Pseudojon. on Num. ii. 3).

During the conquest of the country the only incidents specially affecting the tribe of Judah are — (1) the misbehavior of Achan, who was of the great house of Zerah (Josh. vii. 1, 16-18); and (2) the conquest of the mountain-district of Hebron by Caleb, and of the strong city Debir, in the same locality, by his nephew and son-in-law Othniel (Josh. xiv. 6-15, xv. 13-19). It is the only instance given of a portion of the country being expressly reserved for the person or persons who

[a] The obscure and much disputed passage in verse 10 will be best examined under the head SHILOH

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conquered it. In general the conquest seems to have been made by the whole community, and the territory allotted afterwards, without reference to the original conquerors of each locality. In this case the high character and position of Caleb, and perhaps a claim established by him at the time of the visit of the spies to "the land whereon his feet had trodden" (Josh. xiv. 9; comp. Num. xiv. 24), may have led to the exception.

The boundaries and contents of the territory allotted to Judah are narrated at great length, and with greater minuteness than the others, in Josh. xv. 20–63. This may be due either to the fact that the lists were reduced to their present form at a later period, when the monarchy resided with Judah, and when more care would naturally be bestowed on them than on those of any other tribe; or to the fact that the territory was more important and more thickly covered with towns and villages than any other part of Palestine. The greater prominence given to the genealogies of Judah in 1 Chr. ii., iii., iv. no doubt arises from the former reason. However this may be, we have in the records of Joshua a very full and systematic description of the allotment to this tribe. The north boundary — for the most part coincident with the south boundary of Benjamin — began at the embouchure of the Jordan, entered the hills apparently at or about the present road from Jericho, ran westward to En-shemesh — probably the present *Ain-Haud*, below Bethany — thence over the Mount of Olives to *En-rogel*, in the valley beneath Jerusalem; went along the ravine of Hinnom, under the precipices of the city, climbed the hill in a N. W. direction to the Water of Nephtoah (probably *Liftâ*), and thence by Kirjath-Jearim (probably *Kuriet el-Enab*), Beth-shemesh (*Ain-Shems*), Timnath, and Ekron, to Jabneel on the sea-coast. On the east the Dead Sea, and on the west the Mediterranean formed the boundaries. The southern line is hard to determine, since it is denoted by places many of which have not been identified. It left the Dead Sea at its extreme south end, and joined the Mediterranean at the *Wady el-Arish*; but between these two points it passed through Maaleh Acrabbim, the Wilderness of Zin, Hezron, Adar, Karkaa, and Azmon; the Wilderness of Zin the extreme south of all (Josh. xv. 1-12). This territory — in average length about 45 miles, and in average breadth about 50 — was from a very early date divided into four main regions. (1.) THE SOUTH — the undulating pasture country, which intervened between the hills, the proper possession of the tribe, and the deserts which encompass the lower part of Palestine (Josh. xv. 21; Stanley, *S. & P.*). It is this which is designated as the wilderness (*midbar*) of Judah (Judg. i. 16). It contained thirty-seven cities, with their dependent villages (Josh. xv. 20–32), of which eighteen of those farthest south were ceded to Simeon (xix. 1–9). Amongst these southern cities the most familiar name is Beer-sheba.

(2.) THE LOWLAND (xv. 33; A. V. "valley") — or, to give it its own proper and constant appellation, THE SHEFELAH — the broad belt or strip lying between the central highlands — "the mountain" — and the Mediterranean Sea; the lower portion of that maritime plain, which extends through the whole of the sea-board of Palestine, from Sidon in the north, to Rhinocolura at the south. This tract was the garden and the granary of the tribe. In it, long before the conquest of the country by Israel, the Philistines had settled themselves, never to be completely dislodged (Neh. xiii. 23, 24). There, planted at equal intervals along the level coast, were their five chief cities, each with its circle of smaller dependents, overlooking, from the natural undulations of the ground, the "standing corn," "shocks," "vineyards and olives," which excited the ingenuity of Samson, and are still remarked by modern travellers. "They are all remarkable for the beauty and profusion of the gardens which surround them — the scarlet blossoms of the pomegranates, the enormous oranges which gild the green foliage of their famous groves" (Stanley, *S. & P.* 257). From the edge of the sandy tract, which fringes the immediate shore right up to the very wall of the hills of Judah, stretches the immense plain of corn-fields. In those rich harvests lies the explanation of the constant contests between Israel and the Philistines (*S. & P.* 258). From them were gathered the enormous cargoes of wheat, which were transmitted to Phœnicia by Solomon in exchange for the arts of Hiram, and which in the time of the Herods still "nourished" the country of Tyre and Sidon (Acts xii. 20). There were the olive-trees, the sycamore-trees, and the treasures of oil, the care of which was sufficient to task the energies of two of David's special officers (1 Chr. xxvii. 28). The nature of this locality would seem to be reflected in the names of many of its towns if interpreted as Hebrew words: DILEAN = cucumbers; GEDERAH, GEDEROTH, GEDEROTHAIM, sheepfolds; ZOREAH, wasps; EN-GANNIM, spring of gardens, etc., etc. But we have yet to learn how far these names are Hebrew; and whether at best they are but mere Hebrew accommodations of earlier originals, and therefore not to be depended on for their significations. The number of cities in this district, without counting the smaller villages connected with them, was forty-two. Of these, however, many which belonged to the Philistines can only have been allotted to the tribe, and if taken possession of by Judah were only held for a time.

What were the exact boundaries of the *Shefelah* we do not know. We are at present ignorant of the principles on which the ancient Jews drew their boundaries between one territory and another. One thing only is almost certain, that they were not determined by the natural features of the ground, or else we should not find cities enumerated as in the lowland plain, whose modern representatives are found deep in the mountains. [JARMUTH; JIPHTAH, etc.] (The latest information regarding this district is contained in Tobler's *3te Wanderung*, 1859.)

(3.) The third region of the tribe — THE MOUNTAIN, the "hill-country of Judah" — though not the richest, was at once the largest and the most important of the four. Beginning a few miles below Hebron, where it attains its highest level, it stretches eastward to the Dead Sea and westward to the *Shefelah*, and forms an elevated district or plateau, which, though thrown into considerable undulations, yet preserves a general level in both directions. It is the southern portion of that elevated hilly district of Palestine which stretches north until intersected by the plain of Esdraelon, and on which Hebron, Jerusalem, and Shechem are the chief spots. The surface of this region, which is of limestone, is monotonous enough — round swelling hills and hollows, of somewhat bolder proportions than those immediately north of Jerusa-

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tem, which, though in early times probably covered with forests [HARETH], have now, where not cultivated, no growth larger than a brushwood of dwarf-oak, arbutus, and other bushes. In many places there is a good soft turf, discoverable even in the autumn, and in spring the hills are covered with flowers. The number of towns enumerated (Josh. xv. 48–60) as belonging to this district is 38; but, if we may judge from the ruins which meet the eye on every side, this must have been very far below the real number. Hardly a hill which is not crowned by some fragments of stone buildings, more or less considerable,— those which are still inhabited surrounded by groves of olive-trees, and inclosures of stone walls protecting the vineyards. Streams there are none, but wells and springs are frequent — in the neighborhood of "Solomon's Pools" at *Urtas* most abundant.

(4.) The fourth district is THE WILDERNESS (*Midbar*), which here and here only appears to be synonymous with *Arâbah*, and to signify the sunken district immediately adjoining the Dead Sea. It contained only six cities, which must have been either, like Engedi, on the slopes of the cliffs overhanging the Sea, or else on the lower level of the shore. The "city of Salt" may have been on the salt plains, between the sea and the cliffs which form the southern termination to the *Ghor*.[a]

Nine of the cities of Judah were allotted to the priests (Josh. xxi. 9-19). The Levites had no[b] cities in the tribe, and the priests had none out of it.

In the partition of the territory by Joshua and Eleazar (Josh. xix. 51), Judah had the first allotment (xv. 1). Joshua had on his first entrance into the country overrun the *Shefelah*, destroyed some of the principal towns and killed the kings (x. 28–35), and had even penetrated thence into the mountains as far as Hebron and Debir (36–39); but the task of really subjugating the interior was yet to be done. After his death it was undertaken by Judah and Simeon (Judg. i. 20). In the artificial contrivances of war they were surpassed by the Canaanites, and in some places,[c] where the ground admitted of their iron chariots being employed, the latter remained masters of the field. But wherever force and vigor were in question, there the Israelites succeeded, and they obtained entire possession of the mountain district and the great corn-growing tract of Philistia (Judg. i. 18, 19). The latter was constantly changing hands as one or the other side got stronger (1 Sam. iv., v., vii. 14, etc.); but in the natural fortresses of the mountains Judah dwelt undisturbed throughout the troubled period of the Judges. OTHNIEL was partly a member of the tribe (Judg. iii. 9), and the Bethlehem of which IBZAN was a native (xii. 8, 9) may have been Bethlehem-Judah. But even if these two judges belonged to Judah, the tribe itself was not molested, and with the one exception mentioned in Judg. xx. 19, when they were called by the divine oracle to make the attack on Gibeah, they had nothing to do during the whole of that period but settle themselves in their home. Not only did they take no part against Sisera, but they are not even rebuked for it by Deborah.

Nor were they disturbed by the incursions of the Philistines during the rule of Samuel and of Saul, which were made through the territory of Dan and of Benjamin; or if we place the Valley of ELAH at the *Wady es-Sumt*, only on the outskirts of the mountains of Judah. On the last-named occasion, however, we know that at least one town of Judah — Bethlehem — furnished men to Saul's host. The incidents of David's flight from Saul will be found examined under the heads of DAVID, SAUL, MAON, HACHILAH, etc.

The main inference deducible from these considerations is the determined manner in which the tribe keeps aloof from the rest — neither offering its aid nor asking that of others. The same independent mode of action characterizes the foundation of the monarchy after the death of Saul. There was no attempt to set up a rival power to Ish-bosheth. The tribe had had full experience of the man who had been driven from the court to take shelter in the caves, woods, and fastnesses of their wild hills, and when the opportunity offered, "the men of Judah came and anointed David king over the house of Judah in Hebron" (2 Sam. ii. 4, 11). The further step by which David was invested with the sovereignty of the whole nation was taken by the other tribes, Judah having no special part therein; and though willing enough, if occasion rendered it necessary, to act with others, their conduct later, when brought into collision with Ephraim on the matter of the restoration of David, shows that the men of Judah had preserved their independent mode of action. The king was near of kin to them; and therefore they, and they alone, set about bringing him back. It had been their own affair, to be accomplished by themselves alone, and they had gone about it in that independent manner, which looked like "despising" those who believed their share in David to be a far larger one (2 Sam. xix. 41–43).

The same independent temper will be found to characterize the tribe throughout its existence as a kingdom, which is considered in the following article.

2. A Levite whose descendants, Kadmiel and his sons, were very active in the work of rebuilding

[a] On the words "Judah on Jordan," used in describing the eastern termination of the boundary of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 34), critics have strained their ingenuity to prove that Judah had some possessions in that remote locality either by allotment or inheritance. See the elaborate attempt of Von Raumer (*Pal.* pp. 406–410) to show that the villages of Jair are intended. But the difficulty — *maximus atque insolubilis nodus, qui plurimos interpretes torsit* — has defied every attempt; and the suggestion of Ewald (*Gesch.* ii. 330, note) is the most feasible — that the passage is corrupt, and that Cinneroth or some other word originally occupied the place of "at Judah" [to "Judah," A. V.].

[b] Keil adopts this view of Raumer (see *Bibl. Comm.* in loc.) The district of the 60 villages on the east of the Jordan, he says, is counted as Judah's, or in Judah — because Jair, to whom it belonged, was descended on the father's side from Judah through Hezron (1 Chr. ii. 5, 21 f.), while in Josh. xiii. 30 and Num. xxxii. 41 he is mentioned *contra morem*, i. e. against the rule (Num. xxxvi. 7), as on the mother's side a descendant of Manasseh. See JUDAH UPON JORDAN in the text (Amer. ed.). H.

[c] But Bethlehem appears to have been closely connected with them (Judg. xvii. 7, 9; xix. 1).

[d] The word here (Judg. i. 19) is *Emek*, entirely a different word from *Shefelah*, and rightly rendered "valley." It is difficult, however, to fix upon any "valley" in this region sufficiently important to be alluded to. Can it be the Valley of ELAH, where contests with the Philistines took place later?

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the Temple after the return from Captivity (Ezr. iii. 9). Lord Hervey has shown cause for believing (*Genealogies*, etc., 119) that the name is the same as HODAVIAH and HODEVAH. In 1 Esdr. v. 58, it appears to be given as JODA.

3. ([In Ezr.,] Ἰούδας, [Vat. Ιοδομ, FA. Ιεδομ; in Neh. xii. 8,] Ἰωδαέ, [Vat. FA.^{2} Ιουδα, Alex. Ισαδε?; in xii. 36, Vat. Alex. FA^1 omit: *Juda, Judas.*]) A Levite who was obliged by Ezra to put away his foreign wife (Ezr. x. 23). Probably the same person is intended in Neh. xii. 8, 36. In 1 Esdr. his name is given as JUDAS.

4. [Ἰούδα; Vat. Alex. Ιουδας: *Judas.*] A Benjamite, son of Senuah (Neh. xi. 9). It is worth notice, in connection with the suggestion of Lord Hervey mentioned above, that in the lists of 1 Chr. ix., in many points so curiously parallel to those of this chapter, a Benjamite, Hodaviah, son of Hassenuah, is given (ver. 7). G.

JUDAH, KINGDOM OF. 1. When the disruption of Solomon's kingdom took place at Shechem, only the tribe of Judah followed the house of David. But almost immediately afterwards, when Rehoboam conceived the design of establishing his authority over Israel by force of arms, the tribe of Benjamin also is recorded as obeying his summons, and contributing its warriors to make up his army. Jerusalem, situate within the borders of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 28, &c.), yet won from the heathen by a prince of Judah, connected the frontiers of the two tribes by an indissoluble political bond. By the erection of the city of David, Benjamin's former adherence to Israel (2 Sam. ii. 9) was canceled; though at least two Benjamite towns, Bethel and Jericho, were included in the northern kingdom. A part, if not all, of the territory of Simeon (1 Sam. xxvii. 6; 1 K. xix. 3; cf. Josh. xix. 1) and of Dan (2 Chr. xi. 10; cf. Josh. xix. 41, 42) was recognized as belonging to Judah; and in the reigns of Abijah and Asa, the southern kingdom was enlarged by some additions taken out of the territory of Ephraim (2 Chr. xiii. 19, xv. 8, xvii. 2). After the conquest and deportation of Israel by Assyria, the influence, and perhaps the delegated jurisdiction of the king of Judah sometimes extended over the territory which formerly belonged to Israel.

2. In Edom a vassal-king probably retained his fidelity to the son of Solomon, and guarded for Jewish enterprise the road to the maritime trade with Ophir. Philistia maintained for the most part a quiet independence. Syria, in the height of her brief power, pushed her conquests along the northern and eastern frontiers of Judah and threatened Jerusalem; but the interposition of the territory of Israel generally relieved Judah from any immediate contact with that dangerous neighbor. The southern border of Judah, resting on the uninhabited Desert, was not agitated by any turbulent stream of commercial activity like that which flowed by the rear of Israel, from Damascus to Tyre. And though some of the Egyptian kings were ambitious, that ancient kingdom was far less aggressive as a neighbor to Judah than Assyria was to Israel.

3. A singular gauge of the growth of the kingdom of Judah is supplied by the progressive augmentation of the army under successive kings. In David's time (2 Sam. xxiv. 9, and 1 Chr. xxi. 5) the warriors of Judah numbered at least 500,000. But Rehoboam brought into the field (1 K. xii. 21) only 180,000 men: Abijah, eighteen years afterwards, 400,000 (2 Chr. xiii. 3): Asa (2 Chr. xiv 8), his successor, 580,000, exactly equal to the sum of the armies of his two predecessors: Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xvii. 14–19), the next king, numbered his warriors in five armies, the aggregate of which is 1,160,000, exactly double the army of his father, and exactly equal to the sum of the armies of his three predecessors. After four inglorious reigns the energetic Amaziah could muster only 300,000 men when he set out to recover Edom. His son Uzziah had a standing (2 Chr. xxvi. 11) force of 307,500 fighting men. It would be out of place here to discuss the question which has been raised as to the accuracy of these numbers. So far as they are authentic, it may be safely reckoned that the population subject to each king was about four times the number of the fighting men in his dominions. [ISRAEL.]

4. Unless Judah had some other means beside pasture and tillage, of acquiring wealth; as by maritime commerce from the Red Sea ports, or (less probably) from Joppa, or by keeping up the old trade (1 K. x. 28) with Egypt — it seems difficult to account for that ability to accumulate wealth, which supplied the Temple treasury with sufficient store to invite so frequently the hand of the spoiler. Egypt, Damascus, Samaria, Nineveh, and Babylon, had each in succession a share of the pillage. The treasury was emptied by Shishak (1 K. xiv. 26), again by Asa (1 K. xv. 18), by Jehoash of Judah (2 K. xii. 18), by Jehoash of Israel (2 K. xiv. 14), by Ahaz (2 K. xvi. 8), by Hezekiah (2 K. xviii. 15), and by Nebuchadnezzar (2 K. xxiv. 13).

5. The kingdom of Judah possessed many advantages which secured for it a longer continuance than that of Israel. A frontier less exposed to powerful enemies, a soil less fertile, a population hardier and more united, a fixed and venerated centre of administration and religion, an hereditary aristocracy in the sacerdotal caste, an army always subordinate, a succession of kings which no revolution interrupted, many of whom were wise and good, and strove successfully to promote the moral and spiritual as well as the material prosperity of their people; still more than these, the devotion of the people to the One True God, which, if not always a pure and elevated sentiment, was yet a contrast to such devotion as could be inspired by the worship of the calves or of Baal; and lastly the popular reverence for and obedience to the Divine law so far as they learned it from their teachers: — to these and other secondary causes is to be attributed the fact that Judah survived her more populous and more powerful sister kingdom by 135 years; and lasted from B. C. 975 to B. C. 589.

6. The chronological succession of the kings of Judah is given in the article ISRAEL. A few difficulties of no great importance have been discovered in the statements of the ages of some of the kings. They are explained in the works cited in that article and in Keil's *Commentary on the Book of Kings* A detailed history of each king will be found under his name.

Judah acted upon three different lines of policy in succession. First, animosity against Israel: secondly, resistance, generally in alliance with Israel, to Damascus: thirdly, deference, perhaps vassalage to the Assyrian king.

(*a.*) The first three kings of Judah seem to have cherished the hope of reëstablishing their authority over the Ten Tribes for sixty years there was war

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between them and the kings of Israel. Neither the disbanding of Rehoboam's forces by the authority of Shemaiah, nor the pillage of Jerusalem by the irresistible Shishak, served to put an end to the fraternal hostility. The victory achieved by the daring Abijah brought to Judah a temporary accession of territory. Asa appears to have enlarged it still further; and to have given so powerful a stimulus to the migration of religious Israelites to Jerusalem, that Baasha was induced to fortify Ramah with the view of checking the movement. Asa provided for the safety of his subjects from invaders by building, like Rehoboam, several fenced cities; he repelled an alarming irruption of an Ethiopian horde; he hired the armed intervention of Benhadad I., king of Damascus, against Baasha; and he discouraged idolatry and enforced the worship of the true God by severe penal laws.

(*b.*) Hanani's remonstrance (2 Chr. xvi. 7) prepares us for the reversal by Jehoshaphat of the policy which Asa pursued towards Israel and Damascus. A close alliance sprang up with strange rapidity between Judah and Israel. For eighty years, till the time of Amaziah, there was no open war between them, and Damascus appears as their chief and common enemy; though it rose afterwards from its overthrow to become under Rezin the ally of Pekah against Ahaz. Jehoshaphat, active and prosperous, repelled nomad invaders from the desert, curbed the aggressive spirit of his nearer neighbors, and made his influence felt even among the Philistines and Arabians. A still more lasting benefit was conferred on his kingdom by his persevering efforts for the religious instruction of the people, and the regular administration of justice. The reign of Jehoram, the husband of Athaliah, a time of bloodshed, idolatry, and disaster, was cut short by disease. Ahaziah was slain by Jehu. Athaliah, the grand-daughter of a Tyrian king, usurped the blood-stained throne of David, till the followers of the ancient religion put her to death, and crowned Jehoash the surviving scion of the royal house. His preserver, the high-priest, acquired prominent personal influence for a time; but the king fell into idolatry, and failing to withstand the power of Syria, was murdered by his own officers. The vigorous Amaziah, flushed with the recovery of Edom, provoked a war with his more powerful contemporary Jehoash the conqueror of the Syrians; and Jerusalem was entered and plundered by the Israelites. But their energies were sufficiently occupied in the task of completing the subjugation of Damascus. Under Uzziah and Jotham, Judah long enjoyed political and religious prosperity, till the wanton Ahaz, surrounded by united enemies, with whom he was unable to cope, became in an evil hour the tributary and vassal of Tiglath-Pileser.

(*c.*) Already in the fatal grasp of Assyria, Judah was yet spared for a checkered existence of almost another century and a half after the termination of the kingdom of Israel. The effect of the repulse of Sennacherib, of the signal religious revival under Hezekiah and under Josiah, and of the extension of their salutary influence over the long-severed territory of Israel, was apparently done away by the ignominious reign of the impious Manasseh, and the lingering decay of the whole people under the four feeble descendants of Josiah. Provoked by their treachery and imbecility, their Assyrian master trained in successive deportations all the strength of the kingdom. The consummation of the ruin came upon them in the destruction of the Temple by the hand of Nebuzaradan, amid the wailings of prophets, and the taunts of heathen tribes released at length from the yoke of David.

7. The national life of the Hebrews seemed now extinct; but there was still, as there had been all along, a spiritual life hidden within the body.

It was a time of hopeless darkness to all but those Jews who had strong faith in God, with a clear and steady insight into the ways of Providence as interpreted by prophecy. The time of the division of the kingdoms was the golden age of prophecy. In each kingdom the prophetical office was subject to peculiar modifications which were required in Judah by the circumstances of the priesthood, in Israel by the existence of the House of Baal and the Altar in Bethel. If, under the shadow of the Temple, there was a depth and a grasp elsewhere unequaled, in the views of Isaiah and the prophets of Judah, if their writings touched and elevated the hearts of thinking men in studious retirement in the silent night-watches; there was also, in the few burning words and energetic deeds of the prophets of Israel, a power to tame a lawless multitude and to check the high-handed tyranny and idolatry of kings. The organization and moral influence of the priesthood were matured in the time of David; from about that time to the building of the second Temple the influence of the prophets rose and became predominant. Some historians have suspected that after the reign of Athaliah the priesthood gradually acquired and retained excessive and unconstitutional power in Judah. The recorded facts scarcely sustain the conjecture. Had it been so, the effect of such power would have been manifest in the exorbitant wealth and luxury of the priests, and in the constant and cruel enforcement of penal laws, like those of Asa, against irreligion. But the peculiar offences of the priesthood, as witnessed in the prophetic writings, were of another kind. Ignorance of God's Word, neglect of the instruction of the laity, untruthfulness, and partial judgments, are the offenses specially imputed to them, just such as might be looked for where the priesthood is an hereditary caste and irresponsible, but neither ambitious nor powerful. When the priest either, as was the case in Israel, abandoned the land, or, as in Judah, ceased to be really a teacher, ceased from spiritual communion with God, ceased from living sympathy with man, and became the mere image of an intercessor, a mechanical performer of ceremonial duties little understood or heeded by himself, then the prophet was raised up to supply some of his deficiencies, and to exercise his functions so far as was necessary. Whilst the priests sink into obscurity and almost disappear, except from the genealogical tables, the prophets come forward appealing everywhere to the conscience of individuals, in Israel as wonder-workers, calling together God's chosen few out of an idolatrous nation, and in Judah as teachers and seers, supporting and purifying all that remained of ancient piety, explaining each mysterious dispensation of God as it was unfolded, and promulgating his gracious spiritual promises in all their extent. The part which Isaiah, Jeremiah, and other prophets took in preparing the Jews for their Captivity, cannot indeed be fully appreciated without reviewing the succeeding efforts of Ezekiel and Daniel. But the influence which they exercised on the national mind was too important to be overlooked in a sketch

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however brief, of the history of the kingdom of Judah. W. T. B.

* **JUDAH** UPON JORDAN (A. V.), a border town of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 34). See note *a*, p. 1491. The Hebrew is more strictly Judah-Jordan, without a preposition. Though the tribe of Judah was in the south and Naphtali in the north, it is very conceivable that there may have been a town named after one tribe in the territory of another. Dr. Thomson's discovery gives support to this supposition. He found a place near *Banias* and the *Wadi er-Rahbeh* (وَادِي ٱلرَّحْبَة) or Valley of Reboboth, marked by ruins and a tomb with a dome, revered as the tomb of a prophet by the Arabs, and called *Sidi Yehûda* (سيدي يهودا) "My Lord Judah." He is very confident that this is the site of the ancient Judah with its name perpetuated. (See *Land and Book*, i. 389 ff.) A conterminous border of Judah and Naphtali at any point is of course out of the question. H.

* **JUDAISM** (Ἰουδαϊσμός: Vulg. *Judaismus*), only in Gal. i. 13, 14 in the N. T. ("Jews' religion," A. V.), and 2 Macc. ii. 21 (rendered "Judaism") and xiv. 38 twice ("Judaism" and "religion of the Jews"). It denotes the system of Jewish faith and worship in its perverted form as one of blind attachment to rites and traditions, and of bigotry, self-righteousness, and national exclusiveness. To what extent the religion of the Jews partook of this character in the time of our Lord, appears not only from his constant exposure of their formalism and self-assumption, but especially in the fact, that in John's Gospel "the Jews" (*οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι*) occurs more frequently than otherwise as synonymous with opposers of Christ and of his teachings. A similar usage is found in the Acts. Yet Paul recognizes the idea of a true Judaism as distinguished from its counterfeit, when he says: "He is a Jew who is one inwardly; and circumcision *is that* of the heart, in the spirit, *and* not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God (Rom. ii. 29).

Of the spirit of Judaism the Apostle himself before his conversion was a signal example. He ascribes to himself that character in various passages. He declares in Gal. i. 13, 14 that his persecution of the church was a fruit and evidence of this spirit, and that in the violence of his zeal he outstripped (*προέκοπτον*) all his associates or comrades (*συνηλικιῶται*) as a zealot (*ζηλωτής*) for the traditions of the fathers. (See also Acts ix. 1 ff.; xxvi. 9; 1 Tim. i. 13, &c.) Such Judaism possessed in the eyes of a Jew the merit of both patriotism and piety, and hence is portrayed as such in the heroes of the Jewish apocryphal books. H.

JUDAS (Ἰούδας [*Judas*]), the Greek form of the Hebrew name JUDAH, occurring in the LXX. and N. T. [JUDAH.]

1. [Vat. Alex. Ωουδας: *Colunn.*] 1 Esdr. ix. 23. [JUDAH.]

2. The third son of Mattathias, "called Maccabeus" (1 Macc. ii. 4). [MACCABEES.]

3. The son of Calphi (Alphæus), a Jewish general under Jonathan (1 Macc. xi. 70).

4. A Jew occupying a conspicuous position at Jerusalem at the time of the mission to Aristobulus [ARISTOBULUS] and the Egyptian Jews (2 Macc. i. 10). He has been identified with an Essene, conspicuous for his prophetic gifts (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 11, § 2; *B. J.* i. 3, § 5); and with Judas Maccabæus (Grimm *ad loc.*). Some again suppose that he is a person otherwise unknown.

5. A son of Simon, and brother of Joannes Hyrcanus (1 Macc. xvi. 2), murdered by Ptolemæus the usurper, either at the same time (c. 135 B. C.) with his father (1 Macc. xvi. 15 ff.), or shortly afterwards (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 8, § 1: cf. Grimm, *ad Macc.* l. c.).

6. The patriarch JUDAH (Matt. i. 2, 3). B. F. W.

7. A man residing at Damascus, in "the street which is called Straight," in whose house Saul of Tarsus lodged after his miraculous conversion (Acts ix. 11). The "Straight Street" may be with little question identified with the "Street of Bazaars," a long, wide thoroughfare, penetrating from the southern gate into the heart of the city, which, as in all the Syro-Greek and Syro-Roman towns, it intersects in a straight line. The so-called "House of Judas" is still shown in an open space called "the Sheykh's Place," a few steps out of the "Street of Bazaars:" it contains a square room with a stone floor, partly walled off for a tomb, shown to Maundrell (*Early Trav.* Bohn, p. 494) as the "tomb of Ananias." The house is an object of religious respect to Mussulmans as well as Christians (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 412; Conyb. and Hows. i. 102; Maundrell, *l. c.*; Pococke, ii. 119). E. V.

* It is not certain, nor probable, that this Judas (of whom nothing further is known) was at that time a Christian. None of Saul's company were Christians, nor did they know that he had become one. Neither they, nor he, would probably know of a Christian family to which they could conduct him, nor would such a family have then received him. He was probably led by his companions to his intended stopping-place — possibly, a public house. It is a fair inference from the narrative, that the host and the guest were both personally strangers to Ananias. S. W.

JU'DAS, SURNAMED BAR'SABAS (Ἰούδας ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Βαρσαβᾶς [Lachm. Tisch. Treg. Βαρσαββᾶς]: *Judas qui cognominabatur Barsabas*, [Cod. Amiat. *Barsabbas*]), a leading member of the Apostolic church at Jerusalem (*ἀνὴρ ἡγούμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς*), Acts xv. 22, and "perhaps a member of the Presbytery" (Neander, *Pl. & Tr.* i. 123), endued with the gift of prophecy (ver. 32), chosen with Silas to accompany St. Paul and St. Barnabas as delegates to the church at Antioch, to make known the decree concerning the terms of admission of the Gentile converts, and to accredit their commission and character by personal communications (ver. 27). After employing their prophetical gifts for the confirmation of the Syrian Christians in the faith, Judas went back to Jerusalem, while Silas either remained at Antioch (for the reading Acts xv. 34 is uncertain; and while some MSS., followed by the Vulgate, add *μόνος Ἰούδας δὲ ἐπορεύθη*, the best omit the verse altogether), or speedily returned thither. Nothing further is recorded of Judas.

The form of the name Barsabas [or Barsabbas, see above] = Son of Sabas, has led to several conjectures: Wolf and Grotius, probably enough suppose him to have been a brother of Joseph Barsabas (Acts i. 23); while Schott (*Isagog.* § 103, p

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431) takes Sabas or Zabas to be an abbreviated form of Zebedee, regards Judas as an elder brother of James and John, and attributes to him the "Epistle of Jude." Augusti, on the other hand (*Die Katholisch. Briefe, Lemgo*, 1801–8, ii. 86), advances the opinion, though with considerable hesitation, that he may be identical with the Apostle Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου. E. V.

JUDAS OF GALILEE (Ἰούδας ὁ Γαλιλαῖος: *Judas Galilæus*), the leader of a popular revolt "in the days of the taxing" (*i. e.* the census, under the prefecture of P. Sulp. Quirinus, A. D. 6, A. U. C. 759), referred to by Gamaliel in his speech before the Sanhedrim (Acts v. 37). According to Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 1, § 1), Judas was a Gaulonite of the city of Gamala, probably taking his name of Galilæan from his insurrection having had its rise in Galilee. His revolt had a theocratic character, the watchword of which was "We have no Lord nor master but God," and he boldly denounced the payment of tribute to Cæsar, and all acknowledgment of any foreign authority, as treason against the principles of the Mosaic constitution, and signifying nothing short of downright slavery. His fiery eloquence and the popularity of his doctrines drew vast numbers to his standard, by many of whom he was regarded as the Messiah (Orig. *Homil. in Luc.* xxv.), and the country was for a time entirely given over to the lawless depredations of the fierce and licentious throng who had joined themselves to him; but the might of Rome proved irresistible: Judas himself perished, and his followers were "dispersed," though not entirely destroyed till the final overthrow of the city and nation.

With his fellow insurgent Sadoc, a Pharisee, Judas is represented by Josephus as the founder of a fourth sect, in addition to the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes (*Ant.* xviii. 1. § 1, 6; *B. J.* ii. 8, § 1). The only point which appears to have distinguished his followers from the Pharisees was their stubborn love of freedom, leading them to despise torments or death for themselves or their friends, rather than call any man master.

The Gaulonites, as his followers were called, may be regarded as the doctrinal ancestors of the Zealots and Sicarii of later days, and to the influence of his tenets Josephus attributes all subsequent insurrections of the Jews, and the final destruction of the City and Temple. James and John, the sons of Judas, headed an unsuccessful insurrection in the procuratorship of Tiberius Alexander, A. D. 47, by whom they were taken prisoners and crucified. Twenty years later, A. D. 66, their younger brother Menahem, following his father's example, took the lead of a band of desperadoes, who, after pillaging the armory of Herod in the fortress of Masada, near the "gardens of Engaddi," marched to Jerusalem, occupied the city, and after a desperate siege took the palace, where he immediately assumed the state of a king, and committed great enormities. As he was going up to the Temple to worship, with great pomp, Menahem was taken by the partisans of Eleazar the high-priest, by whom he was tortured to death Aug. 15, A. D. 66 (Milman, *Hist. of Jews*, ii. 152, 231; Joseph. *l. c.*; Orig. *in Matt. T.* xvii. § 25). E. V.

JUDAS ISCARIOT (Ἰούδας Ἰσκαριώτης in Mark and Luke, Lachm. Tisch. Treg. Ἰσκαριώθ]: *Judas Iscariotes*). He is sometimes called "the son of Simon" (John vi. 71, xiii. 2, 26), but more commonly (the three Synoptic Gospels give no other name), Iscariotes (Matt. x. 4; Mark iii. 19; Luke vi. 16, *et al.*). In the three lists of the Twelve there is added in each case the fact that he was the betrayer.

The name Iscariot has received many interpretations more or less conjectural.

(1.) From KERIOTH (Josh. xv. 25), in the tribe of Judah, the Heb. אִישׁ קְרִיּוֹת, ISH K'RIOTH, passing into Ἰσκαριώτης in the same way as אִישׁ טוֹב — Ish Tob, a man of Tob— appears in Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 6, § 1) as, Ἴστωβος (Winer, *Realwb.* s. v.). In connection with this explanation may be noticed the reading of some MSS. in John vi. 71, ἀπὸ Καριώτου, and that received by Lachmann and Tischendorf, which makes the name Iscariot belong to Simon, and not, as elsewhere, to Judas only. On this hypothesis his position among the Twelve, the rest of whom belonged to Galilee (Acts ii. 7), would be exceptional; and this has led to

(2.) From Kartha in Galilee (Kartan, A. V., Josh. xxi. 32; Ewald, *Gesch. Israels*, v. 321).

(3.) As equivalent to Ἰσαχαριώτης (Grotius on Matt. x. 4; Heumann, *Miscell. Groning.* iii. 598, in Winer, *Realwb.*).

(4.) From the date-trees (καρυῶται) in the neighborhood of Jerusalem or Jericho (Bartolocci, *Bibl. Rabbin.* iii. 10, in Winer, *l. c.*; Gill, *Comm. on Matt.* x. 4).

(5.) From אסקורטיא (= SCORTEA, Gill, *l. c.*), a leathern apron, the name being applied to him as the bearer of the bag, and = Judas with the apron (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb. in Matt.* x. 4).

(6.) From אסכרא, *ascara* = strangling (angina), as given after his death, and commemorating it (Lightfoot, *l. c.*), or indicating that he had been subject to a disease tending to suffocation previously (Heinsius *in Suicer. Thes.* s. v. Ἰούδας). This is mentioned also as a meaning of the name by Origen, *Tract. in Matt.* xxxv.

Of the life of Judas, before the appearance of his name in the lists of the Apostles, we know absolutely nothing. It must be left to the sad vision of a poet (Keble, *Lyra Innocentium*, ii. 13), or the fantastic fables of an apocryphal Gospel (Thilo, *Cod. Apoc. N. T. Evang. Infant.* c. 35) to portray the infancy and youth of the traitor. What that appearance implies, however, is that he had previously declared himself a disciple. He was drawn, as the others were, by the preaching of the Baptist, or his own Messianic hopes, or the "gracious words" of the new teacher, to leave his former life, and to obey the call of the Prophet of Nazareth. What baser and more selfish motives may have mingled even then with his faith and zeal, we can only judge by reasoning backward from the sequel. Gifts of some kind there must have been, rendering the choice of such a man not strange to others, not unfit in itself, and the function which he exercised afterwards among the Twelve may indicate what they were. The position of his name, uniformly the last in the lists of the Apostles in the Synoptic Gospels, is due, it may be imagined, to the infamy which afterwards rested on his name, but, prior to that guilt, it would seem that he took his place in the group of four which always stand last in order, as if possessing neither the love, nor the faith, nor the devotion which marked the sons of Zebedee and Jonah

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The choice was not made, we must remember, without a prevision of its issue. "Jesus knew from the beginning who should betray Him" (John vi. 64); and the distinctness with which that Evangelist records the successive stages of the guilt of Judas, and his Master's discernment of it (John xii. 4, xiii. 2, 27), leaves with us the impression that he too shrank instinctively (Bengel describes it as "singularis antipathia," *Gnomon N. T.* on John vi. 64) from a nature so opposite to his own. We can hardly expect to solve the question why such a man was chosen for such an office. Either we must assume absolute foreknowledge, and then content ourselves with saying with Calvin that the judgments of God are as a great deep, and with Ullmann (*Sündlosigk. Jesu*, p. 97) that he was chosen that the Divine purpose might be accomplished through him; or else with Neander (*Leben Jesu*, § 77) that there was a discernment of the latent germs of evil, such as belonged to the Son of Man, in his insight into the hearts of men (John ii. 25; Matt. ix. 4; Mark xii. 15), yet not such as to exclude emotions of sudden sorrow or anger (Mark iii. 5), or astonishment (Mark vi. 6; Luke vii. 9), admitting the thought "with men this is impossible, but not with God." Did He in the depth of that insight, and in the fullness of his compassion, seek to overcome the evil which, if not conquered, would be so fatal? It gives, at any rate, a new meaning and force to many parts of our Lord's teaching, to remember that they must have been spoken in the hearing of Judas, and may have been designed to make him conscious of his danger. The warnings as to the impossibility of a service divided between God and Mammon (Matt. vi. 19–34), and the destructive power of the "cares of this world, and the deceitfulness of riches" (Matt. xiii. 22, 23), the pointed words that spoke of the guilt of unfaithfulness in the "unrighteous Mammon" (Luke xvi. 11), the proverb of the camel passing through the needle's eye (Mark x. 25), must have fallen on his heart as meant specially for him. He was among those who asked the question, Who then can be saved? (Mark x. 26). Of him, too, we may say, that, when he sinned, he was "kicking against the pricks," letting slip his "calling and election," frustrating the purpose of his Master in giving him so high a work, and educating him for it (comp. Chrysost. *Hom. on Matt.* xxvi. xxvii., *John* vi.).

The germs (see Stier's *Words of Jesus, infra*) of the evil, in all likelihood, unfolded themselves gradually. The rules to which the Twelve were subject in their first journey (Matt. x. 9, 10) sheltered him from the temptation that would have been most dangerous to him. The new form of life, of which we find the first traces in Luke viii. 3, brought that temptation with it. As soon as the Twelve were recognized as a body, travelling hither and thither with their Master, receiving money and other offerings, and redistributing what they received to the poor, it became necessary that some one should act as the steward and almoner of the small society, and this fell to Judas (John xii. 6, xiii. 29), either as having the gifts that qualified him for it, or, as we may conjecture, from his character, because he sought it, or, as some have imagined, in rotation from time to time. The Galilæan or Judæan peasant (we have no reason for thinking that his station differed from that of the other Apostles) found himself entrusted with larger sums of money than before (the three hundred denarii of John xii. 5, are spoken of as a sum which he might reasonably have expected), and with this there came covetousness, unfaithfulness, embezzlement. It was impossible after this that he could feel at ease with One who asserted so clearly and sharply the laws of faithfulness, duty unselfishness; and the words of Jesus, "Have I not chosen you Twelve, and one of you is a devil?" (John vi. 70), indicate that even then,[a] though the greed of immediate, or the hope of larger gain, kept him from "going back," as others did (John vi. 66), hatred was taking the place of love, and leading him on to a fiendish malignity.

In what way that evil was rebuked, what discipline was applied to counteract it, has been hinted at above. The scene at Bethany (John xii. 1–9; Matt. xxvi. 6–13; Mark xiv. 3–9) showed how deeply the canker had eaten into his soul. The warm outpouring of love calls forth no sympathy. He utters himself, and suggests to others, the complaint that it is a waste. Under the plea of caring for the poor he covers his own miserable theft.

The narrative of Matt. xxvi., Mark xiv. places this history in close connection (apparently in order of time) with the fact of the betrayal. It leaves the motives of the betrayer to conjecture (comp. Neander, *Leben Jesu*, § 264). The mere love of money may have been strong enough to make him clutch at the bribe offered him. He came, it may be, expecting more (Matt. xxvi. 15); he will take that. He has lost the chance of dealing with the three hundred denarii; it will be something to get the thirty shekels as his own. It may have been that he felt that his Master saw through his hidden guilt, and that he hastened on a crisis to avoid the shame of open detection. Mingled with this there may have been some feeling of vindictiveness, a vague, confused desire to show that he had power to stop the career of the teacher who had reproved him. Had the words that spoke of "the burial" of Jesus, and the lukewarmness of the people, and the conspiracies of the priests led him at last to see that the Messianic kingdom was not as the kingdoms of this world, and that his dream of power and wealth to be enjoyed in it was a delusion? (Ewald, *Gesch. Israels*, v. 441–46.) There may have been the thought that, after all, the betrayal could do no harm, that his Master would prove his innocence, or by some supernatural manifestation effect his escape (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* p. 886, in Winer, and Whitby on Matt. xxvii. 4). Another motive has been suggested (comp. Neander, *Leben Jesu*, l. c.; and Whately, *Essays on Dangers to Christian Faith*, Discourse iii.) of an entirely different kind, altering altogether the character of the act. Not the love of money, nor revenge, nor fear, nor disappointment, but policy, a subtle plan to force on the hour of the triumph of the Messianic kingdom, the belief that for this service he would receive as high a place as Peter, or James, or John; this it was that made him the traitor. If he could place his Master in a position, from which retreat would be impossible, where he would be compelled to throw himself on the people, and be raised by them to the throne of his father David, then he might look forward to being foremost and highest in that kingdom, with all his desires for wealth and power gratified to the full.

[a] Awful as the words were, however, we must remember that like words were spoken of and to Peter (Matt. xvi. 23).

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ingenious as this hypothesis is, it fails for that very reason.[a] It attributes to the Galilean peasant a subtlety in forecasting political combinations, and planning stratagems accordingly, which is hardly compatible with his character and learning, hardly consistent either with the pettiness of the faults into which he had hitherto fallen. Of the other motives that have been assigned we need not care to fix on any one, as that which singly led him on. Crime is for the most part the result of a hundred motives rushing with bewildering fury through the mind of the criminal.

During the days that intervened between the supper at Bethany and the Paschal or quasi-Paschal gathering, he appeared to have concealed his treachery. He went with the other disciples to and fro from Bethany to Jerusalem, and looked on the acted parable of the barren and condemned tree (Mark xi. 20–24), and shared the vigils in Gethsemane (John xviii. 2). At the Last Supper he is present, looking forward to the consummation of his guilt as drawing nearer every hour. All is at first as if he were still faithful. He is admitted to the feast. His feet are washed, and for him there are the fearful words, "Ye are clean, but not all." He, it may be, receives the bread and the wine which were the pledges of the new covenant.[b] Then come the sorrowful words which showed him that his design was known. "One of you shall betray me." Others ask, in their sorrow and confusion, "Is it I?" He too must ask the same question, lest he should seem guilty (Matt. xxvi. 25). He alone hears the answer. John only, and through him Peter, and the traitor himself, understand the meaning of the act which pointed out that he was the guilty one (John xiii. 26).[c] After this there comes on him that paroxysm and insanity of guilt as of one whose human soul was possessed by the Spirit of Evil — "Satan entered into him" (John xiii. 27). The words, "What thou doest, do quickly," come as a spur to drive him on. The other disciples see in them only a command which they interpret as connected with the work he had hitherto undertaken. Then he completes the sin from which even those words might have drawn him back. He knows that garden in which his Master and his companions had so often rested after the weary work of the day. He comes, accompanied by a band of officers and servants (John xviii. 3), with the kiss which was probably the usual salutation of the disciples. The words of Jesus, calm and gentle as they were, showed that this was what embittered the treachery, and made the suffering it inflicted more acute (Luke xxii 48).

What followed in the confusion of that night the Gospels do not record. Not many students of the N. T. will follow Heumann and Archbp. Whately (*Essays on Dangers*, l. c.) in the hypothesis that Judas was "the other disciple" that was known to the high-priest, and brought Peter in (comp. Meyer on John xviii. 15). It is probable enough, indeed, that he who had gone out with the high priest's officers should return with them to wait the issue of the trial. Then, when it was over, came the reaction. The fever of the crime passed away. There came back on him the recollection of the sinless righteousness of the Master he had wronged (Matt. xxvii. 3). He repented, and his guilt and all that had tempted him to it became hateful.[d] He will get rid of the accursed thing, will transfer it back again to those who with it had lured him on to destruction. They mock and sneer at the tool whom they have used, and then there comes over him the horror of great darkness that precedes self-murder. He has owned his sin with "an exceeding bitter cry," but he dares not turn, with any hope of pardon, to the Master whom he has betrayed. He hurls the money, which the priests refused to take, into the sanctuary (*ναός*) where they were assembled. For him there is no longer sacrifice or propitiation.[e] He is "the son of perdition" (John xvii. 12). "He departed and went and hanged himself" (Matt. xxvii. 5). He went "unto his own place"[f] (Acts i. 25).

We have in Acts i. another account of the circumstances of his death, which it is not easy to harmonize with that given by St. Matthew. There, in words which may have been spoken by St. Peter (Meyer, following the general *consensus* of interpreters), or may have been a parenthetical notice inserted by St. Luke (Calvin, Olshausen, and others), it is stated —

(1.) That, instead of throwing the money into the Temple, he bought (*ἐκτήσατο*) a field with it.

(2.) That, instead of hanging himself, "falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out."

(3.) That for this reason, and not because the priests had bought it with the price of blood, the field was called Aceldama.

[a] Comp. the remarks on this hypothesis, in which Whately followed (unconsciously perhaps) in the footsteps of Paulus, in Ersch u. Gruber's *Allgem. Encycl.* art. "Judas."

[b] The question whether Judas was a partaker of the Lord's Supper is encompassed with many difficulties, both dogmatic and harmonistic. The general consensus of patristic commentators gives an affirmative, that of modern critics a negative, answer. (Comp. Meyer, *Comm. on John* xiii. 36.)

[c] The combination of the narratives of the four Gospels is not without grave difficulties, for which harmonists and commentators may be consulted. We have given that which seems the most probable result.

[d] This passage has often been appealed to, as illustrating the difference between *μεταμέλεια* and *μετανοία*. It is questionable, however, how far the N. T. writers recognise that distinction (comp. Grotius *in loc.* Still more questionable is the notion above referred to, that St. Matthew describes his disappointment at a result so different from that which he had reckoned.

[e] It is characteristic of the wide, far-reaching sympathy of Origen, that he suggests another motive for the suicide of Judas. Despairing of pardon in this life, he would rush on into the world of the dead, and there (*γυμνῇ τῇ ψυχῇ*) meet his Lord, and confess his guilt and ask for pardon (*Tract. in Matt.* xxxv.: comp. also Theophanes, *Hom.* xxvii., in Suicer, *Thes.* s. v. 'Ιούδας).

[f] The words *ἴδιος τόπος* in St. Peter's speech convey to our minds, probably were meant to convey to those who heard them, the impression of some dark region in Gehenna. Lightfoot and Gill (*in loc.*) quote passages from rabbinical writers who find that meaning in the phrase, even in Gen. xxxi. 55, and Num. xxiv. 25. On the other hand it should be remembered that many interpreters reject that explanation (comp. Meyer, *in loc.*),[a] and that one great Anglican divine (Hammond, *Comment. on N. T.* in loc.) enters a distinct protest against it.

[a] Meyer mentions some who reject the above explanation respecting *ἴδιος τόπος*, though he gives his own opinion to it.

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It is, of course, easy to cut the knot, as Strauss and De Wette have done, by assuming one or both accounts to be spurious and legendary. Receiving both as authentic, we are yet led to the conclusion that the explanation is to be found in some unknown series of facts, of which we have but two fragmentary narratives. The solutions that have been suggested by commentators and harmonists are nothing more than exercises of ingenuity seeking to dovetail into each other portions of a dissected map which, for want of missing pieces, do not fit. Such as they are, it may be worth while to state the chief of them.

As to (1) it has been said that there is a kind of irony in St. Peter's words, "This was all he got." That which was bought with his money is spoken of as bought by him (Meyer *in loc.*).

As to (2) we have the explanations —

(*a.*) That ἀπήγξατο, in Matt. xxvii. 5, includes death by some sudden spasm of suffocation (*angina pectoris?*), such as might be caused by the overpowering misery of his remorse, and that then came the fall described in the Acts (Suicer, *Thes.* s. v. ἀπάγχω; Grotius, Hammond, Lightfoot, and others). By some this has even been connected with the name Iscariot, as implying a constitutional tendency to this disease (Gill).

(*b.*) That the work of suicide was but half accomplished, and that, the halter breaking, he fell (from a fig-tree, in one tradition) across the road, and was mangled and crushed by the carts and wagons that passed over him. This explanation appears, with strange and horrible exaggerations, in the narrative of Papias, quoted by Œcumenius on Acts i., and in Theophylact on Matt. xxvii.

As to (3) we have to choose between the alternatives —

(*a.*) That there were two Aceldamas. [ACELDAMA.]

(*b.*) That the potter's field which the priests had bought was the same as that in which the traitor met so terrible a death.

The life of Judas has been represented here in the only light in which it is possible for us to look on it, as a human life, and therefore as one of temptation, struggle, freedom, responsibility. If another mode of speaking of it appears in the N. T.; if words are used which imply that all happened as it had been decreed; that the guilt and the misery were parts of a Divine plan (John vi. 64, xiii. 18; Acts i. 16), we must yet remember that this is no single, exceptional instance. All human actions are dealt with in the same way. They appear at one moment separate, free, uncontrolled; at another they are links in a long chain of causes and effects, the beginning and the end of which are in the "thick darkness where God is," or determined by an inexorable necessity. No adherence to a philosophical system frees men altogether from inconsistency in their language. In proportion as their minds are religious, and not philosophical, the transitions from one to the other will be frequent, abrupt, and startling.

With the exception of the stories already mentioned, there are but few traditions that gather round the name of Judas. It appears, however, in a strange, hardly intelligible way in the history of the wilder heresies of the second century. The sect of Cainites, consistent in their inversion of all that Christians in general believed, was reported to have honored him as the only Apostle that was in possession of the true GNOSIS, to have made him the object of their worship, and to have had a Gospel bearing his name (comp. Neander, *Church History*, ii. 153, Eng. transl.; Iren. *adv. Hær.* i 35; Tertull. *de Præsc.* c. 47).[a] For the general literature connected with this subject, especially for monographs on the motive of Judas and the manner of his death, see Winer, *Realwb.* For a full treatment of the questions of the relation in which his guilt stood to the life of Christ, comp. Stier's *Words of the Lord Jesus*, on the passages where Judas is mentioned, and in particular vol. vii. pp. 40–67, Eng. trans. E. H. P.

* Question I. What was the character of Judas Iscariot?

A. What was his intellectual character?

(*a.*) There are more signs in the Gospels that Judas had a strong and sturdy intellect than that some of the other disciples had. It may be surmised from John xii. 4–8 as compared with Matthew xxvi. 8–11 and Mark xiv. 4–7, that especially in financial affairs he had a marked influence upon his fellow apostles. He was appointed to superintend the funds, and disburse the charities of the retinue which accompanied the Messiah. At one time (Luke viii. 1–3) this retinue needed a careful, exact, and sharp-sighted treasurer. We may presume that Judas's intellectual fitness for this office was one reason for his appointment to it. Some (as Rodatz) have supposed that each of the disciples in his turn had the oversight of the money belonging to the retinue of Christ. But this mere conjecture is adverse to the Biblical impression.

(*b.*) Although the Gospels give us more intimations of shrewdness as characteristic of Judas than as characteristic of the other disciples, they do not imply that he had so extensive a reach of mind as some German theorists ascribe to him. According to these theorists he was so sharp-sighted as to reason in a manner like the following: —

"It may be inferred from certain words of the Master [Matthew xix. 28] that he will assume a temporal throne, and exalt his twelve apostles to be his twelve princes; it may be inferred from certain exhibitions of popular feeling [John xii. 12–19] that the masses of the Jews are now ready, and need only an impulse and occasion to enthrone him; the betrayal will put the Messiah into such a position that he must declare himself; the Jewish rulers will at once resist his pretensions, but the people will at once stand up for him, and under his leadership will overcome the rulers; the betrayal will thus be the means of introducing a new administration highly advantageous to the state, of expediting the royal glory of the Master, and the princely honors of the disciples; of pleasing by exalting the king, rather than of displeasing by degrading him."

We do not know enough to deny outright that such a plan, or at least some parts of it, may have momentarily occurred to Judas; but the Gospels do not make upon us the impression of his having that kind of intellect which remains *steadfast* in such a comprehensive plan.

B. What was the moral character of Judas?

(*a.*) Some writers regard him as possessing a merely cold and calculating spirit unsusceptible to the influences flowing from the virtues of the Messiah; as having full confidence in the superiority

a * Mr. Norton gives reasons for doubting the existence of such a sect (*Genuineness of the Gospels*, 2d ed., iii. 231 ff.). A.

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of Jesus to his enemies and in his ability to extricate himself from their stratagems; therefore as devising the traitorous scheme without malice as well as without love toward his Master, and with a frigid plan of making game of the Jewish rulers, getting his thirty pieces of silver by the trick of the betrayal which he believed would be harmless to others while profitable to himself. But the intimations of the Gospels are that Judas combined a rude strength of feeling with his financial sagacity. His keenness of remorse, his bitter regrets, the powerful emotions terminating in his fearful death are signs that he was impressible to the motives of goodness; that he alternated suddenly from an excitement of avarice to an excitement of a sense of shame and from both to an excitement of the sense of right and the fear of retribution.

(*b.*) Another class of writers represent Iscariot as a man of benevolence and probity: see Question II. *a.*

(*c.*) Still another class (represented by Daub) regard the traitor as a man who even before his entrance upon the apostleship "had fallen irrevocably a prey to evil," had become "a hopelessly bad man," "a devil in the flesh," an impersonation of "the evil which has utterly cast off all humanity," etc., etc. This supposition is refuted by the fact that Jesus, ever mindful of the fitnesses of things, entrusted to Iscariot so responsible an office as that of the bursar; also by the fact that Judas, so far from being regarded by his fellow disciples as a fiend, was for a long time not suspected of any misdemeanor; that the Apostles were surprised when his future treason was announced at the Paschal Supper (Matt. xxvi. 21 ff.; Mark xiv. 18 ff.; Luke xxii. 21 ff.; John xiii. 11, 18, 23 ff.), and, even when he was expelled from their company, thought that he was sent forth on a religious or benevolent errand (John xiii. 27–30), to gather provisions for the feast-week, or to distribute charities among the poor, perhaps to provide some indigent families with money sufficient for enabling them to offer the festival sacrifices.

(*d.*) Another class of writers adopt an intermediate and more probable theory, that, although Judas had a strength, tact, and carefulness of spirit which fitted him to conduct the secular affairs of the Lord's retinue, he had no largeness of mind nor loftiness of aim which fitted him for great exploits; he had a firmness of soul which qualified him to endure persecution, but led him to his terrible suicide; he was mean, sordid, miserly, but still not insensible to the attractions of the opposite character; although engrossed with selfish aims which made him at times frigid and relentless, he had yet a passionate nature which made him at other times violent in self-reproach; he had enough of moral sentiment to know the right and put on the semblance of it; he could not have enjoyed for so long a time the confidence of the disciples unless he had counterfeited their virtues, and he is implicitly accused by John (xii. 6) of hypocritical pretensions; although his powers and sensibilities were in a singular degree disproportioned to each other, yet they did not place him beyond the reach of hope for his improvement, nor leave him (as he is so often represented) an altogether exceptional case of humanity. The sins of Judas were those of deliberate intent; the sins of Peter were those of sudden lapse. Christ says to Peter (Matt. xvi. 23): "Get thou behind me, Satan"; he says, with more deliberate emphasis, of Judas (John vi. 70): "Have I not chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil?" still the sins of both Peter and Judas were *human* and therefore when Peter speaks in Acts i. 16–22 of the traitor's suicide he maintains a reticence which indicates that the author of the denial did not think it seemly to hurl any violent epithets against the author of the betrayal. Even if (as Meyer, Alford) we suppose that the 18th and 19th verses of Acts i. belong to the speech of Peter, they stand in significant contrast with his open denunciations of other bad men; as for instance in the second chapter of his Second Epistle. But the internal evidence is (see Dr. Gill on Acts i. 15–20) that those two verses were intercalated by Luke, whose medical education would prompt him to such a statement, and who with a mixture of severity and derision suggests ideas like the following: "This man so eager in his pursuit of wealth ended his pursuit in acquiring a piece of land, the very name of which is infamous. What shall it profit a man if he should gain the whole world and lose his own soul? This man gained a contemptible part of the world, and amid disgusting bruises of his body, lost his soul."

Because our Lord addressed the loyal disciples in a strain of rebuke similar to that which he applied to Judas (compare Matt. xvi. 23 with John vi. 70; also Matt. xxvi. 10, Mark xiv. 6–9 with John xii. 7, 8), some writers have inferred that Iscariot was not eminently selfish. Some (as Goldhorn) have denied that the Evangelists accuse him of cherishing an avaricious temper, or of practicing embezzlement for his own personal advantage. He has been thought to be a kind of prototype of St. Crispin, who is the tutelary saint of shoemakers, and who with his brother Crispianus was martyred in A. D 287, after having his hands and feet plunged into molten lead. This saint, like Iscariot, was called a "thief," for in his benevolent zeal he had been in the habit of purloining leather from the comparatively rich in order that he might make shoes of it for the comparatively poor. But the supposition that Judas Iscariot was absorbed in such a Crispinade is as idle as the mediæval legend that the twenty pieces of silver for which Joseph was sold by his brethren found their way at last into the Jewish Temple, were paid to Judas for his treason, and were finally returned by him into the temple treasury.

Question II. What were the motives inducing Judas to betray his Lord?

In his Essay on Judas Iscariot, Mr. De Quincey says: "Everything connected with our ordinary conceptions of this man, of his real purposes, and of his ultimate fate, apparently is erroneous." "It must always be important to recall within the fold of Christian forgiveness any one who has long been sequestered from human charity, and has tenanted a Pariah grave. In the greatest and most memorable of earthly tragedies Judas is a prominent figure. So long as the earth revolves, he cannot be forgotten. If, therefore, there is a doubt affecting his case, he is entitled to the benefit of that doubt." We are indeed apt to err in supposing that the entire character of Judas, and especially his signal crimes, were essentially different from the character and crimes of other bad men. We are also apt to err in supposing that he had a clear and definite view of the exact evils which would befall the Messiah, and that he did not endeavor, like other bad men, to palliate his crime by imagining that its evil results would in some way or other be

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prevented. (See Neander's *Leben Jesu*, p. 679 f. 4e Aufl.) We are further apt to err in supposing that Judas must have had a single solitary motive, or else a self-consistent system of motives for his treason. He seems to have had a spirit which was driven hither and thither by a tumult of emotions, some of which were at variance with others; to have been like a merchant on the eve of bankruptcy distracted with conflicting impulses; to have been bewildered by the words and acts of Jesus; not to have known exactly what to expect; to have been at last surprised (Meyer on Matt. xxvi. 14–16) that Jesus did not foil his adversaries and escape the crucifixion.

(*a.*) It has been supposed that Judas was animated, in a greater or less degree, by Jewish patriotism. He has been called by some "Ein braver Mann"; he has been thought by others to have combined certain selfish impulses with his patriotism and benevolence. Jesus could not have made a mistake in selecting him as a disciple and bursar; therefore Judas must have been worthy of the selection. Mr. De Quincey, who thinks that Judas as the purse-bearer for the disciples had "the most of worldly wisdom, and was best acquainted with the temper of the times," and could not "have made any gross blunder as to the wishes and secret designs of the populace in Jerusalem," (for "his official duty must have brought him every day into minute and circumstantial communication with an important order of men, namely, petty shop-keepers," who "in all countries alike fulfill a great political function,") supposes that Iscariot had reason to hope not only for the rising of the Jewish populace in behalf of the Messiah, but also perhaps for the ultimate aid of the Romans in defending him against the Jewish rulers. (See *Theol. Essays*, I. 147–177; see also above, Quest. I. A. (*a.*).) But as the intellect of Judas fitted him for small though dexterous manœuvres rather than for adhering steadfastly to any great political scheme, so his heart was more ready to grasp some petty contracted stratagem of selfishness, than to persevere in any large plan of patriotism. Besides, if he had engaged in the betrayal under the influence of this wide-reaching plan, he probably would not at last have summed up the history of it by the words which excluded the semblance of an apology: "I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood," Matt. xxvii. 4; nor probably would the considerate Jesus have uttered against the "lost" man, "the son of perdition," those significant words, "Good were it for that man if he had never been born," John xvii. 11; Matt. xxvi. 24; Mark xiv. 21; nor probably would Luke have characterized the thirty pieces of silver as "the reward of iniquity," Acts i. 18, like Balaam's "wages of unrighteousness," 2 Peter ii. 15; nor probably would Peter have applied to Judas those fearful predictions of the Psalms, Acts i. 16, 20, as Matthew applied the solemn words of Zechariah, Matt. xxvii. 9, 10; nor would the beloved disciple have exhibited such an involuntary outflow of indignation against the traitor as appears in his Gospel xii. 6, xiii. 27–30, xiv. 22 (see Meyer), vi. 70, 71; nor perhaps would the synoptists, in giving their catalogue of the Apostles, have uniformly placed at the foot of the list the name of "Judas Iscariot who also betrayed him," Matt. x. 4; Mark iii. 19; Luke vi. 16.

(*b.*) It is a more plausible theory that Iscariot was impelled to his crime by a desire to avoid the shame of being so frequently and pointedly rebuked by the Messiah. Although he was willing to sell his kiss for thirty pieces of silver, yet he was a man, and must have had some wish to avoid the reprimands which were becoming more and more solemn and pointed.

(*c.*) Connected with the preceding was his desire to avert from himself the persecutions and other evils which were to come on the disciples. Even if, in his calculation of chances, he did solace himself with the possibility of driving the Messiah up to the temporal throne, still he must have had a prevailing fear that the new kingdom was not to be speedily established. It appears far more probable that he was influenced by an aim to earn the gratitude of the Jews by delivering the Saviour to their custody, than by an aim to earn the gratitude of the Saviour and the disciples by hastening their elevation to thrones. Especially does it appear so, when we reflect that during the hours of the day preceding his formation of the traitorous purpose, he had probably heard, or heard of, those fearful words of Christ which portended violent changes in the Jewish state, and the troublous times of the Apostles (see Matt. xxiv. and xxv.; Mark xiii.; Luke xxi.; see also (*e.*) below).

(*d.*) One of the motives which strengthened all the others for the treason was probably the traitor's dissatisfaction with the principles of the new kingdom (Neander's *Leben Jesu*, p. 679 f.). He saw more and more distinctly, and the scene recorded in John xii. 1–9 confirmed him in the belief, that the spiritual kingdom would yield him but a meagre living. It was to require a habit of lowly self-denial, and was to be characterized by services to the poor. For these services he had no taste.

(*e.*) Mingled with his aversion to spiritual duty, was his vindictive spirit impelling him to work some undefined sort of injury to the Messiah. According to the most plausible hypothesis, he had been chagrined by the fact that, although the almoner of the disciples, he yet had a lower place than Peter, James, and especially John in the esteem of his Master; his revenge, having been repeatedly inflamed by slights and censures, was set all on fire when he was reprimanded, and the generous woman applauded, at the feast of the unction on the evening after Tuesday; stung by that disgrace, he formed his plan of the betrayal; he may not have determined the exact time of executing that plan, but having been still further irritated at the Paschal supper on the evening following Thursday, and having been goaded on by the mandate "what thou doest do quickly," he did not sleep as the other disciples did on Thursday night, but then precipitated himself into his crime (Meyer and others suppose that he *then* formed his purpose of the crime). On Tuesday, during the Saviour's last visit to the Temple, the Jewish rulers had been violently incensed against him by the speeches recorded in Matt. xxii. and xxiii., Mark xii., and Luke xx. On the evening after that day, when Judas was irritated by the reprimand of his Master, he would naturally think of the Jews cut to the heart by the same reprover, and would be tempted to conspire with them against the author of these reprimands. This was the critical period for him to turn "State's Evidence," and to join hands with the Sanhedrim as Pilate joined hands with Herod.

(*f.*) Another of the motives working in the traitor's mind was avarice. Three hundred denarii had been kept out of his purse two days before the

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betrayal (John xi. 1–9), and this needless loss intensified his miserly as well as retaliatory spirit. It has been objected (even by Neander) that he could not have been influenced by so small a reward as eighteen dollars. It is true that the words "eighteen dollars" in American coinage represent the value of thirty shekels of silver at the time of Josephus; but it must be remembered that eighteen dollars according to the American standard represent a far smaller amount of purchasing power than was represented by the thirty silverlings of Josephus. For obtaining this sum Judas did not regard one kiss as a very great work. Besides, an avaricious man is often more affected by a small gain than a large one. A little in the hand also is more attractive to him than much in the prospect. Even if he had endeavored to encourage or excuse himself by sudden gleams of hope that he would acquire wealth by expediting the Messianic reign, these fitful gleams could not relieve his prevailing expectation that the new reign would leave him poor; and thirty shekels of silver paid down were a surer good than the spiritual honors of the uncertain kingdom. That in the tumultuous rush of his evil thoughts the traitor was under the special power of avarice, revenge, and distaste for the spiritualities of the Messiah's kingdom is intimated in Scriptures like the following: Luke xxii. 3; John vi. 12 and 70, xii. 6, xiii. 2, 10, 11, 27.

Question III. Why did Christ select and retain Judas as one of the Apostles?

We may consider the call of Judas as made by *man*, and as made by *God*.

A. Regarding it as made merely by the *man* Jesus, theologians have maintained, with more or less distinctness, the following theories: —

(*a.*) At the first Christ understood the financial abilities, but not the thievish or treacherous tendencies of Iscariot. These were not discovered until they were developed in the passion week, or at least not until it was too late to eject him from the Saviour's family. The reasons for *retaining* were different from those for originally *appointing* him. The traitor would have been irritated by the expulsion, and would have precipitated the delivery of Jesus to his enemies before the full accomplishment of the Messianic work. "That Jesus knew from the beginning that Judas was a thoroughly bad man, and yet received him among the twelve is altogether impossible." Schenkel's *Character of Jesus portrayed*, vol. ii. p. 218; see also Ullmann's *Sündlosigkeit Jesu*, Sect. 3; Winer's *Realwörterb.* art. *Judas*.

(*b.*) From the first Christ was perfectly certain of the traitor's miserly and dishonest aims; but he knew the necessity of being delivered up to be crucified; he must have some instrument for being given over to the power of his enemies; he singled out Judas as that instrument, and the discipleship as a convenience for that work.

(*c.*) A more plausible account than either of the preceding is: The Messiah perceived Iscariot's business talents, economical habits and other to us unknown qualifications for the discipleship; he perceived also the disqualifications which were less prominent in Iscariot's earlier than in his later life, for they became more and more aggravated as the disciple hardened his heart in resisting the influence of the Master; when the appointment was made the other Apostles do not appear to have disapproved of it or wondered at it, many to us unknown circumstances conspiring to justify it; while the Saviour knew the evil tendencies of Judas and expected that these germs of iniquity would unfold themselves in embezzlement and treason (John ii. 25, vi. 64, 70; Matt. ix. 4; Mark ii. 8), still he encouraged in himself a hope that he might counteract those wrong proclivities, and that the sordid spirit would be refined and elevated by the apostolical office — by the honors of it (Matt. xix. 28; Luke xxii. 30), by the powers belonging to it (Luke xi. 19), by the personal instructions given to the occupants of it (especially such instructions as Matt. vi. 19–34, xiii. 22, 23; Mark viii. 36, x. 25; Luke xvi. 11), by the indefinable endearments of being "*with* Jesus" (Mark iii. 14 compared with Acts i. 17; Acts iv. 13; Phil. i. 23; Col. iii. 3, 4; 1 Thess. iv. 17; see Dr. N. E. Burt's *Hours among the Gospels*, xxviii.); while the Saviour could not fully believe that his efforts would be successful in reforming the traitor, still he could not doubt that they would be successful in improving the character of other men — that the patience, forbearance, fortitude, caution, gentleness, persevering love manifested in his treatment of the purse-bearer (as in washing the traitor's feet, and in giving him the sweetened bread) would be a useful example to the church, that his own character would be set off with more distinctness by its contrast with that of Judas — good contrasted with evil, moral strength amid physical weakness illustrated by moral weakness amid physical strength — and that such a confession as "I have betrayed the innocent blood" would retain through all time a marked historical importance, and would be a symbol of the triumph of virtue over vice. *Could* the Redeemer have cherished any degree of anticipation that he might win Iscariot to a life of virtue, and at the same time have believed that he should not succeed? The human mind often cherishes a feeble expectation of favorable results, and at the same time believes on the whole that the results will be unfavorable; makes untiring efforts for a good, and in *one* view of it faintly expects to succeed, but in *another* view of it fully anticipates a failure. Amid this conflict of hopes and fears, called by the Latins *spes insperata*, one man "against hope *believed* in hope," Rom. iv. 18, and other men "against hope" have *disbelieved* and labored "in hope."

B. Regarding the call of Judas to the apostleship, as made by *God*, theologians have used it for a test of their speculations on the nature of moral government, etc. In reality there is no other *kind* of objection to the fact that the Most High in his providence allowed Judas to be one of the *first* preachers of the Gospel, than to the fact that he has in his providence allowed other unfit men to be *eminent* preachers of it, or that he has allowed unworthy men to sit on the bench of justice, or to reign on the throne which, even although they were "ordained of God," they have tarnished. The mystery here is the old mystery of moral evil: see Olshausen on Matthew xxvii. 3–10. As men differ in their speculations in regard to the general subject of sin and moral government, they differ, of course, in regard to the sin of Judas as related to that government.

(*a.*) Some maintain that Iscariot was called to his office on the ground of his constitutional fitness and without any prevision of his treason, sin being "altogether arbitrary and inconsequential," and thus incapable of being foreknown by any mind.

(*b.*) Others maintain, that his treason was foreknown, but was not included in the divine plan

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just as all other sin is said to be foreseen, but not predetermined; and just as many vile men are providentially called to occupy offices which it is foreseen they will disgrace.

(*c.*) Others maintain that his treason was comprehended in the divine plan (as may be inferred from John xiii. 18–26, Acts i. 16–20, Acts iv. 28; see Meyer on Matt. xxvi. 14–27, John vi. 70); but still the sin was included in this plan not *directly*, but *incidentally;* the plan was adopted not in any degree on *account* of the sin, but in *despite* of it, and Judas himself was appointed to his office not because the appointment was *directly* a good or a means of good, but because it was *incidental* to those means of good which were *directly* predetermined.

(*d.*) Others maintain, that the appointment and conduct of Judas were parts of the plan of God, just as *directly* as the movements of matter are parts of that plan. Of these divines, one class assign various uses for which the appointment was designed, and these are all the uses which in fact result from it; another class regard the reasons for the appointment as shrouded in a mystery which does not admit an investigation.

QUESTION IV. — How can we reconcile the apparent discrepancies in the Biblical narratives of Judas?

A. One of these discrepancies relates to the manner of the betrayal. According to Matthew xxvi. 48–50, Mark xiv. 44–46, Luke xxii. 47, 48, the Saviour was pointed out to his captors by Judas tenderly embracing him. According to John xviii. 4–8 the Saviour came forward and voluntarily made himself known to the captors while Judas was standing with them. One of the various methods in which the two accounts may be harmonized, is the following: Judas had stipulated to designate the Messiah by a kiss; the Messiah, as soon as he saw his captors approaching, advanced to meet them; they, noticing his approach, halted (perhaps in amazement); Judas went forward, gave the significant embrace, returned, and stood with the captors; Jesus continued his walk toward them, and when sufficiently near, addressed them in the words cited by John. The fact of the kiss had been mentioned by the Synoptists, and had thus become generally known before John wrote; therefore he did not allude to it. The fact of Christ's own subsequent announcement of himself may not have been so generally known, therefore John made it prominent. (See Tholuck and Meyer on John xviii. 4–7.)

A less probable version is, that Judas, in order to fulfill his engagement, gave the promised sign after Jesus had announced himself. Another is, that the sign was given twice; at first was not observed (for it was night) by the captors, and was therefore given the second time.

B. The most important of the alleged discrepancies relate to the last developments of Judas.

It is said in Matthew xxvii. 6, 7, that the chief priests bought the Potter's Field; but it is said in Acts i. 18, that Judas bought it with the thirty silverlings. Among the various allowable methods of reconciling these passages, the following is adopted by the majority of the best interpreters: the word ἐκτήσατο may denote not only "purchased," but also "caused to be purchased," "gave occasion for the purchase," and thus we glean from the two accounts the connected narrative that in consequence of Judas's treachery and the eighteen dollars obtained by it, the chief priests some time after his death purchased the Field of Blood. This field is sometimes thought to be the identical field on which Judas died. But we are not so informed by the Evangelists. The field which was purchased may have been on the Hill of Evil Council over the Valley of Hinnom, and it may have been called the Field of Blood for two reasons; first, it was purchased with "the price of blood;" secondly, with the money obtained from him "whose bloody end was so notorious" (Hackett's *Comm. on Acts* i. 19).

It is said in Matthew xxvii. 5, that Judas hanged himself: and in Acts i. 18 that "falling headlong he burst asunder (cracked open) in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out." Several of the terrible legends in regard to Judas have been suggested by these narratives: see Hoffmann, *Leben Jesu nach den Apokryphen*, § 77. We cannot affirm that there is a contradiction between the statements when there is a plausible hypothesis on which the two can be reconciled. There are several hypotheses on which these two statements can be harmonized. One of these hypotheses which is in striking uniformity with an old tradition, and is in itself so credible that some of the most decided rationalists (as Fritzsche) have adopted it in the main, is that Matthew describes the beginning, and Luke the end of the death-scene; that the traitor suspended himself on a bough which hung over a precipice, and the rope broke, or the bough broke, or some one, unwilling to have such a spectacle exhibited during the holy week, cut the rope or the bough, and the traitor fell with such physical results as Luke describes. Travellers in Palestine exploring the Valley of Hinnom have been impressed with the probability of this hypothesis; see especially Hackett's *Illustrations of Scripture*, pp. 264–268. No jury in the world would hesitate to adopt an hypothesis similar to the preceding for the reconciliation of two apparently conflicting testimonies given in court.

Partly on account of these imagined discrepancies, it has been supposed (without any external evidence, however), not only by such critics as Strauss and Renan, but also by more conservative scholars, that either Matthew xxvii. 3–10, or else that Acts i. 18, 19, must be spurious. Prof. Norton (in his *Genuineness of the Gospels*, abridged edition, pp. 438–441) gives the following among other reasons for rejecting Matthew xxvii. 3–10.

(1.) "At first view this account of Judas has the aspect of an interpolation. It is inserted so as to disjoin a narrative, the different parts of which, when it is removed, come together as if they had been originally united." But the same may be said of numerous passages not only in the Gospels, but also in the Epistles, and in the Old Testament.

(2.) "Whether it be or be not an interpolation, it is clearly not in a proper place." "As the account is now placed, it is said that in the morning Judas was affected with bitter remorse, because he saw that 'Jesus was condemned;' but no condemnation had yet been passed upon him by the Roman governor," etc. Some commentators (as Fritzsche) would here reply that the "condemnation" spoken of in Matt. xxvii. 3, is the condemnation by the Sanhedrim, and this had taken place before Jesus was sent to Pilate, and before Judas repented; but the more plausible reply is that Matthew's narrative of the traitor's death is out of the *historical* order, and instead of being inserted between th-

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9th and the 11th verses, should, for preserving the sequence of time, be inserted between the 30th and the 31st verses of his xxviith chapter; as John's narrative of the supper at Bethany is out of the *historical* order, and instead of being inserted between the 2d and 9th verses, should, for preserving the sequence of time, be inserted at the end of his 12th chapter. Deviations from the exact order of time are so frequent in the Biblical narratives as to warrant no suspicion that a paragraph thus deviating is spurious. Sometimes they are designed not for "trajections" but for historical explanations, as John's narrative of the unction (xii. 3–10) may have been designed to explain the motive of Judas's treason, and prepare the reader for the otherwise unaccountable assertion in John xiii. 12 (see Question II. (*c.*) above).

(3.) The account of Matthew "represents Judas as having had an interview with the chief priests and the elders (that is, with the Sanhedrim) in the Temple," but Matthew "could not have described the Sanhedrim as holding a council in the house of Caiaphas, and proceeding thence to the house of Pilate, and also as being in the Temple, where Judas returned them their money," etc. To this some writers would reply, that the Sanhedrim condemned Jesus in the Temple which "was the regular place for holding the assemblies of the council"; and they condemned him early in the morning, "soon after five, a time which St. John would naturally describe by πρωΐα, because earlier than sunrise, πρωΐ, though much later than the dawn of the day, and therefore coincident with the time when preparations usually began for the morning sacrifice," and when the priests must necessarily be at the Temple (Greswell's 42d Dissertation). But the more plausible reply is that after Jesus had been condemned by the Roman governor, some, perhaps many, of the priests returned to the "inner court" or "holy place" of the Temple; and Judas not being allowed to step within the "court of the priests," came to the entrance of it, and threw his silverlings into it, perhaps upon the floor.

(4.) "In the conclusion of the account found in Matthew's Gospel there is an extraordinary misuse of a passage of Zechariah, which the writer professes to quote from Jeremiah," and the words of which are altogether inapplicable to the purpose for which they are used in Matthew xxvii. 9, 10.

In regard to the word Jeremiah used instead of Zechariah, some critics have supposed that it was an error not of Matthew but of the copyist. There is no important external evidence for this supposition, and it may appear a singular attempt to save the genuineness of an entire paragraph by giving up the genuineness of one word in it. But where a mere date or proper name is obviously wrong, there is more reason for questioning its genuineness than there would be if the doubtful word were suggestive of a moral idea or religious sentiment. An accidental error is the more easily committed and overlooked where the copyist is not guided by any impression on his heart. Dr. Henderson says: 'Augustine mentions, that in his time some MSS. omitted the name of Ἱερεμίου. It is also omitted in the MSS. 33, 157; in the Syriac, which is the most ancient of all the versions; in the Polyglott Persic, and in a Persic MS. in my possession, bearing date A. D. 1057; in the modern Greek; in the Verona and Vercelli Latin MSS., and in a Latin MS. of Luc. Brug. The Greek MS. 22 reads Ζαχαρίου, as also do the Philoxenian Syriac in the margin, and an Arabic MS. quoted by Bengel. Origen and Eusebius were in favor of this reading." Prof. Henderson mentions the conjecture that Ἰριου was written by some early copyist instead of Ζριου, and thus the mistake of "Jeremiah" for "Zechariah" was easily transmitted. See Henderson's *Commentary on Zechariah*, xi. 12, 13; also Robinson's *Harmony*, p. 227.

In regard to the propriety of the citation of Matthew from Zechariah we may remark, that the entire book from which the citation was made is one of the obscurest in the Bible, and our difficulties in determining its precise import should make us modest in asserting that the Evangelist has made a wrong use of it. It is not true, however, that we can discover no propriety in the quotation. Among the various methods of explaining it, one is the following: The prophet is speaking of himself as a type of Christ, and of his opposers as types of Christ's opposers. In this typical style he predicts the sufferings of Christ, and also the malice of Christ's opposers. As the chief priests and Judas were among the most conspicuous enemies of Christ, the prophet may be considered as typically referring in the most conspicuous manner to them. He describes himself as appraised by his foes at a "splendid" (*i. e.* despicable) price, thirty pieces of silver (the sum paid for a common slave, Exodus xxi. 32), and this money was given to the potter for his field. The Evangelist, fixing his eye upon the salient points of the prophecy and quoting *ad sensum* rather than *ad literam*, says that Jesus was appraised at the same contemptible price, and this was given to the potter for his field. The events described by Zechariah are thus typical and in this sense prophetical of the events described by Matthew. There is no more reason for regarding Matthew's quotation as spurious than for regarding many other quotations in the New Testament as such. This is a common style of the New Testament writers. Even De Wette in his old age conceded: "The entire Old Testament is a great prophecy, a great type of Him who was to come, and has come." — "The typological comparison, also, of the Old Testament with the New was by no means a mere play of fancy; nor can it be regarded as altogether the result of accident, that the evangelical history, in the most important particulars, runs parallel with the Mosaic." (See the passage cited in Fairbairn's *Typology*, i. 34. See also pp. 342, 334.)

Another and kindred explanation of the passage is this: As Psalms lxix. 25 and cix. 8 contain prophecies of the generic or ideal righteous man of whom Christ is the antitype, so they contain prophecies of the generic or ideal unrighteous man of whom according to Acts i. 16–20 Judas is an antitype, and this prophecy of Zechariah may be interpreted as thus generic or ideal in its reference to the Messiah and his persecutors.

E. A. P.

JUDE, or JU'DAS, LEBBE'US and THADDE'US (Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου: *Judas Jacobi*: A. V. "Judas *the brother* of James"), one of the Twelve Apostles; a member, together with his namesake "Iscariot," James the son of Alphæus, and Simon Zelotes, of the last of the three sections of the apostolic body. The name Judas only, without any distinguishing mark, occurs in the lists given by St. Luke vi. 16; Acts i. 13; and in John xiv. 22 (where we find "Judas not Iscariot"

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among the Apostles), but the Apostle has been generally identified with "Lebbeus whose surname was Thaddeus" (Λεββαῖος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Θαδδαῖος), Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18, though Schleiermacher (*Crit. Essay on St. Luke*, p. 93) treats with scorn any such attempt to reconcile the lists. In both the last quoted places there is considerable variety of reading; some MSS. having both in St. Matt. and St. Mark Λεββαῖος, or Θαδδαῖος alone; others introducing the name Ἰούδας or *Judas Zelotes* in St. Matt., where the Vulgate reads *Thaddæus* alone, which is adopted by Lachmann in his Berlin edition of 1832. This confusion is still further increased by the tradition preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* i. 13) that the true name of Thomas (the twin) was Judas (Ἰούδας ὁ καὶ Θωμᾶς), and that Thaddeus was one of the "Seventy," identified by Jerome *in Matt.* x. with "Judas Jacobi" [THADDEUS]; as well as by the theories of modern scholars, who regard the "Levi" (Λευὶς ὁ τοῦ Ἀλφαίου) of Mark ii. 14, Luke v. 27, who is called "Lebes" (Λεβῆς) by Origen (*Cont. Cels.* l. i. § 62), as the same with Lebbæus. The safest way out of these acknowledged difficulties is to hold fast to the ordinarily received opinion that Jude, Lebbæus, and Thaddæus, were three names for the same Apostle, who is therefore said by Jerome (*in Matt.* x. to have been "trionymus," rather than introduce confusion into the apostolic catalogues, and render them erroneous either in excess or defect.

The interpretation of the names Lebbæus and Thaddæus is a question beset with almost equal difficulty. The former is interpreted by Jerome "hearty," *corculum*, as from לֵב, *cor*, and Thaddæus has been erroneously supposed to have a cognate signification, *homo pectorosus*, as from the Syriac תַּד, *pectus* (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* p. 235, Beugel; *Matt.* x. 3), the true signification of תַּד being *mamma* (Angl. *teat*), Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* 2565. Winer (*Realwb.* s. v.) would combine the two and interpret them as meaning *Herzenskind*. Another interpretation of Lebbæus is *the young lion* (*leunculus*) as from לָבִיא, *leo* (Schleusner, *s. v.*), while Lightfoot and Baumg.-Crusius would derive it from *Lebba*, a maritime town of Galilee mentioned by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* v. 19), where, however, the ordinary reading is *Jebba*. Thaddæus appears in Syriac under the form Adai, and Michaelis admits the idea that Adai, Thaddæus, and Judas, may be different representations of the same word (iv. 370), and Wordsworth (*Gr. Test.* in Matt. x. 3) identifies Thaddæus with Judas, as both from הוֹדָה, to "praise." Chrysostom, *De Prod. Jud.* l. i. c. 2, says that there was a "Judas Zelotes" among the disciples of our Lord, whom he identifies with the Apostle. In the midst of these uncertainties no decision can be arrived at, and all must rest on conjecture.

Much difference of opinion has also existed from the earliest times as to the right interpretation of the words Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου. The generally received opinion is that there is an ellipse of the word ἀδελφός, and that the A. V. is right in translating "Judas the brother of James." This is defended by Winer (*Realwb.* s. v.; *Gramm. of N. T. Dict.*, Clark's edition, i. 203), Arnaud (*Recher. Crit. sur l'Ép. de Jude*), and accepted by Burton, Alford, Tregelles, Michaelis, etc. This view has received strength from the belief that the "Epistle of Jude," the author of which expressly calls himself "brother of James," was the work of this Apostle. But if, as will be seen hereafter, the arguments in favor of a non-apostolic origin for this epistle are such as to lead us to assign it to another author, the mode of supplying the ellipse may be considered independently: and since the dependent genitive almost universally implies the filial relation, and is so interpreted in every other case in the apostolic catalogues, we may be allowed to follow the Peshito and Arabic versions, the Benedictine editor of Chrysostom, *Hom. XXXII.*, in Matt. x. 2, and the translation of Luther, as well as nearly all the most eminent critical authorities, and render the words "Judas *the son* of James," that is, either "James the son of Alphæus," with whom he is coupled, Matt. x. 3, or some otherwise unknown person.

The name of Jude only occurs once in the Gospel narrative (John xiv. 22), where we find him taking part in the last conversation with our Lord, and sharing the low temporal views of their Master's kingdom, entertained by his brother Apostles.

Nothing is certainly known of the later history of the Apostle. There may be some truth in the tradition which connects him with the foundation of the church at Edessa; though here again there is much confusion, and doubt is thrown over the account by its connection with the worthless fiction of "Abgarus king of Edessa" (Euseb. *H. E.* i. 13; Jerome, *Comment. in Matt.* x.) [THADDÆUS.] Nicephorus (*H. E.* ii. 40) makes Jude die a natural death in that city after preaching in Palestine, Syria, and Arabia. The Syrian tradition speaks of his abode at Edessa, but adds that he went thence to Assyria, and was martyred in Phœnicia on his return; while that of the west makes Persia the field of his labors and the scene of his martyrdom.

The tradition preserved by Hegesippus, which appears in Eusebius, relative to the descendants of Jude, has reference, in our opinion, to a different Jude. See next article. E. V.

JUDAS, THE LORD'S BROTHER.

Among the brethren of our Lord mentioned by the people of Nazareth (Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3) occurs a "Judas," who has been sometimes identified with the Apostle of the same name; a theory which rests on the double assumption that Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου (Luke vi. 16) is to be rendered "Judas *the brother* of James," and that "the sons of Alphæus" were "the brethren of our Lord," and is sufficiently refuted by the statement of St. John vii. 5, that "not even his brethren believed on Him." It has been considered with more probability that he was the writer of the epistle which bears the name of "Jude the brother of James," to which the Syriac version incorporated with the later editions of the Peshito adds "and of Joses" (Origen *in Matt.* xiii. 55; Clem. Alex. *Adumb.* 6; Alford, *Gk. Test.*, Matt. xiii. 55). [JUDE, EPISTLE OF; JAMES.]

Eusebius gives us an interesting tradition of Hegesippus (*H. E.* iii. 20, 32) that two grandsons of Jude, "who according to the flesh was called the Lord's brother" (cf. 1 Cor. ix. 5), were seized and carried to Rome by orders of Domitian, whose apprehensions had been excited by what he had heard of the mighty power of the kingdom of Christ but that the Emperor having discovered by their answers to his inquiries, and the appearance of their hands, that they were poor men, supporting them

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selves by their labór, and having learnt the spiritual nature of Christ's kingdom, dismissed them in contempt, and ceased from his persecution of the church, whereupon they returned to Palestine and took a leading place in the churches, "as being at the same time confessors and of the Lord's family" (ὡς ἂν δὴ μάρτυρας ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γένους ὄντας τοῦ Κυρίου), and lived till the time of Trajan. Nicephorus (i. 23) tells us that Jude's wife was named Mary. E. V.

JUDE, EPISTLE OF. I. *Its Authorship.*— The writer of this epistle styles himself, ver. 1, "Jude the brother of James" (ἀδελφὸς Ἰακώβου), and has been usually identified with the Apostle Judas Lebbæus or Thaddæus, called by St. Luke, vi. 16, Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου, A. V. "Judas *the brother* of James." It has been seen above [JUDAS LEBBÆUS] that this mode of supplying the ellipse, though not directly contrary to the *usus loquendi*, is, to say the least, questionable, and that there are strong reasons for rendering the words "Judas *the son* of James:" and inasmuch as the author appears, ver. 17, to distinguish himself from the Apostles, and bases his warning rather on their authority than on his own, we may agree with eminent critics in attributing the epistle to another author. Jerome, Tertullian, and Origen, among the ancients, and Calmet, Calvin, Hammond, Hänlein, Lange, Vatablus, Arnaud, and Tregelles, among the moderns, agree in assigning it to the Apostle. Whether it were the work of an Apostle or not, it has from very early times been attributed to "the Lord's brother" of that name (Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3): a view in which Origen, Jerome, and (if indeed the *Adumbrationes* be rightly assigned to him) Clemens Alexandrinus agree; which is implied in the words of Chrysostom (*Hom.* 48 *in Joann.*), confirmed by the epigraph of the Syriac versions, and is accepted by most modern commentators, Arnaud, Bengel, Burton, Hug, Jessien, Olshausen, Tregelles, etc. The objection that has been felt by Neander (*Pl. and Tr.* i. 392), and others, that if he had been "the Lord's brother" he would have directly styled himself so, and not merely "the brother of James," has been anticipated by the author of the "Adumbrationes" (Bunsen, *Analect. Ante-Nicæn.* i. 330), who says, "Jude, who wrote the Catholic Epistle, brother of the sons of Joseph, an extremely religious man, though he was aware of his relationship to the Lord, did not call himself His brother; but what said he? 'Jude the servant of Jesus Christ' as his Lord, but 'brother of James.'" We may easily believe that it was through humility, and a true sense of the altered relations between them and Him who had been "declared to be the Son of God with power by the resurrection from the dead" (cf. 2 Cor. v. 16), that both St. Jude and St. James forbore to call themselves the brethren of Jesus. The arguments concerning the authorship of the epistle are ably summed up by Jessien (*de Authent. Ep. Jud.* Lips. 1821), and Arnaud (*Recher. Critiq. sur l'Ép. de Jude*, Strasb. 1851, translated *Brit. and For. Ev. Rev.* Jul. 1859); and though it is by no means clear of difficulty, the most probable conclusion is that the author was Jude, one of the brethren of Jesus, and brother of James, not the Apostle the son of Alphæus, but the Bishop of Jerusalem, of whose dignity and authority in the church he avails himself to introduce his epistle to his readers.

II. *Genuineness and Canonicity.* — Although the Epistle of Jude is one of the so-called *Antilegomena*, and its canonicity was questioned in the earliest ages of the church, there never was any doubt of its genuineness among those by whom it was known. It was too unimportant to be a forgery; few portions of Holy Scripture could, with reverence be it spoken, have been more easily spared; and the question was never whether it was the work of an impostor, but whether its author was of sufficient weight to warrant its admission into the Canon.

This question was gradually decided in its favor and the more widely it was known the more generally was it received as canonical, until it took its place without further dispute as a portion of the volume of Holy Scripture.

The state of the case as regards its reception by the church is briefly as follows: —

It is wanting in the Peshito (which of itself proves that the supposed Evangelist of Edessa could not have been its author), nor is there any trace of its use by the Asiatic churches up to the commencement of the 4th century; but it is quoted as apostolic by Ephrem Syrus (*Opp. Syr.* i. p. 136).

The earliest notice of the epistle is in the famous Muratorian Fragment (circa A. D. 170) where we read "Epistola sane Judæ et superscripti Johannis duæ in Catholicâ" (Bunsen, *Analect. Ante-Nic.* i. 152, reads "Catholicis") "habentur."

Clement of Alexandria is the first father of the church by whom it is recognized (*Pædag.* l. iii. c. 8, p. 239, ed. Sylburg.; *Stromat.* l. iii. c. 2, p. 431, *Adumbr.* l. c.). Eusebius also informs us (*H. E.* vi. 14) that it was among the books of Canonical Scripture, of which explanations were given in the *Hypotyposes* of Clement; and Cassiodorus (Bunsen, *Analect. Ante-Nic.* i. 330–333) gives some notes on this epistle drawn from the same source.

Origen refers to it expressly as the work of the Lord's brother (*Comment. in Matt.* xiii. 55, 56, t. x. § 17): "Jude wrote an epistle of but few verses, yet filled with vigorous words of heavenly grace." He quotes it several times (*Homil. in Gen.* xiii.; *in Jos.* vii.; *in Ezech.* iv.; *Comment. in Matt.* t. xiii. 27, xv. 27, xvii. 30; *in Joann.* t. xiii. § 37; *in Rom.* l. iii. § 6, v. § 1; *De Princip.* l. iii. c. 2, § 1), though he implies in one place the existence of doubts as to its canonicity, "if indeed the Epistle of Jude be received" (*Comment. in Matt.* xxii. 23, t. xvii. § 30).

Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 25) distinctly classes it with the Antilegomena, which were nevertheless recognized by the majority of Christians; and asserts (ii. 23) that, in common with the Epistle of James, it was "deemed spurious" (νοθεύεται), though together with the other Catholic Epistles publicly read in most churches.

Of the Latin Fathers, Tertullian once expressly cites this epistle as the work of an Apostle (*de Hab. Mulieb.* i. 3), as does Jerome, "from whom (Enoch) the Apostle Jude in his epistle has given a quotation" (*in Tit.* c. i. p. 708), though on the other hand he informs us that in consequence of the quotation from this apocryphal book of Enoch it is rejected by most, adding, that "it has obtained such authority from antiquity and use, that it is now reckoned among Holy Scripture" (*Catal. Scriptor. Eccles.*). He refers to it as the work of an Apostle (*Epist. ad Paulin.* iii.).

The epistle is also quoted by Malchion, a presbyter of Antioch, in a letter to the bishops of Alex-

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andria and Rome (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 30), and by Palladius, the friend of Chrysostom (Chrys. *Opp.* t. xiii., *Dial.* cc. 18, 20), and is contained in the Laodicene (A. D. 363), Carthaginian (397), and so-called Apostolic Catalogues, as well as in those emanating from the churches of the East and West, with the exception of the Synopsis of Chrysostom, and those of Cassiodorus and Ebed Jesu.

Various reasons might be assigned for delay in receiving this epistle, and the doubts long prevalent respecting it. The uncertainty as to its author, and his standing in the church, the unimportant nature of its contents, and their almost absolute identity with 2 Pet. ii., and the supposed quotation of apocryphal books, would all tend to create a prejudice against it, which could be only overcome by time, and the gradual recognition by the leading churches of its genuineness and canonicity.

At the Reformation the doubts on the canonical authority of this epistle were revived, and have been shared in by modern commentators. They were more or less entertained by Grotius, Luther, Calvin, Berger, Bolten, Dahl, Michaelis, and the Magdeburg Centuriators. It has been ably defended by Jessien, *de Authentia Ep. Judae*, Lips. 1821.

III. *Time and Place of Writing.* — Here all is conjecture. The author being not absolutely certain, there are no external grounds for deciding the point; and the internal evidence is but small. The question of its date is connected with that of its relation to 2 Peter (see below, § vi.), and an earlier or later period has been assigned to it according as it has been considered to have been anterior or posterior to that epistle. From the character of the errors against which it is directed, it cannot be placed very early; though there is no sufficient ground for Schleiermacher's opinion that "in the last time" (ἐν ἐσχάτῳ χρόνῳ, ver. 18; cf. 1 John ii. 18, ἐσχάτη ὥρα ἐστί) forbids our placing it in the apostolic age at all. Lardner places it between A. D. 64 and 66, Davidson before A. D. 70, Credner A. D. 80, Calmet, Estius, Witsius, and Neander, after the death of all the Apostles but John, and perhaps after the fall of Jerusalem; although considerable weight is to be given to the argument of DeWette (*Einleit. in N. T.* p. 300), that if the destruction of Jerusalem had already taken place, some warning would have been drawn from so signal an instance of God's vengeance on the "ungodly."

There are no data from which to determine the place of writing. Burton however, is of opinion that inasmuch as the descendants of "Judas the brother of the Lord," if we identify him with the author of the epistle, were found in Palestine, he probably "did not absent himself long from his native country," and that the epistle was published there, since he styles himself "the brother of James," "an expression most likely to be used in a country where James was well known" (*Eccles. Hist.* i. 334).

IV. *For what Readers designed.* — The readers are nowhere expressly defined. The address (ver. 1) is applicable to Christians generally, and there is nothing in the body of the epistle to limit its reference; and though it is not improbable that the author had a particular portion of the church in view, and that the Christians of Palestine were the immediate objects of his warning, the dangers described were such as the whole Christian world was exposed to, and the adversaries the same which had everywhere to be guarded against.

V. *Its Object, Contents, and Style.* — The object of the Epistle is plainly enough announced, ver. 3: "it was needful for me to write unto you and exhort you that ye should earnestly contend for the faith that was once delivered unto the saints:" the reason for this exhortation is given ver. 4, in the stealthy introduction of certain "ungodly men, turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, and denying the only Lord God and our Lord Jesus Christ." The remainder of the epistle is almost entirely occupied by a minute depiction of these adversaries of the faith — not heretical *teachers* (as has been sometimes supposed), which constitutes a marked distinction between this epistle and that of St. Peter — whom in a torrent of impassioned invective he describes as stained with unnatural lusts, like "the angels that kept not their first estate" (whom he evidently identifies with the "sons of God," Gen. vi. 2), and the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah — as despisers of all legitimate authority (ver. 8) — murderers like Cain — covetous like Balaam — rebellious like Korah (ver. 11) — destined from of old to be signal monuments of the Divine vengeance, which he confirms by reference to a prophecy current among the Jews, and traditionally assigned to Enoch (vv. 14, 15).

The epistle closes by briefly reminding the readers of the oft-repeated prediction of the Apostles — among whom the writer seems not to rank himself — that the faith would be assailed by such enemies as he has depicted (vv. 17–19), exhorting them to maintain their own steadfastness in the faith (vv. 20, 21), while they earnestly sought to rescue others from the corrupt example of those licentious livers (vv. 22, 23), and commending them to the power of God in language which forcibly recalls the closing benediction of the epistle to the Romans (vv. 24, 25; cf. Rom. xvi. 25, 27).

This epistle presents one peculiarity, which, as we learn from St. Jerome, caused its authority to be impugned in very early times — the supposed citation of apocryphal writings (vv. 9, 14, 15).

The former of these passages, containing the reference to the contest of the archangel Michael and the Devil "about the body of Moses," was supposed by Origen to have been founded on a Jewish work called the "Assumption of Moses" (Ἀνάληψις Μωσέως), quoted also by Œcumenius (ii. 629). Origen's words are express, "which little work the Apostle Jude has made mention of in his epistle" (*de Princip.* iii. 2, i. p. 138); and some have sought to identify the book with the סְפַר־תַּ מֹשֶׁה, "*The death of Moses*," which is, however, proved by Michaelis (iv. 382) to be a modern composition. Attempts have also been made by Lardner, Macknight, Vitringa, and others, to interpret the passage in a mystical sense, by reference to Zech. iii. 1, 2; but the similarity is too distant to afford any weight to the idea. There is, on the whole, little question that the writer is here making use of a Jewish tradition, based on Deut. xxxiv. 6, just as facts unrecorded in Scripture are referred to by St. Paul (2 Tim. iii. 8; Gal. iii. 19); by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (ii. 2, xi. 24); by St. James (v. 17), and St. Stephen (Acts vii. 22, 23, 30).

As regards the supposed quotation from the Book of Enoch, the question is not so clear whether St. Jude is making a citation from a work already in the hands of his readers — which is the opinion of Jerome (*l. c.*) and Tertullian (who was in consc-

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quence inclined to receive the Book of Enoch as canonical Scripture), and has been held by many modern critics — or is employing a traditionary prophecy not at that time committed to writing (a theory which the words used, "Enoch prophesied *saying*" ἐπροφήτευσεν · · · Ἐνὼχ λέγων, seem rather to favor), but afterwards embodied in the apocryphal work already named [ENOCH, THE BOOK OF]. This is maintained by Tregelles (*Horne's Introd.* 10th ed., iv. 621), and has been held by Cave, Hofmann (*Schriftbeweis*, i. 420), Lightfoot (ii. 117), Witsius, and Calvin (cf. Jerom. *Comment. in Eph.* c. v. p. 647, 648; in *Tit.* c. 1, p. 708).

The main body of the epistle is well characterised by Alford (*Gr. Test.* iv. 147) as an impassioned invective, in the impetuous whirlwind of which the writer is hurried along, collecting example after example of Divine vengeance on the ungodly; heaping epithet upon epithet, and piling image upon image, and as it were laboring for words and images strong enough to depict the polluted character of the licentious apostates against whom he is warning the church; returning again and again to the subject, as though all language was insufficient to give an adequate idea of their profligacy, and to express his burning hatred of their perversion of the doctrines of the Gospel.

The epistle is said by DeWette (*Einleit. in N. T.* p. 300) to be tolerably good Greek, though there are some peculiarities of diction which have led Schmidt (*Einleit.* i. 314) and Bertholdt (vi. 3194) to imagine an Aramaic original.

VI. *Relation between the Epistles of Jude and 2 Peter.*— It is familiar to all that the larger portion of this epistle (ver. 3–16) is almost identical in language and subject with a part of the Second Epistle of Peter (2 Pet. ii. 1–19). In both, the heretical enemies of the Gospel are described in terms so similar as to preclude all idea of entire independence. This question is examined in the article PETER, SECOND EPISTLE OF.

As might be expected from the comparatively unimportant character of the epistle, critical and exegetical editions of it have not been numerous. We may specify Arnaud, *Recherches Crit. sur l' Épitre de Jude*, Strasb. and Par. 1851; Laurmann, *Not. Crit. et Commentar. in Ep. Jud.*, Groningæ, 1818; Scharling, *Jacob. et Jud. Ep. Cathol. comment.*, Havniæ, 1841; Stier, *On the Epistles of James and Jude*; Herder, *Briefe zweener Brüder Jesu*, Lemgo, 1775; Augusti, Welcker, Benson, and Macknight, on the Catholic Epistles.

E. V.

* It is impossible in a limited space to discuss the relations between this epistle and the Second of St. Peter: but it may be assumed that an attentive consideration of them will show that the two epistles could not have been written independently. Less certain, and yet probable, is the conclusion that the Epistle of St. Jude was the earlier of the two. If this be accepted, then the date of the death of St. Peter in A. D. 68 becomes a fixed point in determining the date of the Epistle of St. Jude, and the question of date is thus brought within narrow limits, as the whole contents of the epistle prove it to have been comparatively late.

It is extremely unlikely that two epistles so similar and so nearly of the same date should have been addressed primarily to the same readers. It may therefore be argued negatively that the Epistle of St. Jude was not first sent to the Christians of Asia Minor. As the earliest testimony to the epistle comes from Alexandria, it has been suggested that Egypt may have been the original destination of the epistle.

The expression in the first paragraph of section V., in the preceding article, "these adversaries of the faith — not heretical *teachers* (as has been sometimes supposed) which constitutes a marked distinction between this epistle and that of St. Peter" — is not easily understood in connection with the statement in VI., "In both the heretical enemies of the Gospel are described in terms so similar as to preclude all idea of entire independence." Certainly the terms in both epistles are quite similar, and must refer to the same class of persons. It is plain enough that they were persons *within* the church; "men crept in unawares" (Jude 4), "spots in your feasts of charity, when they feast with you" (12). St. Peter expressly calls them *teachers* (ii. 1); St. Jude describes their teaching and its effects.

The analysis of the epistle may be given somewhat more fully, since notwithstanding its warmth and glow, it is most thoroughly planned and carefully arranged. After the salutation (1, 2), and the reason for writing (3, 4), follows an argument for the certain punishment of the ungodly from a series of historical examples (5, 6, 7). The application of this is made in the following verse, and then, in contrast, an example is given of godly conduct (9) and a further application (10). After this follows a denunciation of the ungodly by a series of examples (11), and by five comparisons (12, 13). The certain punishment of the ungodly is then further shown by prophecy; first, the prophecy of Enoch, as the most ancient possible, and its application (14–16), then as the most recent, thus showing perfect accord in all time, the prophecy of the Apostles, with its application (17–19). This concludes the argumentative part of the epistle, and then follows an exhortation to the faithful, (*a.*) in regard to their own spiritual welfare (20, 21), and (*b.*) in regard to those corrupted by the ungodly (22, 23). The epistle closes with a benediction (24) and doxology (25).

There is nothing in the epistle to indicate that the author identified "the angels that kept not their first estate" (6) with the "sons of God" mentioned in Gen. vi. 2. This was an interpretation current in the church of the second century; but the sin of the angels here mentioned must have occurred before man was placed upon the earth.

In regard to the quotation from Enoch, the remark above made, that it does not appear that St. Jude quoted from any book, is very just. It is certain that he could not have made use of our present "book of Enoch," as that work bears decisive internal evidence of not having been written before the middle of the second century. In the article ENOCH, THE BOOK OF, a great variety of opinions will be found given on this matter. The only ground however, on which it seems possible to assign an earlier date to this volume than to the writings of the New Testament, is that of its having been subsequently largely altered and interpolated — a supposition which makes it to have been originally a different book from that which we now have. Without denying the possibility of there having been another more ancient "book of Enoch" from which the present one has been formed, it is sufficient to say that such a supposition deprives it of all interest in the present connection, and is

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remains that St. Jude could not have quoted from the book as we now have it. Such suppositions however, are always cumbrous, useless, and unsatisfactory, in the absence of any proof, and it is far more agreeable to the ordinary laws of evidence to consider the whole book as a forgery of the second century — a period when works of this character abounded. F. G.

• *Literature.* — For references to the more important general commentaries which include the Epistle of Jude, see the addition to JOHN, FIRST EPISTLE OF. The following special works may also be noted: H. Witsius, *Comm. in Epist. Judæ*, Lugd. Bat. 1703, 4to, reprinted in his *Meletemata Leidensia*, Basil. 1739. C. F. Schmid, *Observationes super Ep. cath. S. Judæ*, Lips. 1768. Semler, *Paraphrasis in Epist.* ii. *Petri, et Epist. Judæ, cum Vet. Lat. Translationis Varietate, Notis*, etc. Halæ, 1784. H. C. A. Hänlein, *Ep. Judæ, Græce, Comm. critico et Annot. perpet. illustrata*, 2d ed. Erlang. 1799, 3d ed. 1804. Schneckenburger, *Scholien*, u. s. w. in his *Beiträge zur Einl. ins N. T.*, Stuttg. 1832, p. 214 ff. De Wette, *Kurze Erklärung d. Briefe d. Petrus Judas u. Jakobus*, Leips. 1847, 3e Ausg. bearb. von B. Brückner, 1865 (Bd. iii. Th. i. of his *Kurzgef. exeget. Handb.*). Huther, *Krit. exeget. Handbuch üb. d.* 1. *Brief d. Petrus, d. Brief d. Judas u. d.* 2. *Brief d. Petrus*, Gött. 1852, 3e Aufl. 1867 (Abth. xii. of Meyer's *Kommentar*). M. F. Rampf, *Der Brief Judæ, hist. krit. exeget. betrachtet*, Sulzb. 1854. Frommüller, *Die Briefe Petri u. d. Brief Juda theol.-homilet. bearbeitet*, Bielefeld, 1859, 2e Aufl. 1862 (Theil xiv. of Lange's *Bibelwerk*); translated, with additions, by J. I. Mombert, New York, 1867 (part of vol. ix. of Lange's *Comm.*). Wiesinger, *Der zweite Brief des Apost. Petrus u. d. Brief d. Judas erklärt*, Königsb. 1862 (Bd. vi. Abth. iii. of Olshausen's *Bibl. Comm.*). Theod. Schott, *Der zweite Brief Petri u. d. Brief Judä erklärt*, Erlang. 1863. Holtzmann, German transl. and brief notes, in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, vol. iv. (1864), p. 630 ff., comp. vol. viii. p. 590. In English, some of the old Puritan divines expatiated at great length on this epistle, as W. Perkins (66 sermons), W. Jenkyn, and T. Manton (Lond. 1658). Jenkyn's *Exposition*, 2 parts, Lond. 1652–54, 4to, has been several times reprinted (Lond. 1656; Glasgow, 1783; Lond. 1839; Edinb. 1863). Practical expositions have also been given by W. Muir (1822), E. Bickersteth (1846), and W. Macgillivray (1846); see Darling's *Cyclop. Bibliographica*, (Subjects), col. 1728. In our own country we have Barnes's *Notes (Epistles of James, Peter, John, and Jude*, New York, 1847); *The Second Epistle of Peter, the Epistles of John and Judas, and the Revelation, translated from the Greek, with notes* (by the Rev. John Lillie), New York, 1854, 4to (Amer. Bible Union); and the Rev. Frederic Gardiner's *The Last of the Epistles; a Commentary on the Epistle of St. Jude*, Boston, 1856, with Excursus, and an Appendix on the similarity between this epistle and the Second of St. Peter (abridged from his art. in the *Bibl. Sacra* for January, 1854).

On the critical questions relating to the epistle one may consult, in addition to the Introductions to the New Testament by De Wette, Reuss, Bleek, Davidson, and others, J. C. G. Dahl, *De adœvrig Epistt. Petrinæ posterioris et Judæ*, Rost. 1807; L. A. Arnaud, *Essai crit. sur l'authenticité de l'épître de Jude*, Strasb. 1835; F. Brun, *Introd. crit. à l'épître de Jude*, Strasb. 1842; and A. Ritschl, *Ueber die im Briefe des Judas charakterisirten Antinomisten*, in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1861, pp. 103–113. See also, especially on the relation of the 2d Epistle of Peter to that of Jude, the literature under PETER, SECOND EPISTLE OF. A.

• JUDE'A. [JUDÆA.]

• JU'DETH. [JUDITH, 2.]

JUDGES. The administration of justice in all early eastern nations, as amongst the Arabs of the desert to this day, rests with the patriarchal seniors;[a] the judges being the heads of tribes, or of chief houses in a tribe. Such from their elevated position would have the requisite leisure, would be able to make their decisions respected, and through the wider intercourse of superior station would decide with fuller experience and riper reflection. Thus in the book of Job (xxix. 7, 8, 9) the patriarchal magnate is represented as going forth "to the gate" amidst the respectful silence of elders, princes, and nobles (comp. xxxii. 9). The actual chiefs of individual tribes are mentioned on various occasions, one as late as the time of David, as preserving importance in the commonwealth (Num. vii. 2, 10, 11, xvii. 6, or 17 in Heb. text; xxxiv. 18; Josh. xxii. 14, so perh. Num. xvi. 2, xxi. 18). Whether the princes of the tribes mentioned in 1 Chr. xxvii. 16, xxviii. 1, are patriarchal heads, or merely chief men appointed by the king to govern, is not strictly certain; but it would be foreign to all ancient eastern analogy to suppose that they forfeited the judicial prerogative, until reduced and overshadowed by the monarchy, which in David's time is contrary to the tenor of history. During the oppression of Egypt the nascent people would necessarily have few questions at law to plead; and the Egyptian magistrate would take cognizance of theft, violence, and other matters of police. Yet the question put to Moses shows that "a prince" and "a judge" were connected even then in the popular idea (Ex. ii. 14; comp. Num. xvi. 13). When they emerged from this oppression into national existence, the want of a machinery of judicature began to press. The patriarchal seniors did not instantly assume the function, having probably been depressed by bondage till rendered unfit for it, not having become experienced in such matters, nor having secured the confidence of their tribesmen. Perhaps for these reasons Moses at first took the whole burden of judicature upon himself, then at the suggestion of Jethro (Ex. xviii. 14–24) instituted judges over numerically graduated sections of the people. These were chosen for their moral fitness, but from Deut. i. 15, 16, we may infer that they were taken from amongst those to whom primogeniture would have assigned it. Save in offenses of public magnitude, criminal cases do not appear to have been distinguished from civil. The duty of teaching the people the knowledge of the law which pertained to the Levites, doubtless included such instruction as would assist the judgment of those who were thus to decide according to it. The Levites were thus the ultimate sources of ordinary jurisprudence, and perhaps the "teaching" aforesaid may merely mean the expounding the law as applicable to difficult cases arising in

[a] The expression רָאשֵׁי בֵית־אָב (Num. xxv. 14) is remarkable, and seems to mean the patriarchal senior of a subdivision of the tribe (comp. 1 Chr. iv 38, Judg. v. 2, 15).

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practice. Beyond this, it is not possible to indicate any division of the provinces of deciding on points of law as distinct from points of fact. The judges mentioned as standing before Joshua in the great assemblies of the people must be understood as the successors to those chosen by Moses, and had doubtless been elected with Joshua's sanction from among the same general class of patriarchal seniors (Josh. iv. 2, 4, xxii. 14, xxiv. 1).

The judge was reckoned a sacred person, and secured even from verbal injuries. Seeking a decision at law is called "enquiring of God" (Ex. xviii. 15). The term "gods" is actually applied to judges (Ex. xxi. 6; comp. Ps. lxxxii. 1, 6). The judge was told, "thou shalt not be afraid of the face of men, for the judgment is God's;" and thus, whilst human instrumentality was indispensable, the source of justice was upheld as divine, and the purity of its administration only sank with the decline of religious feeling. In this spirit speaks Ps. lxxxii., — a lofty charge addressed to all who judge; comp. the qualities regarded as essential at the institution of the office, Ex. xviii. 21, and the strict admonition of Deut. xvi. 18–20. But besides the sacred dignity thus given to the only royal function, which, under the Theocracy, lay in human hands, it was made popular by being vested in those who led public feeling, and its importance in the public eye appears from such passages as Ps. lxix. 12 (comp. cxix. 23), lxxxii., cxlviii. 11; Prov. viii. 15, xxxi. 4, 5, 23. There could have been no considerable need for the legal studies and expositions of the Levites during the wanderings in the wilderness while Moses was alive to solve all questions, and while the law which they were to expound was not wholly delivered. The Levites, too, had a charge of cattle to look after in that wilderness like the rest, and seem to have acted also, being Moses' own tribe, as supports to his executive authority. But then few of the greater entanglements of property could arise before the people were settled in their possession of Canaan. Thus they were disciplined in smaller matters, and under Moses' own eye, for greater ones. When, however, the commandment, "judges and officers shalt thou make thee in all thy gates" (Deut. xvi. 18), came to be fulfilled in Canaan, there were the following sources from which those officials might be supplied: 1st, the *ex officio* judges, or their successors, as chosen by Moses; 2dly, any surplus left of patriarchal seniors when they were taken out (as has been shown from Deut. i. 15, 16) from that class; and 3dly, the Levites. On what principle the non-Levitical judges were chosen after Divine superintendence was interrupted at Joshua's death is not clear. A simple way would have been for the existing judges in every town, etc., to choose their own colleagues, as vacancies fell, from among the limited number of persons who, being heads of families, were competent. Generally speaking, the reputation for superior wealth, as some guarantee against facilities of corruption, would determine the choice of a judge, and, taken in connection with personal qualities, would tend to limit the choice to probably a very few persons in practice. The supposition that judicature will always be provided for is carried through all the books of the Law (see Ex. xxi. 6, xxii. *pass.*; Lev. xix. 15; Num. xxxv. 24; Deut. i. 16, xvi. 18, xxv. 1). And all that we know of the facts of later history confirms the supposition. The Hebrews were sensitive as regards the administration of justice; nor is the free spirit of their early commonwealth in anything more manifest than in the resentment which followed the venal or partial judge. The fact that justice reposed on a popular basis of administration largely contributed to keep up this spirit of independence, which is the ultimate check on all perversions of the tribunal. The popular aristocracy[a] of heads of tribes, sections of tribes, or families, is found to fall into two main orders of varying nomenclature, and rose from the *capite censi*, or mere citizens, upwards. The more common name for the higher order is "princes," and for the lower, "elders" (Judg. viii. 14; Ex. ii. 14; Job xxix. 7, 8, 9; Ezr. x. 8). These orders were the popular element of judicature. On the other hand the Levitical body was imbued with a keen sense of allegiance to God as the Author of Law, and to the Covenant as his embodiment of it, and soon gained whatever forensic experience and erudition those simple times could yield; hence they brought to the judicial task the legal acumen and sense of general principles which complemented the ruder lay element. Thus the Hebrews really enjoyed much of the virtue of a system which allots separate provinces to judge and jury, although we cannot trace any such line of separation in their functions, save in so far as has been indicated above. To return to the first or popular branch, there is reason to think, from the general concurrence of phraseology amidst much diversity, that in every city these two ranks of "princes" and "elders"[b] had their analogies, and that a variable number of heads of families and groups of families, in two ranks, were popularly recognized, whether with or without any form of election, as charged with the duty of administering justice. Succoth[c] (Judg. viii. 14) may be taken

[a] This term is used for want of a better; but as regards privileges of race, the tribe of Levi and house of Aaron were the only aristocracy, and these, by their privation as regards holding land, were an aristocracy very unlike what has usually gone by that name.

[b] A number of words — *e. g.* נָשִׂיא, שַׂר, נָגִיד, נְדִיב, and (especially in the book of Job) אַדִּיר — are sometimes rendered "prince" in the A. V.: the first most nearly uniformly so, which seems designative of the passive eminence of high birth or position; the next, שַׂר, expresses active and official authority. Yet as the נָשִׂיא was most likely, nay, in the earlier annals, certain, to be the שַׂר, we must be careful of excluding from the person called by the one title the qualities denoted by the other. Of the two remaining terms, נָדִיב, expressing princely qualities, approaches most nearly to נָשִׂיא, and נָגִיד, expressing prominence of station, to שַׂר.

[c] The princes and elders here were together 77. The subordination in numbers, of which Ten is the base of Ex. xviii. and Deut. i. 16, strongly suggests that 70 + 7 were the actual components; although they are spoken of rather as regards functions of ruling generally than of judging specially, yet we need not separate the two, as is clear from Deut. i. 16. Such division of labor assuredly found little place in primitive times. No doubt these men presided "in the gate." The number of Jacob's family (with which Succoth was traditionally connected, Gen. xxxiii 17)

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as an example. Evidently the *ex officio* judges of Moses' choice would have left their successors when the tribe of Gad, to which Succoth pertained (Josh. xiii. 27), settled in its territory and towns: and what would be more simple than that the whole number of judges in that tribe should be allotted to its towns in proportion to their size? As such judges were mostly the headmen by genealogy, they would fall into their natural places, and symmetry would be preserved. The Levites also were apportioned on the whole equally among the tribes; and if they preserved their limits, there were probably few parts of Palestine beyond a day's journey from a Levitical city.

One great hold which the priesthood had, in their jurisdiction, upon men's ordinary life was the custody in the Sanctuary of the standard weights and measures, to which, in cases of dispute, reference was doubtless made. It is, however, reasonable to suppose that in most towns sufficiently exact models of them for all ordinary questions would be kept, since to refer to the Sanctuary at Shiloh, Jerusalem, etc., in every case of dispute between dealers would be nugatory (Ex. xxx. 13; Num. iii. 47; Ex. xlv. 12). Above all these, the high-priest in the ante-regal period was the resort in difficult cases (Deut. xvii. 12), as the chief jurist of the nation, and who would in case of need be perhaps oracularly directed; yet we hear of none acting as judge save Eli:[a] nor is any judicial act recorded of him; though perhaps his not restraining his sons is meant to be noticed as a failure in his judicial duties. Now the judicial authority of any such supreme tribunal must have wholly lapsed at the time of the events recorded in Judg. xix.[b] It is also a fact of some weight, negatively, that none of the special deliverers called judges was of priestly lineage, or even became as much noted as Deborah, a woman. This seems to show that any central action of the high-priest on national unity was null, and of this supremacy, had it existed in force, the judicial prerogative was the main element. Difficult cases would include cases of appeal, and we may presume that, save so far as the authority of those special deliverers made itself felt, there was no judge in the last resort from Joshua to Samuel. Indeed the current phrase of those deliverers that they "judged" Israel during their term, shows which branch of their authority was most in request, and the demand of the people for a king was, in the first instance, that he might "judge them," rather than that he might "fight their battles" (1 Sam. viii. 5, 20).

These judges were 15 in number: 1. Othniel; 2. Ehud; 3. Shamgar; 4. Deborah and Barak; 5. Gideon; 6. Abimelech; 7. Tola; 8. Jair; 9. Jephthah; 10. Ibzan; 11. Elon; 12. Abdon; 13. Samson; 14. Eli; 15. Samuel. Their history is related under their separate names, and some remarks upon the first thirteen, contained in the book of Judges, are made in the following article. The chronology of this period is discussed under CHRONOLOGY (vol. i. p. 444).

This function of the priesthood, being, it may be presumed, in abeyance during the period of the judges, seems to have merged in the monarchy. The kingdom of Saul suffered too severely from external foes to allow civil matters much prominence. Hence of his only two recorded judicial acts, the one (1 Sam. xi. 13) was the mere remission of a penalty popularly demanded; the other the pronouncing of a sentence (*ibid.* xiv. 44, 45) which, if it was sincerely intended, was overruled in turn by the right sense of the people. In David's reign it was evidently the rule for the king to hear causes in person, and not merely be passively, or even by deputy (though this might also be included),[c] the "fountain of justice" to his people. For this purpose, perhaps, it was prospectively ordained that the king should "write him a copy of the Law," and "read therein all the days of his life" (Deut. xvii. 18, 19). The same class of cases which were reserved for Moses would probably fall to his lot; and the high-priest was of course ready to assist the monarch. This is further presumable from the fact that no officer analogous to a chief justice ever appears under the kings. It has been supposed that the subjection of all Israel to David's sway caused an influx of such cases, and that advantage was artfully taken of this by Absalom (2 Sam. xv. 1–4); but the rate at which cases were disposed of can hardly have been slower among the ten tribes after David had become their king, than it was during the previous anarchy. It is more probable that during David's uniformly successful wars wealth and population increased rapidly, and civil cases multiplied faster than the king, occupied with war, could attend to them, especially when the summary process customary in the East is considered. Perhaps the arrangements, mentioned in 1 Chr. xxiii. 4, xxvi. 29 (comp. v. 32, "rulers" probably including judges), of the 6000 Levites acting as "officers and judges," and amongst them specially "Chenaniah and his sons;" with others, for the trans-Jordanic tribes, may have been made to meet the need of suitors. In Solomon's character, whose reign of peace would surely be fertile in civil questions, the "wisdom to judge" was the fitting first quality (1 K. iii. 9; comp. Ps. lxxii. 1–4). As a judge Solomon shines "in all his glory" (1 K. iii. 16, &c.). No criminal was too powerful for his justice, as some had been for his father's (2 Sam. iii. 39; 1 K. ii. 5, 6, 33, 34). The examples of direct royal exercise of judicial authority are 2 Sam. i. 15, iv. 9–12, where sentence is summarily executed,[d] and the supposed case of 2 Sam. xiv. 1–21.

having been 70 on their coming down into Egypt (Gen. xlvi. 27), may have been the cause of this number being that of the "elders" of that place, besides the sacred character of the factor 7. See also Ex. xxiv. 9. On the other hand, at Ramah about 30 persons occupied a similar place in popular esteem (1 Sam. ix. 22: see also ver. 18, and vii. 17).

[a] The remark in the margin of the A. V. on 1 Sam. v. 18, seems improper. It is as follows: "He seems to have been a judge to do justice only, and that in Southwest Israel." When it was inserted, the function of the high-priest, as mentioned above, would seem to have been overlooked. That function was primarily designed to be general, not partial; though probably, as hinted above, its execution was inadequate.

[b] It ought not to be forgotten that in some cases of "blood" the "congregation" themselves were to "judge" (Num. xxxv. 24), and that the appeal of Judg. xx. 4–7 was thus in the regular course of constitutional law.

[c] See 2 Sam. xv. 3, where the text gives probably a better rendering than the margin.

[d] The cases of Amnon and Absalom, in which no notice was taken of either crime, though set down by Michaelis (*Laws of Moses*, bk. i. art. x.) as instances of justice forborne through politic consideration of the criminal's power, seem rather to be examples of mere

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The denunciation of 2 Sam. xii. 5, 6, is, though not formally judicial, yet in the same spirit. Solomon similarly proceeded in the cases of Joab and Shimei (1 K. ii. 34, 46; comp. 2 K. xiv. 5, 6). It is likely that royalty in Israel was ultimately unfavorable to the local independence connected with the judicature of the "princes" and "elders" in the territory and cities of each tribe. The tendency of the monarchy was doubtless to centralize, and we read of large numbers of king's officers appointed to this and cognate duties (1 Chr. xxiii. 4, xxvi. 29–32). If the general machinery of justice had been, as is reasonable to think, deranged or retarded during a period of anarchy, the Levites afforded the fittest materials for its reconstitution.[a] Being to some extent detached, both locally, and by special duties, exemptions, etc., from the mass of the population, they were more easily brought to the steady routine which justice requires, and, what is no less important, were, in case of neglect of duty, more at the mercy of the king (as shown in the case of the priests at Nob, 1 Sam. xxii. 17). Hence it is probable that the Levites generally superseded the local elders in the administration of justice. But subsequently, when the Levites withdrew from the kingdom of the ten tribes, judicial elders probably again filled the gap. Thus they conducted the mock trial of Naboth (1 K. xxi. 8–13). There is in 2 Chr. xix. 5, &c., a special notice of a reappointment of judges by Jahoshaphat and of a distinct court, of appeal perhaps, at Jerusalem, composed of Levitical and of lay elements. In the same place (as also in a previous one, 1 Chr. xxvi. 32) occurs a mention of "the king's matters" as a branch of jurisprudence. The rights of the prerogative having a constant tendency to encroach, and needing continual regulation, these may have grown probably into a department, somewhat like our exchequer.

One more change is noticeable in the pre-Babylonian period. The "princes" constantly appear as a powerful political body, increasing in influence and privileges, and having a fixed centre of action at Jerusalem; till, in the reign of Zedekiah, they seem to exercise some of the duties of a privy council; and especially a collective jurisdiction (2 Chr. xxviii. 21; Jer. xxvi. 10, 16). These "princes" are probably the heads of great houses[b] in Judah and Benjamin, whose fathers had once been the pillars of local jurisdiction; but who, through the attractions of a court, and probably also under the constant alarm of hostile invasion, became gradually residents in the capital, and formed an oligarchy, which drew to itself, amidst the growing weakness of the latter monarchy, whatever vigor was left in the state, and encroached on the sovereign attribute of justice. The employment in offices of trust and emolument would tend also in the same way, and such chief families would probably monopolize such employment. Hence the constant burden of the prophetic strain, denouncing the neglect, the perversion, the corruption, of judicial functionaries (Is. i. 17, 21, v. 7, x. 2, xxviii. 7, lvi. 1, lix. 4; Jer. ii. 8, v. 1, vii. 5, xxi. 12; Ez. xxii. 27, xlv. 8, 9; Hos. v. 10, vii. 5, 7; Amos v. 7, 15, 24, vi. 12; Hab. i. 4, &c.). Still, although far changed from its broad and simple basis in the earlier period, the administration of justice had little resembling the set and rigid system of the Sanhedrim of later times.[c] [See SANHEDRIM.] This last change arose from the fact that the patriarchal seniority, degenerate and corrupted as it became before the Captivity, was by that event broken up, and a new basis of judicature had to be sought for.

With regard to the forms of procedure little more is known than may be gathered from the two examples, Ruth iv. 2, of a civil, and 1 K. xxi. 8–14, of a criminal character;[d] to which, as a specimen of royal summary jurisdiction, may be added the well-known "judgment" of Solomon. Boaz apparently empanels as it were the first ten "elders" whom he meets "in the gate," the well-known site of the oriental court, and cites the other party by "Ho, such an one;" and the people appear to be invoked as attesting the legality of the proceeding. The whole affair bears an extemporaneous aspect, which may, however, be merely the result of the terseness of the narrative. In Job ix. 19, we have a wish expressed that a "time to plead" might be "set" (comp. the phrase of Roman law, *diem dicere*). In the case of the involuntary homicide seeking the city of refuge, he was to make out his case to the satisfaction of its elders (Josh. xx. 4), and this failing, or the congregation deciding against his claim to sanctuary there (though how its sense was to be taken does not appear), he was not put to death by act of public justice, but left to the "avenger of blood" (Deut. xix. 12). The expressions between "blood and blood," between "plea and plea" (Deut. xvii. 8), indicate a presumption of legal intricacy arising, the latter expression seeming to imply something like what we call a "cross-suit." We may infer from the scantiness, or rather almost entire absence of direction as regards forms of procedure, that the legislator was content to leave them to be provided for as the necessity for them arose, it being impossible by any jurisprudential devices to anticipate chicane. It is an interesting question how far judges were allowed to receive fees of suitors; Michaelis reasonably presumes that none were allowed or customary, and it seems, from the words of 1 Sam. xii. 3, that such transactions would have been regarded as corrupt. There is another question how far advocates were usual. There is no reason

weakness, either of government or of personal character, in David. His own criminality with Bathsheba it is superfluous to argue, since the matter was by Divine interference removed from the cognisance of human law.

[a] From Num. iv. 3, 23, 30, it would seem that after 30 years of age the Levites were excused from the service of the tabernacle. This was perhaps a provision meant to favor their usefulness in deciding on points of law, since the maturity of a judge has hardly begun at that age, and before it they would have been junior to their lay coadjutors.

[b] That some of the heads of such houses, however, retained their proper sphere, seems clear from Jer. xxvi. 17, where "elders of the land" address an "assembly of the people." Still, the occasion is not judicial.

[c] The Sanhedrim is, by a school of Judaism once more prevalent than now, attempted to be based on the 70 elders of Num. xi. 16, and to be traced through the O. T. history. Those 70 were chosen when judicature had been already provided for (Ex. xviii. 25), and their office was to assist Moses in the duty of governing. But no influence of any such body is traceable in later times at any crisis of history. They seem in fact to have left no successors.

[d] The example of Susannah and the elders is too suspicious an authority to be cited.

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to think that until the period of Greek influence, when we meet with words based on συνήγορος and παράκλητος, any professed class of pleaders existed. Yet passages abound in which the pleading of the cause of those who are unable to plead their own, is spoken of as, what it indeed was, a noble act of charity; and the expression has even (which shows the popularity of the practice) become a basis of figurative allusion (Job xvi. 21; Prov. xxii. 23, xxiii. 11, xxxi. 9; Is. i. 17; Jer. xxx. 13, l. 34, li. 36). The blessedness of such acts is forcibly dwelt upon, Job xxix. 12, 13.

There is no mention of any distinctive dress or badge as pertaining to the judicial officer. A staff or sceptre was the common badge of a ruler or prince, and this perhaps they bore (Is. xiv. 5; Am. i. 5, 8). They would, perhaps, when officiating, be more than usually careful to comply with the regulations about dress laid down in Num. xv. 38, 39; Deut. xxii. 12. The use of the "white asses" (Judg. v. 10), by those who "sit in judgment," was perhaps a convenient distinctive mark for them when journeying where they would not usually be personally known.

For other matters relating to some of the forms of law, see OATHS, OFFICERS, WITNESSES.

H. H.

JUDGES, BOOK OF (שֹׁפְטִים: Κριταί: *liber Judicum*). I. *Title.* — The period of history contained in this book reaches from Joshua to Eli, and is thus more extensive than the time of the Judges. A large portion of it also makes no mention of them, though belonging to their time. But because the history of the Judges occupies by far the greater part of the narrative, and is at the same time the history of the people, the title of the whole book is derived from that portion. The book of Ruth was originally a part of this book. But about the middle of the fifth century after Christ it was placed in the Hebrew copies immediately after the Song of Solomon. In the LXX. it has preserved its original position, but as a separate book.

II. *Arrangement.* — The book at first sight may be divided into two parts — i.–xvi., and xvii.–xxi.

A. i.–xvi. — The subdivisions are: (a.) i.–ii. 5, which may be considered as a first introduction, giving a summary of the results of the war carried on against the Canaanites by the several tribes on the west of Jordan after Joshua's death, and forming a continuation of Josh. xii. It is placed first, as in the most natural position. It tells us that the people did not obey the command to expel the people of the land, and contains the reproof of them by a prophet. (b.) ii. 6–iii. 6. This is a second introduction, standing in nearer relation to the following history. It informs us that the people fell into idolatry after the death of Joshua and his generation, and that they were punished for it by being unable to drive out the remnant of the inhabitants of the land, and by falling under the hand of oppressors. A parenthesis occurs (ii. 16–19) of the highest importance as giving a key to the following portion. It is a summary view of the history: the people fall into idolatry; they are then oppressed by a foreign power; upon their repentance they are delivered by a judge, after whose death they relapse into idolatry. (c.) iii. 7–xvi. The words, "and the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord," which had been already used in ii. 11, are employed to introduce the history of the 13 judges comprised in this book. An account of six of these 13 is given at greater or less length. The account of the remaining seven is very short, and merely attached to the longer narratives. These narratives are as follows: (1.) The deliverance of Israel by Othniel, iii. 7–11. (2.) The history of Ehud, and (in 31) that of Shamgar, iii. 12–31. (3.) The deliverance by Deborah and Barak, iv.–v. (4.) The whole passage is vi.–x. 5. The history of Gideon and his son Abimelech is contained in vi.–ix., and followed by the notice of Tola, x. 1, 2, and Jair, x. 3–5. This is the only case in which the history of a judge is continued by that of his children. But the exception is one which illustrates the lesson taught by the whole book. Gideon's sin in making the ephod is punished by the destruction of his family by Abimelech, with the help of the men of Shechem, who in their turn become the instruments of each other's punishment. In addition to this, the short reign of Abimelech would seem to be recorded as being an unauthorized anticipation of the kingly government of later times. (5.) x. 6–xii. The history of Jephthah, x. 6–xii. 7; to which is added the mention of Ibzan, xii. 8–10; Elon, 11, 12; Abdon, 13–15. (6.) The history of Samson, consisting of twelve exploits, and forming three groups connected with his love of three Philistine women, xiii.–xvi. We may observe in general on this portion of the book, that it is almost entirely a history of the wars of deliverance; there are no sacerdotal allusions in it; the tribe of Judah is not alluded to after the time of Othniel; and the greater part of the judges belong to the northern half of the kingdom.

B. xvii.–xxi. — This part has no formal connection with the preceding, and is often called an appendix. No mention of the judges occurs in it. It contains allusions to "the house of God," the ark, and the high-priest. The period to which the narrative relates is simply marked by the expression "when there was no king in Israel" (xix. 1; cf xviii. 1). It records (*a*) the conquest of Laish by a portion of the tribe of Dan, and the establishment there of the idolatrous worship of Jehovah already instituted by Micah in Mount Ephraim. The date of this occurrence is not marked, but it has been thought to be subsequent to the time of Deborah, as her song contains no allusion to any northern settlements of the tribe of Dan. (*b*) The almost total extinction of the tribe of Benjamin by the whole people of Israel, in consequence of their supporting the cause of the wicked men of Gibeah, and the means afterwards adopted for preventing its becoming complete. The date is in some degree marked by the mention of Phinehas, the grandson of Aaron (xx. 28), and by the proof of the unanimity still prevailing among the people.

III. *Design.* — We have already seen that there is an unity of plan in i.–xvi., the clew to which is stated in ii. 16–19. There can be little doubt of the design to enforce the view there expressed. But the words of that passage must not be pressed too closely. It is a general view, to which the facts of the history correspond in different degrees. Thus the people is contemplated as a whole; the judges are spoken of with the reverence due to God's instruments, and the deliverances appear complete. But it would seem that the people were in no instance under exactly the same circumstances, and the judges in some points fall short of the ideal. Thus Gideon, who in some respects is the most

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eminent of them, is only the head of his own tribe, and has to appease the men of Ephraim by conciliatory language in the moment of his victory over the Midianites; and he himself is the means of leading away the people from the pure worship of God. In Jephthah we find the chief of the land of Gilead only, affected to some extent by personal reasons (xi. 9); his war against the Ammonites is confined to the east side of Jordan, though its issue probably also freed the western side from their presence, and it is followed by a bloody conflict with Ephraim. Again, Samson's task was simply "to *begin* to deliver Israel" (xiii. 5); and the occasions which called forth his hostility to the Philistines are of a kind which place him on a different level from Deborah or Gideon. This shows that the passage in question is a general review of the *collective* history of Israel during the time of the judges, the details of which, in their varying aspects, are given faithfully as the narrative proceeds.

The existence of this design may lead us to expect that we have not a complete history of the times — a fact which is clear from the book itself. We have only accounts of parts of the nation at any one time. We may easily suppose that there were other incidents of a similar nature to those recorded in xvii.–xxi. And in the history itself there are points which are obscure from want of fuller information, e. *g.* the reason for the silence about the tribe of Judah (see also viii. 18, ix. 26). Some suppose even that the number of the judges is not complete; but there is no reason for this opinion. *Bedan* (1 Sam. xii. 11) is possibly the same as *Abdon*. Ewald (*Gesch.* ii. 477) rejects the common explanation that the word is a contracted form of *Ben-Dan*, i. e. Samson. And *Jael* (v. 6) need not be the name of an unknown judge, or a corruption of *Jair*, as Ewald thinks, but is probably the wife of Heber. "The days of Jael" would carry the misery of Israel up to the time of the victory over Sisera, and such an expression could hardly be thought too great an honor at that time (see v. 24). [JAEL.]

IV. *Materials.*— The author must have found certain parts of his book in a definite shape: e. *g.* the words of the prophet (ii. 1–5), the song of Deborah (v.), Jotham's parable (ix. 7–20; see also xiv. 14, 18, xv. 7, 16). How far these and the rest of his materials came to him already written is a matter of doubt. Stähelin (*Krit. Untersuch.* p. 106) thinks that iii. 7–xvi. present the same manner and diction throughout, and that there is no need to suppose written sources. So Hävernick (*Einleitung*, i. 1, pp. 68 ff., 107) only recognizes the use of documents in the appendix. Other critics, however, trace them throughout. Bertheau (*On Judges*, pp. xxviii.–xxxii.) says that the difference of the diction in the principal narratives, coupled with the fact that they are united in one plan, points to the incorporation of parts of previous histories. Thus, according to him, the author found the substance of iv. 2–24 already accompanying the song of Deborah; in vi.–ix. two distinct authorities are used — a life of Gideon, and a history of Shechem and its usurper; in the account of Jephthah a history of the tribes on the east of Jordan is employed, which meets us again in different parts of the Pentateuch and Joshua; and the history of Samson is taken from a longer work on the Philistine wars. Ewald's view is similar (*Gesch.* i. 184 ff., ii. 486 ff.).

V. *Relation to other Books.*— (A.) To Joshua. — Josh. xv.–xxi. must be compared with Judg. i. in order to understand fully how far the several tribes failed in expelling the people of Canaan. Nothing is said in ch. i. about the tribes on the east of Jordan, which had been already mentioned (Josh. xiii 13), nor about Levi (see Josh. xiii. 33, xxi. 1–42). The carrying on of the war by the tribes singly is explained by Josh. xxiv. 28. The book begins with a reference to Joshua's death, and ii. 6–9 resumes the narrative, suspended by i.–ii. 5, with the same words as are used in concluding the history of Joshua (xxiv. 28–31). In addition to this the following passages appear to be common to the two books: compare Judg. i. 10–15, 20, 21, 27, 29, with Josh. xv. 14–19, 13, 63, xvii. 12, xvi. 10. A reference to the conquest of Laish (Judg. xviii.) occurs in Josh. xix. 47.

(B.) To the books of Samuel and Kings. — We find in i. 28, 30, 33, 35, a number of towns upon which, "when Israel was strong," a tribute of bond-service was levied; this is supposed by some to refer to the time of Solomon (1 K. ix. 13–23). The conduct of Saul towards the Kenites (1 Sam. xv. 6), and that of David (1 Sam. xxx. 29), is explained by i. 16. A reference to the continuance of the Philistine wars is implied in xiii. 5. The allusion to Abimelech (2 Sam. xi. 21) is explained by ch. ix. Chapters xvii.–xxi. and the book of Ruth are more independent, but they have a general reference to the subsequent history.

The question now arises whether this book forms one link in an historical series, or whether it has a closer connection either with those that precede or follow it. We cannot infer anything from the agreement of its view and spirit with those of the other books. But its form would lead to the conclusion that it was not an independent book originally. The history ceases with Samson, excluding Eli and Samuel; and then at this point two historical pieces are added — xvii.–xxi. and the book of Ruth, — independent of the general plan and of each other. This is sufficiently explained by Ewald's supposition that the books from Judges to 2 Kings form one work. In this case the histories of Eli and Samuel, so closely united between themselves, are only deferred on account of their close connection with the rise of the monarchy. And Judg. xvii.–xxi. is inserted both as an illustration of the sin of Israel during the time of the Judges, in which respect it agrees with i.–xvi., and as presenting a contrast with the better order prevailing in the time of the kings. Ruth follows next, as touching on the time of the judges, and containing information about David's family history which does not occur elsewhere. The connection of these books, however, is denied by DeWette (*Einleit.* § 186) and Thenius (*Kurzgef. exeg. Handb., Sam.* p. xv.; *Könige*, p. i.). Bertheau, on the other hand, thinks that one editor may be traced from Genesis to 2 Kings, whom he believes to be Ezra, in agreement with Jewish tradition.

VI. *Date.*— The only guide to the date of this book which we find in ii. 6–xvi. is the expression "unto this day," the last occurrence of which (xv. 19) implies some distance from the time of Samson. But i. 21, according to the most natural explanation, would indicate a date, for this chapter at least, previous to the taking of Jebus by David (2 Sam. v. 6–9). Again, we should at first sight suppose i. 28, 30, 33, 35, to belong to the time of the judges; but these passages are taken by most modern critics as pointing to the time of Solomon

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(cf. 1 K. ix. 21). i.–xvi. may therefore have been originally, as Ewald thinks (*Gesch.* i. 202, 203), the commencement of a larger work reaching down to above a century after Solomon (see also Davidson, *Introduction*, 649, 650). Again, the writer of the appendix lived when Shiloh was no longer a religious centre (xviii. 31); he was acquainted with the regal form of government (xvii. 6, xviii. 1). There is some doubt as to xviii. 30. It is thought by some to refer to the Philistine oppression. But it seems more probable that the Assyrian captivity is intended, in which case the writer must have lived after 721 B. C. The whole book therefore must have taken its present shape after that date. And if we adopt Ewald's view, that Judges to 2 Kings form one book, the final arrangement of the whole must have been after the thirty-seventh year of Jehoiachin's captivity, or B. C. 562 (2 K. xxv. 27). Bertheau's suggestion with respect to Ezra brings it still lower. But we may add, with reference to the subject of this and the two preceding sections, that, however interesting such inquiries may be, they are only of secondary importance. Few persons are fully competent to conduct them, or even to pass judgment on their discordant results. And whatever obscurity may rest upon the whole matter, there remains the one important fact that we have, through God's providence, a continuous history of the Jewish people, united throughout by the conviction of their dependence upon God and government by Him. This conviction finds its highest expression in parts of the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Prophets; but it was confirmed by the events of the history — although, at times, in a manner which gave room to Faith to use its power of perception, and allowed men in those days, as well as in these, to refuse to recognize it.

VII. *Chronology.* — The time commonly assigned to the period contained in this book is 299 years. But this number is not derived directly from it. The length of the interval between Joshua's death and the invasion of Cushan-rishathaim, and of the time during which Shamgar was judge, is not stated. The dates which are given amount to 410 years when reckoned consecutively; and Acts xiii. 20 would show that this was the computation commonly adopted, as the 450 years seem to result from adding 40 years for Eli to the 410 of this book.[a] But a difficulty is created by xi. 26, and in a still greater degree by 1 K. vi. 1, where the whole period from the Exodus to the building of the Temple is stated at 480 years (440, LXX.). One solution questions the genuineness of the date in 1 Kings. Kennicott pronounces against it (*Diss. Gen.* 80, § 3), because it is omitted by Origen when quoting the rest of the verse. And it is urged that Josephus would not have reckoned 592 years for the same period, if the present reading had existed in his time. But it is defended by Thenius (*ad loc.*), and is generally adopted partly on account of its agreement with Egyptian chronology. Most of the systems therefore shorten the time of the judges by reckoning the dates as inclusive or contemporary. But all these combinations are arbitrary. And this may be said of Keil's scheme, which is one of those least open to objection. He reckons the dates successively as far as Jair, but makes Jephthah and the three following judges contemporary with the 40 years of the Philistine oppression (cf. x. 6–xiii. 1); and by compressing the period between the division of the land and Cushan-rishathaim into 10 years, and the Philistine wars to the death of Saul into 39, he arrives ultimately at the 480 years. Ewald and Bertheau have proposed ingenious but unsatisfactory explanations — differing in details, but both built upon the supposition that the whole period from the Exodus to Solomon was divided into 12 generations of 40 years; and that, for the period of the judges, this system has become blended with the dates of another more precise reckoning. On the whole, it seems safer to give up the attempt to ascertain the chronology exactly. The successive narratives give us the history of only parts of the country, and *some* of the occurrences may have been contemporary (x. 7). Round numbers seem to have been used — the number 40 occurs four times; and two of the periods are without any date. On this difficult subject see also CHRONOLOGY, vol. i. p. 444 f.

VIII. *Commentaries.* — The following list is taken from Bertheau (*Kurzgef. exeg. Handb. z. A. T.* [Lief. vi.], *Das Buch der Richter u. Rut* [Leipz. 1845]), to whom this article is principally indebted. (1.) Rabbinical: In addition to the well-known commentaries, see R. Tanchumi Hierosol. *ad libros Vet. Test. commentarii Arabici specimen una cum annotationibus ad aliquot loca libri Judd.*, ed. Ch. Fr. Schnurrer, Tubing. 1791, 4to; R. Tanchumi Hierosol. *Comment. in prophetas Arab. specimen* (on Judg. xiii.–xxi.), ed. Th. Haarbrücker, Halis, 1842, 8vo. (2.) Christian. Victor. Strigel, *Scholia in libr. Judd.*, Lips. 1586; Serrarius, *Comment. in libros Jos. Judd.*, etc., 1609; *Critici Sacri*, tom. ii. Lond. 1660; Sebast. Schmidt, *In libr. Judd.*, Argentor. 1706, 4to; Clerici *V. T. libri historici*, Amstelod. 1708, fol.; J. D. Michaelis, *Deutsche Uebers. des A. T.* Göttingen, 1772; Dathe, *Libri hist. Lat. vers.* 1784; *Exeget. Handb. d. A. T.* [St. 2, 3]; Maurer, *Comment. gramm. crit.* [vol. i.] pp. 126–153; Rosenmülleri *Scholia* [pars xi.], vol. ii. Lipsiæ, 1835; Gottl. Ludw. Studer, *Das Buch der Richter grammat. und histor. erklärt*, 1835. There are many separate treatises on ch. v., a list of which is found in Bertheau, p. 80.

E. R. O.

* *Other references.* — Among the older commentators (see above) are also J. Drusius, *Ad loca*

a * It should be stated that the order of the Greek in the oldest manuscripts (A B C and the Sinaitic MS.) assigns the 450 years in Acts xiii. 19, 20 to the period of the *quasi* possession of the promised land before the conquest, and not to that of the administration of the judges. This order places καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα after τετρήκοντα and before ἔδωκε. The translation then is: "He gave them their land as a possession about four hundred and fifty years; and, after that, he gave [to them] judges until Samuel the prophet." Lachmann, Tregelles, Luthardt (Reuter's *Repertorium*, 1855, p. 205), Green (*Course of Developed Criticism*, p. 109), Wordsworth (*in loc.*) and others adopt this reading. In this case, adding together the years from the birth of Isaac (regarded as the pledge of the possession *de jure* of Canaan) to that of Jacob (60), the age of Jacob on going into Egypt (130), the sojourn in Egypt (215, as required by Gal iii. 17), and the time of the wandering in the wilderness (47), we have as the result 455 years between Isaac and the judges. Meyer says confidently that this form of the text is corrupt (*Apostelgesch.* p. 231, ed. 1854); but it is singular that so many of the best authorities agree in this variation. For fuller details on this question see the writer's *Commentary on the Acts*, pp. 127 f and 214 f. E

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difficiliora Josuæ Jud. et Sam. Commentarius, Franek. 1618; J. Bonfrère, *Josua, Judices et Ruth Commentario illustrati*, Par. 1631; J. A. Osiander, *Comm. in Judices*, Tubing. 1682. For a fuller list, see Winer, *Handb. d. theol. Lit.* i. 292 f.; Darling, *Cyclop. Bibliographica* (Subjects), col. 280 f. Later writers: T. S. Rördam, *Libri Judicum et Ruth secundum versionem Syriaco-Hexaplarem, ex Codice Musei Britannici nunc primum editi*, etc. 2 fasc. Havniæ, 1859–61, accompanied by a translation and notes. O. F. Fritzsche, *Liber Judicum secundum LXX. Interpretes — Triplicem Textus Conformationem recensuit, Lectionis Varietates enotavit, Interpret. Vet. Lat. Fragmenta addidit*, Turici, 1867, valuable as a contribution to the textual criticism of the Septuagint version. Wahl, *Ueber den Verfasser des Buches der Richter*, Ellwangen, 1859. Kamphausen, *Richter*, in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, vol. ii. (1859), a new version with brief notes; and on the chronology (which Bunsen attempts, to very little purpose, to illustrate from Egyptian history), *Bibelwerk*, i. pp. ccxxxiii.–cclii. C. F. Keil, *Josua, Richter u. Ruth*, in the *Bibl. Comm.* of Keil and Delitzsch, iii. 175–356 (1863), transl. by J. Martin in Clark's *For. Theol. Libr.* (Edin. 1865). Paulus Cassel, *Richter u. Ruth* (Theil v. of Lange's *Bibelwerk*, 1865, pp. 1–197). He enumerates and characterizes the most important Jewish expositors of the book. Chr. Wordsworth, *Holy Bible with Notes*, vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 75–157 (1865). This author adheres very strictly to the typical principle of interpretation as applied both to the persons and the events mentioned in Judges. Joh. Bachmann, *Der Buch der Richter, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Gesch. seiner Auslegung* u. s. w. (1868), i. 1–242. This volume contains only the first three chapters. It promises in its spirit, comprehensiveness, and scholarship to be a work of the first order. Nägelsbach, *Richter, Buch der*, in Herzog's *Real-Encyk.* xiii. 29–32, a valuable article. See the *Einleitungen in das A. T.* by Bleek (pp. 341–355) and Keil (pp. 153–163, 2te Aufl.) for outlines of the course of criticism on this book, and for their own views as representatives of somewhat different Biblical schools. Hengstenberg, *Die Zeit der Richter*, in his *Authentie des Pent.* ii. 116–148. J. N. Tiele, *Chronol. des A. T.* pp. 39–58 (1839). Stähelin, *Untersuchungen üb. den Pentateuch, die Bücher Josua, Richter*, etc. (1843). Milman, *History of the Jews*, new ed., i. 282–318 (N. Y. 1864). Stanley, *Jewish Church*, i. 315–426 (Amer. ed.). His recapitulation of the contents of the book is vividly sketched and suggestive. He assigns to the period of the judges a position in Hebrew history similar to that of the Middle Ages in Christian history as to the prevalent moral degeneracy common to the two epochs, though relieved in both cases by many single examples of heroism in behalf of religion and of the public welfare. G. Rawlinson, *Historical Evidences* (Bampton Lectures for 1859), pp. 81 f., 295 f. (Amer. ed.). Kitto, *Daily Bible Illustrations*, Morning Series, vol. ii. (Porter's ed.). The principal monographs on ch. v. ('he Song of Deborah) have been mentioned under BARAK (Amer. ed.). For practical and homiletic uses, see especially Bishop Hall, *Contemplations on the Old Test.*, bks. ix., x., xi. H.

* JUDGMENT, DAY OF. [RESURRECTION.]

JUDGMENT-HALL. The word *Prætorium* (Πραιτώριον) is so translated five times in the A. V of the N. T.; and in those five passages it denotes two different places.

1. In John xviii. 28, 33, xix. 9, it is the residence which Pilate occupied when he visited Jerusalem *to* which the Jews brought Jesus from the house of Caiaphas, and *within* which He was examined by Pilate, and scourged and mocked by the soldiers, while the Jews were waiting *without* in the neighborhood of the judgment-seat (erected on the Pavement in front of the Prætorium), on which Pilate sat when he pronounced the final sentence. The Latin word *prætorium* originally signified (see Smith's *Dict. of Ant.*) the general's tent in a Roman camp (Liv. xxviii. 27, &c.); and afterwards it had, among other significations, that of the palace in which a governor of a province lived and administered justice (Cic. *Verr.* ii. 4, § 28, &c.). The site of Pilate's prætorium in Jerusalem has given rise to much dispute, some supposing it to be the palace of king Herod, others the tower of Antonia; but it has been shown elsewhere that the latter was probably the Prætorium, which was then and long afterwards the citadel of Jerusalem. [JERUSALEM, p. 1326 *a*.] This is supported by the fact that, at the time of the trial of Christ, Herod was in Jerusalem, doubtless inhabiting the palace of his father (Luke xxiii. 7). It appears, however, from a passage of Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 14, § 8), that the Roman governor sometimes resided in the palace, and set up his judgment-seat in front of it. Pilate certainly lived there at one time (Philo, *Leg. in Caium*, 38, 39). Winer conjectures that the procurator, when in Jerusalem, resided with a bodyguard in the palace of Herod (Josh. *B. J.* ii. 15, § 5), while the Roman garrison occupied Antonia. Just in like manner, a former palace of Hiero became the prætorium, in which Verres lived in Syracuse (Cic. *Verr.* ii. 5, § 12).

2. In Acts xxiii. 35 Herod's judgment-hall or prætorium in Cæsarea was doubtless a part of that magnificent range of buildings, the erection of which by king Herod is described in Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 9, § 6; see also *B. J.* i. 21, §§ 5–8).

3. The word "palace," or "Cæsar's court," in the A. V. of Phil. i. 13, is a translation of the same word prætorium. The statement in a later part of the same epistle (iv. 22) would seem to connect this prætorium with the imperial palace at Rome; but no classical authority is found for so designating the palace itself. The prætorian camp, outside the northern wall of Rome, was far from the palace, and therefore unlikely to be the prætorium here mentioned. An opinion well deserving consideration has been advocated by Wieseler, and by Conybeare and Howson (*Life of St. Paul*, ch. 26), to the effect that the prætorium here mentioned was the quarter of that detachment of the Prætorian Guards which was in immediate attendance upon the emperor, and had barracks in Mount Palatine. It will be remembered that St. Paul, on his arrival at Rome (Acts xxviii. 16), was delivered by the centurion into the custody of the prætorian prefect.[a]

* Prof. Lightfoot at present (*Epistle to the Philippians*, pp. 86, 97 ff., Lond. 1868) understands τοῖς πραιτωρίοις (Phil. i. 13) in the sense of "prætorians," and not "prætorian camp" as formerly (*Journ. of Class. and Sacr. Philol.* iv. 58 ff.).

[a] * On the genuineness of that passage, see vol. i. p. 335, note *a* (Amer. ed.). H.

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With this direct personal sense we might expect the dative without ἐν, as in the other clause (comp. also Acts iv. 16, vii. 13; 1 Tim. iv. 15). But with the local sense as the direct one and the personal as indirect (as in Ewald's "*im ganzen Prætorium* unter den kriegern," see his *Sendschriben des Ap. Paulus*, p. 441), the variation of construction is natural. See Meyer's note on this passage; also the art. CÆSAR'S HOUSEHOLD (Amer. ed.).

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4. The word *prætorium* occurs also in Matt. xxvii. 27, where it is translated "common hall" [A. V. marg. "governor's house"], and in Mark xv. 16. In both places it denotes Pilate's residence in Jerusalem. W. T. B.

* **JUDGMENT-SEAT**, the translation (A. V.) in various passages of βῆμα, and once of κριτήριον. [GABBATHA; JUDGMENT-HALL; PRÆTORIUM.] Some critics adopt this sense of κριτήριον in 1 Cor. vi. 2, 4 (see Meyer *in loc.*, and comp. James ii. 6, A. V.). H.

JU'DITH. 1. (יְהוּדִית [see below]: Ἰουδίθ; [Alex. Ἰουδιν: *Judith*]). "The daughter of Beeri the Hittite," and wife of Esau (Gen. xxvi. 34). [AHOLIBAMAH.]

2. [Ἰουδίθ; Vat. Sin. Alex. Ἰουδειθ; Ald. Ἰουδήθ, Ἰουδείθ.] The heroine of the apocryphal book which bears her name, who appears as an ideal type of piety (Jud. viii. 6), beauty (xi. 21), courage, and chastity (xvi. 22 ff.). Her supposed descent from Simeon (ix. 2) and the manner in which she refers to his cruel deed (Gen. xxxiv. 25 ff.), mark the conception of the character, which evidently belongs to a period of stern and perilous conflict. The most unscrupulous daring (xiii.) is combined with zealous ritualism (xii. 1 ff.), and faith is turned to action rather than to supplication (viii. 31 ff.). Clement of Rome (*Ep.* i. 55) assigns to Judith the epithet given to Jael (Ἰουδὶθ ἡ μακαρία); and Jerome sees in her exploit the image of the victory of the Church over the power of evil (Ep. lxxix. 11, p. 508; "Judith . . . in typo Ecclesiæ diabolum capite truncavit;" cf. Ep. xxii. 21, p. 105).

The name is properly the feminine form of יְהוּדִי, *Judæus* (cf. Jer. xxxvi. 14, 21). In the passage of Genesis it is generally taken as the correlative of *Judah*, i. e. "*praised*." B. F. W.

* In the A. V. ed. 1611 and other early editions the name of the heroine of this book is uniformly spelt Judeth, as in the Genevan version. This orthography was doubtless derived from the Aldine edition, which reads Ἰουδήθ in the heading, and often, though not uniformly, in the text of the book. A.

JU'DITH, THE BOOK OF, like that of Tobit, belongs to the earliest specimens of historical fiction. The narrative of the reign of "Nebuchadnezzar king of *Nineveh*" (i. 1), of the campaign of Holofernes, and the deliverance of Bethulia, through the stratagem and courage of the Jewish heroine, contains too many and too serious difficulties, both historical and geographical, to allow of the supposition that it is either literally true, or even carefully moulded on truth. The existence of a kingdom of Nineveh and the reign of a Nebuchadnezzar are in themselves inconsistent with a date after the return; and an earlier date is excluded equally by internal evidence and by the impossibility of placing the events in harmonious connection with the course of Jewish history. The latter fact is seen most clearly in the extreme varieties of opinion among those critics who have endeavored to maintain the veracity of the story. Nebuchadnezzar has been identified with Cambyses, Xerxes, Esarhaddon, Kiniladan, Merodach Baladan, etc., without the slightest show of probability. But apart from this, the text evidently alludes to the position of the Jews after the exile, when the Temple was rebuilt (v. 18, 19, iv. 3) and the hierarchical government established in place of the kingdom (xv. 8, ἡ γερουσία τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ; cf. iv. 4, Samaria; viii. 6, προσάββατον, προαυλιον); and after the Return the course of authentic history absolutely excludes the possibility of the occurrence of such events as the book relates. This fundamental contradiction of facts, which underlies the whole narrative, renders it superfluous to examine in detail the other objections which may be urged against it (*e. g.* iv. 6, Joacim; cf. 1 Chr. vi.; Joseph. *Ant.* x. 8, § 6, JOACIM).

2. The value of the book is not, however, lessened by its fictitious character. On the contrary it becomes even more valuable as exhibiting an ideal type of heroism, which was outwardly embodied in the wars of independence. The self-sacrificing faith and unscrupulous bravery of Judith were the qualities by which the champions of Jewish freedom were then enabled to overcome the power of Syria, which seemed at the time scarcely less formidable than the imaginary hosts of Holofernes. The peculiar character of the book, which is exhibited in these traits, affords the best indication of its date; for it cannot be wrong to refer its origin to the Maccabæan period, which it reflects not only in its general spirit but even in smaller traits. The impious design of Nebuchadnezzar finds a parallel in the prophetic description of Antiochus (Dan. xi. 31 ff.), and the triumphant issue of Judith's courage must be compared not with the immediate results of the invasion of Apollonius (as Bertholdt, *Einl.* 2553 ff.), but with the victory which the author pictured to himself as the reward of faith. But while it seems certain that the book is to be referred to the second century B. C. (175–100 B. C.), the attempts which have been made to fix its date within narrower limits, either to the time of the war of Alexander Jannæus (105–4 B. C., Movers) or of Demetrius II. (129 B. C., Ewald), rest on very inaccurate data. It might seem more natural (as a mere conjecture) to refer it to an earlier time, c. 170 B. C., when Antiochus Epiphanes made his first assault upon the Temple.[a]

3. In accordance with the view which has been given of the character and date of the book, it is probable that the several parts may have a distinct symbolic meaning. Some of the names can scarcely have been chosen without regard to their derivation (*e. g.* Achior = *Brother of Light*; Judith = *Jewess*; Bethulia = בְּתוּלִיָּה, *the virgin of Jehovah*), and the historical difficulties of the person of Nebuchadnezzar disappear when he is regarded

[a] The theory of Volkmar (*Das vierte Buch Ezra*, p. 1; *Theol. Jahrb.* 1856, 1857) that the book of Judith refers to the period of the Parthian war of Trajan, need only be noticed in passing, as it assumes the spuriousness of the First Epistle of Clement (§ 6).

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as the Scriptural type *of* worldly power. But it is, perhaps, a mere play of fancy to allegorise the whole narrative, as Grotius has done (*Prol. in Jud.*), who interprets Judith of the Jewish nation widowed of outward help, Bethulia (בית־אל־יהוה) of the Temple, Nebuchadnezzar of the Devil, and Holofernes (חולפי נחש, *victor serpentis*) of Antiochus, his emissary; while Joacim, the high-priest, conveys, as he thinks, by his name the assurance that "God will rise up" to deliver this people.

4. Two conflicting statements have been preserved as to the original language of the book. Origen speaks of it together with Tobit as "not existing in Hebrew even among the Apocrypha" in the Hebrew collection (*Ep. ad Afric.* § 13, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχουσιν αὐτὰ [οἱ Ἑβραῖοι] καὶ ἐν Ἀποκρύφοις Ἑβραϊστί, ὡς ἂν αὐτῶν μαθόντες ἐγνώκαμεν), by which statement he seems to imply that the book was originally written in Greek. Jerome, on the other hand, says that "among the Hebrews the book of Judith is read among the Hagiographa [Apocrypha] . . . and being written in the Chaldee language is reckoned among the histories" (*Præf. ad Jud.*). The words of Origen are, however, somewhat ambiguous, and there can be little doubt that the book was written in Palestine in the national dialect (Syro-Chaldaic), though Jahn (*Einl.* ii. § 3) and Eichhorn (*Einl. in d. Apokr.* 327) maintain the originality of the present Greek text, on the authority of some phrases which may be assigned very naturally to the translator or reviser.[a]

5. The text exists at present in two distinct recensions, the Greek (followed by the Syriac) and the Latin. The former evidently is the truer representative of the original, and it seems certain that the Latin was derived in the main from the Greek by a series of successive alterations. Jerome confesses that his own translation was free ("magis sensum e sensu quam verbum e verbo transferens"); and peculiarities of the language (Fritzsche, p. 122) prove that he took the old Latin as the basis of his work, though he compared it with the Chaldee text, which was in his possession ("sola ea quæ intelligentia integra in verbis Chaldæis invenire potui Latinis expressi"). The Latin text contains many curious errors, which seem to have arisen in the first instance from false hearing (Bertholdt, *Einl.* 2574 f.; *e. g.* x. 5, καὶ ἄρτων καθαρῶν, Vulg. et panes et *caseum*, i. e. καὶ τυροῦ; xvi. 3, ὅτι εἰς παρεμβολὰς αὐτοῦ, Vulg. qui *posuit* castra sua, i. e. ὁ θεὸς; xvi. 17, καὶ κλαύσονται ἐν αἰσθήσει, Vulg. ut *urantur* et sentiant); and Jerome remarks that it had been variously corrupted and interpolated before his time. At present it is impossible to determine the authentic text. In many instances the Latin is more full than the Greek (iv. 8–15, v. 11–20, v. 22–24, vi. 15 ff., ix. 6 ff.), which however contains peculiar passages (i. 13–16, vi. 1, &c.). Even where the two texts do not differ in the details of the narrative, as is often the case (*e. g.* 1, 3 ff., ii. 9, v. 9, vi. 13, vii. 2 ff., x. 12 ff., xv. 11, xvi. 25), they yet differ in language (*e. g.* c. xv., etc.), and in names (*e. g.* viii. 1) and numbers (*e. g.* i. 2); and these variations can only be explained by going back to some still more remote source (cf. Bertholdt, *Einl.* 2568 ff.), which was probably an earlier Greek copy.[b]

6. The existence of these various recensions of the book is a proof of its popularity and wide circulation, but the external evidence of its use is very scanty. Josephus was not acquainted with it, or it is likely that he would have made some use of its contents, as he did of the apocryphal additions to Esther (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 6, § 1 ff.). The first reference to its contents occurs in Clem. Rom. (*Ep* i. 55), and it is quoted with marked respect by Origen (*Sel. in Jerem.* 23: cf. *Hom.* ix. *in Jud.* 1), Hilary (*in Psal.* cxxv. 6), and Lucifer (*De non parc.* p. 955). Jerome speaks of it as "reckoned among the Sacred Scriptures by the Synod of Nice," by which he probably means that it was quoted in the records of the Council, unless the text be corrupt. It has been wrongly inserted in the catalogue at the close of the Apostolic Canons, against the best authority (cf. Hody, *De Bibl. Text.* 646 *a*), but it obtained a place in the Latin Canon at an early time (cf. Hilar. *Prol. in Ps.* 15), which it commonly maintained afterwards. [CANON.]

7. The Commentary of Fritzsche (*Kurzgefasstes Exeg. Handbuch*, Leipzig, 1853) is by far the best which has appeared; within a narrow compass it contains a good critical apparatus and scholarlike notes. B. F. W.

* *Literature.* — Besides the Introductions and other general works referred to under the art. APOCRYPHA, the following essays and treatises may be noted: Reuss, art. *Judith* in Ersch and Gruber's *Allgem. Encykl.*, Sect. ii. Theil xxviii. pp. 98–103. Vaihinger, in Herzog's *Real-Encykl.* vii. 135–142. Ginsburg, in Kitto's *Cycl. of Bibl. Lit.*, 3d ed., ii. 692–696. "G. B." in the *Journ. of Sacr. Lit.* for July, 1856, pp. 342–363, and B. H. Cowper, *The Book of Judith and its Geography*, ibid. Jan. 1861, pp. 421–440. O. Wolff (Cath.), *Das Buch Judith als geschichtliche Urkunde vertheidigt u. erklärt*, Leipz. 1861, of little or no value. The most elaborate and remarkable among the recent publications relating to the book is that of Volkmar, *Handb. d. Einl. in die Apokryphen, 1er Theil, 1e Abth. Judith*, Tüb. 1860. He maintains that the book was composed in the first year of the reign of Hadrian, near the end of A. D. 117 or the beginning of 118, and that it describes, under the disguise of fictitious names, the war of Trajan against the Parthians and Jews, and the triumph of the latter in the death of Lusius Quietus, the general of Trajan and governor of Judæa. Nebuchadnezzar stands for Trajan; Nineveh is Antioch "the great," as the chief city under the Roman sway in the East; and Assyria accordingly stands for Syria as the representative of the power which oppressed the Jews, the region where that power was concentrated. "Arphaxad the king of the Medes" represents the Parthian Arsacidæ; Ecbatana is Nisibis, Holofernes Lucius Quietus, and the beautiful widow Judith symbolizes Judæa in her desolation, but still faithful to Jehovah, and destined to triumph over her enemies. This explanation is carried out into detail with great learning and ingenuity. It

[a] The present Greek text offers instances of mistranslation which clearly point to an Aramaic original: *e. g.* iii. 9, xv. 3, i. 8; cf. v. 15, 18 (Vaihinger, in Herzog's *Encykl.* s. v.; Fritzsche, *Einl.* § 2; De Wette, *Einl.* § 208, c.).

[b] Of modern versions the English follows the *Greek* and that *of* Luther the *Latin* text.

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was first proposed by Volkmar in Zeller's *Theol. Jahrb.* for 1856, p. 362 ff., and more fully set forth in an article in the same periodical, 1857, pp. 441–498; comp. his articles on the Parthian-Jewish war of Trajan, in the *Rheinisches Museum f. Philol.* and the *Zeitschr. f. Alterthumskunde* for 1858. His view has been accepted by Baur, Hitzig (Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1860, pp. 240–250), and Schenkel. Strong objections to it have been urged by Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1858, i. 270–281, and 1861, iv. 335–385; R. A. Lipsius, *ibid.* 1859, ii. 39–121, and in the *Literarisches Centralblatt f. Deutschland*, 1861, coll. 605–610; Ewald, *Jahrb. f. Bibl. wiss.* xi. 226–231, and *Gött. Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1861, ii. 693–710; and L. Diestel, *Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.* 1862, pp. 781–784. See also Ewald's *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, 3e Ausg. iv. 618–625 (541 ff., 2e Aufl.). On the different forms of the Judith-legend in Jewish tradition, see Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrasch*, vols. i., ii. (1853 f.), and Lipsius, *Jüdische Quellen zur Judithsage*, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1867, x. 337–366. A.

JU'EL ('Ιουήλ; [Vat. Ιουνα, but joined with the following word:] *Johel*). 1. 1 Esdr. ix. 34. [UEL.]

2. ([Vat. Ουηλ, but joined with the preceding word:] *Jessei.*) 1 Esdr. ix. 35. [JOEL, 13.]

JU'LIA ('Ιουλία: [*Juliam*, acc.]), a Christian woman at Rome, probably the wife, or perhaps the sister of Philologus, in connection with whom she is saluted by St. Paul (Rom. xvi. 15). Origen supposes that they were master and mistress of a Christian household which included the other persons mentioned in the same verse. Some modern critics have conjectured that the name may be that of a man, Julias. W. T. B.

JU'LIUS ('Ιούλιος: [*Julius*]), the courteous centurion of "Augustus' band," to whose charge St. Paul was delivered when he was sent prisoner from Cæsarea to Rome (Acts xxvii. 1, 3). [CENTURION.]

Augustus' band has been identified by some commentators with the Italian band (Acts x. 1); by others, less probably, with the body of cavalry denominated Sebasteni by Josephus (*Ant.* xix. 9, § 2, &c.). Conybeare and Howson (*Life of St. Paul*, ch. 27) adopt in the main Wieseler's opinion, that the Augustan cohort was a detachment of the Prætorian Guards attached to the person of the Roman governor at Cæsarea; and that this Julius may be the same as Julius Priscus (Tacit. *Hist.* ii. 92, iv. 11), sometime centurion, afterwards prefect of the Prætorians. [ITALIAN BAND, Amer. ed.] W. T. B.

JU'NIA ('Ιουνίας, *i. e.* JUNIAS: [*Juniam*, acc.]), a Christian at Rome, mentioned by St. Paul as one of his kinsfolk and fellow-prisoners, of note among the Apostles, and in Christ before St. Paul (Rom. xvi. 7). Origen conjectures that he was possibly one of the seventy disciples. Hammond also takes the name to be that of a man, Junias, which would be a contraction (as Winer observes) of Junillus or Junianus. [ANDRONICUS.] Chrysostom, holding the more common, but perhaps less probable, hypothesis that the name is that of a woman, Junia, remarks on it, "How great is the devotion of this woman, that she should be counted worthy of the name of Apostle!" Nothing is known of the imprisonment to which St. Paul refers: Origen supposes that it was that bondage from which Christ makes Christians free. W. T. B.

JUNIPER (רֹתֶם, from רָתַם, "bind," Gesen. p. 1317: *βαθμόν*, *φυτόν*, 1 K. xix. 4, 5: *juniperus*). It has been already stated [CEDAR] that the oxycedrus or Phœnician juniper was the tree whose wood, called "cedar-wood," was ordered by the law to be used in ceremonial purification (Lev. xiv. 4; Num. xix. 6). The word, however, which is rendered in A. V. juniper, is beyond doubt a sort of broom, *Genista monosperma*, *Genista retam* of Forskål, answering to the Arabic *Rethem*, which is also found in the desert of Sinai in the neighborhood of the true juniper (Robinson, ii. 124). It is mentioned as affording shade to Elijah in his flight to Horeb (1 K. xix. 4, 5), and as affording material for fuel, and also, in extreme cases, for human food (Ps. cxx. 4; Job xxx. 4). It is very abundant in the desert of Sinai, and affords shade and protection, both in heat and storm, to travellers (Virg. *Georg.* ii. 434, 436). Its roots are very bitter, and would thus serve as food only in extreme cases; but it may be doubted whether שֹׂרָשׁ (Job xxx. 4) is to be restricted to roots only, or to be taken in a wider sense of product, and thus include the fruit, which is much liked by sheep, and may thus have sometimes served for human food (Ges. p. 1484). The roots are much valued by the Arabs for charcoal for the Cairo market. Thus the tree which afforded shade to Elijah may have furnished also the "coals" or ashes for baking the cake which satisfied his hunger (1 K. xix. 6; see also Ps. cxx. 4, "coals of juniper"). The *Rothem* is a leguminous plant, and bears a white flower. It is found also in Spain, Portugal, and Palestine. Its abundance in the Sinai desert gave a name to a station of the Israelites, Rithmah (Num. xxxiii. 18, 19; Burckhardt, *Syria*, pp. 483, 537; Robinson, i. 203, 205; Lord Lindsay, *Letters*, p. 183; Pliny, *H. N.* xxiv. 9, 65; Balfour, *Plants of the Bible*, p. 50; Stanley, *S. & P.* pp. 20, 79, 521; [Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 436 ff.; and especially Tristram, *Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, p. 339 f. (Lond. 1867). — H.]). H. W. P.

JU'PITER (Ζεύς, LXX. [and N. T.: *Jupiter*]). Among the chief measures which Antiochus Epiphanes took for the entire subversion of the Jewish faith was that of dedicating the Temple at Jerusalem to the service of Zeus Olympius (2 Macc. vi. 2), and at the same time the rival Temple on Gerizim was dedicated to Zeus Xenius (*Jupiter Hospitalis*, Vulg.). The choice of the first epithet is easily intelligible. The Olympian Zeus was the national god of the Hellenic race (Thucyd. iii. 14), as well as the supreme ruler of the heathen world, and as such formed the true opposite to Jehovah, who had revealed Himself as the God of Abraham. The application of the second epithet, "the God of hospitality" (cf. Grimm, on 2 Macc. *l. c.*), is more obscure. In 2 Macc. vi. 2 it is explained by the clause, "as was the character of those who dwelt in the place," which may, however, be an ironical comment of the writer (cf. Q. Curt. iv. 5 8), and not a sincere eulogy of the hospitality of the Samaritans (as Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 339 n.).

Jupiter or Zeus is mentioned in one passage of the N. T., on the occasion of St. Paul's visit to Lystra (Acts xiv. 12, 13), where the expression

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"Jupiter, which was before their city," means that his temple was outside the city.[a] B. F. W.

* The Lystrians on that occasion called Barnabas Jupiter (ver. 12), because Paul being "the chief speaker" and therefore Mercury, the god of eloquence, they supposed the other visitor must be Jupiter, whom they specially worshipped. They had a tradition also that these two gods had once travelled in disguise among them (see Ovid, *Met.* viii. 611). It has been suggested too that Barnabas may have been the older man of the two, and more imposing than Paul in his personal appearance (comp. 2 Cor. x. 1, 10). H.

JU'SHAB-HE'SED (יוּשַׁב חֶסֶד): Ἀσοβέδ; [Vat. Αροβασεκ;] Alex. Ασοβασεδ: [Comp. Ἰωσαβεσέδ:] *Josabhesed*), son of Zerubbabel (1 Chr. iii. 20). It does not appear why the five children in this verse are separated from the three in ver. 19. Bertheau suggests that they might be by a different mother, or possibly born in Judæa after the return, whereas the three others were born at Babylon. The name of Jushab-hesed, *i. e.* "Loving-kindness is returned," taken in conjunction with that of his father and brothers, is a striking expression of the feelings of pious Jews at the return from Captivity, and at the same time a good illustration of the nature of Jewish names. A. C. H.

JUSTUS (Ἰοῦστος: [*Justus*, "just"]). Schoettgen (*Hor. Hebr. in Act. Ap.*) shows by quotations from rabbinical writers that this name was not unusual among the Jews. 1. A surname of Joseph called Barsabas (Acts i. 23). [JOSEPH BARSABAS.]

2. A Christian at Corinth, with whom St. Paul lodged (Acts xviii. 7). The Syr. and Arab. have Titus, while the Vulg. combines both names Titus Justus.

* Paul did not lodge with Justus at this time, but having left the synagogue preached at the house of Justus, which being near the synagogue was so much the more convenient for that purpose (ver. 8). For aught that appears, he abode still with Aquila (ver. 3) after this separation from the Jews. Nor is Justus spoken of as a Christian, but as a Jewish proselyte (*σεβομένου τὸν θεόν*), though evidently he had more sympathy with Paul than with the Jews, and no doubt soon became a believer. H.

3. A surname of Jesus, a friend of St. Paul (Col. iv. 11). [JESUS, p. 1347.]

JUTTAH (יוּטָה, *i. e.* Jutah;[b] also יִפְתָּה and in xxi. 16, יִפְתָּח [*extended, inclined*]: Ἰτάν, Alex. Ιεττα; Ταυθ, Alex. omits: *Jota, Jeta*), a city in the mountain region of Judah, in the neighborhood of Maon and Carmel (Josh. xv. 55). It was allotted to the priests (xxi. 16), but in the catalogue of 1 Chr. vi. 57–59, the name has escaped. In the time of Eusebius it was a large village (*κώμη μεγίστη*), 18 miles southward of Eleutheropolis (*Onomasticon*, "Jettan"). A village called *Yutta* was visited by Robinson, close to *Main* and *Kurmul* (*Bibl. Res.* 1st ed. ii. 195, 628), which doubtless represents the ancient town.

Reland (*Pal.* p. 870) conjectures that Jutta is the πόλις Ἰούδα (A. V. "a city of Juda") in the hill country, in which Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, resided (Luke i. 39). But this, though feasible, is not at present confirmed by any positive evidence. [JUDA, CITY OF, Amer. ed.] G.

K.

KAB'ZEËL (קַבְצְאֵל [see below]: [In Josh.,] Βαυσελεήλ, Alex. Καυθεηλ, [Comp. Καβσήλ, Ald. Καβσεήλ; in 2 Sam.,] Καβσεήλ, [Vat. Καταβεσθηλ, Comp. Ald. Καβασαήλ; in 1 Chr.,] Καβασαήλ: *Cabseel*), one of the "cities" of the tribe of Judah; the first named in the enumeration of those next Edom, and apparently the farthest south (Josh. xv. 21). Taken as Hebrew, the word signifies "collected by God," and may be compared with JOKTHEEL, the name bestowed by the Jews on an Edomite city. Kabseel is memorable as the native place of the great hero BENAIAH-ben-Jehoiada, in connection with whom it is twice mentioned (2 Sam. xxiii. 20; 1 Chr. xi. 22). After the Captivity it was reinhabited by the Jews, and appears as JEKABZEEL.

It is twice mentioned in the Onomasticon — as Καβσεήλ and *Capseel;* the first time by Eusebius only, and apparently confounded with Carmel, unless the conjecture of Le Clerc in his notes on the passage be accepted, which would identify it with the site of Elijah's sleep and vision, between Beersheba and Horeb. No trace of it appears to have been discovered in modern times. G.

* **KA'DES** (Κάδης: Vulg. omits), Jud. i. 9, perhaps the same as KADESH (see below), or KEDESH, Josh. xv. 23. A.

KA'DESH, KA'DESH BARNEA [*Heb.* Barne'a] (קָדֵשׁ, קָדֵשׁ בַּרְנֵעַ [see in the art. and notes]: Κάδης [Ex. xlvii. 19, Rom. Vat. Καθήμ], Κάδης Βαρνή, Κάδης τοῦ Βαρνή [Num. xxxiv. 4; *Cades, Cadesbarne*]). This place, the scene of Miriam's death, was the farthest point to which the Israelites reached in their direct road to Canaan; it was also that whence the spies were sent, and where, on their return, the people broke out into murmuring, upon which their strictly penal term of wandering began (Num. xiii. 3, 26, xiv. 29–33, xx. 1; Deut. ii. 14). It is probable that the term "Kadesh," though applied to signify a "city," yet had also a wider application to a region, in which Kadesh-Meribah certainly, and Kadesh-Barnea probably, indicates a precise spot. Thus Kadesh appears as a limit eastward of the same tract which was limited westward by Shur (Gen. xx. 1). Shur is possibly the same as Sihor, "which is before Egypt" (xxv. 18; Josh. xiii. 3; Jer. ii. 18), and was the first portion of the wilderness on which the people emerged from the passage of the Red Sea. [SHUR.] "Between Kadesh and Bered" is another indication of the site of Kadesh as an eastern limit (Gen. xvi. 14), for the point so fixed is "the fountain on the way to Shur" (v. 7), and

* [a] The name Jupiter also occurs in the A. V. in Acts xix. 35, where "the image [of the goddess Artemis] which fell down from Jupiter" is the translation of *τοῦ διοπετοῦς*. A.

[b] This — with one t — is the form given in Hahn's text of xv. 55; Michaelis and Walton insert a dagesh, but it was apparently unknown to any of the old translators, in whose versions (with the exception of the Alex. LXX.), whatever shape the word assumes, it retains a single t.

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the range of limits is narrowed by selecting the western one not so far to the west, while the eastern one, Kadesh, is unchanged. Again, we have Kadesh as the point to which the foray of Chedorlaomer "returned" — a word which does not imply that they had previously visited it, but that it lay in the direction, as viewed from Mount Seir and Paran mentioned next before it, which was that of the point from which Chedorlaomer had come, namely, the North. Chedorlaomer, it seems, coming down by the eastern shore of the Dead Sea, smote the Zuzims (Ammon, Gen. xiv. 5; Deut. ii. 20), and the Emims (Moab, Deut. ii. 11), and the Horites in Mount Seir, to the south of that sea, unto "El-Paran that is by the wilderness." He drove these Horites over the Arabah into the *et-Tîh* region. Then "returned," *i. e.* went northward to Kadesh and Hazazon Tamar, or Engedi (comp. Gen. xiv. 7; 2 Chr. xx. 2). In Gen. xiv. 7 Kadesh is identified with En-Mishpat, the "fountain of judgment," and is connected with Tamar, or Hazazon Tamar, just as we find these two in the comparatively late book of Ezekiel, as designed to mark the southern border of Judah, drawn through them and terminating seaward at the "River to (or toward) the Great Sea." Precisely thus stands Kadesh-Barnea in the books of Numbers and Joshua (comp. Ex. xlvii. 19, xlviii. 28; Num. xxxiv. 4; Josh. xv. 3). Unless then we are prepared to make a double Kadesh for the book of Genesis, it seems idle with Reland (*Palaestina*, p. 114–17) to distinguish the "En-Mishpat, which is Kadesh," from that to which the spies returned. For there is an identity about all the connections of the two, which, if not conclusive, will compel us to abandon all possible inquiries. This holds especially as regards Paran and Tamar, and in respect of its being the eastern limit of a region, and also of being the first point of importance found by Chedorlaomer on passing round the southern extremity of the Dead Sea. In a strikingly similar manner we have the limits of a route, apparently a well-known one at the time, indicated by three points, Horeb, Mount Seir, Kadesh-Barnea, in Deut. i. 2, the distance between the extremes being fixed at "11 days' journey," or about 165 miles, allowing 15 miles to an average day's journey. This is one element for determining the site of Kadesh, assuming of course the position of Horeb ascertained. The name of the place to which the spies returned is "Kadesh" simply, in Num. xiii. 26, and is there closely connected with the "wilderness of Paran;" yet the "wilderness of Zin" stands in near conjunction, as the point whence the "search" of the spies commenced (ver. 21). Again, in Num. xxxii. 8, we find that it was from Kadesh-Barnea that the mission of the spies commenced, and in the rehearsed narrative of the same event in Deut. i. 19, and ix. 23, the name "Barnea" is also added. Thus far there seems no reasonable doubt of the identity of this Kadesh with that of Genesis. Again, in Num. xx., we find the people encamped in Kadesh after reaching the wilderness of Zin. For the question whether this was a second visit (supposing the Kadesh identical with that of the spies), or a continued occupancy, see WILDERNESS OF WANDERING. The mention of the "wilderness of Zin" is in favor of the identity of this place with that of Num. xiii. The reasons which seem to have fostered a contrary opinion are the absence of water (ver. 2) and the position assigned — "in the uttermost of" the "border" of Edom. Yet the murmuring seems to have arisen, or to have been more intense on account of their having encamped there in the expectation of finding water; which affords again a presumption of identity. Further, "the wilderness of Zin along by the coast of Edom" (Num. xxxiv. 3; Josh. xv.) destroys any presumption to the contrary arising from that position. Jerome clearly knows of but one and the same Kadesh — "where Moses smote the rock," where "Miriam's monument," he says, "was still shown, and where Chedorlaomer smote the rulers of Amalek." It is true Jerome gives a distinct article on Κάδδης, ἔνθα ἡ πήγη τῆς κρίσεως, *i. e.* En-mishpat,[a] but only perhaps in order to record the fountain as a distinct local fact. The apparent ambiguity of the position, first, in the wilderness of Paran, or in Paran; and secondly in that of Zin, is no real increase to the difficulty. For whether these tracts were contiguous, and Kadesh on their common border, or ran into each other, and embraced a common territory, to which the name "Kadesh," in an extended sense, might be given, is comparatively unimportant. It may, however, be observed, that the wilderness of Paran commences, Num. x. 12, where that of Sinai ends, and that it extends to the point, whence in ch. xiii. the spies set out, though the only positive identification of Kadesh with it is that in xiii. 26, when on their return to rejoin Moses they come "to the wilderness of Paran, to Kadesh." PARAN then was evidently the general name of the great tract south of Palestine, commencing soon after Sinai, as the people advanced northwards — that perhaps now known as the desert *et-Tîh*. Hence, when the spies are returning *southwards* they return to Kadesh, viewed as in the wilderness of Paran; though, in the same chapter, when starting northwards on their journey, they commence from that of Zin. It seems almost to follow that the wilderness of Zin must have overlapped that of Paran on the north side; or must, if they were parallel and lay respectively east and west, have had a further extension northwards than this latter. In the designation of the southern border of the Israelites also, it is observable that the wilderness of Zin is mentioned as a limit, but nowhere that of Paran[b] (Num. xxxiv. 3, Josh. xv. 1), unless the dwelling

[a] Another short article of Jerome's, apparently referred to by Stanley (*S. & P.* 98 note), as relating likewise to En-mishpat, should seem to mean something wholly different, namely, the well of Isaac and Abimelech in Gerar: φρέαρ κρίσεως εἰς ὃ τὸν ὕστερον αἶμα Βήρσαν (*puteus judicii*) καλουμένη ἐν τῇ Γεραρίτιδι.

[b] There is a remarkable interpolation in the LXX., or (as seems less probable) omission in the present Heb. text of Num. xxxiii. 36, where, in following the various stages of the march, we find respectively as follows. —

Hebrew.

וַיִּסְעוּ מֵעֶצְיֹן גָּבֶר וַיַּחֲנוּ בְּמִדְבַּר־צִן הִוא קָדֵשׁ

Greek.

Καὶ ἀπῆραν ἐκ Γασιὼν Γάβερ καὶ παρενέβαλον ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ Σὶν, καὶ ἀπῆραν ἐκ τῆς ἐρήμου Σὶν, καὶ παρενέβαλον εἰς τὴν ἔρημον Φάραν αὐτή ἐστι Κάδης.

The LXX. would make them approach the wilderness of Sin first, and that of Paran secondly, thus reversing the effect of the above observations.

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of Ishmael "in the wilderness of Paran" (Gen. xxi. 21) indicates that, on the western portion of the southern border, which the story of Hagar indicates as his dwelling-place, the Paran nomenclature prevailed.

If it be allowed, in the dearth of positive testimony, to follow great natural boundaries in suggesting an answer to the question of the situation of these adjacent or perhaps overlapping wildernesses, it will be seen, on reference to Kiepert's map (in Robinson, vol. i.; see also Russegger's map of the same region), that the Arabah itself and the plateau westward of it are, when we leave out the commonly so-called Sinaitic peninsula (here considered as corresponding in its wider or northerly portion to "the wilderness of Sinai"), the two parts of the whole region most strongly partitioned off from and contrasted with one another. On this western plateau is indeed superimposed another, no less clearly marked out, to judge from the map, as distinct from the former as this from the Arabah; but this higher ground, it will be further seen, probably corresponds with "the mountain of the Amorites." The Arabah, and its limiting barrier of high ground [a] on the western side, differ by about 400 or 500 feet in elevation at the part where Robinson, advancing from Petra towards Hebron, ascended that barrier by the pass *el-Khŭrŭr*. At the N. W. angle of the Arabah the regularity of this barrier is much broken by the great wadies which converge thither; but from its edge at *el-Khŭrŭr* the great floor stretches westward, with no great interruption of elevation, if we omit the superimposed plateau, to the Egyptian frontier, and northward to Rhinocolura and Gaza. Speaking of it apparently from the point of view at *el-Khŭrŭr*, Robinson (ii. 586, 587) says it is "not exactly a tableland, but a higher tract of country, forming the first of the several steps or offsets into which the ascent of the mountains in this part is divided." It is now known as the wilderness *et-Tîh*. A general description of it occurs in Robinson (i. 261, 262), together with a mention of the several travellers who had then previously visited it: its configuration is given, *ib.* 294. If this *et-Tîh* region represent the wilderness of Paran, then the Arabah itself, including all the low ground at the southern and southwestern extremity of the Dead Sea, may stand for the wilderness of Zin. The superimposed plateau has an eastern border converging, towards the north, with that of the general elevated tract on which it stands, i. e. with the western barrier aforesaid of the Arabah, but losing towards its higher or northern extremity its elevation and preciseness, in proportion as the general tract on which it stands appears to rise, till, near the S. W. curve of the Dead Sea, the higher plateau and the general tract appear to blend. The convergency in question arises from the general tract having, on its eastern side, i. e. where it is to the Arabah a western limit, a barrier running more nearly N. and S. than that of the superimposed plateau, which runs about E. N. E. and W. S. W. This highest of the two steps on which this terrace stands is described by Williams (*Holy City*, i. 463, 464), who approached it from Hebron — the opposite direction to that in which Robinson, mounting towards Hebron by the higher pass *es-Sŭfâh*,[b] came upon it — as "a gigantic natural rampart of lofty mountains, which we could distinctly trace for many miles [c] E. and W. of the spot on which we stood, whose precipitous promontories of naked rock, forming as it were bastions of Cyclopean architecture, jutted forth in irregular masses from the mountain-barrier into the southern wilderness, a confused chaos of chalk." [d] Below the traveller lay the *Wady Murreh*, running into that called *el-Fikreh*, identifying the spot with that described by Robinson (ii. 587) as "a formidable barrier supporting a third plateau" (reckoning apparently the Arabah as one), rising on the other, *i. e.* northern side of the *Wady el-Fikreh*. But the southern face of this highest plateau is a still more strongly defined wall of mountains. The Israelites must probably have faced it, or wandered along it, at some period of their advance from the wilderness of Sinai to the more northern desert of Paran. There is no such boldly-marked line of cliffs north of the *et-Tîh* and *el-Odjmeh* ranges, except perhaps Mount Seir, the eastern limit of the Arabah. There is a strongly marked expression in Deut. i. 7, 19, 20, "the mountain of the Amorites," which, besides those of Seir and Hor, is the only one mentioned by name after Sinai, and which is there closely connected with Kadesh Barnea. The wilderness (that of Paran) "great and terrible," which they passed through after quitting Horeb (vv. 6, 7, 19), was "by the way of" this "mountain of the Amorites." "We came," says Moses, "to Kadesh Barnea; and I said unto you, ye are come unto the mountain of the Amorites." Also in ver. 7, the adjacent territories of this mountain-region seem not obscurely intimated; we have the *Shefelah* ("plain") and the Arabah ("vale"), with the "hills" ("hill-country of Judah") between them; and "the South" is added as that debatable outlying region, in which the wilderness strives with the inroads of life and culture. There is no natural feature to correspond so well to this mountain of the Amorites as this smaller higher plateau superimposed on *et-Tîh*, forming the watershed of the two great systems of wadies, those northwestward towards the great *Wady el-Arish*, and those northeastward towards the *Wady Jerâfeh* and the great *Wady el-Jeib*. Indeed, in these converging wady-systems on either side of the "mountain," we have a desert-continuation of the same configuration of country, which the *Shefelah* and Arabah with their interposed water-shedding highlands present further north. And even as the name ARABAH is plainly continued from the Jordan Valley, so as to mean the great arid trough between the Dead Sea and Elath; so perhaps the *Shefelah* ("vale") might naturally be viewed as continued to the "river of Egypt." And thus the "mountain of the Amorites" would merely continue the mountain-mass of Judah and Ephraim, as forming part of the land "which the Lord our God doth give unto us." The southwestern angle of this higher plateau, is well defined by the bluff peak of *Jebel 'Arâif*, standing in about 30° 22′ N., by 34° 30′

[a] Called, at least throughout a portion of its course, *Jebel el-Beyûdeh*.

[b] There are three nearly parallel passes leading to the same level: this is the middle one of the three. Schubert (*Reise*, ii. 443–8) appears to have taken the same path; Barton that on the W. side, *el-Yemen*.

[c] This is only the direction, or apparent direction, of the range at the spot, its general one being as above stated. See the maps.

[d] So Robinson, before ascending, remarks (ii. 585) that the hills consisted of chalky stone and conglomerate.

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E. Assuming the region from *Wady Feiran* to the *Jebel Mousa* as a general basis for the position of Horeb, nothing farther south than this *Jebel 'Ardif* appears t give the necessary distance from it for Kadesh, nor would any point on the west side of the western face of this mountain region suit, until we get quite high up towards Beer-sheba. Nor, if any site in this direction is to be chosen, is it easy to account for "the way of Mount Seir" being mentioned as it is, Deut. i. 2, apparently as the customary route "from Horeb" thither. But if, as further reasons will suggest, Kadesh lay probably near the S. W. curve of the Dead Sea, then "Mount Seir" will be within sight on the E. during all the latter part of the journey "from Horeb" thither. This mountain region is in Kiepert's map laid down as the territory of the *Azâzimeh*, but is said to be so wild and rugged that the Bedouins of all other tribes avoid it, nor has any road ever traversed it (Robinson, i. 186). Across this then there was no pass; the choice of routes lay between the road which, leading from Elath to Gaza and the *Shefelah*, passes to the west of it, and that which ascends from the northern extremity of the Arabah by the Ma'aleh Akrabbim towards Hebron. The reasons for thinking that the Israelites took this latter course are, that if they had taken the western, Beer-sheba would seem to have been the most natural route of their first attempted attack (Robinson, i. 187). It would also have brought them too near to the land of the Philistines, which it seems to have been the Divine purpose that they should avoid. But above all, the features of the country, scantily as they are noticed in Num., are in favor of the eastern route from the Arabah and Dead Sea.

One site fixed on for Kadesh is the *'Ain es-Sheydheh* on the south side of this "mountain of the Amorites," and therefore too near Horeb to fulfill the conditions of Deut. i. 2. Messrs. Rowlands and Williams (*Holy City*, i. 463–68) argue strongly in favor of a site for Kadesh on the west side of this whole mountain region, towards *Jebel Helal*, where they found "a large single mass or small hill of solid rock, a spur of the mountain to the north of it, immediately rising above it, the only visible naked rock in the whole district." They found salient water rushing from this rock into a basin, but soon losing itself in the sand, and a grand space for the encampment of a host on the S. W. side of it. In favor of it they allege, (1) the name *Kâdês* or *Kûdes*, pronounced in English *Kâddâise* or *Kûddâise*, as being exactly the form of the Hebrew name Kadesh; (2) the position, in the line of the southern boundary of Judah; (3) the correspondence with the order of the places mentioned, especially the places Adar and Azmon, which these travellers recognize in *Adeirat* and *Aseimeh*, otherwise (as in Kiepert's map) *Kadeirat* and *Kaseimeh*; (4) its position with regard to *Jebel el-Halal*, or *Jebel Helel*; (5) its position with regard to the mountain of the Amorites (which they seem to identify with the *western* face of the plateau); (6) its situation with regard to the grand S. W. route to Palestine by Beer-lahai-roi from Egypt; (7) its distance from Sinai, and the goodness of the way thither; (8) the accessibility of Mount Hor from this region. Of these, 2, 4, 5, and 8, seem of no weight;[a] 1 is a good deal weakened by the fact that some such name seems to have a wide range[b] in this region; 3 is of considerable force, but seems overbalanced by the fact that the whole position seems too far west; arguments 6 and 7 rather tend against than for the view in question, any western route being unlikely (see text above), and the "goodness" of the road not being discoverable, but rather the reverse, from the Mosaic record. But, above all, how would this accord with "the way of Mount Seir" being that from Sinai to Kadesh Barnea? (Deut. i. 2).

In the map to Robinson's last edition, a *Jebel el-Kudeis* is given on the authority of Abeken. But this spot would be too far to the west for the fixed point intended in Deut. i. 2 as Kadesh Barnea. Still, taken in connection with the region endeavored to be identified with the "mountain of the Amorites," it may be a general testimony to the prevalence of the name Kadesh within certain limits; which is further supported by the names given below.[b]

The indications of locality strongly point to a site near where the mountain of the Amorites descends to the low region of the Arabah and Dead Sea. *Tell Arad* is perhaps as clear a local monument of the event of Num. xxi. 1, as we can expect to find. [ARAD.] "The Canaanitish king of Arad" found that Israel was coming "by the way of the spies," and "fought against" and "took some of them prisoners." The subsequent defeat of this king is clearly connected with the pass *es-Sâfa*, between which and the *Tell Arad* a line drawn ought to give us the direction of route intended by "by the way of the spies;" accordingly, within a day's journey on either side of this line produced towards the Arabah, Kadesh-Barnea should be sought for. [HORMAH.] Nearly the same ground appears to have been the scene of the previous discomfiture of the Israelites rebelliously attempting to force their way by this pass to occupy the "mountain" where "the Amalekites and Amorites" were "before them" (Num. xiv. 45; Judg. i. 17); further, however, this defeat is said to have been "in Seir" (Deut. i. 44). Now, whether we admit or not with Stanley (*S. & P.* 94 note) that Edom had at this period no territory west of the Arabah, which is perhaps doubtful, yet there can be no room for doubt that "the mountain of the Amorites" must at any rate be taken as their western limit. Hence the overthrow in Seir must be east of that mountain, or, at furthest, on its eastern edge. The "Seir" alluded to may be the western edge of the Arabah below the *es-Sâfa* pass. When thus driven back, they "abode in Kadesh many days" (Deut. i. 46). The city, whether we prefer Kadesh simply, or Kadesh-Barnea, as its designation, cannot have belonged to the Amorites,

[a] What is more disputable than the S. boundary line? *Jebel Jeetal* derives its sole significance from a passage not specified in Jeremiah. The "mountain of the Amorites," as shown above, need not be that western face. Mt. Hor is as accessible from elsewhere.

[b] Seetzen's last map shows a *Wady Kidheis* corresponding in position nearly with *Jebel el-Kudeias* given in Kiepert's, on the authority of Abeken. Zimmermann's Atlas, sect. x., gives *el-Cadeesah* as another name for the well-known hill *Madurah*, or *Moderus*, lying within view of the point described above, from Williams's *Holy City*, i. 468, 464. This is towards the east, a good deal nearer the Dead Sea, and so far more suitable. Further, Robertson's map in Stewart's *The Tent and the Khan* places an *'Ain Khadeis* near the junction of the *Wady Abyad* with the *Wady el-Arish*; but in this map are tokens of some confusion in the drawing.

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for these after their victory would probably have disputed possession of it; nor could it, if plainly Amoritish, have been "in the uttermost of the border" of Edom. It may be conjectured that it lay in the debatable ground between the Amorites and Edom, which the Israelites in a message of courtesy to Edom might naturally assign to the latter, and that it was possibly then occupied in fact by neither, but by a remnant of those Horites whom Edom (Deut. ii. 12) dislodged from the "mount" Seir, but who remained as refugees in that arid and unenviable region, which perhaps was the sole remnant of their previous possessions, and which they still called by the name of "Seir," their patriarch. This would not be inconsistent with "the edge of the land of Edom" still being at Mount Hor (Num. xxxiii. 37), nor with the Israelites regarding this debatable ground, after dispossessing the Amorites from "their mountain," as pertaining to their own "south quarter." If this view be admissible, we might regard "Barnea" as a Hebraized remnant of the Horite language, or of some Horite name.[a]

The nearest approximation, then, which can be given to a site for the city of Kadesh, may be probably attained by drawing a circle, from the pass *es-Sûfa*, at the radius of about a day's journey; its southwestern quadrant will intersect the "wilderness of Paran," or *et-Tîh*, which is there overhung by the superimposed plateau of the mountain of the Amorites; while its southeastern one will cross what has been designated as the "wilderness of Zin." This seems to satisfy all the conditions of the passages of Genesis, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, which refer to it. The nearest site in harmony with this view, which has yet been suggested (Robinson, ii. 175), is undoubtedly the *'Ain el-Weibeh*. To this, however, is opposed the remark of a traveller (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 96) who went probably with a deliberate intention of testing the local features in reference to this suggestion, that it does not afford among its "stony shelves of three or four feet high" any proper "cliff" (סֶלַע), such as is the word specially describing that "rock" (A. V.) from which the water gushed. It is however nearly opposite the *Wady Ghuweir*, the great opening into the steep eastern wall of the Arabah, and therefore the most probable "highway" by which to "pass through the border" of Edom. But until further examination of local features has been made, which owing to the frightfully desolate character of the region seems very difficult, it would be unwise to push identification further.

Notice is due to the attempt to discover Kadesh in Petra, the metropolis of the Nabathæans (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 94), embedded in the mountains to which the name of Mount Seir is admitted by all authorities to apply, and almost overhung by Mount Hor. No doubt the word *Selâ*, "cliff," is used as a proper name occasionally, and may probably in 2 K. xiv. 7; Is. xvi. 1, be identified with a city or spot of territory belonging to Edom. But the two sites of Petra and Mount Hor are surely far too close for each to be a distinct camping station, as in Num. xxxiii. 36, 37. The camp of Israel would have probably covered the site of the city, the mountain, and several adjacent valleys. But, further, the site of Petra must have been as thoroughly Edomitish territory as was that of BOZRAH, the then capital, and could not be described as being "in the uttermost" of their border. "Mount Seir" was "given to Esau for a possession," in which he was to be unmolested, and not a "foot's breadth" of his land was to be taken. This seems irreconcilable with the quiet encampment of the whole of Israel and permanency there for "many days," as also with their subsequent territorial possession of it, for Kadesh is always reckoned as a town in the southern border belonging to Israel. Neither does a friendly request to be allowed to pass through the land of Edom come suitably from an invader who had seized, and was occupying one of its most difficult passes; nor, again, is the evident temper of the Edomites and their precautions, if they contemplated, as they certainly did, armed resistance to the violation of their territory, consistent with that invader being allowed to settle himself by anticipation in such a position without a stand being made against him. But, lastly, the conjunction of the city Kadesh with "the mountain of the Amorites," and its connection with the assault repulsed by the Amalekites and Canaanites (Deut. i. 44; Num. xiv. 43), points to a site wholly away from Mount Seir.

A paper in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, April, 1860, entitled *A Critical Enquiry into the Route of the Exodus*, discards all the received sites for Sinai, even that of Mount Hor, and fixes on Elusa (*el-Kalesah*) as that of Kadesh. The arguments of this writer will be considered, as a whole, under WILDERNESS OF WANDERING.

Kadesh appears to have maintained itself, at least as a name, to the days of the prophet Ezekiel (*l. c.*) and those of the writer of the apocryphal book of Judith (i. 9 [A. V. Kades]). The "wilderness of Kadesh" occurs only in Ps. xxix. 8, and is probably undistinguishable from that of Zin. As regards the name "Kadesh," there seems some doubt whether it be originally Hebrew.[b]

[a] First has suggested עֲרֵי־נָעַץ, *son of wandering*, = Bedouin; but עֲרִי does not occur as "son" in the writings of Moses. The reading of the LXX. in Num. xxxiv. 4, Κάδης τοῦ Βαρνῆ, seems to favor the notion that it was regarded by them as a man's name. The name "Meribah" is accounted for in Num. xx. 13. [MERIBAH.] [Simonis as cited by Gesenius regards עֲרָבָה as from עֵבֶר, *open country*, and נָעַץ, *wandering*, r. נוּעַ. — E.]

[b] It may be perhaps a Horite word, corrupted so as to bear a signification in the Hebrew and Arabic; but, assuming it to be from the root meaning "holiness," which exists in various forms in the Heb. and Arab., there may be some connection between that name, supposed to indicate a shrine, and the En-Mishpat = Fountain of Judgment. The connection of the priestly and judicial function, having for its root the regarding as sacred whatever is authoritative, or the deducing all subordinate authority from the Highest, would support this view. Compare also the double functions united in Sheikh and Cadi. Further, on this supposition, a more forcible sense accrues to the name Kadesh *Meribah* = "strife" or "contention," being as it were a perversion of *Mishpat* = judgment — a taking it *in partem deteriorem*. For the Heb. and Arab. derivatives from this same root see Ges. *Lex.* s. v. קָדַשׁ, varying in senses of "to be holy, or (piel) to sanctify, as a priest, or to keep holy, as the Sabbath, and (pual) its passive; also Golii *Lex. Arab. Lat.* Lugd. Bat. 1653, s. v. قدس. The derived sense, קָדֵשׁ, a male

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Almost any probable situation for Kadesh on the grounds of the Scriptural narrative is equally opposed to the impression derived from the aspect of the region thereabouts. No spot perhaps, in the locality above indicated, could now be an eligible site for the host of the Israelites "for many days." Jerome speaks of it as a "desert" in his day, and makes no allusion to any city there, although the tomb of Miriam, of which no modern traveller has found any vestige, had there its traditional site. It is possible that the great volume of water which in the rainy season sweeps by the great *el-Jeib* and other wadies into the S. W. corner of the Ghor, might, if duly husbanded, have once created an artificial oasis, of which, with the neglect of such industry, every trace has since been lost. But, as no attempt is made here to fix on a definite site for Kadesh as a city, it is enough to observe that the objection applies in nearly equal force to nearly all solutions of the question of which the Scriptural narrative admits. H. H.

KAD'MIEL (קַדְמִיאֵל [*who stands before God*, i. e. his servant]: Καδμιήλ; [in Neh. vii. 43, Vat. Καβδιηλ:] *Cedmihel*), one of the Levites who with his family returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel, and apparently a representative of the descendants of Hodaviah, or, as he is elsewhere called, Hodevah or Judah (Ezr. ii. 40; Neh. vii. 43). In the first attempt which was made to rebuild the Temple, Kadmiel and Jeshua, probably an elder member of the same house, were, together with their families, appointed by Zerubbabel to superintend the workmen, and officiated in the thanksgiving-service by which the laying of the foundation was solemnized (Ezr. iii. 9). His house took a prominent part in the confession of the people on the day of humiliation (Neh. ix. 4, 5), and with the other Levites joined the princes and priests in a solemn compact to separate themselves to walk in God's law (Neh. x. 9). In the parallel lists of 1 Esdr. he is called CADMIEL.

KAD'MONITES, THE (הַקַּדְמֹנִי, *i. e.* "the Kadmonite" [*dweller in the east*]: τὸν Κεδμωναῖον; Alex. omits: *Cedmonæos*), a people named in Gen. xv. 19 only; one of the nations who at that time occupied the land promised to the descendants of Abram. The name is from a root *Kedem*, signifying "eastern," and also "ancient" (Ges. *Thes.* p. 1195).

Bochart (*Chan.* i. 19; *Phal.* iv. 36) derives the Kadmonites from Cadmus, and further identifies them with the Hivites (whose place they fill in the above list of nations), on the ground that the Hivites occupied Mount Hermon, "the most easterly part of Canaan." But Hermon cannot be said to be on the east of Canaan, nor, if it were, did the Hivites live there so exclusively as to entitle them to an appellation derived from that circumstance (see vol. ii. p. 1082). It is more probable that the name Kadmonite in its one occurrence is a synonym for the BENE-KEDEM — the "children [sons] of the East," the general name which in the Bible appears to be given to the tribes which roved in the great waste tracts on the east and southeast of Palestine. G.

* The Kadmonites even at Hermon might be said to be on the east as compared *e. g.* with the Zidonians on the west. "This name," says Thomson, "is still preserved among the Nusairiyeh north of Tripoli, and they have a tradition that their ancestors were expelled from Palestine by Joshua. It is curious also that a fragment of this strange people still cling to their original home at *'Ain-F'it*, *Zaora*, and *Ghûjar*, near the foot of Hermon. I have repeatedly travelled among them in their own mountains, and many things in their physiognomy and manners gave me the idea that they were a remnant of the most ancient inhabitants of this country" (*Land & Book*, i. 242). H.

KAL'LAI [2 syl.] (קַלָּי [perh. *swift one of God*, his messenger, Ges.]: Καλλαΐ; [Vat. Alex. FA.[1] omit; FA.[2] Σελλαΐ:] *Celai*), a priest in the days of Joiakim the son of Jeshua. He was one of the chiefs of the fathers, and represented the family of Sallai (Neh. xii. 20).

KA'NAH (קָנָה [*reed* or *place of reeds*]: Καναθάν; Alex. Κανα: *Cana*), one of the places which formed the landmarks of the boundary of Asher; apparently next to Zidon-rabbah, or "great Zidon" (Josh. xix. 28 only). If this inference is correct, then Kanah can hardly be identified in the modern village *Kâna*, six miles inland, not from Zidon, but from Tyre, nearly 20 miles south thereof. The identification, first proposed by Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* ii. 456), has been generally accepted by travellers (Wilson, *Lands*, ii. 230; Porter, *Handbook*, 395; Schwarz, 192; Van de Velde, i. 180). Van de Velde (i. 209) also treats it as the native place of the "woman of *Canaan*" (γυνὴ Χαναναία) who cried after our Lord. But the former identification, not to speak of the latter — in which a connection is assumed between two words radically distinct — seems untenable. An *'Ain-Kana* is marked in the map of Van de Velde, about 8 miles S. E. of *Saida* (Zidon), close to the conspicuous village *Jurjûa*, at which latter place Zidon lies full in view (Van de Velde, ii. 437). This at least answers more nearly the requirements of the text. But it is put forward as a mere conjecture, and must abide further investigation. G.

* That the village of قانا mentioned by Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* ii. 456) and generally accepted by travellers, is the one referred to in Josh. xix. 28 seems probable for various reasons. Assuming BETEN (which see) to have been, as Eusebius claims, eight miles east of Ptolemais, we must take our point of departure in giving the boundaries of Asher (Josh. xix. 25) a little south of Achzib, or Ecdippa, the situation of which may be laid down with certainty. Passing by Helkath and Hali, the site of which is lost, we come to Beten on the road southward toward Carmel. That Beten lay inland might be imagined, inasmuch as the Asherites did not drive out the inhabitants of the sea-coast from Achzib to Accho (*Akka*). The border then passed

prostitute, fem. קְדֵשָׁה, a harlot, does not appear to occur in the Arab.: it is to be referred to the notion of prostitution in honor of an idol, as the Syrians in that of Astarte, the Babylonians in that of Mylitta (Herod. i. 199), and is conveyed in the Greek ἱερόδουλος. [IDOLATRY, vol. ii. p. 1128 *a*.] This repulsive custom seems more suited to those populous and luxurious regions than to the hard, bare life of the desert. As an example of eastern nomenclature travelling far west at an early period, Cadis may perhaps be suggested as based upon Kadesh, and carried to Spain by the Phœnicians.

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southward to Achshaph, which is probably *Hhaifa*, حيفا, of the present day (see ACHSHAPH). Passing by Alammalek (cf. *Wady el-Melik* north of Carmel) and Amad and Misheal, two unknown sites, we come to Carmel. This fixes the direction of the route by which the border is designated. From this point the border turns eastward, and at its junction with the lot of Zebulun its direction plainly turns northward, and passing places identified with a degree of probability, it reaches Kana, and the border of the great Zidon. Now it is objected that Tyre is much nearer this Kana than Zidon. But it must be remembered that at this early period Zidon was probably greater than Tyre, and that the inhabitants of Tyre are themselves called Zidonians. It may have been, that at that period the territory of Zidon extended nearer to Kanah than it did in later times when Tyrian power had interposed between it and Zidon. In any case, the eastern border is simply said to have extended from Kanah even unto great Zidon.

This does not make it necessary that the city walls should be understood, which supposition would be forbidden by the historical fact that the territory of Zidon remained unconquered; and whether we suppose that the territory of Asher stretched to the northward of the parallel of Tyre, toward Zidon, or not, in either case it is inadmissible to extend it to the city gates, just as it is inadmissible to extend it (ver. 29) to the gates of Tyre itself. The existence of the name Kanah, unchanged by centuries, in a spot having so many claims for recognition as the one intended (Josh. xix. 28), must fix the identification with a reasonable degree of certainty, and forestall the attempt to establish the site at the obscure *'Ain Kana* near *Jerjûa*, S. E. of *Saida*.

Van de Velde's attempt (i. 209) to establish this site as the place of birth of the "woman of Canaan" is to be rejected on philological grounds. Χαναναῖα is derivable from Χανανίτης, not from Κανᾶ. Furthermore, for Χαναναῖα (Matt. xv. 22), Mark (vii. 26) has Συροφοινισσα, designating race and nationality, not place of birth or residence. It would have been possible for a Jewess to have resided in Kana or be born there, but the Evangelist wishes to designate this woman as not a *Jewess*, but a foreigner, a *Canaanitess*. G. E. P.

KA'NAH, THE RIVER (נַחַל קָנָה) = the torrent or wady K.: Χελκαδ, φαραγξ Καραδ; Alex. χειμαρρος Κανα and φαραγξ Καναι: *Vallis arundineti*), a stream falling into the Mediterranean, which formed the division between the territories of Ephraim and Manasseh, the former on the south, the latter on the north (Josh. xvi. 8, xvii. 9). No light appears to be thrown on its situation by the Ancient Versions or the Onomasticon. Dr. Robinson (iii. 135) identifies it "without doubt" with a wady, which taking its rise in the central mountains of Ephraim, near *Akrabeh*, some 7 miles S. E. of *Nablus*, crosses the country and enters the sea just above Jaffa as *Nahr el-Aujeh*; bearing during part of its course the name of *Wady Kanah*. But this, though perhaps sufficiently important to serve as a boundary between two tribes, and though the retention of the name is in its favor, is surely too far south to have been the boundary between Ephraim and Manasseh. The conjecture of Schwarz (51) is more plausible — that it is a wady which commences west of and close to *Nablus*, at *'Ain el-Khasneh*, and falls into the sea as *Nahr Falaik*, and which bears also the name of *Wady al-Khasneh* — the reedy stream. This has its more northerly position in its favor, and also the agreement in signification of the names (Kanah meaning also reedy). But it should not be forgotten that the name *Khasneh* is borne by a large tract of the maritime plain at this part (Stanley, *S. & P.* 260) Porter pronounces for *N. Akhdar*, close below Cæsarea. G.

* **KAPER OR CAPER** (from κάππαρις and in Lat. *capparis*). Many suppose this fruit or plant to be meant in Eccles. xii. 5 by הָאֲבִיוֹנָה, "the caper," instead of "desire" (A. V.). The word occurs only in that passage. The meaning then is that, as one of the signs and effects of old age, the caper (accustomed to be eaten for its stimulating properties) shall at length lose its power to excite the appetite of the aged or restore to them their lost vigor. The article in the Hebrew (as above) and the verb's semi-figurative sense (תָּפֵר), "shall break" *sc.* its compact or promise) favor this explanation. Celsius (*Hierob.* i. 209 ff.) mentions some of the authorities in support of this view. Prof. Stuart adopts it (*Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, p. 327 f.); also Hitzig, *Handb. zum A. T.* vii. p. 213. It is the translation of the Sept., Syr., and Vulg. See Winer, *Realw.* i. 650. The caper (written also *kapper*) is very abundant in Palestine. It "is always pendant or trailing on the ground. The stems have short recurved spines below the junction of each leaf. The leaves are oval, of a glossy green, and in the warmer situations are evergreen. The blossom is very open, loose, and white, with many long lilac anthers. The fruit is a large pod, about the size and shape of a walnut. It is the bud of the flower that is pickled and exported as a sauce." (Tristram, *Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, p. 458.) H.

KARE'AH (קָרֵחַ [*bald-head*]: Κάρης: *Caree*), the father of Johanan and Jonathan, who supported Gedaliah's authority and avenged his murder (Jer. xl. 8, 13, 15, 16, xli. 11, 13, 14, 16, xlii. 1, 8, xliii. 2, 4, 5). He is elsewhere called CAREAH.

KARKA'A (with the def. article, הַקַּרְקַע [*bottom, foundation*]: Κάθης, in both MSS.; Symm. translating, Βαφος: *Carcaa*), one of the landmarks on the south boundary of the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 3), and therefore of the Holy Land itself. It lay between Addar and Azmon, Azmon being the next point to the Mediterranean (*Wady el-Arish*). Karkaa, however, is not found in the specification of the boundary in Num. xxxiv., and it is worth notice that while in Joshua the line is said to make a detour (סָבַב) to Karkaa, in Numbers it runs to Azmon. Nor does the name occur in the subsequent lists of the southern cities in Josh. xv. 21–32, or xix. 2–8, or in Neh. xi. 25, &c. Eusebius (*Onomasticon*, 'Ακαρκά) perhaps speaks of it as then existing (κώμη ἐστίν), but at any rate no subsequent traveller or geographer appears to have mentioned it. G.

KAR'KOR (with the def. article, הַקַּרְקֹר [*foundation*, Ges.; or perh. *flat* and *soft ground*, Dietr.]: Καρκάρ; Alex. Καρκα: Vulg. translating, *requies-bant*), the place in which the remnant of the host of Zebah and Zalmuuna which had escaped

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the rout of the Jordan Valley were encamped, when Gideon burst upon and again dispersed them (Judg. viii. 10). It must have been on the east of the Jordan, beyond the district of the towns, in the open wastes inhabited by the nomad tribes — "them that dwelt in tents on the east of Nobah and Jogbehah" (ver. 11). But it is difficult to believe that it can have been so far to the south as it is placed by Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.* Καρκά and "Carcar"), namely one day's journey (about 15 miles) north of Petra, where in their time stood the fortress of Carcaria, as in ours the castle of *Kerek el-Shobak* (Burckhardt, 19 Aug. 1812). The name is somewhat similar to that of CHARACA, or Charax, a place on the east of the Jordan, mentioned once in the Maccabean history; but there is nothing to be said either for or against the identification of the two.

If *Kunawat* be KENATH, on which Nobah bestowed his own name (with the usual fate of such innovations in Palestine), then we should look for Karkor in the desert to the east of that place: which is quite far enough from the Jordan Valley, the scene of the first encounter, to justify both Josephus's expression, πόρρω πολύ (*Ant.* vii. 6, § 5), and the careless "security" of the Midianites. But no traces of such a name have yet been discovered in that direction, or any other than that above mentioned. G.

KARTAH (קַרְתָּה [*city*]: ἡ Κάδης; Alex. Καρθα: *Cartha*), a town of Zebulun, which with its "suburbs" was allotted to the Merarite Levites (Josh. xxi. 34). It is not mentioned either in the general list of the towns of this tribe (xix. 10–16), or in the parallel catalogue of Levitical cities in 1 Chr. vi., nor does it appear to have been recognized since. G.

* Van de Velde inserts a *Tell Kûrdâny* on his Map of Palestine, in the plain a little inland from *Khaifa*. He speaks of this as probably the Kartah of Josh. xxi. 34. "An ancient mill and numerous old building stones" mark the site. (*Syr. & Pal.* i. 289.) H.

KARTAN (קַרְתָּן [*double city*]: Θεμμάν; Alex. Νοεμμων; [Comp. Ald. Καρθάν:] *Carthan*), a city of Naphtali, allotted with its "suburbs" to the Gershonite Levites (Josh. xxi. 32). In the parallel list of 1 Chr. vi. the name appears in the more expanded form of KIRJATHAIM (ver. 76), of which Kartan may be either a provincialism or a contraction. A similar change is observable in Dothan and Dothaim. The LXX. evidently had a different Hebrew text from the present. G.

KATTATH (קַטָּת [*small* or *young*]: Καταάθ; Alex. Καττα: *Catheth*), one of the cities of the tribe of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 15). It is not mentioned in the Onomasticon. Schwarz (172) reports that in the *Jerusalem Megillah*, Kattath "is said to be the modern Katunith," which he seeks to identify with *Kana el-Jelil*, — most probably the CANA OF GALILEE of the N. T., — 5 miles north of *Seffurieh*, partly on the ground that Cana is given in the Syriac as *Katna*, and partly for other but not very palpable reasons. G.

KEDAR (קֵדָר, *black skin*, *black-skinned man*, Gen.: Κηδάρ: *Cedar*), the second in order of the sons of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 13; 1 Chr. i 29), and the name of a great tribe of the Arabs settled on the northwest of the peninsula and the confines of Palestine. This tribe seems to have been, with Tema, the chief representative of Ishmael's sons in the western portion of the land they originally peopled. The "glory of Kedar" is recorded by the prophet Isaiah (xxi. 13–17) in the burden upon Arabia; and its importance may also be inferred from the "princes of Kedar," mentioned by Ez. (xxvii. 21), as well as the pastoral character of the tribe: "Arabia, and all the princes of Kedar, they occupied with thee in lambs, and rams, and goats; in these [were they] thy merchants." But this characteristic is maintained in several other remarkable passages. In Cant. i. 5, the black tents of Kedar, black like the goat's or camel's-hair tents of the modern Bedawee, are forcibly mentioned, "I [am] black, but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon." In Is. lx. 7, we find the "flocks of Kedar," together with the rams of Nebaioth; and in Jer. xlix. 28, "concerning Kedar, and concerning the kingdoms of HAZOR," it is written, "Arise ye, go up to Kedar, and spoil the men of the East [the BENE-KEDEM]. Their tents and their flocks shall they take away; they shall take to themselves their tent-curtains, and all their vessels, and their camels" (28, 29). They appear also to have been, like the wandering tribes of the present day, "archers" and "mighty men" (Is. xxi. 17; comp. Ps. cxx. 5). That they also settled in villages or towns, we find from that magnificent passage of Isaiah (xlii. 11), "Let the wilderness and the cities thereof lift up [their voice], the villages [that] Kedar doth inhabit; let the inhabitants of the rock sing, let them shout from the top of the mountains;"—unless encampments are here intended.[a] But dwelling in more permanent habitations than tents is just what we should expect from a far-stretching tribe such as Kedar certainly was, covering in their pasture-lands and watering places the western desert, settling on the borders of Palestine, and penetrating into the Arabian peninsula, where they were to be the fathers of a great nation. The archers and warriors of this tribe were probably engaged in many of the wars which the "men of the East" (of whom Kedar most likely formed a part) waged, in alliance with Midianites and others of the Bene-Kedem, with Israel (see M. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai*, i. 180, 181, on the war of Gideon, etc.). The tribe seems to have been one of the most conspicuous of all the Ishmaelite tribes, and hence the Rabbins call the Arabians universally by this name.[b]

In Is. xxi. 17, the descendants of Kedar are called the Bene-Kedar.

As a link between Bible history and Mohammadan traditions, the tribe of Kedar is probably found in the people called the Cedrei by Pliny, on the confines of Arabia Petræa to the south (*N. H.* v. 11); but they have, since classical times, become merged into the Arab nation, of which so great a part must have sprung from them. In the Mohammadan traditions, Kedar[c] is the ancestor of Mohammad; and through him, although the genealogy is broken for many generations, the ances-

[a] חַצֵרִים. Comp. usage of Arabic, قَرْيَة, *Keryat*

[b] Hence לְשׁוֹן קֵדָר, Rabbin. use of the Arabic language (Ges. *Lex.* ed. Tregelles).

[c] *Keydar*, قَيْذَار

ity of the latter from Ishmael is carried. (See Caussin, *Essai*, i. 175 ff.) The descent of the bulk of the Arabs from Ishmael we have elsewhere shown to rest on indisputable grounds. [ISHMAEL.] E. S. P.

KED'EMAH (קַדְמָה, i. e. *eastward*: Κεδμά [Alex. in 1 Chr. Κεδαμ]: *Cedma*), the youngest of the sons of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 15; 1 Chr. i. 31).

KED'EMOTH (in Deut. and Chron. קְדֵמוֹת; in Josh. קְדֵמֹת [*beginnings, origin*]: Κεδαμώθ, Βακεδμώθ, ἡ Δεκμών, ἡ Καδμώθ; [Vat. in Josh. xiii. Βακεδνωθ, in 1 Chr. Καδαμωτ;] Alex. Κεδμωθ, Κεδημωθ, Γεδσωρ, Καμηδωθ: *Cademoth, Cedimoth* [*Jethson*]), one of the towns in the district east of the Dead Sea allotted to the tribe of Reuben (Josh. xiii. 18); given with its "suburbs" to the Merarite Levites (Josh. xxi. 37; 1 Chr. vi. 79; in the former of these passages the name, with the rest of the verses 36 and 37, is omitted from the Rec. Hebrew Text, and from the Vulg.). It possibly conferred its name on the "wilderness, or uncultivated pasture land (*Midbar*), of Kedemoth," in which Israel was encamped when Moses asked permission of Sihon to pass through the country of the Amorites; although, if Kedemoth be treated as a Hebrew word, and translated "Eastern," the same circumstance may have given its name both to the city and the district. And this is more probably the case, since "Aroer on the brink of the torrent Arnon" is mentioned as the extreme (south) limit of Sihon's kingdom and of the territory of Reuben, and the north limit of Moab, Kedemoth, Jahazah, Heshbon, and other towns, being apparently north of it (Josh. xiii. 16, &c.), while the wilderness of Kedemoth was certainly outside the territory of Sihon (Deut. ii. 26, 27, &c.), and therefore south of the Arnon. This is supported by the terms of Num. xxi. 23, from which it would appear as if Sihon had come out of his territory into the wilderness; although on the other hand, from the fact of Jahez (or Jahazah) being said to be "in the wilderness" (Num. xxi. 23), it seems doubtful whether the towns named in Josh. xiii. 16–21 were all north of Arnon. As in other cases we must await further investigation on the east of the Dead Sea. The place is but casually mentioned in the *Onomasticon* ("Cademoth"), but yet so as to imply a distinction between the town and the wilderness. No other traveller appears to have noticed it. (See Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 271.) [JAHAZ.]

KE'DESH (קֶדֶשׁ): the name borne by three cities in Palestine.

1. (Κάδης; Alex. Κεδες: *Cades*) in the extreme south of Judah (Josh. xv. 23). Whether this is identical with Kadesh-Barnea, which was actually one of the points on the south boundary of the tribe (xv. 3; Num. xxxiv. 4), it is impossible to say. Against the identification is the difference of the name, — hardly likely to be altered if the famous Kadesh was intended, and the occurrence of the name elsewhere showing that it was of common use.

2. (Κάδες; Alex. Κεδεε: *Cedes*), a city of Issachar, which according to the catalogue of 1 Chr. vi. was allotted to the Gershonite Levites (ver. 72). In the parallel list (Josh. xxi. 28) the name is KISHON, one of the variations met with in these lists, for which it is impossible satisfactorily to account. The Kedesh mentioned among the cities whose kings were slain by Joshua (Josh. xii. 22), in company with Megiddo and Jokneam of Carmel, would seem to have been this city of Issachar, and not, as is commonly accepted, the northern place of the same name in Naphtali, the position of which in the catalogue would naturally have been with Hazor and Shimron-Meron. But this, though probable, is not conclusive.

3. KEDESH (Κάδες, Κάδης, Κέδες,[a] Κενέζ; Alex. also Κεδες: *Cedes*): also KEDESH IN GALILEE (קֶדֶשׁ בַּגָּלִיל, *i. e.* [a] K. in the Galil: "ἡ Κάδης, etc.] ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ [Vat. -λει-]: *Cedes in Galilæa*): and once, Judg. iv. 6, KEDESH-NAPHTALI (קֶדֶשׁ נַפְתָּלִי: Κάδης Νεφθαλί [Vat. -λειμ, Alex. -λει]: *Cedes Nephthali*). One of the fortified cities of the tribe of Naphtali, named between Hazar and Edrei (Josh. xix. 37); appointed as a city of refuge, and allotted with its "suburbs" to the Gershonite Levites (xx. 7, xxi. 32; 1 Chr. vi. 76). In Josephus's account of the northern wars of Joshua (*Ant.* v. 1, § 18), he apparently refers to it as marking the site of the battle of Merom, if Merom be intended under the form Beroth.[b] It was the residence of Barak (Judg. iv. 6), and there he and Deborah assembled the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali before the conflict (9, 10). Near it was the tree of Zaananim, where was pitched the tent of the Kenites Heber and Jael, in which Sisera met his death (ver. 11). It was probably, as its name implies, a "holy[c] place" of great antiquity, which would explain its selection as one of the cities of refuge, and its being chosen by the prophetess as the spot at which to meet the warriors of the tribes before the commencement of the struggle "for Jehovah against the mighty." It was one of the places taken by Tiglath-Pileser in the reign of Pekah (Jos. *Ant.* ix. 11, § 1, Κάδεσα; 2 K. xv. 29); and here again it is mentioned in immediate connection with Hazor. Its next and

[a] Some of the variations in the LXX. are remarkable. In Judg. iv. 9, 10, Vat. has Κάδης, and Alex. Κεδες; but in ver. 11, [and 1 Chr. vi. 76,] they both have Κάδες. In 2 K. xv. 29 both have Κενές. In Judg. iv. and elsewhere, the Peshito Version has Recem-Naphtali for Kedesh, Recem being the name which in the Targums is commonly used for the Southern Kadesh, K. Barnea. (See Stanley, *S. & P.* 94 note.)

[b] Πρὸς Βηρώθῃ πόλει τῆς Γαλιλαίας τῆς ἄνω, Κεδάσῃς οὐ πόρρω. J. D. Michaelis (*Orient. und Exeget. Bibliothek*, 1778, No. 84) argues strenuously for the identity of Beroth and Kedes in this passage with Berytus (*Beirût*) and Kedesh, near Emesa (see above); but interesting and ingenious as is the attempt, the conclusion cannot be tenable. (See also a subsequent paper in 1774, No. 116.)

[c] From the root קָדַשׁ, common to the Semitic languages (Gesenius, *Thes.* 1195, 3). Whether there was any difference of signification between Kadesh and Kedesh, does not seem at all clear. Gesenius places the former in connection with a similar word which would seem to mean a person or thing devoted to the infamous rites of ancient heathen worship — "Scortum sacrum, idque masculum;" "but he does not absolutely say that the bad force resided in the name of the place Kadesh." To Kedesh he gives a favorable interpretation — "Sacrarium." The older interpreters, as Hiller and Simonis do not recognise the distinction.

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last appearance in the Bible is as the scene of a battle between Jonathan Maccabæus and the forces of Demetrius (1 Macc. xi. 63, 73, A. V. CADES; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 5, § 6, 7). After this time it is spoken of by Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 18, § 1; iv. 2, § 3, πρὸς Κυδυσσοῖς) as in the possession of the Tyrians — "a strong inland[a] village," well fortified, and with a great number of inhabitants: and he mentions that, during the siege of Gischala, Titus removed his camp thither — a distance of about 7 miles, if the two places are correctly identified — a movement which allowed John to make his escape.

By Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.* "Cedes") it is described as lying near Paneas, and 20 miles (Eusebius says 8 — ἡ — but this must be wrong) from Tyre, and as called Kudossos or Cidissus. Brocardus (*Descr.* ch. iv.) describes it, evidently from personal knowledge, as 4 leagues north of *Safet*, and as abounding in ruins. It was visited by the Jewish travellers, Benjamin of Tudela (A. D. 1170) and ha-Parchi (A. D. 1315). The former places it one day's, and the latter half-a-day's, journey from Banias (Benj. of Tudela by Asher, i. 82, ii. 109, 420). Making allowances for imperfect knowledge and errors in transcription, there is a tolerable agreement between the above accounts, recognizable now that Dr. Robinson has with great probability identified the spot. This he has done at *Kades*, a village situated on the western edge of the basin of the *Ard el-Huleh*, the great depressed basin or tract through which the Jordan makes its way into the Sea of Merom. *Kades* lies 10 English miles N. of *Safed*, 4 to the N. W. of the upper part of the Sea of Merom, and 12 or 13 S. of *Banias*. The village itself "is situated on a rather high ridge, jutting out from the western hills, and overlooking a small green vale or basin. . . . Its site is a splendid one, well watered and surrounded by fertile plains." There are numerous sarcophagi, and other ancient remains (Rob. iii. 366–68; see also Van de Velde, ii. 417; Stanley, 365, 390).[b]

In the Greek (Κυδίως) and Syriac (*Kedesh de Naphtali*) texts of Tob. i. 2, — though not in the Vulgate or A. V., — Kedesh is introduced as the birthplace of Tobias. The text is exceedingly corrupt, but some little support is lent to this reading by the Vulgate, which, although omitting Kedesh, mentions Safed — "post viam quæ ducit ad Occidentem, in sinistro habens civitatem Saphet."

The name Kedesh exists much farther north than the possessions of Naphtali would appear to have extended, attached to a lake of considerable size on the Orontes, a few miles south of *Hums*, the ancient Emessa (Rob. iii. 549; Thomson, in Ritter, *Damascus*, 1002, 1004). The lake was well known under that name to the Arabic geographers (see, besides the authorities quoted by Robinson, Abulfeda in Schultens' *Index Geogr.*, "Fluvius Orontes" and "Kudsum"), and they connect it in part with Alexander the Great. But this and the origin of the name are alike uncertain. At the lower end of the lake is an island which, as already remarked, is possibly the site of Ketesh, the capture of which by Sethee I. is preserved in the records of that Egyptian king. [JERUSALEM, vol. ii. p. 1281, note *c*.] G.

KEHE'LATHAH (קְהֵלָתָה [*assembly*, or *congregation*]: Μακελλάθ; [Alex. Μακελαθ:] *Ceelatha*), a desert encampment of the Israelites (Num. xxxiii. 22, 23), of which nothing is known.[c] H. H.

KEI'LAH [3 syl.] (קְעִילָה, but in 1 Sam. xxiii. 5, קְעִלָה [*citadel*, *fortress*, Sim. Ges.]: Κεϊλάμ, ἡ Κεϊλά; [Vat.] Alex. Κεειλα [Vat. once Κεειλαμ]; Joseph. Κίλλα, and the people *οἱ* Κιλλανοὶ and *οἱ* Κιλλῖται: *Ceila*: Luth. *Kegila*), a city of the *Shefelah* or lowland district of Judah, named, in company with NEZIB and MARESHAH, in the next group to the Philistine cities (Josh. xv. 44). Its main interest consists in its connection with David. He rescued it from an attack of the Philistines, who had fallen upon the town at the beginning of the harvest (Josh. *Ant.* vi. 13, § 1), plundered the corn from its threshing-floor, and driven off the cattle (1 Sam. xxiii. 1). The prey was recovered by David (2–5), who then remained in the city till the completion of the in-gathering. It was then a fortified place,[d] with walls, gates, and bars (1 Sam. xxiii. 7, and Joseph.). During this time the massacre of Nob was perpetrated, and Keilah became the repository of the sacred Ephod, which Abiathar the priest, the sole survivor, had carried off with him (ver. 6). But it was not destined long to enjoy the presence of these brave and hallowed inmates, nor indeed was it worthy of such good fortune, for the inhabitants soon plotted David's betrayal to Saul, then on his road to besiege the place. Of this intention David was warned by Divine intimation. He therefore left (1 Sam. xxiii. 7–13).

It will be observed that the word *Baali* is used by David to denote the inhabitants of Keilah, in this passage (vv. 11, 12; A. V. "men"); possibly pointing to the existence of Canaanites in the place [BAAL, vol. i. p. 207 *b*].

We catch only one more glimpse of the town, in the times after the Captivity, when Hashabiah, the ruler of one half the district of Keilah (or whatever the word *Pelec*, A. V., "part," may mean), and Bavai ben-Henadad, ruler of the other half, assisted Nehemiah in the repair of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 17, 18). Keilah appears to have been

[a] Thomson (*Land and Book*, ch. xix.) has some strange comments on this passage. He has taken Whiston's translation of μεσόγειος — "Mediterranean" — as referring to the Mediterranean Sea! and has drawn his inferences accordingly.

[b] We have an interesting description of the site and ruins of this Kadesh in Porter's *Giant Cities*, etc. p. 270 ff. He regards the sculptures on the sarcophagi as Grecian or Roman; whereas Tristram (*Land of Israel*, 2d ed., p. 582) thinks they were probably Jewish. They "were covered with wreaths," says the latter, "but we could not make out any figures." H.

[c] The name may possibly be derived from קָהַל, a congregation, with the local suffix ת, which many of these names carry. Compare the name of another place of encampment, מַקְהֵלֹת, which appears to be from the same root.

[d] This is said by Gesenius and others to be the signification of the name "Keilah." If this be so, there would almost appear to be a reference to this and the contemporary circumstances of David's life, in Ps xxxi.; not only in the expression (ver. 21), "marvelous kindness *in a strong city*" (עִיר מָצוֹר), but also in ver. 8, and in the general tenor of the Psalm

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known to Eusebius and Jerome. They describe it in the *Onomasticon* as existing under the name Κηλά, or *Ceila*, on the road from Eleutheropolis to Hebron, at 8[a] miles distance from the former. In the map of Lieut. Van de Velde (1858), the name *Kila* occurs attached to a site with ruins, on the lower road from *Beit Jibrin* to Hebron, at very nearly the right distance from *B. Jibrin* (almost certainly Eleutheropolis), and in the neighborhood of *Beit Nûsib* (Nezib) and *Mareesa* (Mareshah). The name was only reported to Lieut. V. (see his *Memoir*, p. 328), but it has been since visited by the indefatigable Tobler, who completely confirms the identification, merely remarking that *Kila* is placed a little too far south on the map. Thus another is added to the list of places which, though specified as in the "lowland," are yet actually found in the mountains: a puzzling fact in our present ignorance of the principles of the ancient boundaries. [JIPHTAH; JUDAH, p. 1490 *b*.]

In the 4th century a tradition existed that the prophet Habbakuk was buried at Keilah (*Onomasticon*, "Ceila;" Nicephorus, *H. E.* xii. 48; Cassiodorus, in Sozomen, *H. E.* vii. 29); but another tradition gives that honor to HUKKOK.

In 1 Chr. iv. 19, "KEILAH THE GARMITE" is mentioned, apparently — though it is impossible to say with certainty — as a descendant of the great Caleb (ver. 15). But the passage is extremely obscure, and there is no apparent connection with the town Keilah. G.

KELA'IAH [3 syl.] (קְלָיָה) [*dwarf*]: Κωλία; Alex. Κωλαα; [Vat.] FA. Κωλεια: *Celaïa*) = KELITA (Ezr. x. 23). In the parallel list of 1 Esdr. his name appears as COLIUS.

KELI'TA (קְלִיטָא) [*dwarf*]: Κωλίτας, Vat. FA.[1] Κωλιεν, FA.[2] Κωλιτα:] Καλιτάν in Neh. x. 10 [Vat. FA.[1] omit]: *Celita; Calita* in Ezr. x. 23), one of the Levites who returned from the Captivity with Ezra, and had intermarried with the people of the land (Ezr. x. 23). In company with the other Levites he assisted Ezra in expounding the law (Neh. viii. 7), and entered into a solemn league and covenant to follow the law of God, and separate from admixture with foreign nations (Neh. x. 10). He is also called KELAIAH, and in the parallel list of 1 Esdr. his name appears as CALITAS.

KEMU'EL (קְמוּאֵל) [*assembly of God*]: Καμουήλ: *Camuel*). 1. The son of Nahor by Milcah, and father of Aram, whom Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 414, note) identifies with Ram of Job xxxii. 2, to whose family Elihu belonged (Gen. xxii. 21).

2. The son of Shiphtan, and prince of the tribe of Ephraim; one of the twelve men appointed by Moses to divide the land of Canaan among the tribes (Num. xxxiv. 24).

3. [Vat. Χαμουηλ.] A Levite, father of Hashabiah, prince of the tribe in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxvii. 17).

KE'NAN (קֵינָן) [*possession*): Καϊνάν: *Cainan*) = CAINAN the son of Enos (1 Chr. i. 2), whose name is also correctly given in this form in the margin of Gen. v. 9.

KE'NATH (קְנָת) [*possession*]: ἡ Καθθ, Alex. ἡ Καναθ; in Chron. both MSS. [rather, Rom Alex.] Καναθ, [Vat. Κανααθ:] *Chanath, Canath*), one of the cities on the east of Jordan, with its "daughter-towns" (A. V. "villages") taken possession of by a certain NOBAH, who then called it by his own name (Num. xxxii. 42). At a later period these towns, with those of Jair, were recaptured by Geshur and Aram (1 Chr. ii. 23 *b*). In the days of Eusebius (*Onom.* "Canath") it was still called Kanatha, and he speaks of it as "a village of Arabia near Bozra." Its site has been recovered with tolerable certainty in our own times at *Kenawât*, a ruined town at the southern extremity of the *Lejah*, about 20 miles N. of *Bûsrah*, which was first visited by Burckhardt in 1810 (*Syria*, 83–86), and more recently by Porter (*Damascus*, ii. 87–115; *Handbk.* 512–14), the latter of whom gives a lengthened description and identification of the place. The suggestion that *Kenawât* was Kenath seems, however, to have been first made by Gesenius in his notes to Burckhardt (A. D. 1823, p. 505). Another Kenawat is marked on Van de Velde's map, about 10 miles farther to the west.

The name furnishes an interesting example of the permanence of an original appellation. NOBAH, though conferred by the conqueror, and apparently at one time the received name of the spot (Judg. viii. 11), has long since given way to the older title. Compare ACCHO, KIRJATH-ARBA, etc. G.

KE'NAZ (קְנַז) [*chase, hunting*]: Κενέζ; [Alex. in Judg. i. 13, Κενεχ; in 1 Chr. i. 36, Κεζεζ:] *Cenez*). 1. Son of Eliphaz, the son of Esau. He was one of the dukes of Edom, according to both lists, that in Gen. xxxvi. 15, 42, and that in 1 Chr. i. 53, and the founder of a tribe or family, who were called from him Kenezites (Josh. xiv. 14, &c.). Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, and Othniel, were the two most remarkable of his descendants. [CALEB.]

2. [Κενεζί (Vat. Χενεζει), Κενέζ.] One of the same family, a grandson of Caleb, according to 1 Chr. iv. [13,] 15, where, however, the Hebrew text is corrupt. Another name has possibly fallen out before Kenaz. A. C. H.

KEN'EZITE (written **KEN'IZZITE**, A. V. Gen. xv. 19: הַקְּנִזִּי: Κενεζαῖος; [Alex. in Josh. xiv. 14, Κενεζεος:] *Cenezæus*), an Edomitish tribe (Num. xxxii. 12; Josh. xiv. 6, 14). [KENAZ.] It is difficult to account for the Kenezites existing as a tribe so early as before the birth of Isaac, as they appear to have done from Gen. xv. 19. If this tribe really existed then, and the enumeration of tribes in ver. 19–21 formed a part of what the Lord said to Abram, it can only be said, with Bochart (*Phaleg*, iv. 36), that these Kenezites are mentioned here only, that they had ceased to exist in the time of Moses and Joshua, and that nothing whatever is known of their origin or place of abode. But it is worth consideration whether the enumeration may not be a later explanatory addition by Moses or some later editor, and so these Kenezites be descendants of Kenaz, whose adoption

[a] This is Jerome's correction of Eusebius, who gives 15 — manifestly wrong, as the whole distance between Hebron and *Beit-Jibrin* is not more than 15 Roman miles.

[b] This passage is erroneously translated in the A. V. It should be, "And Geshur and Aram took the Havvoth-Jair, with Kenath and her daughters, sixty cities." See Bertheau, *Chronik*; Zunz's version; Targum of Joseph, etc., etc.

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into Israel took place in the time of Caleb, which was the reason of their insertion in this place.

A. C. H.

KE'NITE, THE, and KE'NITES, THE הַקֵּינִי and הַקֵּינִֽי, *i. e.* "the Kenite;" in Chron. הַקִּינִים; but in Num. xxiv. 22, and in Judg. iv. 11 *b*, קֵינִי, *Kain: oi Kenaîoi*, [*ὁ Kenaîos*,] *ὁ Kinaîos*, *oi Kinaîoi* [Vat. Κει-, and so commonly Alex.]; [1 Sam. xxvii. 10, xxx. 29, *ὁ Kενεζί*, Vat. -ζει; Alex. *o Κηνει*, *o Κεινιαιος*: *Ceni*, elsewhere] *Cinæus*),[a] a tribe or nation whose history is strangely interwoven with that of the chosen people. In the genealogical table of Gen. x. they do not appear. The first mention of them is in company with the Kenizzites and Kadmonites, in the list of the nations who then occupied the Promised Land (Gen. xv. 19). Their origin, therefore, like that of the two tribes just named, and of the Avvim (AVITES), is hidden from us. But we may fairly infer that they were a branch of the larger nation of MIDIAN — from the fact that Jethro, the father of Moses's wife, who in the records of Exodus (see ii. 15, 16, iv. 19, &c.) is represented as dwelling in the land of Midian, and as priest or prince of that nation, is in the narrative of Judges (i. 16, iv. 11 *b*) as distinctly said to have been a Kenite. As Midianites they were therefore descended immediately from Abraham by his wife Keturah, and in this relationship and their connection with Moses we find the key to their continued alliance with Israel. The important services rendered by the sheikh of the Kenites to Moses during a time of great pressure and difficulty were rewarded by the latter with a promise of firm friendship between the two peoples — "what goodness Jehovah shall do unto us, the same will we do to thee." And this promise was gratefully remembered long after to the advantage of the Kenites (1 Sam. xv. 6). The connection then commenced lasted as firmly as a connection could last between a settled people like Israel and one whose tendencies were so ineradicably nomadic as the Kenites. They seem to have accompanied the Hebrews during their wanderings. At any rate they were with them at the time of their entrance on the Promised Land. Their encampment — separate and distinct from the rest of the people — was within Balaam's view when he delivered his prophecy[c] (Num. xxiv. 21, 22), and we may infer that they assisted in the capture of Jericho,[d] the "city of palm-trees" (Judg. i. 16; comp. 2 Chr. xxviii. 15). But the wanderings of Israel over, they forsook the neighborhood of the towns, and betook themselves to freer air — to "the wilderness of Judah, which is to the south of Arad" (Judg. i. 16), where "they dwelt among the people" of the district[e] — the Amalekites who wandered in that dry region, and among whom they were living centuries later when Saul made his expedition there (1 Sam. xv. 6). Their alliance with Israel at this later date is shown no less by Saul's friendly warning than by David's feigned attack (xxvii. 10, and see xxx. 29).

But one of the sheikhs of the tribe, Heber by name, had wandered north instead of south, and at the time of the great struggle between the northern tribes and Jabin king of Hazor, his tents were pitched under the tree of Zaanaim, near Kedesh (Judg. iv. 11). Heber was in alliance with both the contending parties, but in the hour of extremity the ties of blood-relationship and ancient companionship proved strongest, and Sisera fell a victim to the hammer and the nail of Jael.

The most remarkable development of this people, exemplifying most completely their characteristics — their Bedouin hatred of the restraints of civilization, their fierce determination, their attachment to Israel, together with a peculiar semi-monastic austerity not observable in their earlier proceedings — is to be found in the sect or family of the RECHABITES, founded by Rechab, or Jonadab his son, who come prominently forward on more than one occasion in the later history. [JEHONADAB, RECHABITES.]

The founder of the family appears to have been a certain Hammath (A. V. HEMATH), and a singular testimony is furnished to the connection which existed between this tribe of Midianite wanderers and the nation of Israel, by the fact that their name and descent are actually included in the genealogies of the great house of Judah (1 Chr ii. 55).

No further notices would seem to be extant of this interesting people. The name of *Ba-Kain* (abbreviated from *Bene el-Kain*), is mentioned by Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 337, *note*), as borne in comparatively modern days by one of the tribes of the desert; but little or no inference can be drawn from such similarity in names. G.

KENIZZITE [*Kενεζαῖος*: *Cenezæus*], Gen. xv. 19. [KENEZITE.]

* **KERCHIEFS**, Ezek. xiii. 18, 21 (מַסְמְרוֹת · *περιβόλαια*: *cervicalia*) = coverings for the head, from the French *couvrechef*. The word appears in Chaucer as *keverchef* (Eastwood and Wright's *Bible Word-Book*, p. 281). [HEAD-DRESS.] H.

[a] Josephus gives the name *Κενεζεος* (*Ant.* v. 5, § 6); but in his notice of Saul's expedition (vi. 7, § 8) he has *τὸ τῶν Σικιμιτῶν ἔθνος* — the form in which he elsewhere gives that of the Shechemites. No explanation of this presents itself to the writer. The Targums of Onkelos, Jonathan, and Pseudojon. uniformly render the Kenite by שֵׁלְמָאָה = Salmaite, possibly because in the genealogy of Judah (1 Chr. ii. 55) a branch of the Kenites come under Salma, son of Caleb. The same name is introduced in the Samarit. Vers. before "the Kenite" in Gen. xv. 19 only.

[b] This passage is incorrectly rendered in the A. V. It should be, "And Heber the Kenite had severed himself from Kain of the children of Hobab, the father-in-law of Moses, and pitched," etc.

[c] If it be necessary to look for a literal "fulfillment" of this sentence of Balaam's, we shall best find it in the accounts of the latter days of Jerusalem under Jehoiakim, when the Kenite Rechabites were so far "wasted" by the invading army of Assyria as to be driven to take refuge within the walls of the city, a step to which we may be sure nothing short of actual extremity could have forced these Children of the Desert. Whether "Asshur carried them away captive" with the other inhabitants we are not told, but it is at least probable.

[d] It has been pointed out under HOBAB that one of the wadies opposite Jericho, the same by which, according to the local tradition, the Bene-Israel descended to the Jordan, retains the name of *Sho'eib*, the Muslim man version of Hobab.

[e] A place named KINAH, possibly derived from the same root as the Kenites, is mentioned in the lists of the cities of "the south" of Judah. But there is nothing to imply any connection between the two [KINAH.]

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KE'REN-HAP'PUCH (קֶרֶן־הַפּוּךְ [*the paint-horn*]: Ἀμαλθαίας [Vat. -θει-, Sin. C -θε-, Alex. Μαλθεας] κέρας: *Cornustibii*), the youngest of the daughters of Job, born to him during the period of his reviving prosperity (Job xlii. 14), and so called probably from her great beauty. The Vulgate has correctly rendered her name "horn of antimony," the pigment used by eastern ladies to color their eyelashes; but the LXX., unless they had a different reading, adopted a current expression of their own age, without regard to strict accuracy, in representing Keren-happuch by "the horn of Amalthæa," or "horn of plenty."

KE'RIOTH (קְרִיּוֹת, *i. e.* Keriyoth [*cities*]). 1. (αἱ πόλεις: Alex. πολις: *Carioth.*) A name which occurs among the lists of the towns in the southern district of Judah (Josh. xv. 25). According to the A. V. ("Kerioth,[a] *and* Hezron"), it denotes a distinct place from the name which follows it; but this separation is not in accordance with the accentuation of the Rec. Hebrew text, and is now generally abandoned (see Keil, *Josua*, ad loc., and Reland, *Palæstina*, pp. 700, 708, the versions of Zunz, Cahen, etc.), and the name taken as "Keriyoth-Hezron, which is Hazor," *i. e.* its name before the conquest was Hazor, for which was afterwards substituted Keriyoth-Hezron — the "cities of H."

Dr. Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* ii. 101), and Lieut. Van de Velde (ii. 83) propose to identify it with *Kuryetein* ("the two cities"), a ruined site which stands about 10 miles S. from Hebron, and 3 from *Main* (Maon).[b]

Kerioth furnishes one, and that perhaps the oldest and most usual, of the explanations proposed for the title "Iscariot," and which are enumerated under JUDAS ISCARIOT, vol. ii. p. 1495. But if Kerioth is to be read in conjunction with Hezron, as stated above, another difficulty is thrown in the way of this explanation.

2. (Καριώθ: *Curioth.*) A city of Moab, named in the denunciations of Jeremiah — and there only — in company with Dibon, Beth-diblathaim, Beth-meon, Bozrah, and other places "far and near" (Jer. xlviii. 24). None of the ancient interpreters appear to give any clew to the position of this place. By Mr. Porter, however, it is unhesitatingly identified with *Kureiyeh*, a ruined town of some extent lying between *Busrah* and *Sulkhad*, in the southern part of the *Hauran* (*Five Years* etc. ii. 191–98; *Handbook*, pp. 523, 524). The chief argument in favor of this is the proximity of *Kureiyeh* to *Busrah*, which Mr. Porter accepts as identical with the BOZRAH of the same passage of Jeremiah. But there are some considerations which stand very much in the way of these identifications. Jeremiah is speaking (xlviii. 21) expressly of the cities of the "Mishor" (A. V. "plain-country"), that is, the district of level downs east of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, which probably answered in whole or in part to the *Belka* of the modern Arabs. In this region were situated Heshbon, Dibon, Elealeh, Beth-meon, Kir-heres — the only places named in the passage in question, the positions of which are known with certainty. The most northern of these (Heshbon) is not further north than the upper end of the Dead Sea; the most southern (Kir) lay near its lower extremity Nor is there anything in the parallel denunciation of Moab by Isaiah (ch. xvi.) to indicate that the limits of Moab extended further to the north. But *Busrah* and *Kureiyeh* are no less than 60 miles to the N. N. E. of Heshbon itself, beyond the limits even of the modern Belka (see Kiepert's map to Wetzstein's *Hauran und die Trachonen*, 1860), and in a country of an entirely opposite character from the "flat downs, of smooth and even turf" which characterize that district — "a savage and forbidding aspect . . . nothing but stones and jagged black rocks . . . the whole country around *Kureiyeh* covered with heaps of loose stones," etc. (Porter, ii. 189, 193). A more plausible identification would be *Kureiyat*, at the western foot of *Jebel Attarus*, and but a short distance from either Dibon, Beth-meon, or Heshbon.

But on the other hand it should not be overlooked that Jeremiah uses the expression "far and near" (ver. 24), and also that if *Busrah* and *Kureiyeh* are not Bozrah and Kerioth, those important places have apparently flourished without any notice from the sacred writers. This is one of the points which further investigation by competent persons, east of the Jordan, may probably set at rest.

Kerioth occurs in the A. V., also in ver. 41. Here however it bears the definite article (הַקְּרִיּוֹת: Alex. Ακκαριωθ; [Vat. FA. Ακκαρων:] *Carioth*), and would appear to signify not any one definite place, but "the cities[c] of Moab" — as may also be the case with the same word in Amos ii. 2. [KIRIOTH.] G.

KE'ROS (קֵרֹס [*weaver's comb*]: Κάδης; Alex. Κηρας in Ezr. ii. 44; קֵירֹס: Κιρός; [Vat. Κειρα, FA.] Alex. Κειρας in Neh. vii. 47: *Ceros*). one of the Nethinim, whose descendants returned with Zerubbabel.

KET'TLE (דּוּד: λέβης: *caldaria*), a vessel for culinary or sacrificial purposes (1 Sam. ii. 14). The Hebrew word is also rendered "basket" in Jer. xxiv 2, "caldron" in 2 Chr. xxxv. 13, and "pot" in Job xli. 20. [CALDRON.] H. W. P

KETU'RAH (קְטוּרָה, *incense*, Gen.: Χετούρα: *Cetura*), the "wife" whom Abraham "added and took" (A. V. "again took") besides, or after the death of, Sarah (Gen. xxv. 1; 1 Chr. i. 32). Gesenius and others adopt the theory that Abraham took Keturah after Sarah's death; but probability seems against it (compare Gen. xvii. 17, xviii. 11; Rom. iv. 19; and Heb. xi. 12), and we incline to the belief that the passage commencing with xxv. 1, and comprising perhaps the whole chapter, or at least as far as ver. 10, is placed out

[a] In the A. V. of 1611 the punctuation was still more marked — "and Kerioth: *and* Hezron, which is Hazor." This agrees with the version of Junius and Tremellius — "et Kerijothes (Chetsrŏn ea est Chatsor)," and with that of Luther. Castellio, on the other hand, has "Cariothesron, quæ alias Hasor."

[b] This is a different place from the ruins and cave of *Khŭreitŭn*, near Tekoa (which see), about 2 hours southeast of Bethlehem. The names are somewhat alike, but that is accidental *Khŭreitŭn* is so called from a celebrated monk Chariton, who A. D. 340–350 occupied the cave as a *laura* or monastery, which it continued to be for ages. The name is given also to the adjacent *Wady*, and to a fountain and a little village. See Tobler's *Denkblätter aus Jerusalem*, p. 681 and Tobler's *Jerusalem und das heil. Land*, i. 529. H

[c] So Ewald, *Propheten*, "Die Städte Moabs."

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of its chronological sequence in order not to break the main narrative; and that Abraham took Keturah during Sarah's lifetime. That she was, strictly speaking, his wife, is also very uncertain. The Hebrew word so translated in this place in the A. V., and by many scholars, is *Ishdh*,[a] of which the first meaning given by Gesenius is "*a woman*, of every age and condition, whether married or not;" and although it is commonly used with the signification of "wife," as opposed to handmaid, in Gen. xxx. 4, it occurs with the signification of concubine, "and she gave him Bilhah her handmaid to wife." In the record in 1 Chr. i. 32, Keturah is called a "concubine," and it is also said, in the two verses immediately following the genealogy of Keturah, that "Abraham gave all that he had unto Isaac. But unto the sons of the concubines, which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son, while he yet lived, eastward, unto the east country" (Gen. xxv. 5, 6). Except Hagar, Keturah is the only person mentioned to whom this passage can relate; and in confirmation of this supposition we find strong evidence of a wide spread of the tribes sprung from Keturah, bearing the names of her sons, as we have mentioned in other articles. These sons were "Zimran, and Jokshan, and Medan, and Midian, and Ishbak, and Shuah" (ver. 2); besides the sons and grandsons of Jokshan, and the sons of Midian. They evidently crossed the desert to the Persian Gulf and occupied the whole intermediate country, where traces of their names are frequent, while Midian extended south into the peninsula of Arabia Proper. The elder branch of the "sons of the concubines," however, was that of Ishmael. He has ever stood as the representative of the bondwoman's sons; and as such his name has become generally applied by the Arabs to all the Abrahamic settlers north of the Peninsula — besides the great Ishmaelite element of the nation.

In searching the works of Arab writers for any information respecting these tribes, we must be contented to find them named as Abrahamic, or even Ishmaelite, for under the latter appellation almost all the former are confounded by their descendants. Keturah[b] herself is by them mentioned very rarely and vaguely, and evidently only in quoting from a rabbinical writer. (In the *Kámoos* the name is said to be that of the Turks, and that of a young girl (or slave) of Abraham; and, it is added, her descendants are the Turks!) M. Caussin de Perceval (*Essai*, i. 179) has endeavored to identify her with the name of a tribe of the Amalekites (the 1st Amalek) called *Katoorà*,[c] but his arguments are not of any weight. They rest on a weak etymology, and are contradicted by the statements of Arab authors as well as by the fact that the early tribes of Arabia (of which is Katoorà) have not, with the single exception of Amalek, been identified with any historical names; while the exception of Amalek is that of an apparently aboriginal people whose name is recorded in the Bible; and there are reasons for supposing that these early tribes were aboriginal.

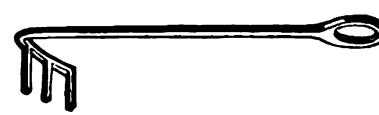
E. S. P.

[a] אִשָּׁה

[b] قَنطُورَاء. [c] قَطُورَاء.

[1] * Dr. Thomson describes the lock and key in use among the modern Syrians (*Land and Book*, i. 492 f.) The key is often "large enough for a stout club," and the lock and key together are "almost a load to carry. Many of the locks are on the *inside* of the doors. To unlock them, the owner thrusts his arm through a *hole* for that purpose, and thus inserts the key. The allusion in Cant. iv. 4, 5, may be to such a lock. H.

KEY (מַפְתֵּחַ, from פָּתַח, "to open," Ges. p. 1138: κλείς: *clavis*). The key of a native oriental lock is a piece of wood, from 7 inches to 2 feet in length, fitted with wires or short nails which, being inserted laterally into the hollow bolt which serves as a lock, raises other pins within the staple so as to allow the bolt to be drawn back. But it is not difficult to open a lock of this kind even without a key, namely, with the finger dipped in paste or other adhesive substance. The passage, Cant. v. 4, 5, is thus probably explained (Harmer *Obs.* iii. 31; vol. i. 394, ed. Clarke; Rauwolff, ap Ray, *Trav.* ii. 17). [LOCK.] The key, so obvious a symbol of authority, both in ancient and modern times, is named more than once in the Bible, especially Is. xxii. 22, a passage to which allusion is probably made in Rev. iii. 7. The expression "bearing the key on the shoulder" is thus a phrase used, sometimes perhaps in the literal sense, to denote possession of office; but there seems no reason to suppose, with Grotius, any figure of a key embroidered on the garment of the office-bearer (see Is. ix. 6).[d] In Talmudic phraseology the Almighty was represented as "holding the keys" of various operations of nature, *e. g.* rain, death, etc., *i. e.* exercising dominion over them. The delivery of the key is therefore an act expressive of authority conferred, and the possession of it implies authority of some kind held by the receiver. The term "chamberlain," an officer whose mark of office is sometimes in modern times an actual key, is explained under EUNUCH (Grotius, Calmet, Knobel, on Is. xxii. 22; Hammond; Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.*; De Wette on Matt. xvi. 19; Carpzov on Goodwin, *Moses and Aaron*, pp. 141, 632; *Dict. of Antiq.* art. "Matrimonium;" Ovid, *Fast.* i. 99, 118, 125, 139; Hofmann, *Lex.* "Camerarius;" Chambers, *Dict.* "Chamberlain;" Reland, *Ant. Hebr.* ii. 3, 5). H. W. P.



Iron Key. (From Thebes.)

KEZI'A (קְצִיעָה [*cassia*]: Κασία; Alex. Κασσια: *Cassia*), the second of the daughters of Job, born to him after his recovery (Job xlii. 14).

KE'ZIZ, THE VALLEY OF (עֵמֶק קְצִיץ: Αμεκασείς [Vat. -σεις]; Alex. Αμεκκασεις: *Vallis Casis*), one of the "cities" of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 21). That it was the eastern border of the tribe is evident from its mention in company with BETH-HOGLAH and BETH-HA-ARABAH. The name does not reappear in the O. T., but it is possibly intended under the corrupted form BETH-BASI, in 1 Macc. ix. 62, 64. The name, if Hebrew, is derivable from a root meaning to cut off (Ges. *Thes.* 1229; Simonis, *Onom.* 70). Is it possible that it can have any connection with the gen-

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ural circumcision which took place at Gilgal, certainly in the same neighborhood, after the Jordan was crossed (Josh. v. 2-9)? G.

KIB'ROTH-HATTA'AVAH (קִבְרוֹת הַתַּאֲוָה: *μνήματα τῆς ἐπιθυμίας*: *sepulchra concupiscentiæ*), Num. xi. 34; marg. "the graves of lust" (comp. xxxiii. 17). From there being no change of spot mentioned between it and Taberah in xi. 3, it is probably, like the latter, about three days' journey from Sinai (x. 33); and from the sea being twice mentioned in the course of the narrative (xi. 22, 31), a maritime proximity may perhaps be inferred. Here it seems they abode a whole month, during which they went on eating quails, and perhaps suffering from the plague which followed. If the conjecture of *Hâdherâ* (Burckhardt, p. 495; Robinson, i. 151) as a site for Hazeroth [see HAZEROTH] be adopted, then "the graves of lust" may be perhaps within a day's journey thence in the direction of Sinai, and would lie within 15 miles of the Gulf of Akabah; but no traces of any graves have ever been detected in the region.[a] Both Schubert, between Sinai and the *Wady Murrah* (*Reisen*, 360), and Stanley (*S. & P.* 82), just before reaching *Hâdherâ*, encountered flights of birds — the latter says of "red-legged cranes." Ritter[b] speaks of such flights as a constant phenomenon, both in this peninsula and in the Euphrates region. Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, 406, 8 Aug., quotes Russell's *Aleppo*, ii. 194, and says the bird *Katta* is found in great numbers in the neighborhood of *Tûfileh*. [TOPHEL.] He calls it a species of partridge, or "not improbably the *Selouâ* or quail." Boys not uncommonly kill three or four of them at one throw with a stick."

H. H.

KIBZA'IM (קִבְצַיִם) [see below]: Vat. omits; Alex. *η Καβσαειμ*: *Cibsaim*), a city of Mount Ephraim, not named in the meagre, and probably imperfect, lists of the towns of that great tribe (see Josh. xvi.), but mentioned elsewhere as having been given up with its "suburbs" to the Kohathite Levites (xxi. 22). In the parallel list of 1 Chr. vi., JOKMEAM is substituted for Kibzaim (ver. 68), an exchange which, as already pointed out under the former name, may have arisen from the similarity between the two in the original. Jokmeam would appear to have been situated at the eastern quarter of Ephraim. But this is merely inference, no trace having been hitherto discovered of either name.

Interpreted as a Hebrew word, Kibzaim signifies "two heaps." G.

* **KID.** For some of the facts pertinent here, see GOAT. It may be added that the wild goat is by no means extinct in Palestine at the present day. "In the neighborhood of En-gedi," says Tristram, (*Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, p. 96), "while encamped by the Dead Sea shore, we obtained several fine specimens, and very interesting it was to find this graceful creature by the very fountain to which it gave name, and in the spot where it roamed of old while David wandered to escape the persecutions of Saul (1 Sam. xxiv. 2)." [EN-GEDI.] Thomson also speaks of them as found in the ravines near this fountain (*Land and Book*, ii. 420).

Among the pastoral inhabitants of Palestine a kid forms the ordinary dish at a feast or entertainment. "The lambs," says Tristram, "are more generally kept till they reach maturity, for the sake of their wool, and a calf is too large and too valuable to be slain except on some very special occasion. Whenever in the wilder parts of Palestine the traveller halts at an Arab camp, or pays his visit to a village sheikh, he is pressed to stay until the kid can be killed and made ready, and he has an opportunity of seeing in front of the tent the kid caught and prepared for the cooking" (*Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, p. 90 f.). This usage explains the terms of the elder brother's complaint in the parable of the prodigal: "Thou never gavest me a kid that I might make merry with my friends, but as soon as this thy son was come thou hast killed for him the fatted calf" (Luke xv. 29, 30). Comp. also Gen. xxvii. 9; and Judg. vi. 19 and xiii. 15.

The custom of "seething a kid in its mother's milk" (which was forbidden to the Hebrews, see Ex. xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 26, and Deut. xiv. 21) is common among the Arabs of the present day. "They select," says Thomson, "a young kid, fat and tender, dress it carefully, and then stew it in milk, generally sour, mixed with onions and hot spices such as they relish. They call it *Lebn immû* — kid, 'in its mother's milk.'" The Jews however, refuse such food with abhorrence, not only as being interdicted by the Mosaic law, but unnatural and barbarous (*Land and Book*, i. 135).

H.

KID'RON, THE BROOK (נַחַל קִדְרוֹן[d]: *ὁ χειμαῤῥος Κέδρων* and *τῶν κέδρων*; in Jer. only *Νάχαλ Κέδρων*, and Alex. *χειμαρρος Ναχαλ Κ.*: *torrens Cedron*, [*convallis Cedron*]), a torrent or valley — not a "brook," as in the A. V. — in immediate proximity to Jerusalem. It is not named in the earlier records of the country, or in the specification of the boundaries of Benjamin or Judah, but comes forward in connection with some remarkable events of the history. It lay between the city and the Mount of Olives, and was crossed by David in his flight (2 Sam. xv. 23, comp. 30), and

[a] Save one of a Mohammedan saint (Stanley, *S. & P.* 78), which does not assist the question.

[b] He remarks on the continuance of the law of nature in animal habits through a course of thousands of years (xiv. 261).

[c] Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* x. 33) says quails settle on the sails of ships by night, so as to sink sometimes the ships in the neighboring sea. So Diod. Sic. i. p. 38: *Τὰς θήρας τῶν ὀρτύγων ἐνουσῶντο, ἐφίστανό τε οὖτοι ἐπ' ἐγέλας μείζους ἢ τοῦ νεὼλόγους* (Lepsius, *Thebes to Sinai*, 28). Comp. Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 1, § 5, and Freytag, *Lex. Arab.* s. v. ; also Kalisch on Ex. xvi. 3, where an incidental mention of the bird occurs. The Linnean name appears to be *Tetrao Alchata*.

[d] The name is derived by Gesenius and others from קָדַר "to be black;" either, according to Robinson, from the turbidness of its stream (comp. Job vi. 16; though the words of Job imply that this was a condition of all brooks when frozen); or more appropriately, with Stanley, from the depth and obscurity of the ravine (*S. & P.* 172); possibly also — though this is proposed with hesitation — from the impurity which seems to have attached to it from a very early date.

We cannot, however, too often insist on the great uncertainty which attends the derivations of these ancient names; and in treating Kidron as a Hebrew word, we may be making a mistake almost as absurd as that of the copyist who altered it into *τῶν κέδρων* believing that it arose from the presence of cedars.

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by our Lord on his way to Gethsemane (John xviii. 1;[a] comp. Mark xiv. 26; Luke xxii. 39). Its connection with these two occurrences is alone sufficient to leave no doubt that the Nachal-Kidron is the deep ravine on the east of Jerusalem, now commonly known as the "Valley of Jehoshaphat." But it would seem as if the name were formerly applied also to the ravines surrounding other portions of Jerusalem — the south or the west; since Solomon's prohibition to Shimei to "pass over the torrent Kidron" (1 K. ii. 37; Jos. *Ant.* viii. 1, § 5) is said to have been broken by the latter when he went in the direction of Gath to seek his fugitive slaves (41, 42). Now a person going to Gath would certainly not go by the way of the Mount of Olives, or approach the eastern side of the city at all. The route — whether Gath were at *Beit-Jibrin* or at *Tell es-Safieh* — would be by the Bethlehem-gate, and then nearly due west. Perhaps the prohibition may have been a more general one than is implied in ver. 37 (comp. the king's reiteration of it in ver. 42), the Kidron being in that case specially mentioned because it was on the road to Bahurim, Shimei's home, and the scene of his crime. At any rate, beyond the passage in question, there is no evidence of the name Kidron having been applied to the southern or western ravines of the city.

The distinguishing peculiarity of the Kidron Valley — that in respect to which it is most frequently mentioned in the O. T. — is the impurity which appears to have been ascribed to it. Excepting the two casual notices already quoted, we first meet with it as the place in which King Asa demolished and burnt the obscene phallic idol (vol. ii. p. 1118) of his mother (1 K. xv. 13; 2 Chr. xv. 16). Next we find the wicked Athaliah hurried thither to execution (Jos. *Ant.* ix. 7, § 3; 2 K. xi. 16). It then becomes the regular receptacle for the impurities and abominations of the idol-worship, when removed from the Temple and destroyed by the adherents of Jehovah[b] (2 Chr. xxix. 16, xxx. 14; 2 K. xxiii. 4, 6, 12). In the course of these narratives, the statement of Josephus just quoted as to the death of Athaliah is supported by the fact that in the time of Josiah it was the common cemetery of the city (2 K. xxiii. 6; comp. Jer. xxvi. 23, "graves of the common people"), perhaps the "valley of dead bodies" mentioned by Jeremiah (xxxi. 40) in close connection with the "fields" of Kidron; and the restoration of which to sanctity was to be one of the miracles of future times (*ibid.*).

How long the valley continued to be used for a burying-place it is very hard to ascertain. After the capture of Jerusalem in 1099, the bodies of the slain were buried outside the Golden Gateway (Mislin, ii. 487; Tobler, *Umgebungen*, p. 218); but what had been the practice in the interval the writer has not succeeded in tracing. To the date of the monuments at the foot of Olivet we have at present no clew; but even if they are of pre-Christian times there is no proof that they are tombs. From the date just mentioned, however, the burials appear to have been constant, and at present it is the favorite resting-place of Moslems and Jews, the former on the west, the latter on the east of the valley. The Moslems are mostly confined to the narrow level spot between the foot of the wall and the commencement of the precipitous slope; while the Jews have possession of the lower part of the slopes of Olivet, where their scanty tombstones are crowded so thick together as literally to cover the surface like a pavement.

The term *Nachal*[c] is in the O. T., with one single exception (2 K. xxiii. 4), attached to the name of Kidron, and apparently to that alone of the valleys or ravines of Jerusalem. Hinnom is always the *Ge*. This enables us to infer with great probability that the Kidron is intended in 2 Chr. xxxii. 4, by the "*brook* (Nachal) which ran through the midst of the land"; and that Hezekiah's preparations for the siege consisted in sealing the source of the Kidron — "the upper springhead (not 'watercourse,' as A. V.) of Gihon," where it burst out in the wady some distance north of the city, and leading it by a subterranean channel to the interior of the city. If this is so, there is no difficulty in accounting for the fact of the subsequent want of water in the ancient bed of the Kidron. In accordance with this also is the specification of Gihon as "Gihon-in-the-Nachal" — that is, in the Kidron Valley — though this was probably the lower of two outlets of the same name. [GIHON.] By Jerome, in the *Onomasticon*, it is mentioned as "close to Jerusalem on the eastern side, and spoken of by John the Evangelist." But the favorite name of this valley at the time of Jerome, and for several centuries after, was "the Valley of Jehoshaphat," and the name Kidron, or, in accordance with the orthography of the Vulgate, Cedron, is not invariably found in the travellers (see Arculf, *Earl. Trav.* 1; Sæwulf, 41; Benjamin of Tudela; Maundeville, *Earl. Trav.* 176; Thietmar, 27; but not the Bordeaux Pilgrim, the Citez de Jherusalem, Willibald, etc.).

The following description of the Valley of Kidron in its modern state — at once the earliest and the most accurate which we possess — is taken from Dr. Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* i. 269): —

"In approaching Jerusalem from the high mosk of *Neby Samwil* in the N. W., the traveller first descends and crosses the bed of the great *Wady Beit Hanina* already described. He then ascends again towards the S. E. by a small side wady and along a rocky slope for twenty-five minutes, when he reaches the Tombs of the Judges, lying in a small gap or depression of the ridge, still half an hour distant from the northern gate of the city. A few steps further he reaches the water-shed between the great wady behind him and the tract before him; and here is the head of the Valley of Jehoshaphat. From this point the dome of the Holy Sepulchre bears S. by E. The tract around this spot is very rocky; and the rocks have been much cut away, partly in quarrying building-stone.

[a] Here, and here only, the form used in the A. V. is CEDRON. The variations in the Greek text are very curious. Codex A has τοῦ κέδρων; B, τῶν κέδρων; D [and Sin.], τοῦ κέδρου, and in some cursive MSS. [one MS.] quoted by Tischendorf we even find τῶν δένδρων.

[b] The Targum appears to understand the obscure passage Zeph. i. 11, as referring to the destruction of the idolatrous worship in Kidron, for it renders it, "How! all ye that dwell in the Nachal Kidron, for all the people are broken whose works were like the works of the people of the land of Canaan." [MAURER.]

[c] *Nachal* is untranslatable in English unless by "Wady," to which it answers exactly, and which bids fair to become shortly an English word. It does not signify the stream, or the valley which contained the bed of the stream, and was its receptacle when swollen by winter-rains — but both. [ERVIN.]

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and partly in the formation of sepulchres. The region is full of excavated tombs; and these continue with more or less frequency on both sides of the valley, all the way down to Jerusalem. The valley runs for 15 minutes directly towards the city; [a] it is here shallow and broad, and in some parts tilled, though very stony. The road follows along its bottom to the same point. The valley now turns nearly east, almost at a right angle, and passes to the northward of the Tombs of the Kings and the *Muslim Wely* before mentioned. Here it is about 200 rods distant from the city; and the tract between is tolerably level ground, planted with olive-trees. The *Nâbulus* road crosses it in this part, and ascends the hill on the north. The valley is here still shallow, and runs in the same direction for about 10 minutes. It then bends again to the south, and, following this general course, passes between the city and the Mount of Olives.

"Before reaching the city, and also opposite its northern part, the valley spreads out into a basin of some breadth, which is tilled, and contains plantations of olive and other fruit-trees. In this part it is crossed obliquely by a road leading from the N. E. corner of Jerusalem across the northern part of the Mount of Olives to *'Anâta*. Its sides are still full of excavated tombs. As the valley descends, the steep side upon the right becomes more and more elevated above it; until, at the gate of St. Stephen, the height of this brow is about 100 feet. Here a path winds down from the gate on a course S. E. by E., and crosses the valley by a bridge; beyond which are the church with the Tomb of the Virgin, Gethsemane, and other plantations of olive-trees, already described. The path and bridge are on a causeway, or rather terrace, built up across the valley, perpendicular on the south side; the earth being filled in on the northern side up to the level of the bridge. The bridge itself consists of an arch, open on the south side, and 17 feet high from the bed of the channel below; but the north side is built up, with two subterranean drains entering it from above; one of which comes from the sunken court of the Virgin's Tomb, and the other from the fields farther in the northwest. The breadth of the valley at this point will appear from the measurements which I took from St. Stephen's Gate to Gethsemane, along the path, namely —

	Eng. feet.
1. From St. Stephen's Gate to the brow of the descent, level	185
2. Bottom of the slope, the angle of the descent being 16½°	415
3. Bridge, level	140
4. N. W. corner of Gethsemane, slight rise	145
5. N. E. corner of do. do. .	150

The last three numbers give the breadth of the proper bottom of the valley at this spot, namely, 435 feet, or 145 yards. Further north it is somewhat broader.

"Below the bridge the valley contracts gradually, and sinks more rapidly. The first continuous traces of a water-course or torrent-bed commence at the bridge, though they occur likewise at intervals higher up. The western hill becomes steeper and more elevated; while on the east the Mount of Olives rises much higher, but is not so steep. At the distance of 1000 feet from the bridge on a course S. 10° W. the bottom of the valley has become merely a deep gully, the narrow bed of a torrent, from which the hills rise directly on each side. Here another bridge [b] is thrown across it on an arch; and just by on the left are the alleged tombs of Jehoshaphat, Absalom, and others; as also the Jewish cemetery. The valley now continues of the same character, and follows the same course (S. 10° W.) for 550 feet further; where it makes a sharp turn for a moment towards the right. This portion is the narrowest of all; it is here a mere ravine between high mountains. The S. E. corner of the area of the mosque overhangs this part, the corner of the wall standing upon the very brink of the declivity. From it to the bottom, on a course S. E. the angle of depression is 27°, and the distance 450 feet, giving an elevation of 128 feet at that point; to which may be added 20 feet or more for the rise of ground just north along the wall; making in all an elevation of about 150 feet. This, however, is the highest point above the valley; for further south the narrow ridge of Ophel slopes down as rapidly as the valley itself. In this part of the valley one would expect to find, if anywhere, traces of ruins thrown down from above, and the ground raised by the rubbish thus accumulated. Occasional blocks of stone are indeed seen; but neither the surface of the ground, nor the bed of the torrent, exhibits any special appearance of having been raised or interrupted by masses of ruins.

"Below the short turn above mentioned, a line of 1025 feet on a course S. W. brings us to the Fountain of the Virgin, lying deep under the western hill. The valley has now opened a little; but its bottom is still occupied only by the bed of the torrent. From here a course S. 20° W. carried us along the village of Siloam (*Kefr Selwân*) on the eastern side, and at 1170 feet we were opposite the mouth of the Tyropœon and the Pool of Siloam, which lies 255 feet within it. The mouth of this valley is still 40 or 50 feet higher than the bed of the Kidron. The steep descent between the two has been already described as built up in terraces, which, as well as the strip of level ground below, are occupied with gardens belonging to the village of Siloam. These are irrigated by the waters of the Pool of Siloam, which at this time were lost in them. In these gardens the stones have been removed, and the soil is a fine mould. They are planted with fig and other fruit-trees, and furnish also vegetables for the city. Elsewhere the bottom of the valley is thickly strewed with small stones.

"Further down, the valley opens more and is tilled. A line of 685 feet on the same course (S. 20° W.) brought us to a rocky point of the eastern hill, here called the Mount of Offense, over against the entrance of the Valley of Hinnom. Thence to the well of Job or Nehemiah is 275 feet due south. At the junction of the two valleys the bottom forms an oblong plat, extending from the gardens above mentioned nearly to the well of Job, and being 150 yards or more in breadth. The western and northwestern parts of this plat are in like manner occupied by gardens; many of which are also on terraces and receive a portion of the waters of Siloam.

"Below the well of Nehemiah the Valley of Jehoshaphat continues to run S. S. W. between the Mount of Offense and the Hill of Evil Counsel.

[a] See a slight correction of this by Tobler, *Dreizehn*, p. 28.

[b] For a minute account of the two bridges, see Tobler, *Dreizehn*, pp. 25–29.

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so called. At 130 feet is a small cavity or outlet by which the water of the well sometimes runs off. At about 1200 feet, or 400 yards, from the well is a place under the western hill, where in the rainy season water flows out as from a fountain. At about 1500 feet or 500 yards below the well the valley bends off S. 75° E. for half a mile or more, and then turns again more to the south, and pursues its way to the Dead Sea. At the angle where it thus bends eastward a small wady comes in from the west, from behind the Hill of Evil Counsel. The width of the main valley below the well, as far as to the turn, varies from 50 to 100 yards; it is full of olive and fig-trees, and is in most parts ploughed and sown with grain. Further down it takes the name among the Arabs of *Wady er-Rāhib*, 'Monks' Valley,' from the convent of St. Saba situated on it; and still nearer to the Dead Sea it is also called *Wady en-Nâr*, 'Fire Valley.'[a]

"The channel of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the Brook Kidron of the Scriptures, is nothing more than the dry bed of a wintry torrent, bearing marks of being occasionally swept over by a large volume of water. No stream flows here now except during the heavy rains of winter, when the waters descend into it from the neighboring hills. Yet even in winter there is no constant flow: and our friends, who had resided several years in the city, had never seen a stream running through the valley. Nor is there any evidence that there was anciently more water in it than at present. Like the wadies of the desert, the valley probably served of old, as now, only to drain off the waters of the rainy season."

One point is unnoticed in Dr. Robinson's description, sufficiently curious and well-attested to merit further careful investigation — the possibility that the Kidron flows below the present surface of the ground. Dr. Barclay (*City*, etc. 302) mentions "a fountain that bursts forth during the winter in a valley entering the Kidron from the north, and flows several hundred yards before it sinks;" and again he testifies that at a point in the valley about two miles below the city the murmurings of a stream deep below the ground may be distinctly heard, which stream, on excavation, he actually discovered (*ibid.*). His inference is that between the two points the brook is flowing in a subterraneous channel, as is "not at all unfrequent in Palestine" (p. 303). Nor is this a modern discovery, for it is spoken of by William of Tyre; by Brocardus (*Descr.* cap. viii.), as audible near the "Tomb of the Virgin;" and also by Fabri (i. 370), Marinus Sanutus (3, 14, 9), and others.

That which Dr. Robinson complains that neither he nor his friends were fortunate enough to witness has since taken place. In the winter of 1853–54 so heavy were the rains, that not only did the lower part of the Kidron, below the so-called well of Nehemiah or Joab, run with a considerable stream for the whole of the month of March (Barclay, 515), but also the upper part, "in the middle section of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, flowed for a day or two" (Stewart, *Tent & Khan*, 316). The Well of Joab is probably one of the outlets of the mysterious spring which flows below the city of Jerusalem, and its overflow is comparatively common;[b] but the flowing of a stream in the upper part of the valley would seem not to have taken place for many years before the occasion in question, although it occurred also in the following winter (*Jewish Intelligencer* May 1856, p. 137 *note*), and, as the writer is informed, has since become almost periodical. G.

* The language of Dr. Barclay (see above) hardly implies so much as the actual discovery of the subterranean stream spoken of. His words are that "about two miles southeast of the city" where a noise as of running water beneath the ground was said to have been heard, "on removing the rocks to the depth of about ten or twelve feet, water was found, though in small quantity, in midsummer" (*City of the Great King*, pp. 302, 303).

Lieut. Warren avows his belief in the existence of this subterranean current. At the latest dates, he was directing his attention to this point, but had not solved the question. About 500 yards below the *Bir Eyub* [EN-ROGEL] he discovered a flight of steps leading down to an ancient aqueduct, now choked with silt, which he cleared about 100 feet northward, and believes to have been connected with that well and the ancient system of water supply. Whatever may be the truth however in this instance, it appears that some of the rumors of this nature are traceable to a very different origin. Capt. Wilson, of the Royal Engineers, relates an example of this which is worthy of notice. "A few words" (*Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, p. 87, Lond. 1865) "may be said here on the sound of running water which has been heard by travellers near the Damascus Gate, and at the head of the Kidron Valley. On one occasion, when returning to the city after a heavy storm of rain, the same sound was noticed, and after some little trouble found to arise from the running of water into a cistern near the north road. The surface drainage passing through small earthenware pipes, and falling some distance onto the water below, made a splashing sound, which, softened by the vaulted roof, might easily be mistaken for running water. The same thing was noticed afterwards on several occasions, especially at the two cisterns near the Damascus Gate."

It is undoubtedly a correct opinion that the Kidron was never more than a winter torrent formed by the water which flowed into the valley from the hills north and east of Jerusalem. It is not however a just inference from this character of the stream that the amount of water there must always have been the same, nor is this consistent with the testimony of competent observers. Mr. Tristram (*Land of Israel*, p. 256, 2d ed.), speaking of a bluff about two miles south of *Ain Feshkhah*, on the west shore of the Dead Sea, says: "Just beyond it, the Kedron in the days of its abundance has worked out a tremendous chasm, a few feet wide, through which it winds to the sea." The present stream could not have done this. But the evidence is more positive, that formerly rain was more abundant in Palestine than at present, and hence that the Kidron was a larger stream. Dr. Olin

[a] A list of some of the plants found in this valley is given by Mislin (iii. 209); and some scraps of information about the valley itself at p. 199.

[b] "During the latter rains of February and March the well *'Ain Ayub* is a subject of much speculation and interest to all dwellers in the city. If it overflows and discharges its waters down the *Wady en-Nar*, the lower part of the Kidron, then they are certain that they will have abundance of water during the summer; if there is no overflow, their minds are filled with forebodings." (Stewart, 316.)

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says: "The entire destruction of the woods which once covered the mountains, and the utter neglect of the terraces which supported the soil on steep declivities, have given full range to the rains, which have left many traces of bare rock, where formerly were vineyards and cornfields." With this agrees also Dean Stanley's representation: "It is probable that, as in Europe generally, since the disappearance of the German forests, and in Greece, since the fall of the plane-trees, which once shaded the bare landscape of Attica, the gradual cessation of rain produced by this loss of vegetation has exposed the country in a greater degree than in early times to the evils of drought. This at least is the effect of the testimony of residents at Jerusalem within whose experience the Kidron has recently for the first time flowed with a copious torrent, evidently in consequence of the numerous enclosures of mulberry and olive groves, made within the last few years by the Greek Convent, and in themselves a sample of the different aspect which such cultivation more widely extended would give to the whole country." (*S. & P.* pp. 121 and 123.) H.

KI'NAH (קִינָה [*lamentation, dirge*]: Ἰκεδμ; Alex. Κινα: *Cina*), a city of Judah, one of those which lay on the extreme south boundary of the tribe, next to Edom (Josh. xv. 22). It is mentioned in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius and Jerome, but not so as to imply that they had any actual knowledge of it. With the sole exception of Schwarz (99), it appears to be unmentioned by any traveller, and the "town Cinah situated near the wilderness of Zin" with which he would identify it, is not to be found in his own or any other map.

Professor Stanley (*S. & P.* p. 160) very ingeniously connects Kinah with the Kenites (הַקֵּינִי), who settled in this district (Judg. i. 16). But it should not be overlooked that the list in Josh. xv. purports to record the towns as they were at the conquest, while the settlement of the Kenites probably (though not certainly) did not take place till after it. G.

KINDRED.[a] I. Of the special names denoting relation by consanguinity, the principal will be found explained under their proper heads, FATHER, BROTHER, etc. It will be there seen that the words which denote near relation in the direct line are used also for the other superior or inferior degrees in that line, as grandfather, grandson, etc.

On the meaning of the expression *Sh'ér basar* (see below 1 and 2) much controversy has arisen. *Sh'ér*, as shown below, is in Lev. xviii. 6, in marg. of A. V., "remainder." The rendering, however, of *Sh'ér basar* in text of A. V., "near of kin," may be taken as correct, but, as Michaelis shows, without determining the precise extent to which the expression itself is applicable (Mich. *Laws of Moses*, ii. 48, ed. Smith; Knobel on *Leviticus*; see also Lev. xxv. 49; Num. xxvii. 11).

II. The words which express collateral consanguinity are—(1) uncle;[b] (2) aunt;[c] (3) nephew;[d] (4) niece (not in A. V.); (5) cousin.[e]

III. The terms of affinity are—1. (*a*) father-in-law,[f] (*b*) mother-in-law; [g] 2. (*a*) son-in-law,[h] (*b*) daughter-in-law; [i] 3. (*a*) brother-in-law,[k] (*b*) sister-in-law.[l]

The relations of kindred, expressed by few words, and imperfectly defined in the earliest ages, acquired in course of time greater significance and wider influence. The full list of relatives either by consanguinity, *i. e.* as arising from a common ancestor, or by affinity, *i. e.* as created by marriage, may be seen detailed in the *Corpus Juris Civ. Digest.* lib. xxxviii. tit. 10, *de Gradibus*; see also *Corp. Jur. Canon. Decr.* ii. c. xxxv. 9, 5.

The domestic and economical questions arising out of kindred may be classed under the three heads of MARRIAGE, INHERITANCE, and BLOOD-REVENGE, and the reader is referred to the articles on those subjects for information thereon. It is clear that the tendency of the Mosaic Law was to increase the restrictions on marriage, by defining more precisely the relations created by it, as is shown by the cases of Abraham and Moses. [ISCAH;

[a] 1. (*a.*) שְׁאֵר, "flesh;" οἰκεῖος; *caro*. (*b.*) שְׁאֵרֶת, "kinswoman," also "kindred," οἰκεία, *caro*, from שָׁאַר, "to swell," also "to remain," *i. e.* "be superfluous." Whence comes שְׁאָר, "remainder," Ges. 1349-50. Hence, in Lev. xviii. 6, A. V. has in margin "remainder."

2. בָּשָׂר, "flesh," σάρξ, *caro*, from בָּשַׂר, "be joyful," *i. e.* conveying the notion of beauty, Ges. p. 248.

3. מִשְׁפָּחָה, "family," φυλή, *familia*, applied both to races and single families of mankind, and also to animals.

4. (*a.*) מוֹדָע, מֹדַע, and in Keri מוֹדָע, from יָדַע, "see," "know." (*b.*) Also, from same root, מוֹדַעַת, "kindred;" and hence "kinsman," or "kinswoman," used, like "acquaintance," in both senses, Ges. p. 574. But Buxtorf limits (*b*) to the abstract sense, (*a*) to the concrete, γνωριμος, *provinciens*.

5. אַחֲוָה, "brotherhood," διαθήκη, *germanitas*, Ges. p. 63.

Nearly allied with the foregoing in sense are the following general terms:—

6. קָרוֹב, "near," hence "a relative," ὁ ἐγγύς, *propinquus*, Ges. p. 1234.

7. גֹּאֵל, from גָּאַל, "redeem," Ges. p. 253, ὁ ἐγχιστεύων, "a kinsman," *i. e.* the relative to whom belonged the right of redemption or of vengeance

[b] הוֹד, ἀδελφὸς τοῦ πατρός, οἰκεῖος; *patruus*.

[c] דּוֹדָה, or דֹּדָה, ἡ συγγενής, *uxor patrui*.

[d] בֵּן, in connection with נֶכֶד, "offspring;" but see JOCHEBED. It is rendered "nephew" in A. V., but indicates a descendant in general, and is usually so rendered by LXX. and Vulg. See Ges. p. 864.

[e] Συγγενής, *cognatus*, Luke i. 36, 58.

[f] חָם πενθερός, *socer*

[g] חָמוֹת, πενθερά, *socrus*.

[h] חָתָן, γαμβρός, *socer*, from חָתַן, "give in marriage," whence come part. in Kal. חֹתֵן, m., and חֹתֶנֶת, f., father-in-law and mother-in-law, *i. e.* parents who give a daughter in marriage.

[i] כַּלָּה, νύμφη, *nurus*.

[k] יָבָם, ἀδελφὸς τοῦ ἀνδρός, *levir*.

[l] יְבָמֶת, γυνὴ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, *uxor fratris*.

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JOCHEBED.] For information on the general subject of kindred and its obligations, see Selden, *de Jure Naturali*, lib. v.; Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, ed. Smith, ii. 36; Knobel on Lev. xviii., Philo, *de Spec. Leg.* iii. 3, 4, 5, vol. ii. pp. 301–304, ed. Mangey; Burckhardt, *Arab Tribes*, i. 150; Keil, *Bibl. Arch.* ii. p. 50, §§ 106, 107. [KINRED.]

H. W. P.

KINE. [Cow.]

KING (מֶלֶךְ, *melek*: βασιλεύς: *rex*), the name of the supreme ruler of the Hebrews during a period of about 500[a] years previous to the destruction of Jerusalem, B. C. 586. It was borne first by the ruler of the 12 Tribes united, and then by the rulers of Judah and Israel separately.

The immediate occasion of the substitution of a regal form of government for that of the judges seems to have been the siege of Jabesh-Gilead by Nahash, king of the Ammonites (1 Sam. xi. 1, xii. 12), and the refusal to allow the inhabitants of that city to capitulate, except on humiliating and cruel conditions (1 Sam. xi. 2, 4–6). The conviction seems to have forced itself on the Israelites that they could not resist their formidable neighbor unless they placed themselves under the sway of a king, like surrounding nations. Concurrently with this conviction, disgust had been excited by the corrupt administration of justice under the sons of Samuel, and a radical change was desired by them in this respect also (1 Sam. viii. 3–5). Accordingly the original idea of a Hebrew king was twofold: first, that he should lead the people to battle in time of war; and, secondly, that he should execute judgment and justice to them in war and in peace (1 Sam. viii. 20). In both respects the desired end was attained. The righteous wrath and military capacity of Saul were immediately triumphant over the Ammonites; and though ultimately he was defeated and slain in battle with the Philistines, he put even them to flight on more than one occasion (1 Sam. xiv. 23, xvii. 52), and generally waged successful war against the surrounding nations (1 Sam. xiv. 47). His successor, David, entered on a series of brilliant conquests over the Philistines, Moabites, Syrians, Edomites, and Ammonites [see DAVID, vol. i. p. 561]; and the Israelites, no longer confined within the narrow bounds of Palestine, had an empire extending from the river Euphrates to Gaza, and from the entering in of Hamath to the river of Egypt (1 K. iv. 21). In the mean while complaints cease of the corruption of justice; and Solomon not only consolidated and maintained in peace the empire of his father, David, but left an enduring reputation for his wisdom as a judge. Under this expression, however, we must regard him, not merely as pronouncing decisions, primarily, or in the last resort, in civil and criminal cases, but likewise as holding public levees and transacting public business "at the gate," when he would receive petitions, hear complaints, and give summary decisions on various points, which in a modern European kingdom would come under the cognizance of numerous distinct public departments.

To form a correct idea of a Hebrew king, we must abstract ourselves from the notions of modern Europe, and realize the position of oriental sovereigns. It would be a mistake to regard the Hebrew government as a limited monarchy, in the English sense of the expression. It is stated in 1 Sam. x. 25, that Samuel "told the people the manner[b] of the kingdom, and wrote it in the book and laid it before the Lord," and it is barely possible that this may refer to some statement respecting the boundaries of the kingly power. But no such document has come down to us; and if it ever existed, and contained restrictions of any moment on the kingly power, it was probably disregarded in practice. The following passage of Sir John Malcolm respecting the Shahs of Persia may, with some slight modifications, be regarded as fairly applicable to the Hebrew monarchy under David and Solomon: "The monarch of Persia has been pronounced to be one of the most absolute in the world. His word has ever been deemed a law: and he has probably never had any further restraint upon the free exercise of his vast authority than has arisen from *his regard for religion*, his respect for established usages, his desire of reputation, and his fear of exciting an opposition that might be dangerous to his power, or to his life" (Malcolm's *Persia*, vol. ii. 303; compare Elphinstone's *India, or the Indian Mahometan Empire*, book viii. c. 3). It must not, however, be supposed to have been either the understanding, or the practice, that the sovereign might seize at his discretion the private property of individuals. Ahab did not venture to seize the vineyard of Naboth till, through the testimony of false witnesses, Naboth had been convicted of blasphemy; and possibly his vineyard may have been seized as a confiscation, without flagrantly outraging public sentiment in those who did not know the truth (1 K. xxi. 6). But no monarchy perhaps ever existed in which it would not be regarded as an outrage, that the monarch should from covetousness seize the private property of an innocent subject in no ways dangerous to the state. And generally, when Sir John Malcolm proceeds as follows, in reference to "one of the most absolute" monarchs in the world, it will be understood that the Hebrew king, whose power might be described in the same way, is not, on account of certain restraints which exist in the nature of things, to be regarded as "a limited monarch" in the European use of the words. "We may assume that the power of the king of Persia is by usage absolute over the property and lives of his conquered enemies, *his rebellious subjects, his own family, his ministers, over public officers civil and military, and all the numerous train of domestics; and that*

[a] The precise period depends on the length of the reign of Saul, for estimating which there are no certain data. In the O. T. the exact length is nowhere mentioned. In Acts xiii. 21 forty years are specified; but this is in a speech, and statistical accuracy may have been foreign to the speaker's ideas on that occasion. And there are difficulties in admitting that he reigned so long as forty years. See Winer *sub voc.*, and the article SAUL in this Dictionary. It is only in the reign of David that mention is first made of the "recorder" or "chronicler" of the king (2 Sam. viii. 16). Perhaps the contemporary notation of dates may have commenced in David's reign.

[b] The word מִשְׁפָּט, translated "manner" in the A. V., is translated in the LXX. δικαίωμα, *i. e.* statute or ordinance (see Ecclus. iv. 17, Bar. ii. 13, iv. 13). But Josephus seems to have regarded the document as a prophetical statement, read before the king, of the calamities which were to arise from the kingly power as a kind of protest recorded for succeeding ages (*see Ant.* vi. 4, § 6).

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he may punish any person of these classes, without examination or formal procedure of any kind: in all other cases that are capital, the forms prescribed by law and custom are observed; the monarch only commands, when the evidence has been examined and the law declared, that the sentence shall be put in execution, or that the condemned culprit shall be pardoned" (vol. ii. p. 306). In accordance with such usages, David ordered Uriah to be treacherously exposed to death in the forefront of the hottest battle (2 Sam. xi. 15); he caused Rechab and Baanah to be slain instantly, when they brought him the head of Ishbosheth (2 Sam. iv. 12); and he is represented as having on his death-bed recommended Solomon to put Joab and Shimei to death (1 K. ii. 5–9). In like manner, Solomon caused to be killed, without trial, not only his elder brother Adonijah, and Joab, whose execution might be regarded as the exceptional acts of a dismal state policy in the beginning of his reign, but likewise Shimei, after having been seated on the throne three years. And King Saul, in resentment at their connivance with David's escape, put to death 85 priests, and caused a massacre of the inhabitants of Nob, including women, children, and sucklings (1 Sam. xxii. 18, 19).

Besides being commander-in-chief of the army, supreme judge, and absolute master, as it were, of the lives of his subjects, the king exercised the power of imposing taxes on them, and of exacting from them personal service and labor. Both these points seem clear from the account given (1 Sam. viii. 11–17) of the evils which would arise from the kingly power; and are confirmed in various ways. Whatever mention may be made of consulting "old men," or "elders of Israel," we never read of their deciding such points as these. When Pul, the king of Assyria, imposed a tribute on the kingdom of Israel, "Menahem, the king," exacted the money of all the mighty men of wealth, of each man 50 shekels of silver (2 K. xv. 19). And when Jehoiakim, king of Judah, gave his tribute of silver and gold to Pharaoh, *he* taxed the land to give the money; he exacted the silver and gold of the people of every one according to his taxation (2 K. xxiii. 35). And the degree to which the exaction of personal labor might be carried on a special occasion is illustrated by King Solomon's requirements for building the Temple. He raised a levy of 30,000 men, and sent them to Lebanon by courses of ten thousand a month; and he had 70,000 that bare burdens, and 80,000 hewers in the mountains (1 K. v. 13–15). Judged by the oriental standard, there is nothing improbable in these numbers. In our own days, for the purpose of constructing the Mahmodeyeh Canal in Egypt, Mehemet Ali, by orders given to the various sheikhs of the provinces of Sakarah, Ghizeh, Mensourah, Sharkieh, Menouf, Bahyreh, and some others, caused 300,000 men, women, and children, to be assembled along the site of the intended canal.[a] This was 120,000 more than the levy of Solomon.

In addition to these earthly powers, the King of Israel had a more awful claim to respect and obedience. He was the vicegerent of Jehovah (1 Sam. x. 1, xvi. 13), and as it were His son, if just and holy (2 Sam. vii. 14; Ps. lxxxix. 26, 27, ii. 6, 7). He had been set apart as a consecrated ruler. Upon his head had been poured the holy anointing oil, composed of olive-oil, myrrh, cinnamon, sweet calamus, and cassia, which had hitherto been reserved exclusively for the priests of Jehovah, especially the high-priest, or had been solely used to anoint the Tabernacle of the Congregation, the Ark of the Testimony, and the vessels of the Tabernacle (Ex. xxx. 23–33, xl. 9; Lev. xxi. 10; 1 K. i. 39). He had become, in fact, emphatically "the Lord's Anointed." At the coronation of sovereigns in modern Europe, holy oil has been frequently used, as a symbol of divine right; but this has been mainly regarded as a mere form; and the use of it was undoubtedly introduced in imitation of the Hebrew custom. But, from the beginning to the end of the Hebrew monarchy, a living real significance was attached to consecration by this holy anointing oil. From well-known anecdotes related of David, — and perhaps, from words in his lamentation over Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i. 21) — it results that a certain sacredness invested the person of Saul, the *first* king, as the Lord's anointed; and that, on this account, it was deemed sacrilegious to kill him, even at his own request (1 Sam. xxiv. 6, 10, xxvi. 9, 16; 2 Sam. i. 14). And, after the destruction of the first Temple, in the Book of Lamentations over the calamities of the Hebrew people, it is by the name of "the Lord's Anointed" that Zedekiah, the *last* king of Judah, is bewailed (Lam. iv. 20). Again, more than 600 years after the capture of Zedekiah, the name of the Anointed, though never so used in the Old Testament — yet suggested probably by Ps. ii. 2, Dan. ix. 26 — had become appropriated to the expected king, who was to restore the kingdom of David, and inaugurate a period when Edom, Moab, the Ammonites, and the Philistines, would again be incorporated with the Hebrew monarchy, which would extend from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean Sea and to the ends of the earth (Acts i. 6; John i. 41, iv. 25; Is. xi. 12–14; Ps. lxxii. 8). And thus the identical Hebrew word which signifies anointed,[b] through its Aramaic form adopted into Greek and Latin, is still preserved to us in the English word *Messiah*. (See Gesenius's *Thesaurus*, p. 825.)

A ruler in whom so much authority, human and divine, was embodied, was naturally distinguished by outward honors and luxuries. He had a court of oriental magnificence. When the power of the kingdom was at its height, he sat on a throne of ivory, covered with pure gold, at the feet of which were two figures of lions. The throne was ap-

[a] See *The Englishwoman in Egypt*, by Mrs. Poole, vol. ii. p. 219. Owing to insufficient provisions, bad treatment, and neglect of proper arrangements, 30,000 of this number perished in seven months (p. 220). In compulsory levies of labor, it is probably difficult to prevent gross instances of oppression. At the rebellion of the ten tribes, Adoniram, called also Adoram, who was over the levy of 30,000 men for Lebanon, was stoned to death (1 K. xii. 18; 1 K. v. 14; 2 Sam. xx. 24).

[b] It is supposed both by Jahn (*Archæol. Bib.* § 222) and Bauer (in his *Heb. Alterthümer*, § 20), that a king was only anointed when a new family came to the throne, or when the right to the crown was disputed. It is usually on such occasions only that the anointing is specified; as in 1 Sam. x. 1, 2 Sam. ii. 4, 1 K. i. 39, 2 K. ix. 3, 2 K. xi. 12: but this is not *invariably* the case (see 2 K. xxiii. 30), and there does not seem sufficient reason to doubt that each individual king was anointed. There can be little doubt, likewise, that the kings of Israel were anointed, though this is not specified by the writers of Kings and Chronicles, who would deem such anointing invalid.

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preached by 6 steps, guarded by 12 figures of lions, two on each step. The king was dressed in royal robes (1 K. xxii. 10; 2 Chr. xviii. 9); his insignia were, a crown or diadem of pure gold, or perhaps radiant with precious gems (2 Sam. i. 10, xii. 30; 2 K. xi. 12; Ps. xxi. 3), and a royal sceptre (Ez. xix. 11; Is. xiv. 5; Ps. xlv. 6; Am. i. 5, 8). Those who approached him did him obeisance, bowing down and touching the ground with their foreheads (1 Sam. xxiv. 8; 2 Sam. xix. 18); and this was done even by a king's wife, the mother of Solomon (1 K. i. 16). Their officers and subjects called themselves his servants or slaves, though they do not seem habitually to have given way to such extravagant salutations as in the Chaldæan and Persian courts (1 Sam. xvii. 32, 34, 36, xx. 8; 2 Sam. vi. 20; Dan. ii. 4). As in the East at present, a kiss was a sign of respect and homage (1 Sam. x. 1, perhaps Ps. ii. 12). He lived in a splendid palace, with porches and columns (1 K. vii. 2–7). All his drinking-vessels were of gold (1 K. x. 21). He had a large harem, which in the time of Solomon must have been the source of enormous expense, if we accept as statistically accurate the round number of 700 wives and 300 concubines, in all 1000, attributed to him in the Book of Kings (1 K. xi. 3). As is invariably the case in the great eastern monarchies at present, his harem was guarded by eunuchs; translated "officers" in the A. V. for the most part (1 Sam. viii. 15; 2 K. xxiv. 12, 15; 1 K. xxii. 9; 2 K. viii. 6, ix. 32, 33, xx. 18, xxiii. 11; Jer. xxxviii. 7).

The main practical restraints on the kings seem to have arisen from the prophets and the prophetical order, though in this respect, as in many others, a distinction must be made between different periods and different reigns. Indeed, under all circumstances, much would depend on the individual character of the king or the prophet. No transaction of importance, however, was entered on without consulting the will of Jehovah, either by Urim and Thummim or by the prophets; and it was the general persuasion that the prophet was in an especial sense the servant and messenger of Jehovah, to whom Jehovah had declared his will (Is. xliv. 26; Am. iii. 7; 1 Sam. xxviii. 6, ix. 6; see PROPHETS). The prophets not only rebuked the king with boldness for individual acts of wickedness, as after the murders of Uriah and of Naboth; but also, by interposing their denunciations or exhortations at critical periods of history, they swayed permanently the destinies of the state. When, after the revolt of the ten tribes, Rehoboam had under him at Jerusalem an army stated to consist of 180,000 men, Shemaiah, as interpreter of the divine will, caused the army to separate without attempting to put down the rebellion (1 K. xii. 21–24). When Judah and Jerusalem were in imminent peril from the invasion of Sennacherib, the prophetical utterance of Isaiah encouraged Hezekiah to a successful resistance (Is. xxxvii. 22–36). On the other hand, at the invasion of Judæa by the Chaldees, Jeremiah prophetically announced impending woe and calamities in a strain which tended to paralyze patriotic resistance to the power of Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. xxxviii. 4, 2). And Jeremiah evidently produced an impression on the king's mind contrary to the counsels of the princes, or what might be called the war-party in Jerusalem (Jer. xxxviii. 14–27).

The law of succession to the throne is somewhat obscure, but it seems most probable that the king during his lifetime named his successor. This was certainly the case with David. who passed over his elder son Adonijah, the son of Haggith, in favor of Solomon, the son of Bath-sheba (1 K. i. 30, ii 22); and with Rehoboam, of whom it is said that he loved Maachah the daughter of Absalom above all his wives and concubines, and that he made Abijah her son to be ruler among his brethren, to make him king (2 Chr. xi. 21, 22). The succession of the first-born has been inferred from a passage in 2 Chr. xxi. 3, 4, in which Jehoshaphat is said to have given the kingdom to Jehoram "because he was the first-born." But this very passage tends to show that Jehoshaphat had the power of naming his successor; and it is worthy of note that Jehoram, on his coming to the throne, put to death all his brothers, which he would scarcely, perhaps have done if the succession of the first-born had been the law of the land. From the conciseness of the narratives in the books of Kings no inference either way can be drawn from the ordinary formula in which the death of the father and succession of his son is recorded (1 K. xv. 8). At the same time, if no partiality for a favorite wife or son intervened, there would always be a natural bias of affection in favor of the eldest son. There appears to have been some prominence given to the mother of the king (2 K. xxiv. 12, 15; 1 K. ii. 19), and it is possible that the mother may have been regent during the minority of a son. Indeed some such custom best explains the possibility of the audacious usurpation of Athaliah on the death of her son Ahaziah: an usurpation which lasted six years after the destruction of all the seed-royal except the young Jehoash (2 K. xi. 1, 3).

The following is a list of some of the officers of the king: —

1. The Recorder or Chronicler, who was perhaps analogous to the Historiographer whom Sir John Malcolm mentions as an officer of the Persian court, whose duty it is to write the annals of the king's reign (*History of Persia*, c. 23). Certain it is that there is no regular series of minute dates in Hebrew history until we read of this recorder, or *remembrancer*, as the word *mazkir* is translated in a marginal note of the English version. He signifies one who keeps the memory of events alive, in accordance with a motive assigned by Herodotus for writing his history, namely, that the acts of men might not become extinct by time (Herod. i. 1; 2 Sam. viii. 16; 1 K. iv. 3; 2 K. xviii. 18; Is. xxxvi. 3, 22).

2. The Scribe or Secretary, whose duty would be to answer letters or petitions in the name of the king, to write despatches, and to draw up edicts (2 Sam. viii. 17, xx. 25; 2 K. xii. 10, xix. 2, xxii. 8).

3. The officer who was *over the house* (Is. xxii. 15, xxxvi. 3). His duties would be those of chief steward of the household, and would embrace all the internal economical arrangements of the palace, the superintendence of the king's servants, and the custody of his costly vessels of gold and silver. He seems to have worn a distinctive robe of office and girdle. It was against Shebna, who held this office, that Isaiah uttered his personal prophecy (xxii. 15–25), the only instance of the kind in his writings (see Ges. *Com. on Isaiah*, p. 694).

4. The king's friend (1 K. iv. 5), called likewise the king's companion. It is evident from the name that this officer must have stood in confidential relation to the king, but his duties are nowhere specified.

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5. The keeper of the vestry or wardrobe (2 K. x. 22).

6. The captain of the body-guard (2 Sam. xx. 23). The importance of this officer requires no comment. It was he who obeyed Solomon in putting to death Adonijah, Joab, and Shimei (1 K. ii. 25, 34, 46).

7. Distinct officers over the king's treasures — his storehouses, laborers, vineyards, olive-trees, and sycamore-trees, herds, camels, and flocks (1 Chr. xxvii. 25–31).

8. The officer over all the host or army of Israel, the commander-in-chief of the army, who commanded it in person during the king's absence (2 Sam. xx. 23; 1 Chr. xxvii. 34; 2 Sam. xi. 1). As an instance of the formidable power which a general might acquire in this office, see the narrative in 2 Sam. iii. 30–37, when David deemed himself obliged to tolerate the murder of Abner by Joab and Abishai.

9. The royal counsellors (1 Chr. xxvii. 32; Is. iii. 3, xix. 11, 13). Ahithophel is a specimen of how much such an officer might effect for evil or for good; but whether there existed under Hebrew kings any body corresponding, even distantly, to the English Privy Council, in former times, does not appear (2 Sam. xvi. 20–23, xvii. 1–14).

The following is a statement of the sources of the royal revenues: —

1. The royal demesnes, cornfields, vineyards, and olive-gardens. Some at least of these seem to have been taken from private individuals, but whether as the punishment of rebellion, or on any other plausible pretext, is not specified (1 Sam. viii. 14; 1 Chr. xxvii. 26–28). 2. The produce of the royal flocks (1 Sam. xxi. 7; 2 Sam. xiii. 23; 2 Chr. xxvi. 10; 1 Chr. xxvii. 25). 3. A nominal tenth of the produce of corn-land and vineyards and of sheep (1 Sam. viii. 15, 17). 4. A tribute from merchants who passed through the Hebrew territory (1 K. x. 15). 5. Presents made by his subjects (1 Sam. xvi. 20; 1 Sam. x. 27; 1 K. x. 25; Ps. lxxii. 10). There is perhaps no greater distinction in the usages of eastern and western nations than on what relates to the giving and receiving of presents. When made regularly they do in fact amount to a regular tax. Thus, in the passage last referred to in the book of Kings, it is stated that they brought to Solomon "every man his present, vessels of silver and vessels of gold, and garments, and armor, and spices, horses and mules, a rate year by year." 6. In the time of Solomon, the king had trading-vessels of his own at sea, which, starting from Eziongeber, brought back once in three years gold and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks (1 K. x. 22). It is probable that Solomon and some other kings may have derived some revenue from commercial ventures (1 K. ix. 28). 7. The spoils of war taken from conquered nations and the tribute paid by them (2 Sam. viii. 2, 7, 8, 10; 1 K. iv. 21; 2 Chr. xxvii. 5). 8. Lastly, an undefined power of exacting compulsory labor, to which reference has been already made (1 Sam. viii. 12, 13, 16). As far as this power was exercised it was equivalent to so much income. There is nothing in 1 Sam. x. 25, or in 2 Sam. v 3, to justify the statement that the Hebrews defined in express terms, or in any terms, by a particular agreement or covenant for that purpose, what services should be rendered to the king, or what he could legally require. (See Jahn, *Archaeologia Biblica*; Bauer, *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Alterthümer*; Winer, *s. v.* König.)

It only remains to add, that in Deuteronomy xvii. 14–20 there is a document containing some directions as to what any king who might be appointed by the Hebrews was to do and not to do. The proper appreciation of this document would mainly depend on its date. It is the opinion of many modern writers — Gesenius, De Wette, Winer, Ewald, and others — that the book which contains the document was composed long after the time of Moses. See, however, DEUTERONOMY in the 1st vol. of this work; and compare Gesenius, *Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*, p. 32; De Wette, *Einleitung in die Bibel*, "Deuteronomium"; Winer, *s. v.* König; Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iii. 381. E. T.

* **KING'S GARDEN**, 2 K. xxv. 4, etc. [GARDEN, vol. i. p. 870 *a*.]

* **KING'S MOWINGS**, Am. vii. 1. [MOWING.]

* **KING'S POOL**, Neh. ii. 14. [SILOAM.]

* **KINGDOM OF HEAVEN** — always with the article, ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.

1. This expression occurs thirty-three times in the first Gospel, but nowhere else in the Scriptures. In one passage (iii. 2) it is attributed by Matthew to John the Baptist, in another (xviii. 1) to the disciples of Christ, and in all the rest to Christ himself. An abbreviated form of it is found in such phrases as, "the gospel of the kingdom" (iv. 23), "the word of the kingdom" (xiii. 19), "the sons of the kingdom" (viii. 12, xiii. 38), and "the kingdom prepared for you" (xxv. 34). In a single instance (2 Tim. iv. 18) Paul speaks of the Lord's "heavenly kingdom," — τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπουράνιον, — an expression which is equivalent to "the kingdom of heaven," as this phrase was sometimes used by Christ. (See Matt. viii. 11, 12.) — It will be observed that the Apostle not only describes the kingdom as "heavenly," but also as the Lord's, "*his* heavenly kingdom." In a few passages of the first Gospel (xiii. 41, xvi. 28, cf. xx. 21) it is likewise referred to as the Messiah's kingdom. With these may properly be connected the language of Christ in the Gospel of John (xviii. 36), the words of the Angel to Mary as preserved by Luke (i. 33), those of Christ as recorded by the same Evangelist (xix. 12, 15, xxii. 29, 30), and the teaching of the Apostles in their letters (1 Cor. xv. 24, 25; Eph. v. 5; Col. i. 13; 2 Tim. iv. 1; Heb. i. 8; 2 Pet. i. 11). The kingdom of heaven is therefore frequently represented as the kingdom of Christ. But it is still more frequently called the kingdom of God. Matthew attributes this expression in several instances to Christ (vi. 10, 33, xii. 28, xiii. 43, xxi. 31, 43, xxvi. 29), and when, in reporting the Saviour's teaching, his Gospel gives the words "kingdom of heaven," the other synoptical Gospels have, as a rule, the words "kingdom of God" (*e. g.* cf. Matt. v. 3, xi. 11, xiii. 31, 33, with Luke vi. 20, vii. 28, xiii. 18, 20). In all the other books of the New Testament the latter designation is regularly employed. While therefore the two expressions denote the same object, and may be regarded as substantially equivalent, the latter appears for some reason to have displaced the former in the language of the Apostles. Réuss (*Histoire de la Théologie Chrétienne au Siècle Apostolique*, i. 181) supposes that it had the advantage of being more comprehensive, not "seeming to restrict the notion to a future epoch, a particular locality, or a state of

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things different from that in which humanity now exists," and was therefore preferred to the other by the Apostles.

2. But the idea of a divine or heavenly kingdom was not proposed for the first time by John the Baptist and then adopted by Christ. It may be traced in many parts of the O. T., from the Pentateuch to the prophets of the exile. The Israelites as a people belonged especially to Jehovah, and were already in the law described as a nation of kings and priests unto Him (Ex. xix. 6, cf. 1 Pet. ii. 9). Yet even in their best estate, under David their greatest king, they were but a type of the true people of God, and their sovereign but a shadow of his greater Son. And this they were clearly taught; for a Messiah was foretold by the prophets, who should spring from the family of David, should subdue all his foes, and should reign forever in righteousness and peace (Ps. ii., cx.; Is. xi.; cf. Ps. lxxii.; Jer. xxiii. 5 ff., xxxi. 31 ff., xxxii. 37 ff., xxxiii. 7 ff.; Ez. xxxiv. 23 ff., xxxvii. 24 ff.; Mic. iv. 1 ff.). At length in the prophecies of Daniel it was distinctly revealed that the "God of heaven" was to set up a kingdom (ii. 44), which was to be composed of his saints (vii. 27), was to be administered by One like a son of man (vii. 13, 14), and was to be universal and everlasting (vii. 14, 27). The very expression, "kingdom of God," occurs in the Apocrypha (*Wisd. of Sol.* x. 10). Accordingly, when Christ appeared among the Jews, they were expecting this kingdom of "the God of heaven" which was to be set up by the agency of their long anticipated Messiah; and, however erroneous their views of its nature had become, they were prepared to understand in some measure the language of Jesus and his disciples concerning it. A few indeed of the more devout and spiritual, like Simeon and Anna, appear to have had a tolerably just conception of its nature.

3. This kingdom, in its ultimate and perfect form, is said to have been prepared for the saints from the foundation of the world. (Matt. xxv. 34.) It was therefore included in the wise purpose of God which antedates creation, and in this sense it is eternal. But the various representations of the N. T. have given rise to some differences of opinion among Biblical scholars as to the *terminus a quo* of its actual establishment on earth. The writers of the O. T. speak of it distinctly as future and not present; and many passages of the N. T. refer to it in connection with the second coming of Christ. It is therefore maintained by some interpreters, that this kingdom has not yet been established, and will not be until the Lord returns in glory. Others have made the preaching of John the Baptist the date of its commencement, appealing to the words of Christ (see Matt. xi. 12, xvii. 11; Luke xvi. 16) in support of their position. But it has been objected to this, that one who was spoken of, by way of contrast, as less than the least of those in the kingdom of heaven (Matt. xi. 11) could not have been an agent in setting up that kingdom, by introducing men into it, and that the kingdom itself must take its date from the personal appearance and recognition of its king, that is, from the time of Christ's entrance on his public ministry. Others still, identifying the kingdom of God with the Christian church, have fixed upon the day of Pentecost, when the Spirit was poured out marvelously, as the date of its establishment. Perhaps the view which connects it most closely with the person of Christ, affirming that it began, properly speaking, with his public ministry, is entitled to the preference. For in the course of his teaching he spoke of it clearly as already come. At one time he said to the Pharisees, "If I cast out demons by the Spirit of God, then the kingdom of God is come unto you — ἔφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς (Matt. xii. 28); and at another time he said to the same class of men, according to a natural interpretation of his words, "Behold, the kingdom of God is in the midst of you" (Luke xvii. 21). "The kingdom of God" (Reuss, *Hist. de la Théol. Chr.* i. 190) "which Jesus wished to realize began with his personal appearance on the world's theatre; his advent, and the advent of the kingdom, are one and the same thing, for he is the source and cause of it, and the cause may not exist without the effect. He went so far even as to assign an exact date to the advent of the kingdom, and this date was no other than the moment when John Baptist, the last and greatest of the prophets, opened the door, so to speak, by announcing to the world Him who would realize its cherished hopes. At that moment the movement towards the kingdom began, and men pressed on with ardor to enter into it."

4. But if the kingdom of heaven was established at the first coming of Christ, it is not to be consummated until his second appearing; and then, at length, it will be transferred by the Son, as Mediator, to the Father (1 Cor. xv. 24–28). In the mean time its progress among men will be silent and gradual, like the influence of leaven upon the meal in which it is placed, or like the growth of a mustard-plant from its diminutive seed (Matt. xiii. 31 ff., 33 ff.). The petition, "Thy kingdom come," introduced by Christ into the prayer which he taught his disciples, may naturally be referred to this gradual extension of the divine authority over the hearts of men, making them the true subjects of God. To be a member of this kingdom in its perfect form is to be a possessor of eternal blessedness (Matt. viii. 11, xxv. 34; Mark ix. 47; Luke xiii. 28, 29; 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10, xv. 50; Gal. v. 21; Eph. v. 5; 2 Thess. i. 5; 2 Tim. iv. 18); but connection with it in its present form gives only a foretaste of celestial good.

5. The nature of this kingdom may be expressed in a word by calling it *spiritual*. It embraces those, and only those, who are poor in spirit, who have been born of the Spirit, who have the Spirit of Christ, and who worship God in spirit and in truth (Matt. v. 3; John iii. 3, 5, iv. 24; Rom. viii. 9). "The kingdom of God is not eating and drinking, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost" (Rom. xiv. 17). It is not of this world (John xviii. 36). It is related to heaven rather than to earth in its principles and spirit, and its consummation here would make the society of earth as loyal to God and as blessed in his service, as that of heaven (Matt. vi. 10). Tholuck (*Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount*, i. 103, Eng. transl.) remarks in his note on Matt. v. 3: "We lay down as the fundamental notion of the kingdom of God: *A community in which God reigns, and which, as the nature of a right government involves, obeys Him not by constraint, but from free will and affection; of which it follows as a necessary consequence that the parties are intimately bound to each other in the mutual interchange of offices of love.*" But the spirituality of this kingdom involves its universality. It is limited to no tribe or people, but is intended to comprise all in every nation who obey

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from the heart the will of God. Jew and Greek, bond and free, are alike welcomed to the duties, the honors, and the eternal blessedness of the Messiah's reign. And there are a few passages of the N. T. which seem to ascribe to holy angels a connection with it both in service and glory. (Matt. xvi. 27, xiii. 41, xviii. 10; Luke xv. 10; Heb. i. 14; Eph. i. 10, 20, 22, iii. 15; 1 Pet. i. 12, iii. 22.)

6. Yet this kingdom, though in its nature spiritual, was to have while on earth a visible form in Christian churches, and the simple rites belonging to church life were to be observed by every loyal subject (Matt. xxviii. 18 ff.; John iii. 5; Acts ii. 38; Luke xxii. 17 ff.; 1 Cor. xi. 24 ff.). It cannot however be said that the N. T. makes the spiritual kingdom of Christ exactly coëxtensive with the visible church. There are many in the latter who do not belong to the former (1 John ii. 9), and some doubtless in the former who do not take their place in the latter.

Literature. — E. Reuss, *Histoire de la Théologie Chrétienne au Siècle Apostolique*, i. 180 ff. C. F. Schmid, *Biblische Theologie des N. T.* p. 266 ff. A. Tholuck, *Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount*, at Matt. v. 3. Heemskerk, *Notio τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν ex mente Jesu Christi*, Amst. 1839. Bourguet, *Recherches sur la signification du mot: Royaume de Dieu*, Mont. 1838. Sartorius, *Ueber den Zweck Jesu bei Stiftung eines Gottes-Reiches.* Baumgarten-Crusius, *Biblische Theologie*, pp. 149–157. A. H.

* **KINGDOM OF ISRAEL.** [ISRAEL, KINGDOM OF.]

* **KINGDOM OF JUDAH.** [JUDAH, KINGDOM OF.]

KINGS, FIRST AND SECOND BOOKS OF, originally only one book in the Hebrew Canon, and first edited in Hebrew as two by Bomberg, after the model of the LXX. and the Vulgate (De Wette and O. Thenius, *Einleitung*). They are called by the LXX., Origen, etc., Βασιλειῶν τρίτη and τετάρτη, third and fourth of the *Kingdoms* (the books of Samuel being the first and second), but by the Latins, with few exceptions, tertius et quartus *Regum* liber. Jerome, though in the heading of his translation of the Scriptures he follows the Hebrew name, and calls them Liber Malachim Primus and Secundus, yet elsewhere usually follows the common usage of the church in his day. In his Prologus Galeatus he places them as the fourth of the second order of the sacred books, *i. e.* of the Prophets: "Quartus, Malachim, *i. e.* Regum, qui tertio et quarto Regum volumine continetur. Meliusque multo est Malachim, *i. e. Regum*, quàm Mamelachoth, *i. e. Regnorum*, dicere. Non enim multarum gentium describit regna; sed unius Israelitici populi, qui tribubus duodecim continetur." In his epistle to Paulinus he thus describes the contents of these two books: "Malachim, *i. e.* tertius et quartus Regum liber, a Salomone usque ad Jechoniam, et a Jeroboam filio Nabat usque ad Osee qui ductus est in Assyrios, regnum Juda et regnum describit Israel. Si historiam respicias, verba simplicia sunt: si in literis sensum latentem inspexeris, Ecclesiæ pancitas, et hæreticorum contrà ecclesiam bella, narrantur." The division into two books, being purely artificial and as it were mechanical, may be overlooked in speaking of them; and it must also be remembered that the division between the books of Kings and Samuel is equally artificial, and that in point of fact the historical books commencing with Judges and ending with 2 Kings present the appearance of one work,[a] giving a continuous history of Israel from the times of Joshua to the death of Jehoiachin. It must suffice here to mention, in support of this assertion, the frequent allusion in the book of Judges to the times of the kings of Israel (xvii. 6, xviii. 1, xix. 1, xxi. 25); the concurrent evidence of ch. ii. that the writer lived in an age when he could take a retrospect of the whole time during which the judges ruled (ver. 16–19), *i. e.* that he lived after the monarchy had been established; the occurrence in the book of Judges, for the first time, of the phrase "the Spirit of Jehovah" (iii. 10), which is repeated often in the book (vi. 34, xi. 29, xiii. 25, xiv. 6, &c.), and is of frequent use in Samuel and Kings, (*e. g.* 1 Sam. x. 6, xvi. 13, 14, xix. 9; 2 Sam. xxiii. 2; 1 K. xxii. 24; 2 K. ii. 16, &c.); the allusion in i. 21 to the capture of Jebus, and the continuance of a Jebusite population (see 2 Sam. xxiv. 16); the reference in xx. 27 to the removal of the ark of the covenant from Shiloh to Jerusalem, and the expression "in those days," pointing, as in xvii. 6, &c., to remote times; the distinct reference in xviii. 30 to the Captivity of Israel by Shalmaneser; with the fact that the books of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, form one unbroken narrative, similar in general character, which has no beginning except at Judg. i., while, it may be added, the book of Judges is not a continuation of Joshua, but opens with a repetition of the same events with which Joshua closes. In like manner the book of Ruth clearly forms part of those of Samuel, supplying as it does the essential point of David's genealogy and early family history, and is no less clearly connected with the book of Judges by its opening verse, and the epoch to which the whole book relates.[b] Other links connecting the books of Kings with the preceding may be found in the comparison, suggested by De Wette, of 1 K. ii. 26 with 1 Sam. ii. 35; ii. 11 with 2 Sam. v. 5; 1 K. ii. 3, 4, v. 17, 18, viii. 18, 19, 25, with 2 Sam. vii. 12–16; and 1 K. iv. 1–6 with 2 Sam. viii. 15–18. Also 2 K. xvii. 41 may be compared with Judg. ii. 19; 1 Sam. ii. 27 with Judg. xiii. 6; 2 Sam. xiv. 17, 20, xix. 27, with Judg. xiii. 6; 1 Sam. ix. 21 with Judg. vi. 15, and xx.; 1 K. viii. 1 with 2 Sam. vi. 17, and v. 7, 9; 1 Sam. xvii. 12 with Ruth iv. 17; Ruth i. 1 with Judg. xvii. 7, 8, 9, xix. 1, 2 (Bethlehem-Judah); the use in Judg. xiii. 6, 8, of the phrase "the man of God" (in the earlier books applied to Moses only, and that only in Deut. xxxiii. 1 and Josh. xiv. 6), may be compared with the very frequent use of it in the books of Samuel and Kings as the common designation of a prophet, whereas only Jeremiah besides (xxxv. 4) so uses it before the Captivity.[c] The phrase, "God

[a] De Wette's reasons for reckoning Kings as a separate work seem to the writer quite inconclusive. On the other hand, the book of Joshua seems to be an independent book. Ewald classes these books together exactly as is done above (*Gesch.* i. 175), and calls them "the great Book of the Kings."

[b] Bleek attributes Ruth to the author of the books of Samuel (Th. Parker's De Wette, ii. 320).

[c] In Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, it repeatedly occurs.

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do so to me, and more also," is common to Ruth, Samuel, and Kings, and "till they were ashamed," to Judges and Kings (Judg. iii. 25; 2 K. ii. 17, viii. 11). And generally the style of the narrative, ordinarily quiet and simple, but rising to great vigor and spirit when stirring deeds are described (as in Judg. iv., vii., xi., &c.; 1 Sam. iv., xvii., xxxi. &c.; 1 K. viii., xviii., xix., &c.), and the introduction of poetry or poetic style in the midst of the narrative (as in Judg. v., 1 Sam. ii., 2 Sam. i. 17, &c., 1 K. xxii. 17, &c.), constitute such strong features of resemblance as lead to the conclusion that these several books form but one work. Indeed the very *names* of the books sufficiently indicate that they were all imposed by the same authority for the convenience of division, and with reference to the subject treated of in each division, and not that they were original titles of independent works.

But to confine ourselves to the books of Kings. We shall consider —

I. Their historical and chronological range;
II. Their peculiarities of diction, and other features in their literary aspect;
III. Their authorship, and the sources of the author's information;
IV. Their relation to the books of Chronicles;
V. Their place in the canon, and the references to them in the New Testament.

I. The books of Kings range from David's death and Solomon's accession to the throne of Israel, commonly reckoned as B. C. 1015, but according to Lepsius B. C. 993 (*Königsb. d. Ægypt.* p. 102), to the destruction of the kingdom of Judah and the desolation of Jerusalem, and the burning of the Temple, according to the same reckoning B. C. 588 (B. C. 586, Lepsius, p. 107), — a period of 427 (or 405) years: with a supplemental notice of an event that occurred after an interval of 26 years, namely, the liberation of Jehoiachin from his prison at Babylon, and a still further extension to Jehoiachin's death, the time of which is not known, but which was probably not long after his liberation. The history therefore comprehends the whole time of the Israelitish monarchy, exclusive of the reigns of Saul and David, whether existing as one kingdom as under Solomon and the eight last kings, or divided into the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah. It exhibits the Israelites in the two extremes of power and weakness; under Solomon extending their dominion over tributary kingdoms from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean and the border of Egypt (1 K. iv. 21); under the last kings reduced to a miserable remnant, subject alternately to Egypt and Assyria, till at length they were rooted up from their own land. As the cause of this decadence it points out the division of Solomon's monarchy into two parts, followed by the religious schism and idolatrous worship brought about from political motives by Jeroboam. How the consequent wars between the two kingdoms necessarily weakened both; how they led to calling in the stranger to their aid whenever their power was equally balanced, of which the result was the destruction first of one kingdom and then of the other; how a further evil of these foreign alliances was the adoption of the idolatrous superstitions of the heathen nations whose friendship and protection they sought, by which they forfeited the Divine protection — all this is with great clearness and simplicity set forth in these books, which treat equally of the two kingdoms while they lasted. The doctrine of the Theocracy is also clearly brought out (see *e. g.* 1 K. xiv. 7–11, xv. 29, 30, xvi 1–7), and the temporal prosperity of the pious kings as Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah, stands in contrast with the calamitous reigns of Rehoboam, Ahaziah, Ahaz, Manasseh, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah. At the same time the continuance of the kingdom of Judah, and the permanence of the dynasty of David, are contrasted with the frequent changes of dynasty, and the far shorter duration of the kingdom of Israel, though the latter was the more populous and powerful kingdom of the two (2 Sam. xxiv. 9). As regards the affairs of foreign nations, and the relation of Israel to them, the historical notices in these books, though in the earlier times scanty, are most valuable, and as has been lately fully shown (Rawlinson's *Bampton Lectures*, 1859), in striking accordance with the latest additions to our knowledge of contemporary profane history. Thus the patronage extended to Hadad the Edomite by Psinaches king of Egypt (1 K. xi. 19, 20); the alliance of Solomon with his successor Psusennes, who reigned 35 years; the accession of Shishak, or Sesonchis I., towards the close of Solomon's reign (1 K. xi. 40), and his invasion and conquest of Judæa in the reign of Rehoboam, of which a monument still exists on the walls of Karnac (*Königsb.* p. 114); the time of the Æthiopian kings So (Sabak) and Tirhakah, of the 25th dynasty; the rise and speedy fall of the power of Syria; the rapid growth of the Assyrian monarchy which overshadowed it; Assyria's struggles with Egypt, and the sudden ascendency of the Babylonian empire under Nebuchadnezzar, to the destruction both of Assyria and Egypt, as we find these events in the books of Kings, fit in exactly with what we now know of Egyptian, Syrian, Assyrian, and Babylonian history. The names of Omri, Jehu, Menahem, Hoshea, Hezekiah, etc., are believed to have been deciphered in the cuneiform inscriptions, which also contain pretty full accounts of the campaigns of Tiglath-Pileser, Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon: Shalmaneser's name has not yet been discovered, though two inscriptions in the British Museum are thought to refer to his reign. These valuable additions to our knowledge of profane history, which we may hope will shortly be increased both in number and in certainty, together with the fragments of ancient historians, which are now becoming better understood, are of great assistance in explaining the brief allusions in these books, while they afford an irrefragable testimony to their historical truth.

Another most important aid to a right understanding of the history in these books, and to the filling up of its outline, is to be found in the prophets, and especially in Isaiah and Jeremiah. In the former the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah, and of the contemporary Israelitish and foreign potentates, receive especial illustration; in the latter, and to a still greater extent, the reigns of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah, and those of their heathen contemporaries. An intimate acquaintance with these prophets is of the utmost moment for elucidating the concise narrative of the books of Kings. The two together give us a really full view of the events of the times at home and abroad.

It must, however, be admitted that the chronological details expressly given in the books of Kings form a remarkable contrast with their striking historical accuracy. These details are inexplicable and frequently entirely contradictory. The very

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first date of a decidedly chronological character which is given, that of the foundation of Solomon's Temple (1 K. vi. 1), is manifestly erroneous, as being irreconcilable with any view of the chronology of the times of the judges, or with St. Paul's calculation, Acts xiii. 20.[a] It is in fact abandoned by almost all chronologists, whatever school they belong to, whether ancient or modern, and is utterly ignored by Josephus. [CHRONOLOGY, vol. i. pp. 444–47.] Moreover, when the text is examined, it immediately appears that this date of 480 years is both unnecessary and quite out of place. The reference to the Exodus is gratuitous, and alien to all the other notes of time, which refer merely to Solomon's accession. If it is left out, the text will be quite perfect without it,[b] and will agree exactly with the *resumé* in v. 37, 38, and also with the parallel passage in 2 Chr. iii. 2. The evidence therefore of its being an interpolation is wonderfully strong. But if so, it must have been inserted by a professed chronologist, whose object was to reduce the Scripture history to an exact system of chronology. It is likely therefore that we shall find traces of the same hand in other parts of the books. Now De Wette (*Einleit.* p. 235), among the evidences which he puts forward as marking the books of Kings as in his opinion a separate work from those of Samuel, mentions, though erroneously, as 2 Sam. v. 4, 5 shows, the sudden introduction of "a chronological system" (*die genauere Zeitrechnung*). When therefore we find that the very first date introduced is erroneous, and that numerous other dates are also certainly wrong, because contradictory, it seems a not unfair conclusion that such dates are the work of an interpolator, trying to bring the history within his own chronological system: a conclusion somewhat confirmed by the alterations and omissions of these dates in the LXX.[c] As regards, however, these chronological difficulties, it must be observed they are of two essentially different kinds. One kind is merely the want of the data necessary for chronological exactness. Such is the absence, apparently, of any uniform rule for dealing with the fragments of years at the beginning and end of the reigns. Such might also be a deficiency in the sum of the regnal years of Israel as compared with the synchronistic years of Judah, caused by unnoticed interregna, if any such really occurred. And this class of difficulties may probably have belonged to these books in their original state, in which exact scientific chronology was not aimed at. But the other kind of difficulty is of a totally different character, and embraces dates which are *very exact* in their mode of expression, but are erroneous and contradictory. Some of these are pointed out below; and it is such which it seems reasonable to ascribe to the interpolation of later professed chronologists. But it is necessary to give specimens of each of these kinds of difficulty, both with a view to approximating to a true chronology, and also to show the actual condition of the books under consideration.

(1.) When we sum up the years of all the reigns of the kings of Israel as given in the books of Kings, and then all the years of the reigns of the kings of Judah from the 1st of Rehoboam to the 6th of Hezekiah, we find that, instead of the two sums agreeing, there is an excess of 19 or 20 years in Judah — the reigns of the latter amounting to 261 years, while the former make up only 242. But we are able to get somewhat nearer to the seat of this disagreement, because it so happens that the parallel histories of Israel and Judah touch in four or five points where the synchronisms are precisely marked. These points are (1) at the simultaneous accessions of Jeroboam and Rehoboam; (2) at the simultaneous deaths of Jehoram and Ahaziah, or, which is the same thing, the simultaneous accessions of Jehu and Athaliah; (3) at the 15th year of Amaziah, which was the 1st of Jeroboam II. (2 K. xiv. 17); (4) in the reign of Ahaz, which was contemporary with some part of Pekah's, namely, according to the text of 2 K. xvi. 1, the three first years of Ahaz with the three last of Pekah; and (5) at the 6th of Hezekiah, which was the 9th of Hoshea; the two last points, however, being less certain than the others, at least as to the precision of the synchronisms, depending as this does on the correctness of the numerals in the text.

Hence, instead of lumping the whole periods of 261 years and 242 years together, and comparing their difference, it is clearly expedient to compare the different sub-periods, which are defined by common termini. Beginning, therefore, with the subperiod which commences with the double accession of Rehoboam and Jeroboam, and closes with the double death of Ahaziah and Jehoram, and summing up the number of years assigned to the different reigns in each kingdom, we find that the six reigns in Judah make up 95 years, and the eight reigns in Israel make up 98 years. Here there is an excess of 3 years in the kingdom of Israel, which may, however, be readily accounted for by the frequent changes of dynasty there, and the probability of fragments of years being reckoned as whole years, thus causing the same year to be reckoned twice over. The 95 years of Judah, or even a less number, will hence appear to be the true number of whole years (see too Clinton, *F. H.* ii. 314, &c.).

Beginning, again, at the double accession of Athaliah and Jehu, we have in Judah 7+40+14 first years of Amaziah = 61, to correspond with 28+17 +16 = 61, ending with the last year of Jehoash in Israel. Starting again with the 15th of Amaziah = 1 Jeroboam II., we have 15 + 52 + 16 + 3 = 86 (to the 3d year of Ahaz), to correspond with 41 + 1 + 10 + 2 + 20 = 74 (to the close of Pekah's reign), where we at once detect a deficiency on the part of Israel of (86—74 =) 12 years, if at least the 3d of Ahaz really corresponded with the 20th of Pekah. And lastly, starting with the year following that last named, we have 13 last years of Ahaz + 7 first of Hezekiah = 20, to correspond with the 9 years of Hoshea, where we find another deficiency in Israel of 11 years.

The two first of the above periods may then be said to agree together, and to give 95 + 61 = 156 years from the accession of Rehoboam and Jeroboam to the 15th of Amaziah in Judah, and the death of Jehoash in Israel, and we observe that the discrepance of 12 years first occurs in the third period, in which the breaking up of the kingdom of Israel began at the close of Jehu's dynasty. Putting aside the synchronistic arrangement of the years as we

[a] The MSS. A B Q have, however, a different reading, which is adopted by Lachmann [Tregelles, and Wordsworth.

[b] "And it came to pass . . . in the fourth year of Solomon's reign over Israel, in the month Zif, which is the second month, that he began to build the house of the Lord."

[c] See 1 K. xvi. 8, 15, 29; vi 1.

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now find them in 2 K. xv. ff., there would be no difficulty whatever in supposing that the reigns of the kings of Israel at this time were not continuous, and that for several years after the death of Zachariah, or Shallum, or both, the government may either have been in the hands of the king of Syria, or broken up amongst contending parties, till at length Menahem was able to establish himself on the throne by the help of Pul, king of Assyria, and transmit his tributary throne to his son Pekahiah.

But there is another mode of bringing this third period into harmony, which violates no historical probability, and is in fact strongly indicated by the fluctuations of the text. We are told in 2 K. xv. 8, that Zachariah began to reign in the 38th of Uzziah, and (xiv. 23) that his father Jeroboam began to reign in the 15th of Amaziah. Jeroboam must therefore have reigned 52 or 53 years, not 41: for the idea of an interregnum of 11 or 12 years between Jeroboam and his son Zachariah is absurd. But the addition of these 12 years to Jeroboam's reign exactly equalizes the period in the two kingdoms, which would thus contain 86 years, and makes up 242 years from the accession of Rehoboam and Jeroboam to the 3d of Ahaz and 20th of Pekah, supposing always that these last-named years really synchronize.

As regards the discrepance of 11 years in the last period, nothing can in itself be more probable than that either during some part of Pekah's lifetime, or after his death, a period, not included in the regnal years of either Pekah or Hoshea, should have elapsed, when there was either a state of anarchy, or the government was administered by an Assyrian officer. There are also several passages in the contemporary prophets Isaiah and Hosea, which would fall in with this view, as Hos. x. 3, 7; Is. ix. 9–19. But it is impossible to assert peremptorily that such was the case. The decision must await some more accurate knowledge of the chronology of the times from heathen sources. The addition of these last 20 years makes up for the whole duration of the kingdom of Israel, 261 or 262 years, more or less. Now the interval, according to Lepsius's tables, from the accession of Sesonchis, or Shishak, to that of Sabacon, or So (2 K. xvii. 4), is 245 years. Allowing Sesonchis to have reigned 7 years contemporaneously with Solomon, and Sabaco, who reigned 12 years,[a] to have reigned 9 before Shalmaneser came up the second time against Samaria (245 + 7 + 9 = 261), the chronology of Egypt would exactly tally with that here given. It may, however, turn out that the time thus allowed for the duration of the Israelitish monarchy is somewhat too long, and that the time indicated by the years of the Israelitish kings, without any interregnum, is nearer the truth. If so, a ready way of reducing the sum of the reigns of the kings of Judah would be to assign 41 years to that of Uzziah, instead of 52 (as if the numbers of Uzziah and Jeroboam had been accidentally interchanged): an arrangement which interferes with no known historical truth, though it would disturb the doubtful synchronism of the 3d of Ahaz with the 20th of Pekah, and make the 3d of Ahaz correspond with about the 9th or 10th of Pekah. Indeed it is somewhat remarkable that if we neglect this synchronism, and consider as one the period from the accession of Athaliah and Jehu to the 7th of Hezekiah and 9th of Hoshea, the sums of the reigns in the two kingdoms agree exactly, when we reckon 41 years for Uzziah, and 52 for Jeroboam, namely, 155 years, or 250 for the whole time of the Israelitish monarchy. Another advantage of this arrangement would be to reduce the age of Uzziah at the birth of his son and heir Jotham from the improbable age of 42 or 43 to 31 or 32. It may be added that the date in 2 K. xv. 1, which assigns the 1st of Uzziah to the 27th of Jeroboam, seems to indicate that the author of it only reckoned 41 years for Uzziah's reign, since from the 27th of Jeroboam to the 1st of Pekah is just 41 years (see Lepsius's table, *Königsb.* p. 103 [b]). Also that 2 K. xvii. 1, which makes the 12th of Ahaz = 1st of Hoshea, implies that the 1st of Ahaz = 9th of Pekah.

(2.) Turning next to the other class of difficulties mentioned above, the following instances will perhaps be thought to justify the opinion that the dates in these books which are intended to establish a precise chronology are the work of a much later hand or hands than the books themselves.

The date in 1 K. vi. 1 is one which is obviously intended for strictly chronological purposes. If correct, it would, taken in conjunction with the subsequent notes of time in the books of Kings, supposing them to be correct also, give, to a year, the length of the time from the Exodus to the Babylonian Captivity, and establish a perfect connection between sacred and profane history. But so little is this the case, that this date is quite irreconcilable with Egyptian history, and is, as stated above, by almost universal consent rejected by chronologists, even on purely Scriptural grounds. This date is followed by precise synchronistic definitions of the parallel reigns of Israel and Judah, the effect of which would be, and must have been designed to be, to supply the want of accuracy in stating the length of the reigns without reference to the odd months. But these synchronistic definitions are in continual discord with the statement of the length of reigns. According to 1 K. xxii. 51 Ahaziah succeeded Ahab in the 17th year of Jehoshaphat. But according to the statement of the length of Ahab's reign in xvi. 29, Ahab died in the 18th of Jehoshaphat; while according to 2 K. i. 17, Jehoram, the son of Ahaziah, succeeded his brother (after his 2 years' reign) in the second year of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat, though, according to the length of the reigns, he must have succeeded in the 18th or 19th of Jehoshaphat (see 2 K. iii. 1), who reigned, in all, 25 years (1 K. xxii. 42). [JEHORAM.] As regards Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat, the statements are so contradictory that Archbishop Usher actually makes three distinct beginnings to his regnal era: the first when he was made prorex, to meet 2 K. i. 17; the second when he was associated with his father, 5 years later, to meet 2 K. viii. 16; the third when his sole reign commenced, to meet 1 K. xxii. 50, compared with 42. But as the only purpose of these synchronisms is to give an accurate measure of time, nothing can be more absurd than to suppose such variations in the time from which the commencement of the regnal year is dated. It may also here be remarked that the whole notion of these joint

[a] Lepsius, *Königsb.* p. 67.

[b] Lepsius suggests that Azariah and Uzziah may possibly be different and successive kings, the former of whom reigned 11 years, and the latter 41. But beyond the confusion of the names there is nothing to support such a notion.

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signs has not the smallest foundation in fact, and unluckily does not come into play in the only cases where there might be any historical probability of their having occurred, as in the case of Asa's illness and Uzziah's leprosy. From the length of Amaziah's reign, as given 2 K. xiv. 2, 17, 23, it is manifest that Jeroboam II. began to reign in the 15th year of Amaziah, and that Uzziah began to reign in the 16th of Jeroboam. But 2 K. xv. 1 places the commencement of Uzziah's reign in the 27th of Jeroboam, and the accession of Zachariah = the close of Jeroboam's reign, in the 38th of Uzziah — statements utterly contradictory and irreconcilable.

Other grave chronological difficulties seem to have their source in the same erroneous calculations on the part of the Jewish chronologist. For example, one of the cuneiform inscriptions tells us that Menahem paid tribute to Assyria in the 8th year of Tiglath-Pileser (Rawl. *Herod.* i. 469), and the same inscription passes on directly to speak of the overthrow of Rezin, who we know was Pekah's ally. Now this is scarcely compatible with the supposition that the remainder of Menahem's reign, the 2 years of Pekahiah, and 18 or 19 years of Pekah's reign intervened, as must have been the case according to 2 K. xvi. 1, xv. 32. But if the invasion of Judæa was one of the early acts of Pekah's reign, and the destruction of Rezin followed soon after, then we should have a very intelligible course of events as follows. Menahem paid his last tribute to Assyria in the 8th of Tiglath-Pileser, his suzerain (2 K. xv. 19), which, as he reigned for some time under Pul, and only reigned 10 years in all, we may assume to have been his own last year. On the accession of his son Pekahiah, Pekah, one of his captains, rebelled against him, made an alliance with Rezin king of Syria to throw off the yoke of Assyria, in the course of a few months dethroned and killed Pekahiah, and reigned in his stead, and rapidly followed up his success by a joint expedition against Judah, the object of which was to set up a king who should strengthen his hands in his rebellion against Assyria. The king of Assyria, on learning this, and receiving Ahaz's message for help, immediately marches to Syria, takes Damascus, conquers and kills Rezin, invades Israel, and carries away a large body of captives (2 K. xv. 29), and leaves Pekah to reign as tributary king over the enfeebled remnant, till a conspiracy deprived him of his life. Such a course of events would be consistent with the cuneiform inscription, and with everything in the Scripture narrative, except the synchronistic arrangement of the reigns. But of course it is impossible to affirm that the above was the true state of the case. Only at present the text and the cuneiform inscription do not agree, and few people will be satisfied with the explanation suggested by Mr. Rawlinson, that "the official who composed, or the workman who engraved, the Assyrian document, made a mistake in the name," and put Menahem when he should have put Pekah (*Bampt. Lect.* pp. 186, 409; *Herod.* i. 468–471). Again: "Scripture places only 8 years between the fall of Samaria and the first invasion of Judæa by Sennacherib" (*i. e.* from the 6th to the 14th of Hezekiah). "The inscriptions (cuneiform) assigning the fall of Samaria to the first year of Sargon giving Sargon a reign of *at least* 15 years, and assigning the first attack on Hezekiah to Sennacherib's third year, put an interval of *at least* 18 years between the two events" (Rawl. *Herod.* i. 479). This interval is further shown by reference to the canon of Ptolemy to have amounted in fact to 22 years. Again, Lepsius (*Königsb.* p. 95–97) shows with remarkable force of argument that the 14th of Hezekiah could not by possibility fall *earlier* than B. C. 692, with reference to Tirhakah's accession; but that the additional date of the 3d of Sennacherib furnished by the cuneiform inscriptions, coupled with the fact given by Berosus, that the year B. C. 693 was the year of Sennacherib's accession, fixes the year B. C. 691 as that of Sennacherib's invasion, and consequently as the 14th of Hezekiah. But from B. C. 691 to B. C. 586, when Jerusalem was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, is an interval of only 105 years; whereas the sum of the regnal years of Judah for the same interval amounts to 125 years.[a] From which calculations it necessarily follows, both that there is an error in those figures in the book of Kings which assign the relative positions of the destruction of Samaria and Sennacherib's invasion, and also in those which measure the distance between the invasion of Sennacherib and the destruction of Jerusalem. It should, however, be noted that there is nothing to fix the fall of Samaria to the reign of Hezekiah but the statement of the synchronism; and 2 Chr. xxx. 6, 18, &c., seems rather to indicate that the kingdom of Israel had quite ceased in the 1st of Hezekiah. Many other numbers have the same stamp of incorrectness. Rehoboam's age is given as 41 at his accession, 1 K. xiv. 21, and yet we read at 2 Chr. xiii. 7, that he was "young and tender-hearted" when he came to the throne. Moreover, if 41 when he became king, he must have been born before Solomon came to the throne, which seems improbable, especially in connection with his Ammonitish mother. In the apocryphal passage moreover in the Cod. Vat. of the LXX., which follows 1 K. xii. 24, his age is said to have been 16 at his accession, which is much more probable. According to the statement in 2 K. xv. 33, compared with ver. 2, Uzziah's son and heir Jotham was not born till his father was 42 years old; and according to 2 K. xxi. 1, compared with ver. 19, Manasseh's son and heir Amon was not born till his father was in his 45th year. Still more improbable is the statement in 2 K. xviii. 2, compared with xvi. 2, which makes Hezekiah to have been born when his father was 11 years old: a statement which Bochart has endeavored to defend with his usual vast erudition, but with little success (*Opera*, i. 921). But not only does the incorrectness of the numbers testify against their genuineness, but in some passages the structure of the sentence seems to betray the fact of a later insertion of the chronological element. We have seen one instance in 1 K. vi. 1. In like manner at 1 K. xiv. 31, xv. 1, 2, we can see that at some time or other xv. 1 has been inserted between the two other verses. So again ver. 9 has been inserted between 8 and 10; and xv 24 must have once stood next to xxii. 42, as xxii.

[a] Lepsius proposes reducing the reign of Manasseh to 35 years. He observes with truth the improbability of Amon having been born in the 45th year of his father's life. Mr. Bosanquet would lower the date of the destruction of Jerusalem to the year B. C. 555.

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90 did to 2 K. viii. 17, at which time the corrupt ver. 16 had no existence. Yet more manifestly viii. 24, 26, were once consecutive verses, though they are now parted by 25, which is repeated, with a variation in the numeral, at ix. 29. So also xvi. 1 has been interposed between xv. 38 and xvi. 2. xviii. 2 is consecutive with xvi. 20. But the plainest instance of all is 2 K. xi. 21, xii. 1 (xii. 1 ff., Heb.), where the words "In the seventh year of Jehu, Jehoash began to reign," could not possibly have formed part of the original sentence, which may be seen in its integrity 2 Chr. xxiv. 1. The disturbance caused in 2 K. xii. by the intrusion of this clause is somewhat disguised in the LXX. and the A. V. by the division of Heb. xii. 1 into two verses, and separate chapters, but is still palpable. A similar instance is pointed out by Movers in 2 Sam. v., where ver. 3 and 6 are parted by the introduction of ver. 4, 5 (p. 190). But the difficulty remains of deciding in which of the above cases the insertion was by the hand of the original compiler, and in which by a later chronologist.

Now when to all this we add that the pages of Josephus are full, in like manner, of a multitude of inconsistent chronological schemes, which prevent his being of any use, in spite of Hales's praises, in clearing up chronological difficulties, the proper inference seems to be, that no authoritative, correct, systematic chronology was originally contained in the books of Kings, and that the attempt to supply such afterwards led to the introduction of many erroneous dates, and probably to the corruption of some true ones which were originally there. Certainly the present text contains what are either conflicting calculations of antagonistic chronologists, or errors of careless copyists, which no learning or ingenuity has ever been able to reduce to the consistency of truth.

II. The peculiarities of diction in them, and other features in their literary history, may be briefly disposed of. The words noticed by De Wette, § 185, as indicating their modern date, are the following: אַתִּי for אָתָ, 1 K. xiv. 2. (But this form is also found in Judg. xvii. 2, Jer. iv. 30, Ez. xxxvi. 13, and not once in the later books.) אִוּתוֹ for אֹרוֹ, 2 K. i. 15. (But this form of אֵת is found in Lev. xv. 18, 24; Josh. xiv. 12; 2 Sam. xxiv. 24; Is. lix. 21; Jer. x. 5, xii. 1, xix. 10, xx. 11, xxxv. 2; Ez. xiv. 4, xxvii. 26.) יִשֹּׂם for יָשֻׂם, 1 K. ix. 8. (But Jer. xix. 8, xlix. 17, are identical in phrase and orthography.) רָצִין for רְצִים, 2 K. xl. 13. (But everywhere else in Kings, *e. g.* 2 K. xi. 6, &c., רָצִים, which is also universal in Chronicles, an avowedly later book; and here, as in יְדֹנִין, 1 K. xi. 33, there is every appearance of the ן being a clerical error for the copulative ו; see Thenius, *l. c.*) מְדִינוֹת, 1 K. xx. 14. (But this word occurs Lam. i. 1, and there is every appearance of its being a technical word in 1 K. xx. 14, and therefore as old as the reign of Ahab.) כֹּר for חֹמֶר, 1 K. iv. 22. (But כֹּר is used by Ez. xlv. 14, and *homer* seems to have been then already obsolete.) דֹּדִים 1 K. xxi. 8, 11. (Occurs in Is. and Jer.) רַב 2 K. xxv. 8. (But as the term evidently came in with the Chaldees, as seen in Rab-shakeh, Rab-saris Rab-mag, its application to the Chaldee general is no evidence of a time later than the person to whom the title is given.) שָׁלֵם, 1 K. viii. 61, &c. (But there is not a shadow of proof that this expression belongs to late Hebr. It is found, among other places, in Is. xxxviii. 3; a passage against the authenticity of which there is also not a shadow of proof, except upon the presumption that prophetic intimations and supernatural interventions on the part of God are impossible.) חַשְׁמַנִּיל, 2 K. xviii. 7. (On what grounds this word is adduced it is impossible to guess, since it occurs in this sense in Josh., Is., Sam., and Jer.: *vid.* Gesen.) בַּפְּחָנוֹן, 2 K. xviii. 19. (Is. xxxvi. 4, Eccl. ix. 4.) יְהוּדִית, 2 K. xviii. 26. (But why should not a *Jew*, in Hezekiah's reign, as well as in the time of Nehemiah, have called his mother-tongue "the *Jews'* language," in opposition to the *Aramæan*? There was nothing in the Babylonish Captivity to give it the name, if it had it not before; nor is there a single earlier instance — Is. xix. 18 might have furnished one — of *any* name given to the language spoken by all the Israelites, and which in later times was called Hebrew: Ἑβραϊστί, Prolog. Ecclus.; Luke xxiii. 38; John v. 2, &c.)[a] דִּבֶּר מִשְׁפָּט אֵת, 2 K. xxv. 6. (Frequent in Jer. iv. 12, xxxix. 5, &c.) Theod. Parker adds פֶּרֶזוֹת (see, too, Thenius, *Einl.* § 6), 1 K. x. 15, xx. 24; 2 K. xviii. 24, on the presumption probably of its being of Persian derivation; but the etymology and origin of the word are quite uncertain, and it is repeatedly used in Jer. li., as well as Is. xxxvi. 9. With better reason might עֶדְרֶא have been adduced, 1 K. xii. 33. The expression עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר, in 1 K. iv. 24 is also a difficult one to form an impartial opinion about. It is doubtful, as De Wette admits, whether the phrase necessarily implies its being used by one to the east of the Euphrates, because the use varies in Num. xxxii. 19, xxxv. 14; Josh. i. 14 ff., v. 1, xii. 1, 7, xxii. 7; 1 Chr. xxvi. 30; Deut. i. 1, 5, &c. It is also conceivable that the phrase might be used as a mere geographical designation by those who belonged to one of "the provinces beyond the river" subject to Babylon: and at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, Judæa had been such a province for at least 23 years, and probably longer. We may safely affirm therefore, that on the whole the peculiarities of diction in these books do not indicate a time after the Captivity, or towards the close of it, but on the contrary point pretty distinctly to the age of Jeremiah. And it may be added, that the marked and systematic differences between the language of Chronicles and that of Kings, taken with the fact that all attempts to prove the Chronicles later than Ezra have utterly failed, lead to the same conclusion. (See many examples in Movers, p. 200 ff.) Other peculiar or rare expressions in these books are the proverbial ones. מָשְׁתִּין בְּקִיר, found only in them and in Sam. xxv. 22, 34, "slept with his fathers," 'him that dieth in the city, the dogs shall eat,' etc.

[a] See Rödiger's *Gesen. Heb. Gramm.* Eng. tr. p. 6; Keil, *Chron.* p. 40.

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כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה אֵל, 1 K. ii. 23, &c.; also חָרִיתַ, 1 K. i. 41, 45; elsewhere only in poetry, and in the composition of proper names, except Deut. ii. 36. זְחֵלֶת, i. 9. בַּדְרַגְרִים, "fowl," iv. 23. אֲרֻת, "stalls," v. 6; 2 Chr. ix. 25. הֶעֱלָה מס, v. 13, ix. 15, 21. מַסָּע, "a stone-quarry" (Gesen.), vi. 7. לְחָתָן, vi. 17. לְחָתָן, 19. פְּקָעִים and פַּקֻּעוֹת, "wild cucumbers," vi. 18, vii. 24, 2 K. iv. 39. מְכוֹנָה, x. 28; the names of the months אֲתָנִים, viii. 2, בּוּל, vi. 37, 38. עָדָא, "to invent," xii. 33, Neh. vi. 8, in both cases joined with מְלֵכֶת. מִפְלֶצֶת, "an idol," xv. 13. בְּעֵר and הַבְעִיר, followed by אַחֲרֵי, "to destroy," xiv. 10, xvi. 3, xxi. 21. דְּבָקִים, "*joints* of the armor," xxii. 34. שִׁיג, "a pursuit," xviii. 27. גָּהַר "to bend one's self," xviii. 42, 2 K. iv. 34, 35. שָׁנַם, "to gird up," xviii. 46. אַפֵּר, "a head-band," xx. 38, 41. שָׁפַק, "to suffice," xx. 10. חָלַט, incert. signif. xx. 33. עָשָׂה מָלוּכָה, "to reign," xxi. 7. צַלַּחַת, "a dish," 2 K. ii. 20. נָלַם, "to fold up," *ib.* 8. נֹקֵד, "a herdsman," iii. 4, Am. i. 1. אֲסוּפִי, "an all-cup," iv. 2. חָרַד אֶל, "to have a care for," 13; זָרַר, "to sneeze," 35; צְקָלוֹן, "a bag," 42. חָרִיט, "a money-bag," v. 23. תַּחֲנָה, "an encamping" (?) vi. 8; פֶּרַח, "a feast," 23; נָחֵת, "descending," 9; נַב, "a cab," 25; חֲרֵי יוֹנִים, "dove's dung," *ib.* מַכְעֵר, perhaps "a fly-net," viii. 15. גֶּרֶם (in sense of "self," as in Chald. and Samar.), ix. 13. עֲפוּר, "a heap," x. 8; מֶלְתָּחָה, "a vestry," 22; מַחֲרָאָה, "a draught-house," 27. פָּרִי, "Cherethites," xi. 4, 19, and 2 Sam. xx. 23, Cethib. מִשְׁמָר, "a keeping off," xi. 6. מַכָּר, "an acquaintance," xii. 6. The form יוֹר, from יָרָה, "to shoot," xiii. 17. בְּנֵי הַתַּעֲרֻבוֹת, "hostages," xiv. 14, 2 Chr. xxv. 24. בֵּית חַחֲנְקִשִׁית, "sick house," xv. 5, 2 Chr. xxvi. 21. קָבֵל, "before," xv. 10. דַּרְמֶשֶׂק, "Damascus," xvi. 10 (perhaps only a false reading). מִרְצָפָת, "a pavement," xvi. 17. מוֹסָךְ, or מִיסָךְ, "a covered way," xvi. 18. חָפָא in Pih. "to do secretly," xvii. 9. אֲשֵׁירָה, with ', 16, only besides Deut. vii. 5, Mic. v. 14. נָדָא, *i. q.* נָדַד, xvii. 21 (Cethib). שֹׁמְרוֹנִים, Samaritans," 29. נְחֶשְׁתָּן, "Nemushtan," xviii. 4. אֻמְנָה, "a pillar," 16. עֲשָׂה בְרָכָה, "to make peace," 31, Is. xxxvi. 16. סָחִישׁ "that which grows up the third year," xix. 29, Is. xxxvii. 30. בֵּית נְכֹת, "treasure-house," xx. 13, Is. xxxix. 2. מִשְׁנֶה, part of Jerusalem so called, xxii. 14, Zeph. i. 10, Neh. xi. 9. מַזָּלוֹת, "signs of the Zodiac," xxiii. 5. פְּרָזוֹן, "a suburb," xxiii. 11. גְּבִים, "ploughmen," xxv. 12 (Cethib). שְׁנָא, for שְׁנָה, "to change," xxv. 20. To which may be added the architectural terms in 1 K. vi., vii., and the names of foreign idols in 2 K. xvii. The general character of the language is, most distinctly, that of the time before the Babylonish Captivity. But it is worth consideration whether some traces of dialectic varieties in Judah and Israel, and of an earlier admixture of Syriasms in the language of Israel, may not be discovered in those portions of these books which refer to the kingdom of Israel. As regards the text, it is far from being perfect. Besides the errors in numerals, some of which are probably to be traced to this source, such passages as 1 K. xv. 6, v. 10, compared with v. 2; 2 K. xv. 30, viii. 16, xvii. 34, are manifest corruptions of transcribers. In some instances the parallel passage in Chronicles corrects the error, as 1 K. iv. 26 is corrected by 2 Chr. ix. 25; 2 K. xiv. 21, &c., by 2 Chr. xxvi. 1, &c. So the probable misplacement of the section 2 K. xxiii. 4–20 is corrected by 2 Chr. xxxiv. 3–7. The substitution of Azariah for Uzziah in 2 K. xiv. 21, and throughout 2 K. xv. 1–30, except ver. 13, followed by the use of the right name, Uzziah, in vv. 30, 32, 34, is a very curious circumstance. In Isaiah, in Zechariah (xiv. 5), and in the Chronicles (except 1 Chr. iii. 12), it is uniformly Uzziah. Perhaps no other cause is to be sought than the close resemblance between עזיה and עזריה, and the fact that the latter name, Azariah, might suggest itself more readily to a Levitical scribe. There can be little doubt that Uzziah was the king's true name, Azariah that of the high-priest. (But see Thenius on 1 K. xiv. 21.)

In connection with these literary peculiarities may be mentioned also some remarkable variations in the version of the LXX. These consist of *transpositions*, *omissions*, and some considerable *additions*, of all which Thenius gives some useful notices in his Introduction to the books of Kings.

The most important *transpositions* are the history of Shimei's death, 1 K. ii. 36–46, which in the LXX. (Cod. Vat.) comes after iii. 1, and divers scraps from chaps. iv., v., and ix., accompanied by one or two remarks of the translators.

The sections 1 K. iv. 20–25, 2–6, 26, 21, 1, are strung together and precede 1 K. iii. 2–28, but are many of them repeated again in their proper places.

The sections 1 K. iii. 1, ix. 16, 17, are strung together, and placed between iv. 34 and v. 1.

The section 1 K. vii. 1–12 is placed after vii. 51.

Section viii. 12, 13, is placed after 53.

Section ix. 15–23 is placed after x. 22.

Section xi. 43, xii. 1, 2, 3, is much transposed and confused in LXX. xi. 43, 44, xii. 1–3.

Section xiv. 1–21 is placed in the midst of the long addition to Chr. xii. mentioned below.

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Section xxii. 42–50 is placed after xvi. 28. Chaps. xx. and xxi. are transposed.

Section 2 K. iii. 1–3 is placed after 2 K. i. 18.

The *omissions* are few.

Section 1 K. vi. 11–14 is entirely omitted, and 37, 38, are only slightly alluded to at the opening of ch. iii. The erroneous clause 1 K. xv. 6 is omitted; and so are the dates of Asa's reign in xvi. 8 and 15; and there are a few verbal omissions of no consequence.

The chief interest lies in the *additions*, of which the principal are the following. The supposed mention of a fountain as among Solomon's works in the Temple in the passage after 1 K. ii. 35; of a paved causeway on Lebanon, iii. 46; of Solomon pointing to the sun at the dedication of the Temple, before he uttered the prayer, "The Lord said he would dwell in the thick darkness," etc., viii. 12, 13 (after 53 LXX.), with a reference to the βίβλιον τῆς ᾠδῆς, a passage on which Thenius relies as proving that the Alexandrian had access to original documents now lost; the information that "Joram his brother" perished with Tibni, xvi. 22; an additional date, "in the 24th year of Jeroboam," xv. 8; numerous verbal additions, as xi. 29, xvii. 1, &c.; and lastly the long passage concerning Jeroboam the son of Nebat, inserted between xii. 24 and 25. There are also many glosses of the translator, explanatory, or necessary in consequence of transpositions, as *e. g.* 1 K. ii. 35, viii. 1, xi. 43, xvii. 20, xix. 2, &c. Of the above, from the recapitulatory character of the passage after 1 K. ii. 35, containing in brief the sum of the things detailed in ch. vii. 21–23, it seems far more probable that ΚΡΗΝΗΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΤΑΗΣ is only a corruption of ΚΡΙΝΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΛΑΜ, there mentioned. The obscure passage about Lebanon after ii. 46, seems no less certainly to represent what in the Heb. is ix. 18, 19, as appears by the triple concurrence of Tadmor, Lebanon, and διυγατεύματα, representing מְמִשְׁלֹתוֹ. The strange mention of the sun seems to be introduced by the translator to give significance to Solomon's mention of the House which he had built for God, who had said He would dwell in *the thick darkness*; not therefore under the unveiled light of the sun; and the reference to "the book of song" can surely mean nothing else than to point out that the passage to which Solomon referred was Ps. xcvii. 2. Of the other additions the mention of Tibni's brother Joram is the one which has most the semblance of an historical fact, or makes the existence of any other source of history probable. See too 1 K. xx. 19, 2 K. xv. 25. There remains only the long passage about Jeroboam. That this account is only an apocryphal version made up of the existing materials in the Hebrew Scriptures, after the manner of 1 Esdras, Bel and the Dragon, the apocryphal Esther, the Targums, etc., may be inferred on the following grounds. The framework of the story is given in the very words of the Hebrew narrative, and that very copiously, and the new matter is only worked in here and there. Demonstrably therefore the Hebrew account existed when the Greek one was framed, and was the original one. The principal new facts introduced, the marriage of Jeroboam to the sister of Shishak's wife, and his request to be permitted to return, is a manifest imitation of the story of Hadad. The misplacement of the story of Abijah's sickness, and the visit of Jeroboam's wife to Ahijah the Shilonite, makes the whole history out of keeping — the disguise of the queen, the rebuke of Jeroboam's idolatry (which is accordingly left out from Ahijah's prophecy, as is the mention at v. 2 of his having told Jeroboam he should be king), and the king's anxiety about the recovery of his son and heir. The embellishments of the story, Jeroboam's chariots, the amplification of Ahijah's address to Ano, the request asked of Pharaoh, the new garment *not washed in water*, are precisely such as an embroiderer would add, as we may see by the apocryphal books above cited. Then the fusing down the three Hebrew names צְרוּעָה, צְרֵדָה, and יְהוֹעַדָּה, into one Χαριρά, thus giving the same name to the mother of Jeroboam, and to the city where she dwelt, shows how comparatively modern the story is, and how completely of Greek growth. A yet plainer indication is the confounding Shemaiah of 1 K. xii. 22, with Shemaiah the Nehelamite of Jer. xxix. 24, 31, and putting Ahijah's prophecy into his mouth. For beyond all question Ἐνλαμί, 1 K. xii., is only another form of Αἰλαμίτης (Jer. xxxvi. 24, LXX.). Then again the story is self-contradictory. For if Jeroboam's child Abijam was not born till a year or so after Solomon's death, how could "any good thing toward the Lord God of Israel" have been found in him before Jeroboam became king? The one thing in the story that is more like truth than the Hebrew narrative is the age given to Rehoboam, 16 years, which may have been preserved in the MS. which the writer of this romance had before him. The calling Jeroboam's mother γυνὴ πόρνη instead of γυνὴ χήρα, was probably accidental.

On the whole then it appears that the great variations in the LXX. contribute little or nothing to the elucidation of the history contained in these books, nor much even to the text. The Hebrew text and arrangement is not in the least shaken in its main points, nor is there the slightest cloud cast on the accuracy of the history, or the truthfulness of the prophecies contained in it. But these variations illustrate a characteristic tendency of the Jewish mind to make interesting portions of the Scriptures the groundwork of separate religious tales, which they altered or added to according to their fancy, without any regard to history or chronology, and in which they exercised a peculiar kind of ingenuity in working up the Scripture materials, or in inventing circumstances calculated as they thought to make the main history more probable. The story of Zerubbabel's answer in 1 Esdr. about truth, to prepare the way for his mission by Darius; of the discovery of the imposture of Bel's priests by Daniel, in Bel and the Dragon; of Mordecai's dream in the Apocr. Esther; and the paragraph in the Talmud inserted to connect 1 K. xvi. 34, with xvii. 1 (Smith's *Sacr. Ann.*, vol. ii. p. 421), are instances of this. And the reign of Solomon,[a] and the remarkable rise of Jeroboam were not unlikely to exercise this propensity of the Hellenistic Jews. It is to the existence of such works that the variations in the LXX. account of Solomon and Jeroboam may most probably be attributed.

Another feature in the literary condition of our books must just be noticed, namely that the compiler

[a] A later tale of Solomon's wisdom, in imitation of the judgment of the two women, told in the Talmud, may be seen in *Curiosities of Literature*, i. 226. The Talmud contains many more.

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in arranging his materials, and adopting the very words of the documents used by him, has not always been careful to avoid the *appearance* of contradiction. Thus the mention of the staves of the ark remaining in their place "unto this day," 1 K. viii. 8, does not accord with the account of the destruction of the Temple 2 K. xxv. 9. The mention of Elijah as the only prophet of the Lord left, 1 K. xviii. 22, xix. 10, has an appearance of disagreement with xx. 13, 28, 35, &c., though xviii. 4, xix. 18, supply, it is true, a ready answer. In 1 K. xxi. 13, only Naboth is mentioned, while in 2 K. ix. 26, his sons are added. The prediction in 1 K. xix. 15–17 has no perfect fulfillment in the following chapters. 1 K. xxii. 38 does not seem to be a fulfillment of xxi. 19.[a] The declaration in 1 K. ix. 22 does not seem in harmony with xi. 28. There are also some singular repetitions, as 1 K. xiv. 21 compared with 31; 2 K. ix. 29 with viii. 25; xiv 15, 16 with xiii. 12, 13. But it is enough just to have pointed these out, as no real difficulty can be found in them.

III. As regards the authorship of these books, but little difficulty presents itself. The Jewish tradition which ascribes them to Jeremiah, is borne out by the strongest internal evidence, in addition to that of the language. The last chapter, especially as compared with the last chapter of the Chronicles, bears distinct traces of having been written by one who did not go into captivity, but remained in Judæa, after the destruction of the Temple. This suits Jeremiah.[b] The events singled out for mention in the concise narrative, are precisely those of which he had personal knowledge, and in which he took special interest. The famine in 2 K. xxv. 3 was one which had nearly cost Jeremiah his life (Jer. xxxviii. 9). The capture of the city, the flight and capture of Zedekiah, the judgment and punishment of Zedekiah and his sons at Riblah, are related in 2 K. xxv. 1–7, in almost the identical words which we read in Jer. xxxix. 1–7. So are the breaking down and burning of the Temple, the king's palace, and the houses of the great men, the deportation to Babylon of the fugitives and the surviving inhabitants of Jerusalem and Judæa. The intimate knowledge of what Nebuzar-adan did, both in respect to those selected for capital punishment, and those carried away captive, and those poor whom he left in the land, displayed by the writer of 2 K. xxv. 11, 12, 18–21, is fully explained by Jer. xxxix. 10–14, xl. 1–5, where we read that Jeremiah was actually one of the captives who followed Nebuzar-adan as far as Ramah, and was very kindly treated by him. The careful enumeration of the pillars and of the sacred vessels of the Temple which were plundered by the Chaldæans, tallies exactly with the prediction of Jeremiah concerning them, xxvii. 19–22. The paragraph concerning the appointment of Gedaliah as governor of the remnant, and his murder by Ishmael, and the flight of the Jews into Egypt, is merely an abridged account of what Jeremiah tells us more fully, xl.–xliii. 7, and are events in which he was personally deeply concerned. The writer in Kings has nothing more to tell us concerning the Jews or Chaldees in the land of Judah, which exactly agrees with the hypothesis that he is Jeremiah, who we know was carried down to Egypt with the fugitives. In fact, the date of the writing and the position of the writer seem as clearly marked by the termination of the narrative at v. 26, as in the case of the Acts of the Apostles.[c] It may be added, though the argument is of less weight, that the annexation of this chapter to the writings of Jeremiah so as to form Jer. lii. (with the additional clause contained 28–30), is an evidence of a very ancient, if not a contemporary belief, that Jeremiah was the author of it. Again, the special mention of Seraiah the high-priest, and Zephaniah, the second priest, as slain by Nebuzar-adan (v. 18), together with three other priests,[d] is very significant when taken in connection with Jer. xxi. 1, xxix. 25–29, passages which show that Zephaniah belonged to the faction which opposed the prophet, a faction which was headed by priests and false prophets (Jer. xxvi. 7, 8, 11, 16). Going back to the xxivth chapter, we find in ver. 14 an enumeration of the captives taken with Jehoiachin identical with that in Jer. xxiv. 1; in ver. 13, a reference to the vessels of the Temple precisely similar to that in Jer. xxvii. 18–20, xxviii. 3, 6, and in vv. 3, 4, a reference to the idolatries and bloodshed of Manasseh very similar to those in Jer. ii. 34, xix. 4–8, &c., a reference which also connects ch. xxiv. with xxi. 6, 13–16. In ver. 2 the enumeration of the hostile nations, and the reference to the prophets of God, point directly to Jer. xxv. 9, 20, 21, and the reference to Pharaoh Necho in ver. 7 points to ver. 19, and to xlvi. 1–12. Brief as the narrative is, it brings out all the chief points in the political events of the time which we know were much in Jeremiah's

[a] For a discussion of this difficulty see NABOTH, JEZREEL. The simplest explanation is that Naboth was stoned at Samaria, since we find the elders of Jezreel at Samaria, 2 K. x. 1. Thus both the spot where Naboth's blood flowed, and his vineyard at Jezreel, were the scene of righteous retribution.

[b] De Wette cites from Hävernick and Movers, 1 K. x. 8, 9, comp. with Jer. xxii. 8; 2 K. xvii. 13, 14, comp. with Jer. vii. 13, 24; 2 K. xxi. 12, comp. with Jer. xix. 3; and the identity of Jer. lii. with 2 K. xxiv. 18 ff., xxv., as the strongest passages in favor of Jeremiah's authorship, which, however, he repudiates, on the ground that 2 K. xxv. 27–30 could not have been written by him. A weaker ground can scarcely be imagined. Jer. xv. 1 may also be cited as connecting the compilation of the books of Samuel with Jeremiah. Compare further 1 K. viii. 51 with Jer. xi. 4.

[c] The last four verses, relative to Jehoiachin, are equally a supplement whether added by the author or by some later hand. There is nothing impossible in the supposition of Jeremiah having survived till the 37th of Jehoiachin's captivity, though he would have been between 80 and 90. There is something touching in the idea of this gleam of joy having reached the prophet in his old age, and of his having added these few words to his long-finished history of his nation.

[d] These priests, of very high rank, called שֹׁמְרֵי הַסַּף, "keepers of the door," *i. e.* of the three principal entrances to the Temple, are not to be confounded with the porters, who were Levites. We are expressly told in 2 K. xii. 10 (9, A. V.) that these "keepers" were priests. 2 K. xxii. 4, xxiii. 4, with xii. 10 and xxv. 18, clearly point out the rank of these officers as next in dignity to the second priest, or sagan. [HUGH-PARRY, vol. ii. p. 1069.] Josephus calls them τοὺς φυλάσσοντας τὸ ἱερὸν ἡγεμόνας. The expression שֹׁמְרֵי הַסַּף, is however also applied to the Levites in 2 Chr. xxxiv. 9, 1 Chr. ix. 19 [KOSEGARTEN.]

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mind; and yet, which is exceedingly remarkable, Jeremiah is never once named (as he is in 2 Chr. xxxvi. 12, 21), although the manner of the writer is frequently to connect the sufferings of Judah with their sins and their neglect of the Word of God, 2 K. xvii. 13 ff., xxiv. 2, 3, &c. And this leads to another striking coincidence between that portion of the history which belongs to Jeremiah's times, and the writings of Jeremiah himself. De Wette speaks of the superficial character of the history of Jeremiah's times as hostile to the theory of Jeremiah's authorship. Now, considering the nature of these annals, and their conciseness, this criticism seems very unfounded as regards the reigns of Josiah, Jehoahaz, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah. It must, however, be acknowledged that as regards Jehoiakim's reign, and especially the latter part of it, and the way in which he came by his death, the narrative is much more meagre than one would have expected from a contemporary writer, living on the spot. But exactly the same paucity of information is found in those otherwise copious notices of contemporary events with which Jeremiah's prophecies are interspersed. Let any one open, *e. g.* Townsend's "*Arrangement*," or Geneste's "*Parallel Histories*," and he will see at a glance how remarkably little light Jeremiah's narrative or prophecies throw upon the latter part of Jehoiakim's reign. The cause of this silence may be difficult to assign, but whatever it was, whether absence from Jerusalem, possibly on the mission described, Jer. xiii.,[a] or imprisonment, or any other impediment, it operated equally on Jeremiah and on the writer of 2 K. xxiv. When it is borne in mind that the writer of 2 K. was a contemporary writer, and, if not Jeremiah, must have had independent means of information, this coincidence will have great weight.

Going back to the reign of Josiah, in the xxiii. and xxii. chapters, the connection of the destruction of Jerusalem with Manasseh's transgressions, and the comparison of it to the destruction of Samaria, vv. 26, 27, lead us back to xxi. 10–13, and that passage leads us to Jer. vii. 15, xv. 4, xix. 3, 4, &c. The particular account of Josiah's passover, and his other good works, the reference in vv. 24, 25 to the law of Moses, and the finding of the Book by Hilkiah the priest, with the fuller account of that discovery in ch. xxii., exactly suit Jeremiah, who began his prophetic office in the 13th of Josiah; whose xiith chap. refers repeatedly to the book thus found; and who showed his attachment to Josiah by writing a lamentation on his death (2 Chr. xxxv. 25), and whose writings show how much he made use of the copy of Deuteronomy so found. [JEREMIAH, HILKIAH.] With Josiah's reign (although we may even in earlier times hit upon occasional resemblances, such for instance as the silence concerning Manasseh's repentance in both), necessarily cease all strongly marked characters of Jeremiah's authorship. For though the general unity and continuity of plan (which, as already observed, pervades not only the books of Kings, but those of Samuel, Ruth, and Judges likewise,) lead us to assign the whole history in a certain sense to one author, and enable us to carry to the account of the whole book the proofs derived from the closing chapters, yet it must be borne in mind that the authorship of those parts of the history of which Jeremiah was not an eye-witness, that is, of all before the reign of Josiah, would have consisted merely in selecting, arranging, inserting the connecting phrases, and, when necessary, slightly modernizing (see Thenius, *Einleit.* § 2) the old histories which had been drawn up by contemporary prophets through the whole period of time. See *e. g.* 1 K. xiii. 32. For, as regards the *sources of information*, it may truly be said that we have the narrative of contemporary writers throughout. It has already been observed [CHRONICLES] that there was a regular series of state-annals both for the kingdom of Judah and for that of Israel, which embraced the whole time comprehended in the books of Kings, or at least to the end of the reign of Jehoiakim, 2 K. xxiv. 5. These annals are constantly cited by name as "the Book of the Acts of Solomon," 1 K. xi. 41; and, after Solomon, "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah, *or* Israel," *e. g.* 1 K. xiv. 29, xv. 7, xvi. 5, 14, 20; 2 K. x. 34, xxiv. 5, &c., and it is manifest that the author of Kings had them both before him, while he drew up his history, in which the reigns of the two kingdoms are harmonized, and these annals constantly appealed to. But in addition to these national annals, there were also extant, at the time that the books of Kings were compiled, separate works of the several prophets who had lived in Judah and Israel, and which probably bore the same relation to the annals, which the historical parts of Isaiah and Jeremiah bear to those portions of the annals preserved in the books of Kings, *i. e.* were, in some instances at least, fuller and more copious accounts of the current events, by the same hands which drew up the more concise narrative of the annals, though in others perhaps mere duplicates. Thus the acts of Uzziah, written by Isaiah, were very likely identical with the history of his reign in the national chronicles; and part of the history of Hezekiah we know was identical in the chronicles and in the prophet. The chapter in Jeremiah relating to the destruction of the Temple (lii.) is identical with that in 2 K. xxiv., xxv. In later times we have supposed that a chapter in the prophecies of Daniel was used for the national chronicles, and appears as Ezr. ch. i. [EZRA, BOOK OF.] Compare also 2 K. xvi. 5, with Is. vii. 1; 2 K. xviii. 8, with Is. xiv. 28–32. As an instance of verbal agreement, coupled with greater fullness in the prophetic account, see 2 K. xx. compared with Is. xxxviii., in which latter alone is Hezekiah's *writing* given.

These other works, then, as far as the memory of them has been preserved to us, were as follows (see Keil's *Apolog. Vers.*). For the time of David, the book of Samuel the seer, the book of Nathan the prophet, and the book of Gad the seer (2 Sam. xxi.–xxiv. with 1 K. 1, being probably extracted from Nathan's book), which seem to have been collected — at least that portion of them relating to David — into one work called "the Acts of David the King," 1 Chr. xxix. 29. For the time of Solomon, "the Book of the Acts of Solomon,"

[a] The prophet does not tell us that he returned to Jerusalem after hiding his girdle in the Euphrates. The "many days" spoken of in ver. 6 may have been spent among the Captivity at Babylon. [JEREMIAH, p. 1257.] He may have returned just after Jehoiakim's death; and "the king and the queen," in ver. 18 may mean Jehoiachin and his mother. Comp. 2 K. xxiv. 12, 15, which would be the fulfillment of Jer. xiii. 18, 19.

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1 K. xi. 41, consisting probably of parts of the "book of Nathan the prophet, the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and the visions of Iddo the seer," 2 Chr. ix. 29. For the time of Rehoboam, "the words of Shemaiah the prophet, and of Iddo the seer concerning genealogies," 2 Chr. xii. 15. For the time of Abijah, "the story (מִדְרָשׁ) [a] of the prophet Iddo," 2 Chr. xiii. 22. For the time of Jehoshaphat "the words of Jehu the son of Hanani," 2 Chr. xx. 34. For the time of Uzziah, "the writings of Isaiah the prophet," 2 Chr. xxvi. 22. For the time of Hezekiah, "the vision of Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz," 2 Chr. xxxii. 32. For the time of Manasseh, a book called "the sayings of the seers," as the A. V., following the LXX., Vulg., Kimchi, etc., rightly renders the passage, in accordance with ver. 18, 2 Chr. xxxiii. 19, though others, following the grammar too servilely, make *Chozai* a proper name, because of the absence of the article. [CHRONICLES, vol. i. p. 431.] For the time of Jeroboam II., a prophecy of "Jonah, the son of Amittai the prophet, of Gath-hepher," is cited, 2 K. xiv. 25; and it seems likely that there were books containing special histories of the acts of Elijah and Elisha, seeing that the times of these prophets are described with such copiousness. Of the latter Gehazi might well have been the author, to judge from 2 K. viii. 4, 5, as Elisha himself might have been of the former. Possibly too the prophecies of Azariah the son of Oded, in Asa's reign, 2 Chr. xv. 1, and of Hanani (2 Chr. xvi. 7) (unless this latter is the same as Jehu son of Hanani, as Oded is put for Azariah in xv. 8) and Micaiah the son of Imlah, in Ahab's reign; and Eliezer the son of Dodavah, in Jehoshaphat's; and Zechariah the son of Jehoiada, in Jehoash's; and Oded, in Pekah's; and Zechariah, in Uzziah's reign: of the prophetess Huldah, in Josiah's, and others, may have been preserved in writing, some or all of them. These works, or at least many of them, must have been extant at the time when the books of Kings were compiled, as they certainly were much later when the books of Chronicles were put together by Ezra. But whether the author used them all, or only those duplicate portions of them which were embodied in the national chronicles, it is impossible to say, seeing he quotes none of them by name except the Acts of Solomon, and the prophecy of Jonah. On the other hand, we cannot infer from his silence that these books were unused by him, seeing that neither does he quote by name the Vision of Isaiah as the Chronicler does, though he must, from its recent date, have been familiar with it, and that so many parts of his narrative have every appearance of being extracted from these books of the prophets, and contain narratives which it is not likely would have found a place in the chronicles of the kings. (See 1 K. xiv. 4, &c., xvi. 1, &c., xi.; 2 K. xvii., &c.)

With regard to the work so often cited in the Chronicles as "the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah," 1 Chr. ix. 1; 2 Chr. xvi. 11, xxvii. 7, xxviii. 26, xxxii. 32, xxxv. 27, xxxvi. 8, it has been thought by some that it was a separate collection containing the joint histories of the two kingdoms; by others that it is our books of Kings which answer to this description; but by Eichhorn, that it is the same as the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah so constantly cited in the books of Kings; and this last opinion seems the best founded. For in 2 Chr. xvi. 11, the same book is called "the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel," which in the parallel passage, 1 K. xv. 23, is called "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah." So again, 2 Chr. xxvii. 7, comp. with 2 K. xv. 36; 2 Chr. xxviii. 26, comp. with 2 K. xvi. 19; 2 Chr. xxxii. 32, comp. with 2 K. xx. 20; 2 Chr. xxxv. 27, with 2 K. xxiii. 28; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 8, with 2 K. xxiv. 5. Moreover the book so quoted refers exclusively to the affairs of Judah; and even in the one passage where reference is made to it as "the Book of the Kings of Israel," 2 Chr. xx. 34, it is for the reign of Jehoshaphat that it is cited. Obviously, therefore, it is the same work which is elsewhere described as the *Chr. of Israel and Judah*, and of *Judah and Israel*.[b] Nor is this an unreasonable title to give to these chronicles. Saul, David, Solomon, and in some sense Hezekiah, 2 Chr. xxx. 1, 5, 6, and all his successors were kings of Israel as well as of Judah, and therefore it is very conceivable that in Ezra's time the chronicles of Judah should have acquired the name of the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah. Even with regard to a portion of Israel in the days of Rehoboam, the Chronicler remarks, apparently as a matter of gratulation, that "Rehoboam reigned over them," 2 Chr. x. 17; he notices Abijah's authority in portions of the Israelitish territory, 2 Chr. xiii. 18, 19, xv. 8, 9; he not unfrequently speaks of Israel, when the kingdom of Judah is the matter in hand, as 2 Chr. xii. 1, xxi. 4, xxiii. 2, &c., and even calls Jehoshaphat "King of Israel." 2 Chr. xxi. 2, and distinguishes "Israel and Judah," from "Ephraim and Manasseh," xxx. 1; he notices Hezekiah's authority from Dan to Beer-sheba, 2 Chr. xxx. 5, and Josiah's destruction of idols throughout all the land of Israel, xxxiv. 6–9, and his passover for all Israel, xxxv. 17, 18, and seems to parade the title "*King of Israel*" in connection with David and Solomon, xxxv. 3, 4, and the relation of the Levites to "all Israel," ver. 3; and therefore it is only in accordance with the feeling displayed in such passages that the name, "the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah" should be given to the chronicles of the Jewish kingdom. The use of this term in speaking of the "Kings of Israel and Judah who were carried away to Babylon for their transgression," 1 Chr. ix. 1, would be conclusive, if the construction of the sentence were certain. But though it is absurd to separate the words "and Judah" from Israel, as Bertheau does (*Kurzgef. Exeg. Handb.*), following the Masoretic punctuation, seeing that the "*Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah*" is cited in at least six other places in Chr., still it is possible that Israel and Judah might be the antecedent to the pronoun understood before הֻגְלָה. It seems, however, much more likely that the antecedent to אֲשֶׁר is מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וִיהוּדָה. On the whole, therefore, there is no evidence of the existence in the time of the Chronicler of a history,

[a] Movers thinks the term מִדְרָשׁ implies translation from older works.

[b] Thenius comes to the same conclusion (*Einleit.* § 8). It is cited in 2 Chr. xxiv. 27 as "the story" — the Midrash — מִדְרָשׁ of the book of the Kings. Comp 2 K. xii. 19.

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since lost, of the two kingdoms. nor are the books of Kings the work so quoted by the Chronicler, seeing he often refers to it for "the rest of the acts" of Kings, when he has already given all that is contained in our books of Kings. He refers therefore to the chronicles of Judah. From the above authentic sources then was compiled the history in the books under consideration. Judging from the facts that we have in 2 K. xviii., xix., xx., the history of Hezekiah in the very words of Isaiah, xxxvi.–xxxix.; that, as stated above, we have several passages from Jeremiah in duplicate in 2 K., and the whole of Jer. lii. in 2 K. xxiv. 18, &c., xxv.; that so large a portion of the books of Kings is repeated in the books of Chronicles, though the writer of Chronicles had the original chronicles also before him, as well as from the whole internal character of the narrative, and even some of the blemishes referred to under the 2d head; we may conclude with certainty that we have in the books of Kings, not only in the main the history faithfully preserved to us from the ancient chronicles, but most frequently whole passages transferred verbatim into them. Occasionally, no doubt, we have the compiler's own comments or reflections thrown in, as at 2 K. xxi. 10–16, xvii. 10–15, xiii. 23, xvii. 7–41 &c. We connect the insertion of the prophecy in 1 K. xiii. with the fact that the compiler himself was an eye-witness of the fulfillment of it, and can even see how the *words* ascribed to the old prophet are of the age of the compiler.[a] We can perhaps see his hand in the frequent repetition on the review of each reign of the remark, "the high places were not taken away, the people still sacrificed and burnt incense on the high places," 1 K. xxii. 43; 2 K. xii. 3, xiv. 4, xv. 4, 35; cf. 1 K. iii. 3, and in the repeated observation that such and such things, as the staves by which the ark was borne, the revolt of the 10 tribes, the rebellion of Edom, etc., continue "unto this day," though it may be perhaps doubted in some cases whether these words were not in the old chronicle (2 Chr. v. 9). See 1 K. viii. 8, ix. 13, 21, x. 12, xii. 19; 2 K. ii. 22, viii. 22, x. 27, xiii. 23, xiv. 7, xvi. 6, xvii. 23, 34, 41, xxiii. 25. It is, however, remarkable that in no instance does the use of this phrase lead us to suppose that it was penned after the destruction of the Temple: in several of the above instances the phrase necessarily supposes that the Temple and the kingdom of Judah were still standing. If the phrase then is the compiler's, it proves him to have written before the Babylonish Captivity; if it was a part of the chronicle he was quoting, it shows how exactly he transferred its contents to his own pages.

IV. As regards the relation of the books of Kings to those of Chronicles, it is manifest, and is universally admitted, that the former is by far the older work. The language, which is quite free from the Persicisms of the Chronicles and their late orthography, and is not at all more Aramaic than the language of Jeremiah, as has been shown above (II.), clearly points out its relative superiority in regard to age. Its subject also, embracing the kingdom of Israel as well as Judah, is another indication of its composition before the kingdom of Israel was forgotten, and before the Jewish enmity to Samaria, which is apparent in such passages as 2 Chr. xx. 37, xxv., and in those chapters of Ezra (i.–vi.) which belong to Chronicles, was brought to maturity. While the books of Chronicles therefore were written especially for the Jews after their return from Babylon, the book of Kings was written for the whole of Israel, before their common national existence was hopelessly quenched.

Another comparison of considerable interest between the two histories may be drawn in respect to the main design, that design having a marked relation both to the individual station of the supposed writers, and the peculiar circumstances of their country at the times of their writing.

Jeremiah was himself a prophet. He lived while the prophetic office was in full vigor, in his own person, in Ezekiel, and Daniel, and many others, both true and false. In his eyes, as in truth, the main cause of the fearful calamities of his countrymen was their rejection and contempt of the Word of God in his mouth and that of the other prophets; and the one hope of deliverance lay in their hearkening to the prophets who still continued to speak to them in the name of the Lord. Accordingly, we find in the books of Kings great prominence given to the prophetic office. Not only are some fourteen chapters devoted more or less to the history of Elijah and Elisha, the former of whom is but once named, and the latter not once in the Chronicles; but besides the many passages in which the names and sayings of prophets are recorded alike in both histories, the following may be cited as instances in which the compiler of Kings has notices of the prophets which are peculiar to himself. The history of the prophet who went from Judah to Bethel in the reign of Jeroboam, and of the old prophet and his sons who dwelt at Bethel, 1 K. xiii.; the story of Ahijah the prophet and Jeroboam's wife in 1 K. xiv.; the prophecy of Jehu the son of Hanani concerning the house of Baasha, 1 K. xvi.; the reference to the fulfillment of the Word of God in the termination of Jehu's dynasty, in 2 K. xv. 12; the reflections in 2 K. xvii. 7–23; and above all, as relating entirely to Judah, the narrative of Hezekiah's sickness and recovery in 2 K. xx. as contrasted with that in 2 Chr. xxxii., may be cited as instances of that prominence given to prophecy and prophets by the compiler of the book of Kings, which is also especially noticed by De Wette, § 183, and Parker, transl. p. 233.

This view is further confirmed if we take into account the lengthened history of Samuel the prophet, in 1 Sam. (while he is but barely named two or three times in the Chronicles), a circumstance, by the way, strongly connecting the books of Samuel with those of Kings.

Ezra, on the contrary, was only a priest. In his days the prophetic office had wholly fallen into abeyance. That evidence of the Jews being the people of God, which consisted in the presence of prophets among them, was no more. But to the men of his generation, the distinctive mark of the continuance of God's favor to their race was the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem, the restoration of the daily sacrifice and the Levitical worship, and the wonderful and providential renewal of the Mosaic institutions. The chief instrument, too, for preserving the Jewish remnant from absorption into the mass of heathenism, and for maintaining their national life till the coming of Messiah, was the maintenance of the Temple, its ministers, and its services. Hence we see at once that the chief care of a good and enlightened Jew of the age of Ezra

[a] v. 32 The phrase "the cities of Samaria" of course cannot belong to the age of Jeroboam.

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and all the more if he were himself a priest, would naturally be to enhance the value of the Levitical ritual, and the dignity of the Levitical caste. And in compiling a history of the past glories of his race, he would as naturally select such passages as especially bore upon the sanctity of the priestly office, and showed the deep concern taken by their ancestors in all that related to the honor of God's House, and the support of his ministering servants. Hence the Levitical character of the books of Chronicles, and the presence of several detailed narratives not found in the books of Kings, and the more frequent reference to the Mosaic institutions, may most naturally and simply be accounted for, without resorting to the absurd hypothesis that the ceremonial law was an invention subsequent to the Captivity. 2 Chr. xxix., xxx., xxxi. compared with 2 K. xviii. is perhaps as good a specimen as can be selected of the distinctive spirit of the Chronicles. See also 2 Chr. xxvi. 16–21, comp. with 2 K. xv. 5; 2 Chr. xi. 13–17, xiii. 9–20, xv. 1–15, xxiii 2–8, comp. with 2 K. xi. 5–9, and vv. 18, 19, comp. with ver. 18, and many other passages. Moreover, upon the principle that the sacred writers were influenced by natural feelings in their selection of their materials, it seems most appropriate that while the prophetical writer in Kings deals very fully with the kingdom of Israel, in which the prophets were much more illustrious than in Judah, the Levitical writer, on the contrary, should concentrate all his thoughts round Jerusalem where alone the Levitical caste had all its power and functions, and should dwell upon all the instances preserved in existing muniments of the deeds and even the minutest ministrations of the priests and Levites, as well as of their faithfulness and sufferings in the cause of truth. This professional bias is so true to nature, that it is surprising that any one should be found to raise an objection from it. Its subserviency in this instance to the Divine purposes and the instruction of the Church, is an interesting example of the providential government of God. It may be further mentioned as tending to account simply and naturally for the difference in some of the narratives in the books of Kings and Chronicles respectively, that whereas the compiler of Kings usually quotes the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah, the writer of Chronicles very frequently refers to those books of the contemporary prophets which we presume to have contained more copious accounts of the same reigns. This appears remarkably in the parallel passages in 1 K. xi. 41; 2 Chr. ix. 29, where the writer of Kings refers for "the rest of Solomon's acts" to the "book of the acts of Solomon," while the writer of Chronicles refers to "the book of Nathan the prophet" and "the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite," and "the visions of Iddo the seer against Jeroboam the son of Nebat;" and in 1 K. xiv. 29, and 2 Chr. xii. 15, where the writer of Kings sums up his history of Rehoboam with the words, "Now the rest of the acts of Rehoboam and all that he did, are they not written in the *Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah?*" whereas the chronicler substitutes "*in the Book of Shemaiah the prophet, and of Iddo the seer concerning genealogies;*" and in 1 K. xxii. 45, where "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" stands instead of "the Book of Jehu the son of Hanani," in 2 Chr. xx. 34. Besides which, the very formula so frequently used, "the rest of the acts of *so and so*, and all that he did," etc., necessarily supposes that there were in the chronicles of each reign, and in the other works cited, many things recorded which the compiler did not transcribe, and which of course it was open to any other compiler to insert in his narrative if he pleased. If then the chronicler, writing with a different motive and different predilections, and in a different age, had access to the same original documents from which the author of Kings drew his materials, it is only what was to be expected, that he should omit or abridge some things given in detail in the books of Kings, and should insert, or give in detail, some things which the author of Kings had omitted, or given very briefly. The following passages which are placed side by side are examples of these opposite methods of treating the same subject on the part of the two writers: —

Full in Kings.	*Short in Chronicles*
1 K. i., ii. give in detail the circumstances of Solomon's accession, the conspiracy of Adonijah, Joab, Abiathar, etc., and substitution of Zadok in the priest's office in room of Abiathar, the submission of Adonijah and all his party, Joab's death, etc.	1 Chr xxix. 22–24. "And they made Solomon the son of David king the second time, and anointed him unto the Lord to be the chief governor, and Zadok to be priest. Then Solomon sat on the throne of the Lord as king instead of David his father, and prospered, and all Israel obeyed him. And all the princes and the mighty men, and all the sons likewise of king David, submitted themselves unto Solomon the king."
1 K. iii. 5–14. Ver. 6. "And Solomon said, Thou hast showed unto thy servant David my father great mercy, according as he walked before Thee in truth, and in righteousness, and in uprightness of heart with Thee; and Thou hast kept for him this great kindness, that Thou hast given him a son to sit on his throne, as it is this day."	2 Chr. i. 7–12. Ver. 8. "And Solomon said unto God, Thou hast showed great mercy unto David my father,
7, 8, 9, 10. "And the speech pleased the Lord, that Solomon had asked this thing."	and hast made me to reign in his stead."
11. "And God said unto him," etc.	11. "And God said to Solomon," etc.
13. "... like unto thee all thy days."	12. "... any after thee have the like."
14. "And if thou wilt walk in my ways, and keep my statutes and my commandments as thy father David did walk, then I will lengthen thy days."	
15. "And Solomon awoke, and behold it was a dream. And he came to Jerusalem, and stood before the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and offered up burnt-offerings, and offered peace-offerings, and made a feast to all his servants."	13. "Then Solomon came from his journey to the high place that was at Gibeon to Jerusalem, from before the tabernacle of the congregation,

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Full in Kings.	*Short in Chronicles.*
16-28. Solomon's judgment.	
iv. 1. "So king Solomon was king over all Israel."	and reigned over Israel."
2-19. Containing a list of Solomon's officers.	Omitted in Chronicles.
xi. 1-40. Containing history of Solomon's idolatry, and the enmity of Hadad, and Rezon, and Jeroboam against him.	Wholly omitted in Chronicles, except the allusion in 2 Chr. x. 2, "It came to pass, when Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who was in Egypt, whither he had fled from the presence of Solomon the king," etc.
xii. 2. "Who was yet in Egypt." The omission of the word "yet" in Chron. is of course accounted for by his flight to Egypt not having been narrated by the chronicler.	
1 K. xiv. 22-24. A detailed account of the idolatries of Judah in the reign of Rehoboam.	2 Chr. xii. 1. "And it came to pass when Rehoboam had established the kingdom, and had strengthened himself, he forsook the law of the Lord, and all Israel with him."
1 K. xv. 18. "Then Asa took all the silver and the gold that were left in the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house, and delivered them into the hand of his servants; and king Asa sent them to Benhadad the son of Tabrimon, the son of Hezion, king of Syria, that dwelt at Damascus, saying, There is a league," etc.	2 Chr. xvi. 2. "Then Asa brought out silver and gold out of the treasures of the house of the Lord, and of the king's house, and sent to Benhadad king of Syria, that dwelt at Damascus, saying, There is a league," etc.
2 K. xvi. 10-16. A detailed account of Ahaz's visit to Damascus, and setting up an altar in the temple at Jerusalem after the pattern of one at Damascus. Urijah's subserviency, etc.	2 Chr. xxviii. 22, 23. "And in the time of his distress did he trespass yet more against the Lord: this is that king Ahaz. For he sacrificed unto the gods of Damascus which smote him. And he said, Because the gods of Syria help them, therefore will I sacrifice to them, that they may help me."
xx. 1-19. Hezekiah's sickness, prayer, and recovery, with Isaiah's prophecy, and the sign of the shadow on the dial; the visit of the Babylonish ambassadors; Hezekiah's pride, Isaiah's rebuke, and Hezekiah's submission. Throughout the history of Hezekiah the narrative in 2 K. and Isaiah is much fuller than in Chronicles.	xxxii. 24-26. "In those days Hezekiah was sick to the death, and prayed unto the Lord, and He spake unto him and gave him a sign. But Hezekiah rendered not again according to the benefit done unto him; for his heart was lifted up therefore there was wrath upon him, and upon Judah and Jerusalem. Notwithstanding, Hezekiah humbled himself for the pride of his heart, both he and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, so that the wrath of the Lord came not upon them in the days of Hezekiah." Ver. 31. "Howbeit in the business of the ambassadors of the princes of Babylon, who sent unto him to enquire of the wonder done in the land, God left him to try him, that he might know all that was in his heart."
xxi. 10-16. Message from God to Manasseh by His prophets. Manasseh's sin.	2 Chr. xxxiii. 10. "And the Lord spake to Manasseh and his people: but they would not hearken."
2 K. xxiii. 4-25. Detailed account of the destruction of Baal-worship and other idolatrous rites and places in Judah and Israel, by Josiah, "that he might perform the words of the law which were written in the book that Hilkiah the priest found in the house of the Lord."	2 Chr. xxxiv. 32, 33. "And the inhabitants of Jerusalem did according to the covenant of God, the God of their fathers. And Josiah took away all the abominations out of all the countries that pertained to the children of Israel, and made all that were present in Israel to serve, even to serve the Lord their God."

In like manner a comparison of the history of the reigns of Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah, will show, that, except in the matter of Jehoiakim's capture in the 4th year of his reign, and deportation to (or towards) Babylon, in which the author of Chronicles follows Daniel and Ezekiel (Dan. i. 1, 2; Ez. xix. 9), the narrative in Chronicles is chiefly an abridgment of that in Kings. Compare 2 K. xxiii. 30-37, with 2 Chr. xxxvi. 1-5; 2 K. xxiv. 1-7, with 2 Chr. xxxvi. 6-8; 2 K. xxiv. 10-17, with 2 Chr. xxxvi. 10. From 2 Chr. xxxvi. 13, however, to the end of the chapter, is rather a comment upon the history in 2 K. xxv. 1-21, than an abridgment of it.

Under this head should be noticed also what may be called systematic abridgments; as when the statements in Kings concerning high-place worship in the several reigns (2 K. xii. 2, 3, xiv. 3, 4, xv. 3, 4, 35) are either wholly omitted, or more cursorily glanced at, as at 2 Chr. xxv. 2, xxvii. 2; or when the name of the queen-mother is omitted, as in the case of the seven last kings from Manasseh downwards, whose mothers are given by the author of Kings, but struck out by the author of Chronicles. [a] There is some

[a] The annexed list of kings' mothers shows which are named in Kings and Chronicles, which in Kings alone:—

Solomon	son of	Bathsheba, K. and Chr. (i. iii. 5).
Rehoboam	"	Naamah, K. and Chr.
Abijah	"	Maachah or Michaiah, K. and Chr.
Asa	"	Maachah, da. of Abesalom, K. and Chr.
Jehoshaphat	"	Azubah, K. and Chr.
Jehoram	"	———
Ahaziah	"	Athaliah, K. and Chr.
Jeash	"	Zibiah, K. and Chr.
Amaziah	son of	Jehoaddan, K. and Chr.
Uzziah	"	Jecoliah, K. and Chr.
Jotham	"	Jerusha, K. and Chr.
Ahaz	"	———
Hezekiah	"	Abi, K. and Chr.
Manasseh	"	Hephzi-bah, K.
Amon	"	Meshullemeth, K.
Josiah	"	Jedidah, K.
Jehoahaz	"	Hamutal, K.
Jehoiakim	"	Zebudah, K.
Jehoiachin	"	Nehushta, K.
Zedekiah	"	Hamutal, K.

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thing systematic also in the omitted or abbreviated accounts of the idolatries in the reigns of Solomon, Rehoboam, and Ahaz. It may not always be easy to assign the exact motives which influence a writer, who is abbreviating, in his selection of passages to be shortened or left out; but an obvious motive in the case of these idolatries, as well as the high-places, may be found in the circumstance that the idolatrous tendencies of the Jews had wholly ceased during the Captivity, and that the details and repetition of the same remarks relating to them were therefore less suited to the requirements of the age. To see a design on the part of the Chronicler to deceive and mislead, is to draw a conclusion not from the facts before us, but from one's own prejudices. It is not criticism, but invention.

On the other hand, the subjoined passages present some instances in which the books of Kings give the short account, and the books of Chronicles the full one.

Short in Kings.	*Full in Chronicles.*
1 K. viii.	2 Chr. v.
Ver. 10. "And it came to pass when the priests were come out of the holy place,	Ver. 11. "And it came to pass when the priests were come out of the holy place: (for all the priests that were present were sanctified, and did not then wait by course:
	12. "Also the Levites which were the singers, all of them of Asaph, of Heman, of Jeduthun, with their sons and their brethren, being arrayed in white linen, having cymbals and psalteries and harps, stood at the east end of the altar, and with them 120 priests, sounding with trumpets:)
	13. "It came even to pass, as the trumpeters and singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the Lord; and when they lifted up their voice with the trumpets and cymbals and instruments of music, [a] and praised the Lord, saying, For He is good, for His mercy endureth for ever; that then the house was filled with a cloud, even
that the cloud filled the house of the Lord,	the house of the Lord.
11. "So that the priests could not stand to minister because of the cloud: for the glory of the Lord had filled the house of the Lord	14. "So that the priests could not stand to minister by reason of the cloud: for the glory of the Lord had filled the house of God. Then said Solomon," etc.
12. "Then said Solomon," etc.	

Short in Kings.	*Full in Chronicles.*
1 K. viii.	2 Chr vi., vii.
Ver. 52 corresponds with 2 Chr. vi. 40. Ver. 53 is omitted in Chr.	Ver. 41. "Now therefore arise, O Lord God into thy resting-place, thou, and the ark of thy strength: let thy priests, O Lord God, be clothed with salvation, and thy saints rejoice in goodness.
	42. "O Lord God, turn not away the face of thine anointed; remember the mercies of David thy servant.
54. "And it was so that *when Solomon had made an end of praying* all this prayer and supplication unto the Lord, he arose from before the altar of the Lord, from kneeling on his knees with his hands spread up to heaven."	1. "*Now when Solomon had made an end of praying*, the fire came down from heaven, and consumed the burnt-offering and the sacrifices, and the glory of the Lord filled the house, and the priests could not enter into the house of the Lord, because the glory of the Lord had filled the Lord's house. [b] And when all the children of Israel saw how the fire came down, and the glory of the Lord upon the house, they bowed themselves with their faces to the ground, upon the pavement, and worshipped and praised the Lord, saying, For He is good, for His mercy endureth for ever.
55-61. "And he stood and blessed all the congregation," etc.	4. "Then the king and all the people offered sacrifice before the Lord"
62 "And the king, and all Israel with him, offered sacrifices before the Lord."	
1 K. xii. 24 corresponds with 2 Chr. xi. 4.	
Wholly omitted in Kings, where from xii. 25 to xiv. 20 is occupied with the kingdom of Israel, and seems to be not improbably taken from the book of Ahijah the Shilonite.	2 Chr. xi. 5-23. Containing particulars of the reign of Rehoboam, and the gathering of priests and Levites to Jerusalem, during his three first years, very likely from the book of Iddo, as this passage has a genealogical form.
xiv. 25, 26. A very brief mention of Shishak's invasion, and plunder of the sacred and royal treasures.	xii. 2-9. A more detailed account of Shishak's invasion, of the number and nature of his troops, the capture of the fenced cities of Judah, and the prophesying of Shemaiah on the occasion; evidently extracted from the book of Shemaiah.
1 K. xv.	2 Chr. xiii.
Ver. 7. "And there was war between Abijam and Jeroboam."	Ver. 2. "And there was war between Abijah and Jeroboam."
	3-21 contains a detailed account of the war be-

[a] A curious incidental confirmation of the fact of this copious use of musical instruments in Solomon's time may be found in 1 K. x. 11, 12, where we read that Solomon made of the "great plenty of almug-trees" which came from Ophir "harps and psalteries for singers." Several able critics (as Ewald) have inferred from the frequent mention of the Levitical musical services, that the author of Chronicles was one of the singers of the tribe of Levi himself.

[b] This is obviously repeated here, because at this moment the priests ought to have entered into the house, but could not because of the glory.

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Short in Kings.	*Full in Chronicles.*
	tween the two kings; of Abijah's speech to the Israelites, upbraiding them with forsaking the Levitical worship, and glorying in the retention of the same by Judah; his victories, and his family.
7. "And the rest of the acts of Abijam, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah," etc.	22. "And the rest of the acts of Abijah, and his ways and his sayings, are written in the story (midrash) of the prophet Iddo."
8. "And Abijam slept with his fathers," etc.	23. "And Abijah slept with his fathers," etc. (xiv. 1, A. V.)
1 K. xv.	xiv. 3–15, xv. 1–16.
12. (Asa) "took away the sodomites out of the land, and removed all the idols that his fathers had made."	A detailed account of the removal of the idols; the fortifying the cities of Judah; of Asa's army; the invasion of Zerah the Ethiopian; Asa's victory; Azariah the son of Oded's prophecy; Asa's further reforms in the 15th year of his reign.
Entirely omitted.	xvi. 7–14.
16–23 His war with Baasha.	Hanani's prophecy against Asa, for calling in the aid of Tabrimon king of Syria; Asa's wrath, disease, death, embalming, and burial.
23. "Nevertheless in the time of his old age he was diseased in his feet."	
24. "And Asa slept with his fathers."	"And Asa slept with his fathers, and died in the 41st year of his reign."
1 K. xxii. 41–50.	2 Chr. xvii.
"Jehoshaphat was 35 years old when he began to reign," etc. These few verses are all the account of Jehoshaphat's reign, except what is contained in the history of Israel.	1. "And Jehoshaphat his son reigned in his stead."
	2–19 describes how the king strengthened himself against Israel by putting garrisons in the fortified towns of Judah, and some in Ephraim; his wealth; his zeal in destroying idolatry; his measures for instructing the people in the law of the Lord by means of priests and Levites; his captains, and the numbers of his troops.
All omitted in Kings.	
1 K. xxii. (from history of Israel) = 2 Chr. xviii.	
	2 Chr. xix.
All omitted in Kings.	Jehoshaphat's reproof by Jehu the son of Hanani. His renewed zeal against idolatry. His appointment of judges, and his charge to them. Priests and Levites appointed as judges at Jerusalem under Amariah the high-priest.
	2 Chr. xx. 1–30.
All omitted in Kings.	Invasion of Moabites and Ammonites. Jehoshaphat's fast; his prayer to God for aid. The prophecy of Jahaziel. Ministration of the Levites with the army. Discomfiture and plunder of the enemy. Return to Jerusalem. Levitical procession.

Short in Kings.	*Full in Chronicles.*
1 K. xxii. 48, 49, 50 = 2 Chr. xx. 35, 36, xxi. 1.	2 Chr. xx. 37.
Omitted in Kings. The refusal of Jehoshaphat was *after* the prophecy of Eliezer.	Prophecy of Eliezer.
	2 Chr. xxi. 2–4.
Omitted in Kings.	Additional history of Jehoshaphat's family.
	2 Chr. xxi. 11–19, xxii. 1.
Omitted in Kings.	Idolatries of Jehoram. Writing of Elijah. Invasion of Judah by Philistines and Arabians. Slaughter of the king's sons. Miserable sickness and death of Jehoram.
	2 Chr. xxii. 7–9.
2 K. ix. 27. "And when Ahaziah the king of Judah saw this, he fled by the way of the garden-house. And Jehu followed after him, and said, Smite him also in the chariot. And they did so at the going up to Gur, which is by Ibleam. And he fled to Megiddo, and died there. And his servants carried him in a chariot to Jerusalem, and buried him in his sepulchre with his fathers in the city of David."	"And the destruction of Ahaziah was of God by coming to Joram: for when he was come, he went out with Jehoram against Jehu the son of Nimshi, whom the Lord had anointed to cut off the house of Ahab. And it came to pass that when Jehu was executing judgment upon the house of Ahab, and found the princes of Judah and the sons of the brethren of Ahaziah, that ministered to Ahaziah, he slew them. And he sought Ahaziah and they caught him (for he was hid in Samaria), and they brought him to Jehu; and when they had slain him they buried him, because, said they, he is the son of Jehoshaphat, who sought the Lord with all his heart. So the house of Ahaziah had no power still to keep the kingdom."

With reference to the above two accounts of the death of Ahaziah, which have been thought irreconcilable (Ewald, iii. 529; Parker's De Wette, 270; Thenius, etc.), it may be here remarked, that the order of the events is sufficiently intelligible if we take the account in Chronicles, where the kingdom of Judah is the main subject, as explanatory of the brief notice in Kings, where it is only incidentally mentioned in the history of Israel. The order is clearly as follows: Ahaziah was with Jehoram at Jezreel when Jehu attacked and killed him. Ahaziah escaped and fled by the Beth-gan road to Samaria, where the partisans of the house of Ahab were strongest, and where his own brethren were, and there concealed himself. But when the sons of Ahab were all put to death in Samaria, and the house of Ahab had hopelessly lost the kingdom, he determined to make his submission to Jehu, and sent his brethren to salute the children of Jehu [a] (2 K. x. 13), in token of his acknowledgment of him as king of Israel. Jehu, instead of accepting this submission, had them all put to death, and hastened on to Samaria to take Ahaziah also, who he had probably learnt from some of the attendants

[a] Not, as Thenius and others, the children of Jehoram, and of Jezebel the queen-mother

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r as he already knew, was at Samaria. Ahaziah again took to flight northwards, towards Megiddo, perhaps in hope of reaching the dominions of the king of the Sidonians, his kinsman, or more probably to reach the coast, where the direct road from Tyre to Egypt would bring him to Judah. [CÆSAREA.] He was hotly pursued by Jehu and his followers, and overtaken near Ibleam, and mortally wounded, but managed to get as far as Megiddo, where it should seem Jehu followed in pursuit of him, and where he was brought to him as his prisoner. There he died of his wounds. In consideration of his descent from Jehoshaphat, "who sought Jehovah with all his heart," Jehu, who was at this time very forward in displaying his zeal for Jehovah, handed over the corpse to his followers, with permission to carry it to Jerusalem, which they did, and buried him in the city of David. The whole difficulty arises from the account in Kings being abridged, and so bringing together two incidents which were not consecutive in the original account. But if 2 K. ix. 27 had been even divided into two verses, the first ending at "garden-house," and the next beginning "and Jehu followed after him," the difficulty would almost disappear. Jehu's pursuit of Ahaziah would only be interrupted by a day or two, and there would be nothing the least unusual in the omission to notice this interval of time in the concise abridged narrative. We should then understand that the word *also* in the *original* narrative referred not to Jehoram, but to the brethren of Ahaziah, who had just before been smitten, and the death of Ahaziah would fall under 2 K. x. 17. If Beth-gan (A. V. "garden-house") be the same as En-gannim, now *Jenin*, it lay directly on the road from Jezreel to Samaria, and is also the place at which the road to Megiddo and the coast, where Cæsarea afterwards stood, turns off from the road between Jezreel and Samaria.[a] In this case the mention of Beth-gan in Kings as the direction of Ahaziah's flight is a confirmation of the statement in Chronicles that he concealed himself in Samaria. This is also substantially Keil's explanation (p. 288, 289). Movers proposes an alteration of the text (p. 92, note), but not very successfully (וַיָּבֹא דֹּאגָה לִיהוּדָה instead of וַיִּבְאֲדוּ אֱלֹהִים).

The other principal additions in the books of Chronicles to the facts stated in Kings are the following. In 2 Chr. xxiv. 17–24 there is an account of Joash's relapse into idolatry after the death of Jehoiada, of Zechariah's prophetic rebuke of him, and of the stoning of Zechariah by the king's command in the very court of the Temple; and the Syrian invasion, and the consequent calamities of the close of Joash's reign are stated to have been the consequence of this iniquity. The book of Kings gives the history of the Syrian invasion at the close of Joash's reign, but omits all mention of Zechariah's death. In the account of the Syrian invasion also some details are given of a battle in which Jehoash was defeated, which are not mentioned in Kings, and repeated reference is made to the sin of the king and people as having drawn down this judgment upon them. But though the apostasy of Jehoash is not mentioned in the book of Kings, yet it is clearly implied in the expression (2 K. xii. 2), "Jehoash did that which was right in the eyes of Jehovah all his days, wherein Jehoiada the priest instructed him." The silence of Kings is perhaps to be accounted for by the author following here the Chronicle of the Kings, in which Zechariah's death was not given. And the truth of the narrative in the book of Chronicles is confirmed by the distinct reference to the death of Zechariah, Luke xi. 49–51.

2 Chr. xxv. 5–16 contains a statement of a genealogical character,[b] and in connection with it an account of the hiring of 100,000 mercenaries out of Israel, and their dismissal by Amaziah on the bidding of a man of God. This is followed by an account (in greater detail than that in Kings) of Amaziah's victory over the Edomites, the plunder of certain cities in Judah by the rejected mercenaries of Israel, the idolatry of Amaziah with the idols of Edom, and his rebuke by a prophet.

2 Chr. xxvi. 5–20 contains particulars of the reign of Uzziah, his wars with the Philistines, his towers and walls which he built in Jerusalem and Judah, and other statistics concerning his kingdom, somewhat of a genealogical character; and lastly, of his invasion of the priestly office, the resistance of Azariah the priest, and the leprosy of the king. Of all this nothing is mentioned in Kings except the fact of Uzziah's leprosy in the latter part of his reign; a fact which confirms the history in Chronicles. The silence of the book of Kings may most probably be explained here on the mere principle of abridgment.

2 Chr. xxvii. 2–6 contains some particulars of the reign of Jotham, especially of the building done by him, and the tribute paid by the Ammonites, which are not contained in Kings.

2 Chr. xxviii. 17–19 gives details of invasions by Edomites and Philistines, and of cities of Judah taken by them in the reign of Ahaz, which are not recorded in Kings. 2 K. xvi. 5 speaks only of the hostile attacks of Rezin and Pekah. But 2 Chr. xxix.–xxxi. contains by far the longest and most important addition to the narrative in the book of Kings. It is a detailed and circumstantial account of the purification of the Temple by Hezekiah's orders in the first year of his reign, with the names of all the principal Levites who took part in it, and the solemn sacrifices and musical services with which the Temple was reopened, and the worship of God reinstated, after the desuetude and idolatries of Ahaz's reign. It then gives a full account of the celebration of a great Passover at Jerusalem in the second month, kept by all the tribes, telling us that "since the time of Solomon the son of David king of Israel there was not the like in Jerusalem;" and goes on to describe the destruction of idols both in Judah and Israel; the revival of the courses of priests and Levites, with the order for their proper maintenance, and the due supply of the daily, weekly, and monthly sacrifices; the preparation of chambers in the Temple for the reception of the tithes and dedicated things, with the names of the various Levites appointed to different charges connected with them. Of this there is no mention in Kings: only the high religious character and zeal, and the attachment to the law of Moses, ascribed to him in 2 K. xviii. 4–6, is in exact accordance with these details.

2 Chr. xxxii. 2–8 supplies some interesting facts

[a] See Van de Velde's map of the Holy Land, and Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 342.

[b] From 1 Chr. ix. 1, it appears that "The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" contained a copious collection of genealogies.

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connected with the defense of Jerusalem, and its supplies of water, in Hezekiah's reign, which are not mentioned in 2 K. xviii.

2 Chr. xxxiii. 11–19 contains the history of Manasseh's captivity, deportation to Babylon, repentance and restoration to his throne, and an account of his buildings in Jerusalem after his return. The omission of this remarkable passage of history in the book of Kings is perhaps one of the most difficult to account for. But since the circumstances are, in the main, in harmony with the narrative in Kings, and with what we know of the profane history of the times (as Keil has shown, p. 427), and since we have seen numerous other omissions of important events in the books of Kings, to disbelieve or reject it on that account, or to make it a ground of discrediting the book of Chronicles, is entirely contrary to the spirit of sound criticism. Indeed all the soberer German critics accept it as truth, and place Manasseh's captivity under Esarhaddon (Bertheau, *in loc.*).[a] Bertheau suggests that some support to the account may perhaps be found in 2 K. xx. 17 ff. Movers, while he defends the truth of Manasseh's exile to Babylon, seems to give up the story of his repentance, and reduces it to the level of a moral romance, such as the books of Tobit and Judith. But such a mode of explaining away plain historical statements of a trustworthy historian, who cites contemporary documents as his authority (let alone the peculiar character of the Bible histories as "given by inspiration of God"), cannot reasonably be accepted. There is doubtless some reason why the repentance of Manasseh for his dreadful and heinous wickedness was not recorded in the book of Kings, and why it was recorded in Chronicles; just as there is some reason why the repentance of the thief on the cross is only recorded by one evangelist, and why the raising of Lazarus is passed over in silence in the three first Gospels. It may be a moral reason: it may have been that Manasseh's guilt being permanent in its fatal effects upon his country, he was to be handed down to posterity in the national record as the SINFUL KING, though, having obtained mercy as a penitent man, his repentance and pardon were to have a record in the more private chronicle of the church of Israel. But, whatever the cause of this silence in the book of Kings may be, there is nothing to justify the rejection as non-historical of any part of this narrative in the book of Chronicles.

Passing over several other minor additions, such as 2 Chr. xxxiv. 12–14, xxxv. 25, xxxvi. 6, 7, 13, 17, it may suffice to notice in the last place the circumstantial account of JOSIAH'S PASSOVER in 2 Chr. xxxv. 1–19, as compared with 2 K. xxiii. 21–23. This addition has the same strong Levitical character that appears in some of the other additions: contains the names of many Levites, and especially, as in so many other passages of Chronicles, the names of singers; but is in every respect, except as to the time,[b] confirmatory of the brief account in Kings. It refers, curiously enough, to a great Passover held in the days of Samuel (thus defining the looser expressions in 2 K. xxiii. 22 "the days of the judges"), of which the memorial like that of Joab's terrible campaign in Edom (1 K. xi. 15, 16), has not been preserved in the books of Samuel, and enables us to reconcile one of those little verbal apparent discrepancies which are jumped at by hostile and unscrupulous criticism. For the detailed account of the two Passovers in the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah enables us to see, that, while Hezekiah's was most remarkable for the extensive feasting and joy with which it was celebrated, Josiah's was more to be praised for the exact order in which everything was done, and the fuller union of all the tribes in the celebration of it (2 Chr. xxx. 26, xxxv. 18; 2 K. xxiii. 22). As regards discrepancies which have been imagined to exist between the narratives in Kings and Chronicles, besides those already noticed, and besides those which are too trifling to require notice, the account of the repair of the Temple by King Joash, and that of the invasion of Judah by Hazael in the same reign may be noticed. For the latter, see JOASH. As regards the former, the only real difficulty is the position of the chest for receiving the contributions. The writer of 2 K. xii. 9 seems to place it in the inner court, close to the brazen altar, and says that the priests who kept the door put therein all the money that was brought into the house of Jehovah. The writer of 2 Chr. xxiv. 8, places it apparently in the outer court, at the entrance into the inner court, and makes the princes and people cast the money into it themselves. Bertheau thinks there were two chests. Lightfoot, that it was first placed by the altar, and afterwards removed outside at the gate (ix. 374, 375), but whether, either, of these be the true explanation, or whether rather the same spot be not intended by the two descriptions, the point is too unimportant to require further consideration in this place.

From the above comparison of parallel narratives in the two books, which, if given at all, it was necessary to give somewhat fully, in order to give them fairly, it appears that the results are precisely what would naturally arise from the circumstances of the case. The writer of Chronicles, having the books of Kings before him,[c] and to a great extent making those books the basis of his own, but also having his own personal views, predilections, and motives in writing, writing for a different age, and for people under very different circumstances; and moreover, having before him the original authorities from which the books of Kings were compiled, as well as some others, naturally rearranged the older narrative as suited his purpose, and his tastes; gave in full passages which the other had abridged, inserted what had been wholly omitted, omitted some things which the other had inserted, including everything relating to the kingdom of Israel, and showed the color of his own mind, not only in the nature of the passages which he selected from the ancient documents, but in the reflections which he frequently adds upon the events which he relates, and possibly also in the turn given to some of the speeches which he records. But to say, as has been

[a] In like manner the Book of Kings is silent concerning Jehoiakim's being carried to Babylon; and yet Dan. i. 2, Ez. xix. 9, both expressly mention it, in accordance with 2 Chr. xxxvi. 6.

[b] See above, under II.

[c] This appears by comparing the parallel passages, and especially noticing how the formula, "Now the rest of the acts," etc., comes in in both books. See *e. g.* 1 K. xv. 23, 24, and 2 Chr. xvi. 11, 12. Of this 1 K. xiv. 31, xv. 1, compared with 2 Chr. xii. 16, xiii 1, 2, is another striking proof. So is the repetition of rare words found in K. by the Chronicler. Comp 2 K. xiv. 14 with 2 Chr. xxv. 24, 2 K. xv. 5 with Chr. xxvi. 21, 1 K. iv. 26 with 2 Chr. ix. 25.

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said or insinuated, that a different view of supernatural agency and Divine interposition, or of the Mosaic institutions and the Levitical worship, is given in the two books, or that a less historical character belongs to one than to the other, is to say what has not the least foundation in fact. Supernatural agency, as in the cloud which filled the Temple of Solomon, 1 K. viii. 10, 11; the appearance of the Lord to Solomon, iii. 5, 11, ix. 2 ff.; the withering of Jeroboam's hand, xiii. 3–6; the fire from heaven which consumed Elijah's sacrifice, xviii. 38, and numerous other incidents in the lives of Elijah and Elisha; the smiting of Sennacherib's army, 2 K. xix. 35; the going back of the shadow on the dial of Ahaz, xx. 11; and in the very frequent prophecies uttered and fulfilled, is really more often adduced in these books than in the Chronicles. The selection therefore of one or two instances of miraculous agency which happen to be mentioned in Chronicles and not in Kings, as indications of the superstitious credulous disposition of the Jews after the Captivity, can have no effect but to mislead. The same may be said of a selection of passages in Chronicles in which the mention of Jewish idolatry is omitted. It conveys a false inference, because the truth is that the Chronicler does expose the idolatry of Judah as severely as the author of Kings, and traces the destruction of Judah to such idolatry quite as clearly and forcibly (2 Chr. xxxvi. 14 ff.). The author of Kings again is quite as explicit in his references to the law of Moses, and has many allusions to the Levitical ritual, though he does not dwell so copiously upon the details. See *e. g.* 1 K. ii. 3, iii. 14, viii. 2, 4, 9, 53, 56, ix. 9, 20, x. 12, xi. 2, xii. 31, 32; 2 K. xi. 5–7, 12, xii. 5, 11, 13, 16, xiv. 6, xvi. 13, 15, xvii. 7–12, 13–15, 34–39, xviii. 4, 6, xxii. 4, 5, 8 ff., xxiii. 21, &c., besides the constant references to the Temple, and to the illegality of high-place worship. So that remarks on the Levitical tone of Chronicles, when made for the purpose of supporting the notion that the law of Moses was a late invention, and that the Levitical worship was of post-Babylonian growth, are made in the teeth of the testimony of the books of Kings, as well as those of Joshua, Judges, and Samuel. The opinion that these books were compiled "towards the end of the Babylonian exile," is doubtless also adopted in order to weaken as much as possible the force of this testimony (De Wette, ii. p. 248; Th. Parker's transl.). As regards the weight to be given to the judgment of critics "of the liberal school," on such questions, it may be observed by the way that they commence every such investigation with this axiom as a starting point, "Nothing supernatural can be true." All prophecy is of course comprehended under this axiom. Every writing therefore containing any reference to the Captivity of the Jews, as 1 K. viii. 46, 47, ix. 7, 8, *must* have been written after the events referred to. No events of a supernatural kind *could* be attested in contemporary historical documents. All the narratives therefore in which such events are narrated do not belong to the ancient annals, but *must* be of later growth, and so on. How far the mind of a critic, who has such an axiom to start with, is free to appreciate the other and more delicate kinds of evidence by which the date of documents is decided it is easy to perceive. However, these remarks are made here solely to assist the reader in coming to a right decision on questions connected with the criticism of the books of Kings.

V. The last point for our consideration is the place of these books in the Canon, and the references to them in the N. T. Their canonical authority having never been disputed, it is needless to bring forward the testimonies to their authenticity which may be found in Josephus, Eusebius, Jerome, Augustine, etc., or in Bp. Cosin, or any other modern work on the Canon of Scripture. [CANON.] They are reckoned, as has been already noticed, among the Prophets [BIBLE, vol. i. p. 304 *a*], in the threefold division of the Holy Scriptures; a position in accordance with the supposition that they were compiled by Jeremiah, and contain the narratives of the different prophets in succession. They are frequently cited by our Lord and by the Apostles. Thus the allusions to Solomon's glory (Matt. vi. 29); to the queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon to hear his wisdom (xii. 42); to the Temple (Acts vii. 47, 48); to the great drought in the days of Elijah, and the widow of Sarepta (Luke iv. 25, 26); to the cleansing of Naaman the Syrian (ver. 27); to the charge of Elisha to Gehazi (2 K. iv. 29, comp. with Luke x. 4); to the dress of Elijah (Mark i. 6, comp. with 2 K. i. 8); to the complaint of Elijah, and God's answer to him (Rom. xi. 3, 4); to the raising of the Shunammite's son from the dead (Heb. xi. 35); to the giving and withholding the rain in answer to Elijah's prayer (Jam. v. 17, 18; Rev. xi. 6); to Jezebel (Rev. ii. 20); are all derived from the books of Kings, and, with the statement of Elijah's presence at the Transfiguration, are a striking testimony to their value for the purpose of religious teaching, and to their authenticity as a portion of the Word of God.[a]

On the whole then, in this portion of the history of the Israelitish people to which the name of the *Books of Kings* has been given, we have (if we except those errors in numbers, which are either later additions to the original work, or accidental corruptions of the text) a most important and accurate account of that people during upwards of four hundred years of their national existence, delivered for the most part by contemporary writers, and guaranteed by the authority of one of the most eminent of the Jewish prophets. Considering the conciseness of the narrative, and the simplicity of the style, the amount of knowledge which these books convey of the characters, conduct, and manners of kings and people during so long a period is truly wonderful. The insight they give us into the aspect of Judah and Jerusalem, both natural and artificial, into the religious, military, and civil institutions of the people, their arts and manufactures, the state of education and learning among them, their resources, commerce, exploits, alliances, the causes of their decadence, and finally of their ruin, is most clear, interesting, and instructive. In a few brief sentences we acquire more accurate knowledge of the affairs of Egypt, Tyre, Syria, Assyria, Babylon, and other neighboring nations, than had been preserved to us in all the other remains of antiquity up to the recent discoveries in hieroglyphical and cuneiform monuments. If we seek in them a system of scientific chronology, we may

[a] The miracle of the loaves and fishes (Luke ix. 13, 2 K. iv. 42; John vi. ; 2 K. iv. 43) and the catching away of Philip, Acts viii. 39, 40, as compared with 1 K. xviii. 12, 2 K. ii. 16, are also, in a different way N. T. references to the books of Kings.

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indeed be disappointed; but if we are content to read accurate and truthful history, ready to fit into its proper place whenever the exact chronology of the times shall have been settled from other sources, then we shall assuredly find they will abundantly repay the most laborious study which we can bestow upon them.

But it is for their deep religious teaching, and for the insight which they give us into God's providential and moral government of the world, that they are above all valuable. The books which describe the wisdom and the glory of Solomon, and yet record his fall; which make us acquainted with the painful ministry of Elijah, and his translation into heaven; and which tell us how the most magnificent temple ever built for God's glory, and of which He vouchsafed to take possession by a visible symbol of his presence, was consigned to the flames and to desolation, for the sins of those who worshipped in it, read us such lessons concerning both God and man, as are the best evidence of their divine origin, and make them the richest treasure to every Christian man.

On the points discussed in the preceding article see Ussher's *Chronologia Sacra*; Hales' *Analysis*; Clinton's *Fast. Hellen.* vol i.; Lepsius, *Königsbuch d. Ægypt.*; Bertheau's *Büch. d. Chronik*; Keil, *Chronik*; Movers, *Krit. Untersuch. üb. d. Bibl. Chronik*; De Wette, *Einleitung*; Ewald's *Geschichte des Volk. Isr.*; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place in Hist.*; Geneste's *Parallel Histories*; Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, and *Bampton Lect.*; J. W. Bosanquet, *Chronology of Times of Ezra*, *Transact. of Chronolog. Instit.* No. iii.; Maurice, *Kings and Prophets*. A. C. H.

* *Other commentaries and helps.* — Among the older writers may be mentioned Theodoret, *Quæstiones in libros iii. et iv. Regnorum* (*Opp.* vol. i. ed. Schultze et Nösselt, 1769); Seb. Schmid, *Adnotatt. in libros Regum* (1697); Calmet, *Commentaire litéral*, etc. vol. ii. (1724); Jo. Clericus (Le Clerc), *Vet. Test. libri historici*, etc. (1733); Bp. Patrick, *Comm. on the Hist. Books of the O. T.*, 5th ed., vol. ii. (1738); and the commentators in the *Critici Sacri*, tom. ii. pp. 635–678 (1700). The principal later writers are Maurer, *Comm. Crit.* i. 198–231 (1835); Thenius, *Die Bücher der Könige erklärt* (Lief. ix. of the *Kurzgef. exeg. Handb.*, 1849); K. F. Keil, *Bücher der Könige* (1848), Engl. trans. Edin. 1857; and also *Comm. üb. die Bücher der Könige* (Theil ii. Bd. iii. of the *Bibl. Comm. üb. das A. Test.* by Keil and Delitzsch); Vaihinger, *Könige, Bücher der*, in Herzog's *Real-Encyk.* viii. 2–8 (1857); Wordsworth, *Books of Kings, etc.*, in his *Holy Bible, with Notes and Introductions*, vol. iii. (1866); and Dr. Bähr in Lange's *Bibelwerk* (in preparation, 1866). For a long list of writers on single difficult passages in Kings, see Dana's *Universal-Wörterbuch*, p. 555 f. De Wette's German translation of these books (in his *Heilige Schrift*, 4e Aufl., 1858) and the French translation of H. A. Perret-Gentil, publ. by the *Société Biblique Protestante* (Paris, 1866), embody the results of the best modern scholarship. The latter is sometimes paraphrastic. Other translations of considerable value, accompanied with notes, are those of Dathe, *Libri hist. Vet. Test.* (Halæ, 1784); J. D. Michaelis, *Deutsche Uebers. d. A. Test.* Theil xii. (1785); and S. Cahen, *La Bible, trad. nouv.* tom viii. (Paris, 1836).

For historical sketches derived to a great extent from these books, see Jahn's *Hebrew Commonwealth*, pp. 82–133 (Andover, 1828); Milman's *History of the Jews*, i. 319–451 (Amer. ed.); Palfrey, *Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures*, ii. 44–146 (Boston, 1852); Stanley's *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, vol. ii. Lect. xxvi.–xl.; Bertheau, *Zur Geschichte der Israeliten*, pp. 304–357; Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, Bd. iii., 3e Ausg. (1866); and Œhler's article *Könige* in Herzog's *Real-Encyk.* viii. 8–16. Of a kindred character is the valuable chapter on "Könige" in Saalschütz's *Das Mosaische Recht*, i. 72–89. Newman's *Hist. of the Hebrew Monarchy* (2d ed. Lond. 1853) is written from a purely naturalistic stand-point. For the connection of the Hebrews with Nineveh and Babylon during this period of the Hebrew monarchy, we have M. von Niebuhr's *Gesch. Assur's und Babel's* pp. 51, 85 f., 164, 171, 214, &c.; Oppert and Ménant's *Les Fastes de Sargon* (Paris, 1863); Oppert's *Inscriptions des Sargonides* (Versailles, 1863); Rawlinson's *Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, especially vols. ii. and iii. (Lond. 1864, 1865); and Layard's *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, especially ch. xxv. (Lond. 1853). G. Rawlinson touches on this last topic in his *Bampton Lectures* (already referred to) for 1859, ch. v. See further, on the chronology of these books, the work of Wolff and others referred to under the art. CHRONOLOGY, vol. i. p. 451, and Riehm, *Sargon u. Salmanassar*, in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1868, pp. 683–698.

Of the Introductions to the O. T., those in particular of Hävernick (ii. 148–226) and Bleek (pp. 355–401) furnish a good outline of the questions relating to the authorship, sources, and historical character of the Books of Kings. See also Davidson's *Introd. to the Old Test.* ii. 1–46 (1862), and Kuenen, *Hist. crit. des livres de l'Ancien Test.*, *trad. par Pierson*, i. 400–441 (Paris, 1866).

It will be borne in mind that the interest of these chronicles centres largely in the personal character and history of those who are mentioned in them. The reader therefore will find important aid for the study of these books in the articles on the names in the Dictionary (Solomon, Jeroboam, Jehu, Elijah, Elisha, Ahab, Jehoram, Hezekiah, Manasseh, Isaiah, and others), which represent this period of Hebrew history. The copious articles on JUDAH, KINGDOM OF, and ISRAEL, KINGDOM OF, may be consulted for the same purpose. H.

* **KINRED** is the reading of the original edition of the A. V. (A. D. 1611) in all the passages in which "kindred" now stands in later editions. This substitution is one of the changes which illustrate the "large amount of tacit and unacknowledged revision" which the English Scriptures have gradually undergone. See Trench, *Authorized Version*, p. 65 (2d ed.). H.

* **KINREDS** in the A. V. ed. 1611 has also (see above) given place in later editions to "kindreds," in the sense of families or tribes. The original terms are in the O. T. מִשְׁפָּחוֹת (1 Chr xvi. 28; Ps. xxii. 27, &c.), and in the N. T πατριαί (Acts iii. 25) and φυλαί (Rev. i. 7, vii 9, &c.). H.

KIR (קִיר) [*wall, walled place*]: [Am. i. 5, Χαρράν; [ix. 7, βόθρος; Is., LXX. omit; 2 K xvi. 9, Rom. Vat. omit, Alex. Κυρήνη:] *Cyrene* is mentioned by Amos (ix. 7) as the land from which the Syrians (Aramæans) were once "brought

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up;" *i. e.* apparently, as the country where they had dwelt before migrating to the region north of Palestine. It was also, curiously enough, the land to which the captive Syrians of Damascus were removed by Tiglath-Pileser on his conquest of that city (2 K. xvi. 9; comp. Am. i. 5). Isaiah joins it with Elam in a passage where Jerusalem is threatened with an attack from a foreign army (xxii. 6). These notices, and the word itself, are all the data we possess for determining the site. A variety of conjectures have been offered on this point, grounded on some similarity of name. Rennell suggested *Kurdistan* (*Geography of Herodotus*, p. 391); Vitringa, *Corine*, a town of Media; Bochart (*Phaleg*, iv. 32, p. 293). *Curena* or *Curna*, likewise in Media. But the common opinion among recent commentators has been that a tract on the river *Kur* or *Cyrus* (Κῦρος) is intended. This is the view of Rosenmüller, Michaelis, and Gesenius. Winer sensibly remarks that the tract to which these writers refer "never belonged to Assyria," and so cannot possibly have been the country whereto Tiglath-Pileser transported his captives (*Realwörterbuch*, i. 658). He might have added, that all we know of the Semites and their migrations is repugnant to a theory which would make Northern Armenia one of their original settlements. The Semites, whether Aramæans, Assyrians, Phœnicians, or Jews, seem to have come originally from lower Mesopotamia — the country about the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. Here exactly was Elam or Elymais, with which Kir is so closely connected by Isaiah. May not *Kir* then be a variant for *Kish* or *Kush* (Cush), and represent the eastern Ethiopia, the Cissia (Κισσία) of Herodotus? G. R.

KIR-HARA'SETH (חֲרֶשֶׂת חֹקִיר: τοὺς λίθους τοῦ τοίχου καθῃρημένους; Alex. καθημένους: *muri fictiles*), 2 K. iii. 25. [KIR-HERES.]

KIR-HARE'SETH (חֲרֶשֶׂת קִ֫ר: τοῖς ἐστοιχοῦσι δὲ Σὲθ μελετήσεις: *muros cocti lateris*), Is. xvi. 7. [KIR-HERES.]

KIR-HA'RESH (חֲרֶשׂ קִ֫ר, i. e. *Kir-hares*: τεῖχος ἐνεκαίνισας; Alex. τιχος ο ενεκενισας: *id murum cocti lateris*), Is. xvi. 11. [KIR-HERES.]

KIR-HE'RES (חֲרֶשׂ קִ֫ר: κεφαδὲς αὐχμοῦ, [etc.]: *murus fictilis*), Jer. xlviii. 31, 36. This name and the three preceding, all slight variations of it, are all applied to one place, probably KIR-MOAB. Whether Cheres refers to a worship of the sun carried on there is uncertain; we are without clew to the meaning of the name.

KIR'IAH (קִרְיָה), apparently an ancient or archaic word, meaning a city or town. The grounds for considering it a more ancient word than IR (עִיר) or AR (עָר) are — (1.) Its more frequent occurrence in the names of places existing in the country at the time of the conquest. These will be found below. (2.) Its rare occurrence as a mere appellative, except in poetry, where old words and forms are often preserved after they become obsolete in ordinary language. Out of the 36 times that it is found in the O. T. (both in its original and its Chaldee form) 4 only are in the narrative of the earlier books (Deut. ii. 36, iii. 4; 1 K. i. 41, 45), 24 are in poetical passages (Num. xxi. 28; Ps. xlviii. 2; Is. i. 26, &c. &c.), and 8 in the book of Ezra, either in speaking of Samaria (iv. 10), or in the letter of the Samaritans (iv. 12–21), implying that it had become a provincialism. In this it is unlike Ir, which is the ordinary term for a city in narrative or chronicle, while it enters into the composition of early names in a far smaller proportion of cases. For illustration — though for that only — Kiryah may perhaps be compared to the word "burg," or "bury," in our own language.

Closely related to Kiryah is Kereth (קֶרֶת), apparently a Phœnician form, which occurs occasionally (Job xxix. 7; Prov. viii. 3). This is familiar to us in the Latin garb of *Carthago*, and in the Parthian and Armenian names *Cirta*, Tigrano-*Certa* (Bochart, *Chanaan*, ii. cap. x.; Gesenius, *Thes.* 1236–37).

As a proper name it appears in the Bible under the forms of Kerioth, Kartah, Kartan; besides those immediately following. G.

KIRIATHA'IM (קִרְיָתַיִם, but in the *Cethîb* of Ez. xxv. 9, קריתם [*two cities*]: Καριωθέμ, in Vat. [rather, Rom.] of Jer. xlviii. 1; [Vat. here and] elsewhere with Alex. Καριαθαιμ; [FA. in Jer. xlviii. 23, Καριαθεν:] *Cariathaim*), one of the towns of Moab which were the "glory of the country;" named amongst the denunciations of Jeremiah (xlviii. 1, 23) and Ezekiel (xxv. 9). It is the same place as KIRJATHAIM, in which form the name elsewhere occurs in the A. V. Taken as a Hebrew word this would mean "double city;" but the original reading of the text of Ez. xxv. 9, Kiriath*am*, taken with that of the Vat. LXX. at Num. xxxii. 37, prompts the suspicion that that may be nearer its original form, and that the *aim* — the Hebrew dual — is a later accommodation, in obedience to the ever-existing tendency in the names of places to adopt an intelligible shape. In the original edition (A. D. 1611) of the A. V. the name Kirjath, with its compounds, is given as Kiriath, the *yod* being there, as elsewhere in that edition, represented by *i*. Kiriathaim is one of the few of these names which in the subsequent editions have escaped the alteration of *i* to *j*. G.

KIRIATHIA'RIUS (Καριαθιρί; [Vat. Καρταθειαρειος; Ald.] Alex. Καριαθιάριος: *Creapatros*), 1 Esdr. v. 19. [KIRJATH-JEARIM, and K. ARIM.]

KIRIOTH (הַקְּרִיּוֹת, with the definite article, i. e. *hak-Keriyoth* [*the cities*]: *al* πόλεις αὐτῆς: *Carioth*), a place in Moab the palaces of which were denounced by Amos with destruction by fire (Am. ii. 2); unless indeed it be safer to treat the word as meaning simply "the cities" — which is probably the case also in Jer. xlviii. 41, where the word is in the original exactly similar to the above, though given in the A. V. "Kerioth." [KERIOTH.] G.

KIR'JATH (קִרְיָת [*city*]: Ἰαρίμ; [Vat. Ιαριμ:] Alex. πολις Ιαριμ: *Cariath*), the last of the cities enumerated as belonging to the tribe of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 28), one of the group which contains both Gibeon and Jerusalem. It is named with Gibeath, but without any copulative — "Gibeath, Kirjath," a circumstance which, in the absence of any further mention of the place, has given rise to several explanations. (1.) That of

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Eusebius in the *Onomasticon* (Καριάθ), that it was under the protection of Gibeah (ὑπὸ μητροπόλιν Γαβαθά). This, however, seems to be a mere supposition. (2.) That of Schwarz and others, that the two names form the title of one place, "Gibeath-Kirjath" (the hill-town). Against this is the fact that the towns in this group are summed up as 14; but the objection has not much force, and there are several considerations in favor of the view. [See GIBEATH, p. 914 *a*.] But whether there is any connection between these two names or not, there seems a strong probability that Kirjath is identical with the better known place KIRJATH-JEARIM, and that the latter part of the name has been omitted by copyists at some very early period. Such an omission would be very likely to arise from the fact that the word for "cities," which in Hebrew follows Kirjath, is almost identical with Jearim ;[a] and that it has arisen we have the testimony of the LXX. in both MSS. (the Alex. most complete), as well as of some Hebrew MSS. still existing (Davidson, *Hebr. Text*, ad loc.). In addition, it may be asked why Kirjath should be in the "construct state" if no word follows it to be in construction with? In that case it would be Kiriah. True, Kirjath-jearim is enumerated as a city of Judah[b] (Josh. xv. 9, 60, xviii. 14), but so are several towns which were Simeon's and Dan's, and it is not to be supposed that these places never changed hands. G.

KIRJATHA'IM (קִרְיָתַיִם) [*two cities*], the name of two cities of ancient Palestine.

1. (Καριαθάμ[c] [Vat. Καριαθαμ] (in Num.), Καριαθαίμ ; [Alex. Καριαθαιμ:] *Cariathaim*.) On the east of the Jordan, one of the places which were taken possession of and rebuilt by the Reubenites, and had fresh names conferred on them (Num. xxxii. 37, and see 38). Here it is mentioned between Elealeh, Nebo, and Baal-meon, the first and last of which are known with some tolerable degree of certainty. But on its next occurrence (Josh. xiii. 19) the same order of mention is not maintained, and it appears in company with MEPHAATH and SIBMAH, of which at present nothing is known. It is possibly the same place as that which gave its name to the ancient Shaveh-Kiriathaim, though this is mere conjecture. It existed in the time of Jeremiah (xlviii. 1, 23) and Ezekiel (xxv. 9 — in these three passages the A. V. gives the name KIRIATHAIM). Both these prophets include it in their denunciations against Moab, in whose hands it then was, prominent among the cities which were "the glory of the country" (Ex. xxv. 9).

By Eusebius it appears to have been well known. He describes it (*Onom.* Καριαθιείμ) as a village entirely of Christians, 10 miles west of Medeba, "close to the Baris" (ἐπὶ τὸν Βάριν). Burckhardt (p. 367, July 13) when at *Madeba* (Medeba) was told by his guide[d] of a place, *et-Teym*, about half an hour (1½ mile English, or barely 2 miles Roman) therefrom, which he suggests was identical with Kirjathaim. This is supported by Gesenius (see his notes on Burckhardt in the Germ. transl. p. 1063), who passes by the discrepancy in the distance by saying that Eusebius's measurements are seldom accurate. Seetzen also names half an hour as the distance (*Reisen*, i. 408).

But it must be admitted that the evidence for the identity of the two is not very convincing, and appears to rest entirely on the similarity in sound between the termination of Kirjathaim and the name of *et-Teym*. In the time of Eusebius the name was Kariss — having retained, as would be expected, the first and chief part of the word. Porter (*Handbook*, p. 300) pronounces confidently for *Kureiyat*, under the southern side of *Jebel Attarus*, as being identical both with Kirjathaim and Kirjath-Huzoth; but he adduces no arguments in support of his conclusion, which is entirely at variance with Eusebius; while the name, or a similar one, (see KERIOTH, KIRIOTH, in addition to those named already), having been a common one east of the Jordan, as it still is (witness *Kureiyeh*, *Kureiyetein*, etc.), *Kureiyat* may be the representative of some other place.

What was the "Baris" which Eusebius places so close to Kirjathaim? Was it a place or fortress (בִּירָה, Βάρις), or is it merely the corruption of a name? If the latter, then it is slightly in accordance with Beresha, the reading of the Targum Pseudojon. at Num. xxxii. 37.[e] But where to find Beresha we do not at present know. A village named *Bûrazin* is marked in the maps of Robinson (1856) and Van de Velde, but about 9 miles east of *Hesbân*, and therefore not in a suitable position.

2. (ἡ Καριαθαίμ.) A town in Naphtali not mentioned in the original lists of the possession allotted to the tribe (see Josh. xix. 32–39), but inserted in the list of cities given to the Gershonite Levites, in 1 Chr. (vi. 76), in place of KARTAN in the parallel catalogue, Kartan being probably only a contraction thereof. G.

KIR'JATH-AR'BA (קִרְיַת אַרְבַּע, and once, Neh. xi. 25, קִרְיָת הָאַרְבַּע [see in the art.]: πόλις Ἀρβόκ, π. Ἀργόβ; Alex. [Αρβοκ, Αρβεκ,] Αρβο and Αρβοα; ἡ Καριαβαρβόκ [Vat. Καραβαρβοκ]; Καριαβαρβοκσεφίρ, but Mai Καριαρβοξ Εφερ;

[a] The text now stands קִרְיַת עָרִים; in the above view it originally stood קִרְיַת יְעָרִים עָרִים.

[b] It is as well to observe, though we may not be able yet to draw any inference from the fact, that on both occasions of its being attributed to Judah, it is called by another name, — "KIRJATH-BAAL, which is Kirjath-jearim."

[c] This reading of the LXX. suggests that the dual termination "aim" may have been a later accommodation of the name to Hebrew forms, as was possibly the case with Jerushalaim (vol. ii. p. 1272). It is supported by the Hebrew text: cf. Ex. xxv. 9, and the Vat. (Rom.) 1 XX. of Jer. xlviii. 1. [KIRIATHAIM.]

[d] There is some uncertainty about Burckhardt's route at this part. In order to see *Madeba*, which is shown on the maps as nearly S. of *Hesbân*, he left the great road at the latter place, and went through *Djeboul*, *es-Sameh*, and other places which are shown as on the road eastward, in an entirely different direction from *Madeba*, and then after 8 hours, without noting any change of direction, he arrives at *Madeba*, which appears from the maps to be only about 1½ hour from *Hesbân*.

[e] The following is the full synonym of this Targum for Kirjathaim: "And the city of two streets paved with marble, the same is Beresha" (בֵּירְיוֹתָא). This is almost identical with the rendering given in the same Targum on Num. xxii. 39, for Kirjath Huzoth. Can Beresha contain an allusion to Gerasa the modern *Jerash*?

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Alex. Καριαρβοκ σεφερ; [in Neh., Καριαθαρβόκ, Vat. FA[1], Καριαθαρ, Alex. Καριαθαρβο:] *Civitas Arbee, Cariath-Arbe*), an early name of the city which after the conquest is generally known as HEBRON (Josh. xiv. 15; Judg. i. 10). Possibly, however, not Kirjath-arba, but MAMRE, was its earliest appellation (Gen. xxxv. 27), though the latter name may have been that of the sacred grove near the town, which would occasionally transfer its title to the whole spot. [MAMRE.]

The identity of Kirjath-Arba with Hebron is constantly asserted (Gen. xxiii. 2, xxxv. 27; Josh. xiv. 15, xv. 13, 54, xx. 7, xxi. 11),[a] the only mention of it without that qualification being, as is somewhat remarkable, after the return from the Captivity (Neh. xi. 25), a date so late that we might naturally have supposed the aboriginal name would have become extinct. But it lasted far longer than that, for when Sir John Maundeville visited the place (cir. 1322) he found that "the Saracens call the place in their language Karicarba, but the Jews call it Arbotha" (*Early Trav.* p. 161). Thus too in Jerome's time would Debir seem to have been still called by its original title, Kirjath-Sepher. So impossible does it appear to extinguish the name originally bestowed on a place![b]

The signification of Kirjath-Arba is, to say the least, doubtful. In favor of its being derived from some ancient hero is the statement that "Arba was the great man among the Anakim" (Josh. xiv. 15) — the "father of Anak" (xxi. 11). Against it are (*a.*) the peculiarity of the expression in the first of these two passages, where the term *Adam* (הָאָדָם הַגָּדוֹל) — usually employed for the species, the human race — is used instead of *Ish*, which commonly denotes an individual. (*b.*) The consideration that the term "father" is a metaphor frequently employed in the Bible — as in other oriental writings — for an originator or author, whether of a town or a quality, quite as often as of an individual. The LXX. certainly so understood both the passages in Joshua, since they have in each μητρόπολις, "mother-city." (*c.*) The constant tendency to personification so familiar to students of the topographical philology of other countries than Palestine, and which in the present case must have had some centuries in which to exercise its influence. In the lists of 1 Chron. Hebron itself is personified (ii. 42) as the son of Mareshah, a neighboring town, and the father of Tappuah and other places in the same locality; and the same thing occurs with Beth-zur (ver. 45), Ziph (42), Madmannah and Gibea (49), etc. etc. (*d.*) On more than one occasion (Gen. xxxv. 27; Josh. xv. 13; Neh. xi. 25) the name Arba has the definite article prefixed to it. This is very rarely, if ever, the case with the name of a man (see Reland, *Pal.* p. 724). (*e.*) With the exception of the *Ir-David* — the city of David, Zion — the writer does not recall any city of Palestine named after a man. Neither Joshua, Caleb, Solomon, nor any other of the heroes or kings of Israel, conferred their names on places; neither did Og, Jabin, or other Canaanite leaders. The "city of Sihon," for Heshbon (Num. xxi. 27), is hardly an exception, for it occurs in a very fervid burst of poetry, differing entirely from the matter-of-fact documents we are now considering. (*f.*) The general consent of the Jewish writers in a different interpretation is itself a strong argument against the personality of Arba, however absurd (according to our ideas) may be their ways of accounting for that interpretation. They take *Arba* to be the Hebrew word for "four," and Kirjath-Arba therefore to be the "city of four;" and this they explain as referring to four great saints who were buried there — Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Adam — whose burial there they prove by the words already quoted from Josh. xiv. 15 (*Beresh. rabba*, quoted by Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, 189, and by Keil, *ad loc.*; Bochart, *Phaleg*, iv. 84, &c.). In this explanation Jerome constantly concurs, not only in commentaries (as *Quæst. in Genesim*, xxiii. 2; *Comm. in Matt.* xxvii.; *Epit. Paulæ*, § 11; *Onomast.* "Arboch" and "Cariatharbe," etc.), but also in the text of the Vulgate at this passage — *Adam maximus ibi inter Enacim situs est*. With this too agrees the Veneto-Greek version, πόλει τῶν τεττάρων (Gen. xxiii. 2, xxxv. 27). It is also adopted by Bochart (*Chanaan*, i. 1), in whose opinion the "four" are Anak, Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai.

The fact at the bottom of the whole matter probably is, that Arba was neither a man nor a numeral, but that (as we have so often had occasion to remark in similar cases) it was an archaic Canaanite name, most likely referring to the situation or nature of the place, which the Hebrews adopted, and then explained in their own fashion. [See JEGAR-SAHADUTHA, etc.]

In Gen. xxiii. 2, the LXX. (both MSS. [rather, Rom. and Alex.]) insert ἥ ἐστιν ἐν τῷ κοιλάδματι; and in xxxv. 27 they render K. Arba by εἰς πόλιν τοῦ πεδίου. In the former of these the addition may be an explanation of the subsequent words, "in the land of Canaan," the explanation having slipped into the text in its wrong place. Its occurrence in both MSS. shows its great antiquity.[c] It is found also in the Samaritan Codex and Version. In xxxv. 27 πεδίον may have arisen from the translators reading עֲרָבָה for אַרְבַּע. G.

KIR'JATH-A'RIM (קִרְיַת־עָרִים): Καριαθιαρίμ; [Vat. Καριωθ Ιαρομ;] Alex. Καριαθιαρειμ; *Cariathiarim*), an abbreviated form of the name KIRJATH-JEARIM, which occurs only in Ezr. ii. 25. In the parallel passage of Nehemiah the name is in its usual form, and in Esdras it is KIRIATHIARIUS. G.

[a] In Gen. xxxv. 27, the A. V. has "the city of Arbah;" in Josh. xv. 13, and xxi. 11, "the city of Arba" [but "Arbah," ed. 1611, in xxi. 11].

[b] A curious parallel to this tenacity is found in our own country, where many a village is still known to its rustic inhabitants by the identical name by which it is inscribed in Domesday Book, while they are actually unaware of the later name by which the place has been currently known in maps and documents, and in the general language of all but their own class for centuries. If this is the case with Kirjath-Arba and Hebron, the occurrence of the former in Nehemiah, noticed above, is easily understood. It was simply the effort of the original name to assert its rights and assume its position, as soon as the temporary absence of the Israelites at Babylon had left the Canaanite rustics to themselves.

[c] * The Vatican MS. *wants* Gen. i.-xlvi. 29. Here, as generally in the English edition of this Dictionary, the Roman edition of 1587 is confounded with it. The clause in question appears to be found in all MSS of the LXX., but is marked with an obelus in the Colbertinian (X). A

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KIR'JATH-BA'AL (קִרְיַת־בָּעַל: = *town of Baal*: Καριὰθ Βάαλ: *Cariathbaal*), an alternative name of the place usually called Kirjath-jearim (Josh. xv. 60, xviii. 14), but also BAALAH, and once BAALE-OF-JUDAH. These names doubtless point to the existence of a sanctuary of Baal at this spot before the conquest. They were still attached to it considerably later, for they alone are used, to the exclusion of the (probably) newly bestowed name of Kirjath-jearim, in the description of the removal of the ark thence (2 Sam. vi.). G.

KIR'JATH-HU'ZOTH (קִרְיַת חֻצוֹת [see in the art.]: πόλεις ἐπαύλεων: *urbs quæ in extremis regni ejus finibus erat*), a place to which Balak accompanied Balaam immediately after his arrival in Moab (Num. xxii. 39), and which is nowhere else mentioned. It appears to have lain between the ARNON (*Wady Mojeb*) and BAMOTH-BAAL (comp. vv. 36 and 41), probably north of the former, since there is some, though only slight, ground for supposing that Bamoth-Baal lay between Dibon and Bethbaal-meon (see Josh. xiii. 17). The passage (Num. xxii. 39) is obscure in every way. It is not obvious why sacrifices should have been offered there, or how, when Balaam accompanied Balak thither, Balak could have "sent" thence to him and to the princes who were with him (40).

No trace of the name has been discovered in later times. It is usually interpreted to mean "city of streets," from the Hebrew word חוּץ, *chutz*, which has sometimes this meaning (Gesenius, *Thes.* 456 *a*; margin of A. V.; and so Lutl:er, *die Gassenstadt;* so also the Veneto-Greek); but Jerome, in the Vulgate, has adopted another signification of the root. The LXX. seem to have read חֲצֵרוֹת, "villages," the word which they usually render by ἐπαύλεις, and which is also the reading of the Peshito. The Samaritan Codex and Version, the former by its reading חזיות, "visions," and the latter, רזין, "mysteries," seem to favor the idea — which is perhaps the explanation of the sacrifices there — that Kirjath-Chutzoth was a place of sacred or oracular reputation. The Targum Pseudojon, gives it as "the streets of the great city, the city of Sihon, the same is Biroa," apparently identifying it with Kirjathaim (see note to p. 1564.) G.

KIR'JATH-JE'ARIM (קִרְיַת יְעָרִים: πόλις Ἰαρίμ and Ἰαρίν, Καριαθιαρίμ [*city of forests*], and once πόλις Καριαθιαρίμ; Alex. the same, excepting [in some cases] the termination εἰμ; [Vat. -ειμ, -ειν; there are other variations not here noticed;] Joseph. Καριαθιάριμα: *Cariathiarim*), a city which played a not unimportant part in the history of the Chosen People. We first encounter it as one of the four cities of the Gibeonites (Josh. ix. 17): it next occurs as one of the landmarks of the northern boundary of Judah (xv. 9), and as the point at which the western and southern boundaries of Benjamin coincided (xviii. 14, 15); and in the two last passages we find that it bore another, perhaps earlier, name — that of the great Canaanite deity Baal, namely BAALAH[a] and KIRJATH-BAAL. It is included among the towns of Judah (xv. 60), and there is some reason for believing that under the shortened form of KIRJATH it is also named among those of Benjamin, as might almost be expected from the position it occupied on the confines of each. Some considerations bearing on this will be found under KIRJATH and GIBEAH. It is included in the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr. ii. 50, 52) as founded by, or descended from, SHOBAL, the son of Calebben-Hur, and as having in its turn sent out the colonies of the Ithrites, Puhites, Shumathites, and Mishraites, and those of Zorah and Eshtaol. "Behind Kirjath-jearim" the band of Danites pitched their camp before their expedition to Mount Ephraim and Laish, leaving their name attached to the spot for long after (Judg. xviii. 12). [MAHANEH-DAN.] Hitherto, beyond the early sanctity implied in its bearing the name of BAAL, there is nothing remarkable in Kirjath-jearim. It was no doubt this reputation for sanctity which made the people of Beth-shemesh appeal to its inhabitants to relieve them of the Ark of Jehovah, which was bringing such calamities on their untutored inexperience. From their place in the valley they looked anxiously for some eminence, which, according to the belief of those days, should be the appropriate seat for so powerful a Deity — "Who is able to stand before the face of Jehovah, this holy God, and to whom shall He (or LXX., the ark of Jehovah) *go up* from us?" "And they sent to the inhabitants of Kirjath-jearim, saying, the Philistines have brought back the ark of Jehovah, *come ye down* and *fetch it up* to you" (1 Sam. vi. 20, 21). In this high-place — "the hill" (הַגִּבְעָה) — under the charge of Eleazar, son of Abinadab,[b] the ark remained for twenty years (vii. 2), during which period the spot became the resort of pilgrims from all parts, anxious to offer sacrifices and perform vows to Jehovah (Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 2, § 1). At the close of that time Kirjath-Jearim lost its sacred treasure, on its removal by David to the house of Obed-edom the Gittite (1 Chr. xiii. 5, 6; 2 Chr. i. 4; 2 Sam. vi. 2, &c.). It is very remarkable and suggestive that in the account of this transaction the ancient and heathen name Baal is retained. In fact, in 2 Sam. vi. 2 — probably the original statement — the name Baale is used without any explanation, and to the exclusion of that of Kirjath-jearim. In the allusion to this transaction in Ps. cxxxii. 6, the name is obscurely indicated as the "wood" — *yaar*, the root of Kirjath-*jearim*. We are further told that its people, with those of Chephirah and Beeroth, 743 in number, returned from captivity (Neh. vii. 29; and see Ezra ii. 25, where the name is K.-ARIM, and 1 Esdr. v. 19, KIRIATHIARIUS). We also hear of a prophet URIJAH-ben-Shemaiah, a native of the place, who enforced the warnings of Jeremiah, and was cruelly murdered by Jehoiakim (Jer. xxvi. 20, &c.), but of the place we know nothing beyond what has been already said. A tradition is mentioned by Adrichomius (*Descr. 1 S.* Dan. § 17), though without stating his authority, that it was the native place of "Zechariah, son

[a] In 1 Chr. xiii. 6, the Vulgate has *Collis Cariathiarim* for the Baalah of the Hebrew text.

[b] Kirjath-jearim is not stated to have been allotted to the Levites, but it is difficult to suppose that Abinadab and Eleazar were not Levites. This question, and the force of the word rendered "sanctified" (vs 1), will be noticed under LEVITES. On the other hand it is remarkable that Beth-shemesh, from which the Ark was sent away, was a city of the priests.

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of Jehoiada, who was slain between the altar and the Temple." [a]

To Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.* "Cariathiarim") it appears to have been well known. They describe it as a village at the ninth (or, *s. v.* "Baal," tenth) mile between Jerusalem and Diospolis (Lydda). With this description, and the former of these two distances agrees Procopius (see Reland, p. 503). It was reserved for Dr. Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* ii. 11) to discover that these requirements are exactly fulfilled in the modern village of *Kuriet el-Enab* — now usually known as *Abû Gosh*, from the robber-chief whose head-quarters it was — at the eastern end of the *Wady Aly*, on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem. And, indeed, if the statement of Eusebius contained the only conditions to be met, the identification would be certain. It does not, however, so well agree with the requirements of 1 Sam. vi. The distance from Beth-shemesh (*Ain Shems*) is considerable — not less than 10 miles — through a very uneven country, with no appearance of any road ever having existed (Rob. iii. 157). Neither is it at all in proximity to Bethlehem (Ephratah), which would seem to be implied in Ps. cxxxii. 6; though this latter passage is very obscure. Williams (*Holy City*) endeavors to identify Kirjath-jearim with *Deir el-Howa*, east of *Ain Shems*. But this, though sufficiently near the latter place, does not answer to the other conditions. We may therefore, for the present, consider *Kuriet el-Enab* as the representative of Kirjath-jearim.

The modern name, differing from the ancient only in its latter portion, signifies the "city of grapes;" the ancient name, if interpreted as Hebrew, the "city of forests." Such interpretations of these very antique names must be received with great caution on account of the tendency which exists universally to alter the names of places and persons so that they shall contain a meaning in the language of the country. In the present case we



Kirjath-jearim.

have the play on the name in Ps. cxxxii. 6, already noticed, the authority of Jerome (*Comm. in Is.* xxix. 1), who renders it *villa silvarum*, and the testimony of a recent traveller (Tobler, *Dritte Wanderung*, 178, 187), who in the immediate neighborhood, on the ridge probably answering to Mount JEARIM, states that, "for real genuine (*echtes*) woods, so thick and so solitary, he had seen nothing like them since he left Germany."

It remains yet to be seen if any separate or definite eminence answering to the hill or high-place on which the ark was deposited is recognizable at *Kuriet el-Enab*. G.

[a] An old Gothic church at *Kuriet el-Enab* built by the Crusaders is an object of mournful interest to the traveller. It is one of the most perfect Christian ruins of this description in Palestine. The exterior walls are well preserved, and the aisles, pillars, and some old frescoes still remain. The Moslems often make mosques of such churches, but this one they have turned into a stable or cow-pen. H.

KIR'JATH-SAN'NAH קִרְיַת סַנָּה [*city of destruction* or *writing*, Fürst; of *palm-branch*, Ges.]: πόλις γραμμάτων: *Cariathsenna*), a name which occurs once only (Josh. xv. 49), as another, and probably an earlier, appellation for DEBIR, an important place in the mountains of Judah, not far from Hebron, and which also bore the name of KIRJATH-SEPHER. Whence the name is derived we have no clew, and its meaning has given rise to a variety of conjectures (see Keil, *Josua*, on x. 40; Ewald, *Gesch.* i 324, *note*). That of Gesenius (*Thes.* 962) is, that *sannah* is a contraction of *sansannah* = a palm-branch, and thus that Kirjath-sannah is the "city of palms." But this, though adopted by Stanley (*S. & P.* 161, 524), is open to the objection that palms were not trees of the mountain district, where Kirjath-sannah was situated, but of the valleys (*S. & P.* 145).

It will be observed that the LXX. interpret both this name and Kirjath-sepher alike. G.

[b] The etymology of the name at present seems almost hopelessly obscure, and any explanation founded on that basis must be uncertain. It has been suggested that סַנָּה may mean the palm-branch or leaf as used for writing purposes, as is the case so extensively in Asia at the present day.

[a] The mention of Καριαθιαρείμ (Alex. Καριαθιαρμ) in the LXX. of Josh. liii. 16, possibly proceeds from a corruption of the Hebrew Kirjath-Adam, "the city Adam," as has been pointed out under ADAM, vol. i p. 27 a.

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If this were so, Kirjath-sannah and Kirjath-sepher would differ only as referring the one to the books written or preserved in the place and the other to the material out of which they were made. If the palm trees themselves did not grow there (though several are found now even at Jerusalem), the leaves could have been procured elsewhere and brought thither. If the later name Debir (which see) signifies "sacred recess," "sanctuary" (Jerome, *oraculum*), it then simply points back by a less definite designation to the ancient character of the town (shadowed forth in the other names) as the seat of some religious cultus among the old Canaanites. H.

KIR'JATH-SE'PHER (קִרְיַת סֵפֶר [*city of the book* or *writing*]: in Judg. i. 11, Καριαθσεφὲρ [Vat. Καριασσωφαρ] πόλις γραμμάτων; in ver. 12, and in Josh. the first word is omitted: *Cariath-sepher*), the early name of the city DEBIR, which further had the name — doubtless also an early one — of KIRJATH-SANNAH. Kirjath-sepher occurs only in the account of the capture of the place by Othniel, who gained thereby the hand of his wife Achsah, Caleb's daughter (Josh. xv. 15, 16; and in the exact repetition of the narrative, Judg. i. 11, 12). In this narrative, a document of unmistakably early character (Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 373, 374), it is stated that "the name of Debir before was Kirjath-sepher." Ewald conjectures that the new name was given it by the conquerors on account of its retired position on the back[a] — the south or southwestern slopes — of the mountains, possibly at or about the modern *el-Burj*, a few miles W. of *ed-Dhoheriyeh* (*Gesch.* ii. 373, *note*). But whatever the interpretation of the Hebrew name of the place may be, that of the Canaanite name must certainly be more obscure. It is generally assumed to mean "city of book" (from the Hebrew word *Sepher* = book), and it has been made the foundation for theories of the amount of literary culture possessed by the Canaanites (Keil, *Josua*, x. 39; Ewald, i. 324). But such theories are, to say the least, premature during the extreme uncertainty as to the meaning of these very ancient names.[b]

The old name would appear to have been still in existence in Jerome's time, if we may understand his allusion in the epitaph of Paula (§ 11), where he translates it *vinculum litterarum*. [Comp. KIRJATH-ARBA.]

KIR OF MOAB (קִיר מוֹאָב [*wall* or *fortification of Moab*]: τὸ τεῖχος τῆς Μωαβίτιδος [Vat. Sin. -βιτ-]: *murus Moab*), one of the two chief strongholds of Moab, the other being AR OF MOAB. The name occurs only in Is. xv. 1, though the place is probably referred to under the names of KIR-HERES, KIR-HARASETH, etc. The clew to its identification is given us by the Targum on Isaiah and Jeremiah, which for the above names has קָרְכָא, *Cracca*, קָרְחָ, *Crac*, almost identical with the name *Kerak*, by which the site of an important city in a high and very strong position at the S. E. of the Dead Sea is known at this day. The chain of evidence for the identification of *Kerak* with Kir-Moab is very satisfactory. Under the name of Χαρακμῶβα it is mentioned in the Acts of the Council of Jerusalem, A. D. 536 (Reland, *Pal.* p. 533), by the geographers Ptolemy and Stephanus of Byzantium (Reland, pp. 463, 705). In A. D. 1131 under King Fulco, a castle was built there which became an important station for the Crusaders. Here, in A. D. 1183, they sustained a fruitless attack from Saladin and his brother (Bohaeddin, *Vit. Sal.* ch. 25), the place being as impregnable as it had been in the days of Elisha (2 K. iii. 25). It was then the chief city of *Arabia Secunda* or *Petraeensis*; it is specified as in the *Belka*, and is distinguished from "Moab" or "Rabbat," the ancient AR-MOAB, and from the *Mons regalis* (Schultens, *Index Geogr.* "Caracha"; see also the remarks of Gesenius, *Jesaia*, 517, and his notes to the German transl. of Burckhardt[c]). The Crusaders in error believed it to be Petra, and that name is frequently attached to it in the writings of William of Tyre and Jacob de Vitry (see quotations in Rob. *Bibl. Res.* ii. 167). This error is perpetuated in the Greek Church to the present day; and the bishop of Petra, whose office, as representative of the Patriarch, it is to produce the holy fire at Easter in the "Church of the Sepulchre" at Jerusalem (Stanley, *S. & P.* 467), is in reality bishop of Kerak (Seetzen, *Reisen*, ii. 358; Burckh. 387).

The modern *Kerak* is known to us through the descriptions of Burckhardt (379–390), Irby (ch. vii.), Seetzen (*Reisen*, i. 412, 413), and De Saulcy (*La Mer Morte*, i. 355, &c.); and these fully bear out the interpretation given above to the name — the "fortress," as contradistinguished from the "metropolis" (Ar) of the country, *i. e.* Rabbath-Moab, the modern *Rabba*. It lies about 6 miles S. of the last-named place, and some ten miles from the Dead Sea, upon the plateau of highlands which forms this part of the country, not far from the western edge of the plateau. Its situation is truly remarkable. It is built upon the top of a steep hill, surrounded on all sides by a deep and narrow valley, which again is completely inclosed by mountains rising higher than the town, and overlooking it on all sides. It must have been from these surrounding heights that the Israelite slingers hurled their vollies of stones after the capture of the place had proved impossible (2 K. iii. 25). The town itself is encompassed by a wall, to which, when perfect, there were but two entrances, one to the south and the other to the north, cut or tunnelled through the ridge of the natural rock below the wall for a length of 100 to 120 feet. The wall is defended by several large towers, and the western extremity of the town is occupied by an enormous mass of buildings — on the south the castle or keep, on the north the seraglio of El-Melek edh-Dhahir. Between these two buildings is apparently a third exit, leading to the Dead Sea. (A map of the site and a view of part of the keep will be found in the Atlas to De Saulcy, *La Mer Morte*, etc., feuilles 8, 20). The latter shows well the way in which the town is inclosed. The walls, the keep, and seraglio are mentioned by Lynch (*Report*, May 2, pp. 19, 20), whose account, though interesting, contains nothing new. The elevation of the town can

[a] Taking Debir to mean an *adytum*, or innermost recess, as it does in 1 K. vi. 5, 19, &c. (A. V. "oracle").

[b] In the Targum it is rendered by קָרְתָא, "city of princes" (ἀρχαί). See Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* 217.

[c] Gesenius expresses it as follows: "Ar-Moab, Stadt Moabs gleichsam ἄστυ oder urbs *Moabitarum* . . und die Burg des Landes Kir-Moab" (Burckhardt, von Gesenius, 1064).

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hardly be less than 3000 feet above the sea (Porter, *Handbk.* 60). From the heights immediately outside it, near a ruined mosque, a view is obtained of the Dead Sea, and in clear weather of Bethlehem and Jerusalem (Seetzen, *Reisen*, i. 413; Schwarz, 217). G.

KISH (קִישׁ [perh. *bow*, Ges.]: Κίς; [Vat. Alex. Καις, and so Lachm. Tisch. Treg. in Acts:] *Cis*, Vulg. and A. V., Acts xiii. 21). 1. A man of the tribe of Benjamin and the family of Matri, according to 1 Sam. x. 21, though descended from Becher according to 1 Chr. vii. 8, compared with 1 Sam. ix. 1. [BECHER.] He was son of Ner, brother to Abner, and father to King Saul. Gibeah or Gibeon seems to have been the seat of the family from the time of Jehiel, otherwise called Abiel (1 Sam. xiv. 51), Kish's grandfather (1 Chr. ix. 35).

2. Son of Jehiel, and uncle to the preceding (1 Chr. [viii. 30,] ix. 36).

3. [Κισαῖος; Vat. Alex. Κεισαιος.] A Benjamite, great grandfather of Mordecai, who was taken captive at the time that Jeconiah was carried to Babylon (Esth. ii. 5)

4. A Merarite, of the house of Mahli, of the tribe of Levi. His sons married the daughters of his brother Eleazar (1 Chr. xxiii. 21, 22, xxiv. 28, 29), apparently about the time of King Saul, or early in the reign of David, since Jeduthun the singer was the son of Kish (1 Chr. vi. 44, A. V., compared with 2 Chr. xxix. 12). In the last cited place, "Kish the son of Abdi," in the reign of Hezekiah, must denote the Levitical house or division, under its chief, rather than an individual. [JESHUA.] The genealogy in 1 Chr. vi. shows that, though Kish is called "the son of Mahli" (1 Chr. xxiii. 21), yet eight generations intervened between him and Mahli. In the corrupt text of 1 Chr. xv. the name is written *Kushaiah* at ver. 17, and for *Jeduthun* is written *Ethan*. [JEDUTHUN.] At 1 Chr. vi. 29 (44, A. V.) it is written *Kishi*. It is not improbable that the name Kish may have passed into the tribe of Levi from that of Benjamin, owing to the residence of the latter in the immediate neighborhood of Jerusalem, which might lead to intermarriages (1 Chr. viii. 28, 32).

A. C. H.

KISHI (קִישִׁי [perh. *Jehovah's bow*, Ges.]: Κισί; [Vat. Κεισαι;] Alex. Κεισαν: *Cusi*), a Merarite, and father or ancestor of Ethan the minstrel (1 Chr. vi. 44). The form in which his name appears in the Vulg. is supported by 22 of Kennicott's MSS. In 1 Chr. xv. 17 he is called KUSHAIAH, and KISH in 1 Chr. xxiii. 21, xxiv 29.

KISHION (קִשְׁיוֹן [*hardness*]: Κισών; [Vat. Κεισων;] Alex. Κεσιων: *Cesion*), one of the towns on the boundary of the tribe of Issachar (Josh. xix. 20), which with its suburbs was allotted to the Gershonite Levites (xxi. 28; though in this place the name — identical in the original — is incorrectly given in the A. V. KISHON). If the judgment of Gesenius may be accepted, there is no connection between the name Kishion and that of the river Kishon, since as Hebrew words they are derivable from distinct roots.[a] But it would seem very questionable how far so archaic a name as that of the Kishon, mentioned, as it is, in one of the earliest records we possess (Judg. v.), can be treated as Hebrew. No trace of the situation of Kishion however exists, nor can it be inferred so as to enable us to ascertain whether any connection was likely to have existed between the town and the river.

KISHON (קִשְׁיוֹן [see above]: ἡ Κισών, [Vat. Κεισων;] Alex. η Κισιων: *Cesion*), an inaccurate mode of representing (Josh. xxi. 28) the name which on its other occurrence is correctly given as KISHION. In the list of Levitical cities in 1 Chr. vi. its place is occupied by KEDESH (ver. 72).

KISHON, THE RIVER (נַחַל קִישׁוֹן [*torrent, K.*, i. e. *bending itself, serpentine*, Ges.] ὁ χειμάρρους Κισών, Κισσών,[b] and Κεισών; [Vat uniformly, and] Alex. usually Κεισων: *torrens Cison*), a torrent or winter stream of central Palestine, the scene of two of the grandest achievements of Israelite history — the defeat of Sisera, and the destruction of the prophets of Baal by Elijah.

Unless it be alluded to in Josh. xix. 11 as "the torrent facing Jokneam" — and if *Kaimân* be Jokneam, the description is very accurate — the Kishon is not mentioned in describing the possessions of the tribes. Indeed its name occurs only in connection with the two great events just referred to (Judg. iv. 7, 13, v. 21;[c] Ps. lxxxiii. 9 — here inaccurately "Kison;" and 1 K. xviii. 40).

The *Nahr Mukâtta*, the modern representative of the Kishon, is the drain by which the waters of the plain of Esdraelon, and of the mountains which inclose that plain, namely, Carmel and the Samaria range on the south, the mountains of Galilee on

[a] Kishon is from קָרַשׁ, to be bent, or tortuous; Kishion from קָשָׁה, to be hard (*Thes.* 1211, 1243).

[b] By some this was — with the usual craving to make the name of a place mean something — developed into χ. τῶν Κισσῶν, "the torrent of the ivy bushes" (Suidas, *s. v.* Ἰαβίν), just as the name of Kidron (Κέδρων) was made τῶν Κέδρων, "of the cedars." [CEDRON; KIDRON.]

[c] The term coupled with the Kishon in Judg. v. 21, נַחַל קְדוּמִים, in A. V. "that *ancient* river," has been very variously rendered by the old interpreters. 1. It is taken as a proper name, and thus apparently that of a distinct stream — in some MSS. of the LXX., Καδημείμ (see Bahrdt's *Hexapla*); by Jerome, in the Vulgate, *torrens Cadumim*; in the Peshito and Arabic versions, *Carmin*. This view is also taken by Benjamin of Tudela, who speaks of the river close to Acre (doubtless meaning thereby the Belus) as the נחל קדומים. 2. As an epithet of the Kishon itself: LXX., χειμάρρους ἀρχαίων; Aquila, καινούντων, perhaps intending to imply a scorching wind or simoom as accompanying the rising of the waters; Symmachus, αἰγίων or αἰγῶν, perhaps alluding to the swift springing of the torrent (αἶγες is used for high waves by Artemidorus). The Targum, adhering to the signification "ancient," expands the sentence — "the torrent in which were shown signs and wonders to Israel of old;" and this miraculous torrent a later Jewish tradition (preserved in the *Commentarius in Canticum Debboræ*, ascribed to Jerome) would identify with the Red Sea, the scene of the greatest marvels in Israel's history. The rendering of the A. V. is supported by Mendelssohn, Gesenius, Ewald, and other eminent modern scholars. But is it not possible that the term may refer to an ancient tribe of Kedemim — wanderers from the eastern deserts — who had in remote antiquity settled on the Kishon or one of its tributary wadies?

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the north, and Gilboa, "Little Hermon" (so called), and Tabor on the east, find their way to the Mediterranean. Its course is in a direction nearly due N. W. along the lower part of the plain nearest the foot of the Samarian hills, and close beneath the very cliffs of Carmel (Thomson, *Land and Book*, 2d ed. p. 436), breaking through the hills which separate the plain of Esdraelon from the maritime plain of Acre, by a very narrow pass, beneath the eminence of *Harothieh* or *Harti*, which is believed still to retain a trace of the name of Harosheth of the Gentiles (Thomson, p. 437). It has two principal feeders: the first from *Deburieh* (Daberath), on Mount Tabor, the N. E. angle of the plain; and secondly, from *Jelbûn* (Gilboa) and *Jenin* (Enganim) on the S. E. The very large perennial spring of the last-named place may be said to be the origin of the remote part of the Kishon (Thomson, p. 435). It is also fed by the copious spring of *Lejjun*, the stream from which is probably the "waters of Megiddo" (Van de Velde, 353; Porter, *Handbook*, p. 385). During the winter and spring, and after sudden storms of rain, the upper part of the Kishon flows with a very strong torrent; so strong, that in the battle of Mount Tabor, April 16, 1799, some of the circumstances of the defeat of Sisera were reproduced, many of the fugitive Turks being drowned in the wady from *Deburieh*, which then inundated a part of the plain (Burckhardt, p. 339). At the same seasons the ground about *Lejjun* (Megiddo) where the principal encounter with Sisera would seem to have taken place, becomes a morass, impassable for even single travellers, and truly destructive[a] for a huge horde like his army (Prokesch, in Rob. ii. 364; Thomson, p. 436).

But like most of the so-called "rivers" of Palestine, the perennial stream forms but a small part of the Kishon. During the greater part of the year its upper portion is dry, and the stream confined to a few miles next the sea. The sources of this perennial portion proceed from the roots of Carmel —the "vast fountains called *Sa'adîyeh*, about three miles east of Chaifa" (Thomson, p. 435), and those, apparently still more copious, described by Shaw (Rob. ii. 365),[b] as bursting forth from beneath the eastern brow of Carmel, and discharging of themselves "a river half as big as the Isis." It enters the sea at the lower part of the bay of *Akka*, about two miles east of *Chaifa*, "in a deep tortuous bed between banks of loamy soil some 15 feet high, and 15 to 20 yards apart" (Porter, *Handbook*, pp. 383, 384). Between the mouth and the town the shore is lined by an extensive grove of date-palms, one of the finest in Palestine (Van de Velde, p. 289).

The part of the Kishon at which the prophets of Baal were slaughtered by Elijah was doubtless close below the spot on Carmel where the sacrifice had taken place. This spot is now fixed with all but certainty, as at the extreme east end of the mountain, to which the name is still attached of *el Mahrakah*, "the burning." [CARMEL.] Nowhere does the Kishon run so close to the mountain as just beneath this spot (Van de Velde, i. 324). It is about 1000 feet above the river, and a precipitous ravine leads directly down, by which the victims were perhaps hurried from the sacred precincts of the altar of Jehovah to their doom in the torrent bed below, at the foot of the mound, which from this circumstance may be called *Tell Kisis*, the hill of the priests. Whether the Kishon contained any water at this time we are not told; that required for Elijah's sacrifice was in all probability obtained from the spring on the mountain side below the plateau of *el-Mahrakah*. [CARMEL, vol. i. p. 390 *a*.]

Of the identity of the Kishon with the present *Nahr Mukâtta* there can be no question. The existence of the sites of Taanach and Megiddo along its course, and the complete agreement of the circumstances just named with the requirements of the story of Elijah, are sufficient to satisfy us that the two are one and the same. But it is very remarkable what an absence there is of any continuous or traditional evidence on the point. By Josephus the Kishon is never named, neither does the name occur in the early Itineraries of Antoninus Augustus, or the Bordeaux Pilgrim. Eusebius and Jerome dismiss it in a few words, and note only its origin in Tabor (*Onom.* "Cison"), or such part of it as can be seen thence (*Ep. ad Eustochium*, § 13), passing by entirely its connection with Carmel. Benjamin of Tudela visited Akka and Carmel. He mentions the river by name as "Nachal Kishon;"[c] but only in the most cursory manner. Brocardus (cir. 1500) describes the western portion of the stream with a little more fullness, but enlarges most on its upper or eastern part, which, with the victory of Barak, he places on the east of Tabor and Hermon, as discharging the water of those mountains into the Sea of Galilee (*Descr. Terræ S.* cap. 6, 7). This has been shown by Dr. Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* ii. 364) to allude to the *Wady el-Bireh*, which runs down to the Jordan a few miles above Scythopolis. For the descriptions of modern travellers, see Maundrell (*Early Trav.* 430); Robinson (ii. 362, &c., iii. 116, 117); Van de Velde (324, &c.); Stanley (336, 339, 355), and Thomson (*Land and Book*, chap. xxix.). G.

KI'SON קִישׁוֹן [see above]: Κεισών; Alex. Κισσων: *Cison*), an inaccurate mode of representing the name elsewhere correctly given in the A. V. KISHON (Ps. lxxxiii. 9 only). An additional inconsistency is the expression "the brook *of* Kison" — the word "of" being redundant both here and in Judg. iv. 13, and v. 21. G.

KISS.[d] Kissing the lips by way of affectionate salutation was not only permitted, but customary,

[a] "The Kishon, considered, on account of its quicksands, the most dangerous river in the land" (Van de Velde, i. 289).

[b] The report of Shaw that this spring is called by the people of the place *Rás el-Kishon*, though dismissed with contempt by Robinson in his note, on the ground that the name K. is not known to the Arabs, has been confirmed to the writer by the Rev. W. Lee, who recently visited the spot.

[c] The English reader should be on his guard not to rely on the translation of Benjamin contained in the edition of Asher (Berlin, 1840). In the part of the work above referred to two serious errors occur. (1.) נַחַל קְדוּמִים is rendered "Nahr el-Kelb;" most erroneously, for the *N. el-Kelb* (Lycus) is more than 80 miles farther north. (2.) נַחַל קִישׁוֹן is rendered "the river Mukattua." Other renderings no less inexact occur elsewhere, which need not be noted here.

[d] 1. *Verb.* נָשַׁק: LXX. and N. T. φιλέω, more φιλέω· *osculor*, *deosculor*. 2. *Subs.* נְשִׁיקָה the

amongst near relatives of both sexes, both in patriarchal and in later times (Gen. xxix. 11; Cant. viii. 1). Between individuals of the same sex, and in a limited degree between those of different sexes, the kiss on the cheek as a mark of respect or an act of salutation has at all times been customary in the East, and can hardly be said to be extinct even in Europe. Mention is made of it (1) between parents and children (Gen. xxvii. 26, 27, xxxi. 28, 55, xlviii. 10, l. 1; Ex. xviii. 7; Ruth i. 9, 14; 2 Sam. xiv. 33; 1 K. xix. 20; Luke xv. 20; Tob. vii. 6, x. 12): (2) between brothers or near male relatives or intimate friends (Gen. xxix. 13, xxxiii. 4, xlv. 15; Ex. iv. 27; 1 Sam. xx. 41): (3) the same mode of salutation between persons not related, but of equal rank, whether friendly or deceitful, is mentioned (2 Sam. xx. 9; Ps. lxxxv. 10; Prov. xxvii. 6; Luke vii. 45 (1st clause), xxii. 48; Acts xx. 37): (4) as a mark of real or affected condescension (2 Sam. xv. 5, xix. 39): (5) respect from an inferior (Luke vii. 38, 45, and perhaps viii. 44).

In the Christian Church the kiss of charity was practiced not only as a friendly salutation, but as an act symbolical of love and Christian brotherhood (Rom. xvi. 16; 1 Cor. xvi. 20; 2 Cor. xiii. 12; 1 Thess. v. 26; 1 Pet. v. 14). It was embodied in the early Christian offices, and has been continued in some of those now in use (*Apost. Constit.* ii. 57, viii. 11; Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 65; Palmer, *On Lit.* ii. 102, and note from Du Cange; Bingham, *Christ. Antiq.* b. xii. c. iv. § 5, vol. iv. p. 49, b. ii. c. xi. § 10, vol. i. p. 161, b. ii. c. xix. § 17, vol. i. p. 272, b. iv. c. vi. § 14, vol. i. p. 526, b. xxii. c. iii. § 6, vol. vii. p. 316; see also *Cod. Just. V. Tit.* iii. 16, *de Don. ante Nupt.*; Brande, *Pop. Antiq.* ii. 57).

Between persons of unequal rank, the kiss, as a mark either of condescension on the one hand, or of respect on the other, can hardly be said to survive in Europe except in the case of royal personages. In the East it has been continued with little diminution to the present day. The ancient Persian custom among relatives is mentioned by Xenophon (*Cyrop.* i. 4, § 27), and among inferiors towards superiors, whose feet and hands they kissed (*ib.* vii. 5, § 32; Dion Cass. lix. 27). Among the Arabs the women and children kiss the beards of their husbands or fathers. The superior returns the salute by a kiss on the forehead. In Egypt an inferior kisses the hand of a superior, generally on the back, but sometimes, as a special favor, on the palm also. To testify abject submission, and in asking favors, the feet are often kissed instead of the hand. "The son kisses the hand of his father, the wife that of her husband, the slave, and often the free servant, that of the master. The slaves and servants of a grandee kiss their lord's sleeve or the skirt of his clothing" (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* ii. 9; Arvieux, *Trav.* p. 151; Burckhardt, *Trav.* i. 369; Niebuhr, *Voy.* i. 329, ii. 93; Layard, *Nin.* i. 174; Wellsted, *Arabia*, i. 341; Malcolm, *Sketches of Persia*, p. 271; see above (2)).

The written decrees of a sovereign are kissed in token of respect; even the ground is sometimes kissed by Orientals in the fullness of their submission (Gen. xli. 40; 1 Sam. xxiv. 8; Ps. lxxii. 9, Is. xlix. 23; Mic. vii. 17; Matt. xxviii. 9; Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* ii. 203; Layard, *Nin.* i. 274; Harmer, *Obs.* i. 336).

Friends saluting each other join the right hand, then each kisses his own hand, and puts it to his lips and forehead, or breast; after a long absence they embrace each other, kissing first on the right side of the face or neck, and then on the left, or on both sides of the beard (Lane, ii. 9, 10; Irby and Mangles, p. 116; Chardin, *Voy.* iii. 421; Arvieux, *l. c.*; Burckhardt, *Notes*, i. 369; Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 240).

Kissing is spoken of in Scripture as a mark of respect or adoration to idols (1 K. xix. 18; Hos. xiii. 2; comp. Cic. *Verr.* iv. 43; Tacitus, speaking of an eastern custom, *Hist.* iii. 24, and the Mohammedan custom of kissing the Kaaba at Mecca; Burckhardt, *Trav.* i. 250, 298, 323; Crichton, *Arabia*, ii. 215). H. W. P.

KITE (אַיָּה, *ayyâh*: ἰκτῖνος, γύψ: *vultur milvus?*). The Hebrew word thus rendered occurs in three passages, Lev. xi. 14, Deut. xiv. 13, and Job xxviii. 7: in the two former it is translated "kite" in the A. V., in the latter "vulture." It is enumerated among the twenty names of birds mentioned in Deut. xiv.[a] (belonging for the most part to the order *Raptores*), which were considered unclean by the Mosaic Law, and forbidden to be used as food by the Israelites. The allusion in Job alone affords a clew to its identification. The deep mines in the recesses of the mountains from which the labor of man extracts the treasures of the earth are there described as "a track which the bird of prey hath not known, nor hath the eye of the *ayyah* looked upon it." Among all birds of prey, which are proverbially clear-sighted, the *ayyah* is thus distinguished as possessed of peculiar keenness of vision, and by this attribute alone is it marked. Translators have been singularly at variance with regard to this bird. In the LXX. of Lev. and Deut. *ayyah* is rendered "kite,"[b] while in Job it is "vulture," which the A. V. has followed. The Vulg. gives "vulture" in all three passages, unless, as Drusius suggests (on Lev. xi. 14), the order of the words in Lev. and Deut. is changed; but even in this case there remains the rendering "vulture" in Job, and the reason advanced by Drusius for the transposition is not conclusive. The Targ. Onkelos vaguely renders it "bird of prey;" Targ. Pseudo-Jonathan, "black vulture;" Targ. Jerus. by a word which Buxtorf translates "a pie," in which he is supported by the authority of Kimchi, but which Bochart considers to be identical in meaning with the preceding, and which is employed in Targ. Onkelos as the equivalent of the word rendered "heron" in A. V. of Lev. xi. 19. It is impossible to say what the rendering of the Peshito Syriac in Lev. and Deut. may be, in consequence of an evident confusion in the text; in

notion being of extension, or possibly from the sound, Gesen. p. 924: LXX. and N. T. φίλημα: *osculum*.

[a] In the parallel passage of Lev. xi the *glede* (רָאָה) is omitted; but the Hebrew word has in all probability crept into the text by an error of some transcriber. (See Gesen. *s. v.*, and GLEDE.)

[b] In ornithological language "kite" = "glede" (*Milvus vulgaris*); but "glede" is applied by the common people in Ireland to the common buzzard (*Buteo vulgaris*), the "kite" not being indigenous to that country. So, too, the translators of the A. V. considered the terms "kite" and "glede" as distinct, for they render רָאָה "glede," and אַיָּה "kite," "and the glede and the kite" (Deut. xiv. 13).

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Job *ayyah* is translated by *daitho*,[c] "a kite" or "vulture" as some have it, which is the representative of "vulture" in the A. V. of Is. xxxiv. 15. The Arabic versions of Saadias and Abulwalid give "the night-owl;" and Aben Ezra, deriving it from a root[b] signifying "an island," explains it as "the island bird," without however identifying it with any individual of the feathered tribes. Robertson (*Clavis Pentateuchi*) derives *ayyah* from the Heb. אִיָּה, an obsolete root, which he connects with an Arabic word,[c] the primary meaning of which, according to Schultens, is "to turn." If this derivation be the true one, it is not improbable that "kite" is the correct rendering. The habit which birds of this genus have of "sailing in circles, with the rudder-like tail by its inclination governing the curve," as Yarrell says, accords with the Arabic derivation.[d]

Bochart, regarding the etymology of the word, connected it with the Arabic *al yuyu*, a kind of hawk so called from its cry *yâyâ*, described by Damir as a small bird with a short tail, used in hunting, and remarkable for its great courage, the swiftness of its flight, and the keenness of its vision, which is made the subject of praise in an Arabic stanza quoted by Damir. From these considerations Bochart identifies it with the merlin, or *Falco æsalon* of Linnæus, which is the same as the Greek αἰσαλών and Latin *æsalo*. It must be confessed, however, that the grounds for identifying the *ayyah* with any individual species are too slight to enable us to regard with confidence any conclusions which may be based upon them; and from the expression which follows in Lev. and Deut., "after its kind," it is evident that the term is generic. The Talmud goes so far as to assert that the four Hebrew words rendered in A. V. "vulture," "glede," and "kite," denote one and the same bird (Lewysohn, *Zoologie*



Kite.

des Talmuds, § 196). Seetzen (i. 310) mentions species of falcon used in Syria for hunting gazelles and hares, and a smaller kind for hunting hares in the desert. Russell (*Aleppo*, ii. 196) enumerates seven different kinds employed by the natives for the same purpose.

Two persons are mentioned in the O. T. whose names are derived from this bird. [AJAH.] Fürst (*Hwdw.* s. v.) compares the parallel instances of *Shahîn*, a kind of falcon, used as a proper name by the Persians and Turks, and the Latin *Milvius*. To these we may add *Falco* and *Falconia* among the Romans, and the names of *Hawke*, *Falcon*, *Falconer*, *Kite*, etc., etc., in our own language (see Lower's *Historical Essays on English Surnames*).

W. A. W.

* The common black kite, which is seen wheeling in circles over the cities of Egypt, with the small vulture (*Vultur percnopterus*) is called by the natives حِدَأَة. This species is found also in Syria, though like all the raptorial birds, less numerously than in Egypt. From its proximity to the cities it would appear to prefer what it can pick up of offal and dead birds to the more precarious hunting of its living prey. The pigeons of Egypt, which are exceedingly numerous in the neighborhood of the towns, seem to fly about in perfect indifference to the presence of this powerful raptor, and I never saw a kite make a descent on a flock of pigeons, though they might do so at all times. They are exceedingly wary and difficult to approach, or shoot on the wing. G. E. P.

KITHLISH (כִּתְלִישׁ, *i. e.* Cithlish: Μααχώς; Alex. Χαθλως; [Comp. Ald. Καθαλις:] *Cethlis*), one of the towns of Judah, in the *Shefelah* or lowland (Josh. xv. 40), named in the same group with Eglon, Gederoth, and Makkedah. It is not named by Eusebius or Jerome, nor does it appear to have been either sought or found by any later traveller. G.

KITRON (קִטְרוֹן [perh. *castle*, *fortress*, Dietr.]: Κέδρων; Alex., with unusual departure from the Heb. text, Χεβρων: [Ald. Χεδρών; Comp. Κετρών:] *Cetron*), a town which, though not mentioned in the specification of the possessions of Zebulun in Josh. xix., is catalogued in Judg. i. 30 as one of the towns from which Zebulun did not expel the Canaanites. It is here named next to Nahalol, a position occupied in Josh. xix. 15, by Kattath. Kitron may be a corruption of this, or it may be an independent place omitted for some reason from the other list. In the Talmud (*Megillah*, as quoted by Schwarz, 173) it is identified with "Zippori," *i. e.* Sepphoris, now *Seffurieh*. G.

KITTIM (כִּתִּים: Κήτιοι, Gen. x. 4; Κίτιοι, [Alex.[1] Κητιοι? Comp. Χεττίμ, Ald. Χεττιείμ,] 1 Chr. i. 7: [*Cetthim*,] *Cethim*). Twice written in the A. V. for CHITTIM.

KNEADING-TROUGHS. [BREAD.]

KNIFE.[e] 1. The knives of the Egyptians, and of other nations in early times, were probably only of hard stone, and the use of the flint or stone knife was sometimes retained for sacred purposes after the introduction of iron and steel (Plin. *H. N*

[a] יָעַט. [b] אִי.

[c] اوى.

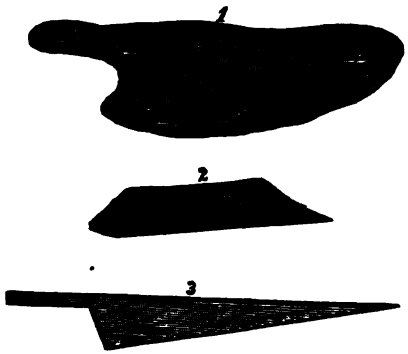
[d] Gesenius traces the word to the unused root אוה = Arab عوى, "to howl like a dog or wolf."

[e] 1. חֶרֶב, Gesen. p. 516: μάχαιρα: *gladius cultor* 2. מַאֲכֶלֶת, from אָכַל, "eat," Gesen. 99 89, 93: ῥομφαια: *gladius*.

xxxv. 12, § 165). Herodotus (ii. 86) mentions knives both of iron and of stone[a] in different stages of the same process of embalming. The same may perhaps be said to some extent of the Hebrews.[b]

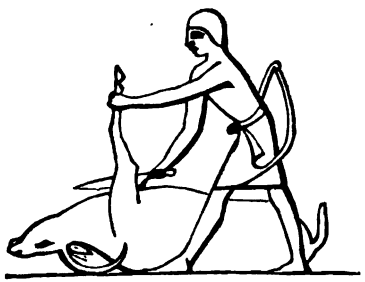
2. In their meals the Jews, like other Orientals, made little use of knives, but they were required both for slaughtering animals either for food or sacrifice, as well as cutting up the carcase (Lev. vii. 33, 34, viii. 15, 20, 25, ix. 13; Num. xviii. 18; 1 Sam. ix. 24; Ez. xxiv. 4; Ezr. i. 9; Matt. xxvi. 23; Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 172; Wilkinson, i. 169; Mischn. *Tamid*, iv. 3).

3. Smaller knives were in use for paring fruit (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 7; *B. J.* i. 33, § 7) and for sharpening pens[c] (Jer. xxxvi. 23).



1, 2. Egyptian Flint Knives in Museum at Berlin.
3. Egyptian Knife represented in Hieroglyphics.

4. The razor[d] was often used for Nazaritic purposes, for which a special chamber was reserved in the Temple (Num. vi. 5, 9, 19; Ex. v. 1; Is. vii. 20; Jer. xxxvi. 23; Acts xviii. 18, xxi. 24; Mischn. *Midd.* ii. 5).



Egyptian Knife. (British Museum.)

5. The pruning-hooks of Is. xviii. 5[e] were probably curved knives.

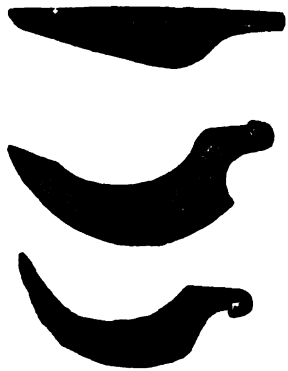
6. The lancets[f] of the priests of Baal were doubtless pointed knives (1 K. xviii. 28). [LANCET.]

Asiatics usually carry about with them a knife or dagger, often with a highly ornamented handle, which may be used when required for eating purposes (Judg. iii. 21; Layard, *Nin.* ii. 342, 299, Wilkinson, i. 358, 360; Chardin, *Voy.* iv. 18; Niebuhr, *Voy.* i. 340, pl. 71). H. W. P.

[a] Λίθοις Αἰθιοπικοῖς.

[b] צֹר (Ex. iv. 25) is in LXX. ψῆφος, in which Syr. and other versions agree; as also חַרְבוֹת צֻרִים, Jos. p. 1160; μαχαίρας πετρίνας ἐκ πέτρας ἀκροτόμους, ech. v. 2. See Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* ii. 164; Prescott, Mexico, i. 62.

[c] Instead of "sharp knives" in Josh. v. 2 (A. V.) the margin reads "knives of flint," which is more exact for חַרְבוֹת צֻרִים, lit. *knives of rocks* or *stones*. The account of Joshua's burial (Josh. xxiv. 30) contains in the Septuagint this remarkable addition. "Then they placed with him in the tomb in which they buried him there the flint knives (τὰς μαχαίρας τὰς πετρίνας) with which he circumcised the children of Israel in Gilgal, when he led them forth out of Egypt, as the Lord commanded them: and there they are unto this day." It thus appears that the Alexandrian translator (even supposing that he has not followed here a distinct tradition respecting the great Hebrew leader) was at all events familiar with the fact that it was not uncommon to bury such relics with distinguished persons when they died. It is well known that in the Sinaitic peninsula stone or flint knives have often been discovered on opening ancient places of sepulture. The Abyssinian tribes at the present day use flint knives in performing circumcision (Knobel, *Exodus*, p. 40). See STONES, 3. H.



Assyrian Knives. (From Originals in British Museum.)

KNOP, that is KNOB (A. S. *cnæp*). A word employed in the A. V. to translate two terms, of the real meaning of which all that we can say with certainty is that they refer to some architectural or ornamental object, and that they have nothing in common.

1. *Caphtor* (כַּפְתֹּר). This occurs in the description of the candlestick of the sacred tent in Ex. xxv. 31–36, and xxxvii. 17–22, the two passages being identical. The knops are here distinguished from the shaft, branches, bowls, and flowers of the candlestick; but the knop and the flower go together, and seem intended to imitate the produce of an almond-tree. In another part of the work they appear to form a boss, from which the branches are to spring out from the main stem. In Am. ix. 1

[d] הַתַּעַר הַסַּפָּר, "the knife of a scribe."

[e] הַתַּעַר חַגַּלָּבִים, Ges. p. 1069.

[f] מְזֻמְּרוֹת, Ges. p. 421: δρέπανα: falces.

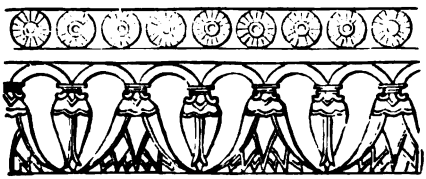
[g] רְמָחִים: σκιρομάστας: lanceoli

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the same word is rendered, with doubtful accuracy, "lintel." The same rendering is used in Zeph. ii. 14, where the reference is to some part of the palaces of Nineveh, to be exposed when the wooden upper story — the "cedar work" — was destroyed. The Hebrew word seems to contain the sense of "covering" and "crowning" (Gesenius, *Thes.* 709). Josephus's description (*Ant.* iii. 6, § 7) names both balls (σφαῖρα) and pomegranates (ῥοΐσκοι), either of which may be the *caphtor*. The Targum[a] agrees with the latter, the LXX. (σφαιρωτῆρες) with the former. [LINTEL.]

2. The second term, *Peka'im* (פְּקָעִים), is found only in 1 K. vi. 18 and vii. 24. It refers in the former to carvings executed in the cedar wainscot of the interior of the Temple, and, as in the preceding word, is associated with flowers. In the latter case it denotes an ornament cast round the great reservoir or "sea" of Solomon's Temple below the brim: there was a double row of them, ten to a cubit, or about 2 inches from centre to centre.

The word no doubt signifies some globular thing resembling a small gourd,[b] or an egg,[c] though as to the character of the ornament we are quite in the dark. The following woodcut of a portion of a



Border of a Slab from Kouyunjik. (Fergusson's Architecture.)

richly ornamented door-step or slab from Kouyunjik, probably represents something approximating to the "knop and the flower" of Solomon's Temple. But as the building from which this is taken was the work of a king at least as late as the son of Esarhaddon, contemporary with the latter part of the reign of Manasseh, it is only natural to suppose that the character of the ornament would have undergone considerable modification from what it was in the time of Solomon. We must await some future happy discovery in Assyrian or Egyptian art, to throw clearer light on the meaning of these and a hundred other terms of detail in the descriptions of the buildings and life of the Israelites.

G.

* **KNOWEN.** This older form of the past participle is used throughout the original edition of the A. V. instead of *known*. A similar remark applies to *blowen, growen, mowen, sowen, throwen*, and *hewen*. This was the common orthography at the time when the translation was made. A.

KO'A (קוֹעַ: Ἀχουέ[d]; [Alex. Ἀουδ; Comp. Κουδέ; Ald. Κοάθ: *principes*]) is a word which occurs only in Ez. xxiii. 23: "The Babylonians and all the Chaldæans, Pekod, and Shoa, and Koa, and all the Assyrians with them." It is uncertain if the word is a proper name or no. It may perhaps designate a place otherwise unknown, which we must suppose to have been a city or district of Babylonia. Or it may be a common noun, signifying "prince" or "nobleman," as the Vulgate takes it, and some of the Jewish interpreters.

G. R.

KO'HATH[e] (קְהָת, and Num. xvi. 1, &c., קֹהָת, *assembly*: Καάθ and [Alex. once] Κααθ: *Cahath*), second of the three sons of Levi (Gershon, Kohath, Merari), from whom the three principal divisions of the Levites derived their origin and their name (Gen. xlvi. 11; Exod. vii. 16, 18; Num. iii. 17;

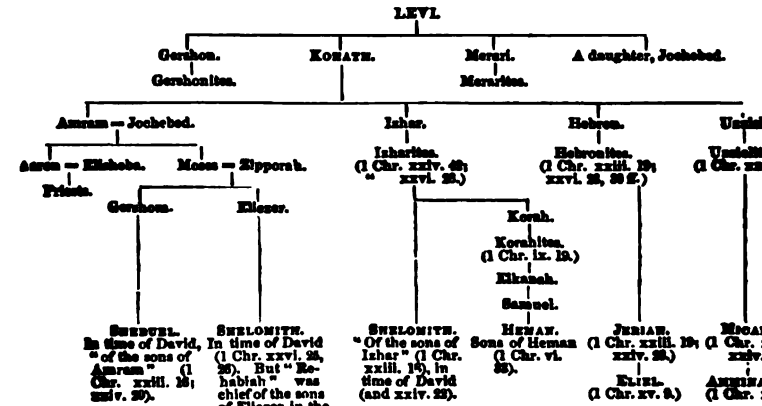
[a] וְזוּחַר, an apple, or other fruit of a round form, both in Onkelos and Pseudojon.

[b] Compare the similar word פַּקֻּעוֹת, *Pakkuōth*, "gourds," in 2 K. iv. 39.

[c] This is the rendering of the Targum.

[d] The conjunction being taken as part of the name

[e] It is not apparent why the form Kohath, which occurs but occasionally, should have been chosen in the A. V. in preference to the more usual one of Kohath, sanctioned both by LXX. and Vulg. [The A. V. seems to have derived this form from the Geneva version. The Bishops' Bible has *Cohath* and *Cheath*. — A.]



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Chr. xxxiv. 12, &c.). Kohath was the father of Amram, and he of Moses and Aaron. From him, therefore, were descended all the priests; and hence those of the Kohathites who were not priests were of the highest rank of the Levites, though not the sons of Levi's first-born. Korah, the son of Izhar, was a Kohathite, and hence, perhaps, his impatience of the superiority of his relatives, Moses and Aaron. In the journeyings of the Tabernacle the sons of Kohath had charge of the most holy portion of the vessels, to carry them by staves, as the vail, the ark, the tables of show-bread, the golden altar, etc. (Num. iv.); but they were not to touch them or look upon them "lest they die." These were all previously covered by the priests, the sons of Aaron. In the reign of Hezekiah the Kohathites are mentioned first (2 Chr. xxix. 12), as they are also 1 Chr. xv. 5–7, 11, when Uriel their chief assisted, with 120 of his brethren, in bringing up the ark to Jerusalem in the time of David. It is also remarkable that in this last list of those whom David calls "chief of the fathers of the Levites," and couples with "Zadok and Abiathar the priests," of six who are mentioned by name four are descendants of Kohath; namely, besides Uriel, Shemaiah the son of Elzaphan, with 200 of his brethren; Eliel, the son of Hebron, with 80 of his brethren; and Amminadab, the son of Uzziel, with 112 of his brethren. For it appears from Ex. vi. 18–22, compared with 1 Chr. xxiii. 12, xxvi. 23–32, that there were four families of sons of Kohath — Amramites, Izharites, Hebronites, and Uzzielites; and of the above names Elzaphan and Amminadab were both Uzzielites (Ex. vi. 22), and Eliel a Hebronite. The verses already cited from 1 Chr. xxvi.; Num. iii. 19, 27; 1 Chr. xxiii. 12, also disclose the wealth and importance of the Kohathites, and the important offices filled by them as keepers of the dedicated treasures, as judges, officers, and rulers, both secular and sacred. In 2 Chr. xx. 19, they appear as singers, with the Korhites.

The number of the sons of Kohath between the ages of 30 and 50, at the first census in the wilderness, was 2,750, and the whole number of males from a month old was 8,600 (Num. iii. 28, iv. 36). Their number is not given at the second numbering Num. xxvi. 57), but the whole number of Levites had increased by 1,300, namely, from 22,000 to 23,300 (Num. iii. 39, xxvi. 62). The place of the sons of Kohath in marching and encampment was south of the Tabernacle (Num. iii. 29), which was also the situation of the Reubenites. Samuel was a Kohathite, and so of course were his descendants, Heman the singer and the third division of the singers which was under him. [HEMAN; ASAPH; JEDUTHUN.] The inheritance of those sons of Kohath who were not priests lay in the half tribe of Manasseh, in Ephraim (1 Chr. vi. 61–70), and in Dan (Josh. xxi. 5, 20–26). Of the personal history of Kohath we know nothing, except that he came down to Egypt with Levi and Jacob (Gen. xlvi. 11), that his sister was Jochebed (Ex. vi. 20), and that he lived to the age of 133 years (Ex. vi. 18). He lived about 80 or 90 years in Egypt during Joseph's lifetime, and about 30 more after his death. He may have been some 20 years younger than Joseph his uncle. The table on the preceding page shows the principal descents from Kohath; a fuller table may be seen in Burrington's *Genealogies*, Tab. X. No. 1. [LEVITES.]

A. C. H.

• **KO'HATHITES** (קְהָתִי, 8 times, and קָהָתִי, 7 times: Καάθ, exc. Num. xxvi. 57, 1 Chr. vi. 54, Κααθί (Vat. -θει), and 1 Chr. ix. 32, Κααθίτης (Vat. Sin. -θετ-): *Caathita, Caath*), descendants of KOHATH. A

• **KOHE'LETH.** [ECCLESIASTES.]

KOLA'IAH [3 syl.] (קוֹלָיָה [*voice of Jehovah*]: Κωλαΐα; [Vat. Κοδια; Alex. Κωλεια;] FA. Κολεια: *Colaïa*). 1. A Benjamite whose descendants settled in Jerusalem after the return from the Captivity (Neh. xi. 7).

2. [LXX. omit: *Colia* or *Colias*.] The father of Ahab the false prophet, who was burnt by the king of Babylon (Jer. xxix. 21).

KO'RAH (קֹרַח, *baldness*[a]: Κορέ: *Core*). 1. Third son of Esau by Aholibamah (Gen. xxxvi. 5, 14, 18; 1 Chr. i. 35). He was born in Canaan before Esau migrated to Mount Seir (Gen. xxxvi. 5–9), and was one of the "dukes" of Edom.

2. Another Edomitish duke of this name, sprung from Eliphaz, Esau's son by Adah (Gen. xxxvi. 16); but this is not confirmed by ver. 11, nor by the list in 1 Chr. i. 36, nor is it probable in itself.

3. [Vat. Κορεε.] One of the "sons of Hebron" in 1 Chr. ii. 43; but whether, in this obscure passage, Hebron is the name of a man or of a city, and whether, in the latter case, Korah is the same as the son of Izhar (No. 4), whose children may have been located at Hebron among those Kohathites who were priests, is difficult to determine.

4. Son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi. He was leader of the famous rebellion against his cousins Moses and Aaron in the wilderness, for which he paid the penalty of perishing with his followers by an earthquake and flames of fire (Num. xvi., xxvi. 9–11). The details of this rebellion are too well known to need repetition here, but it may be well to remark, that the particular grievance which rankled in the mind of Korah and his company was their exclusion from the office of the priesthood, and their being confined — those among them who were Levites — to the inferior service of the Tabernacle, as appears clearly, both from the words of Moses in ver. 9, and from the test resorted to with regard to the censers and the offering of incense. The same thing also appears from the subsequent confirmation of the priesthood to Aaron (ch. xvii.). The appointment of Elizaphan to be chief of the Kohathites (Num iii. 30) may have further inflamed his jealousy. Korah's position as leader in this rebellion was evidently the result of his personal character, which was that of a bold, haughty, and ambitious man. This appears from his address to Moses in Num. xvi. 3, and especially from his conduct in ver. 19, where both his daring and his influence over the congregation are very apparent. Were it not for this, one would have expected the Gershonites — as the elder

[a] The meaning of Korah's name (baldness) has supplied a ready handle to some members of the Church of Rome to banter Calvin (Calvinus, Calvus), as being homonymous with his predecessor in schism; and it has been retorted that Korah's baldness has a more suita... antitype in the tonsure of the Romish priests (Simonis, *Onom.* s. v.).

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branch of the Levites — to have supplied a leader in conjunction with the sons of Reuben, rather than the family of Izhar, who was Amram's younger brother. From some cause which does not clearly appear, the children of Korah were not involved in the destruction of their father, as we are expressly told in Num. xxvi. 11, and as appears from the continuance of the family of the Korahites to the reign, at least of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xx. 19), and probably till the return from the Captivity (1 Chr. ix. 19, 31). [KORAHITE.] Perhaps the fissure of the ground which swallowed up the tents of Dathan and Abiram did not extend beyond those of the Reubenites. From Num. xvi. 27 it seems clear that Korah himself was not with Dathan and Abiram at the moment. His tent may have been one pitched for himself, in contempt of the orders of Moses, by the side of his fellow-rebels, while his family continued to reside in their proper camp nearer the tabernacle; or it must have been separated by a considerable space from those of Dathan and Abiram. Or, even if Korah's family resided amongst the Reubenites, they may have fled, at Moses's warning, to take refuge in the Kohathite camp, instead of remaining, as the wives and children of Dathan and Abiram did (ver. 27). Korah himself was doubtless with the 250 men who bare censers nearer the tabernacle (ver. 19), and perished with them by the "fire from Jehovah" which accompanied the earthquake. It is nowhere said that he was one of those who "went down quick into the pit" (comp. Ps. cvi. 17, 18), and it is natural that he should have been with the censer-bearers. That he was so is indeed clearly implied by Num. xvi. 16–19, 35, 40, compared with xxvi. 9, 10. In the N. T. (Jude ver. 11) Korah is coupled with Cain and Balaam, and seems to be held out as a warning to those who "despise dominion and speak evil of dignities," of whom it is said that they "perished in the gainsaying of Core." [a] Nothing more is known of Korah's personal character or career previous to his rebellion.

A. C. H.

KO'RAHITE (1 Chr. ix. 19, 31), **KOR'HITE**, or **KO'RATHITE** (in Hebrew always קָרְחִי, or in plur. קָרְחִים [patr. from KORAH]: never expressed at all by the LXX., but paraphrased *υἱοί, δῆμος*, or *γενέσεις Κορέ* [error, see note [b]]: *Corita*, [*Core, Carehim*]), that portion of the Kohathites who were descended from Korah, and are frequently styled by the synonymous phrase Sons of Korah. [KOHATH.] It would appear, at first sight, from Ex. vi. 24, that Korah had three sons — Assir, Elkanah, and Abiasaph — as Winer, Rosenmüller, etc., also understand it; but as we learn from 1 Chr. vi. 22, 25 37, that Assir, Elkanah, and Abiasaph, were respectively the son, grandson, and great-grandson of Korah, it seems obvious that Ex. vi. 24 gives us the chief houses sprung from Korah, and not his actual sons, and therefore that Elkanah and Abiasaph were not the sons, but later descendants of Korah. If, however, Abiasaph was the grandson of Assir his name must have been added to this genealogy in Exodus later as he could not have been born at that time Elkanah might, being of the same generation as Phinehas (Ex. vi. 25).

The offices filled by the sons of Korah, as far as we are informed, are the following. They were an important branch of the *singers* in the Kohathite division, Heman himself being a Korahite (1 Chr. vi. 33), and the Korahites being among those who, in Jehoshaphat's reign, "stood up to praise the Lord God of Israel with a loud voice on high" (2 Chr. xx. 19). [HEMAN.] Hence we find eleven Psalms (or twelve, if Ps. 43 is included under the same title as Ps. 42) dedicated or assigned to the sons of Korah, namely, Ps. 42, 44–49, 84, 85, 87, 88. Winer describes them as some of the most beautiful in the collection, from their high lyric tone. Origen says it was a remark of the old interpreters that all the Psalms inscribed with the name of the sons of Korah are full of pleasant and cheerful subjects, and free from anything sad or harsh (*Homil. on* 1 *Kings*, i. e. 1 *Sam.*), and on Matt. xviii. 20, he ascribes the authorship of these Psalms to "the three sons of Korah," who, "because they agreed together had the Word of God in the midst of them" (*Homil.* xiv.).[c] Of moderns, Rosenmüller thinks that the sons of Korah, especially Heman, were the authors of these Psalms, which, he says, rise to greater sublimity and breathe more vehement feelings than the Psalms of David, and quotes Hensler and Eichhorn as agreeing. De Wette also considers the sons of Korah as the authors of them (*Einl.* 335–339), and so does Just. Olshausen on the Psalms (*Exeg. Handb. Einl.* p. 22). As, however, the language of several of these Psalms — as the 42d, 84th, &c. — is manifestly meant to apply to David, it seems much simpler to explain the title "for the sons of Korah," to mean that they were given to them to sing in the Temple-services. If their style of music, vocal and instrumental, was of a more sublime and lyric character than that of the sons of Merari or Gershon, and Heman had more fire in his execution than Asaph and Jeduthun, it is perfectly natural that David should have given his more poetic and elevated strains to Heman and his choir, and the

[a] Ἀντιλογία, "contradiction," alluding to his speech in Num. xvi. 3, and accompanying rebellion. Compare the use of the same word in Heb. xii. 3, Ps. cvi. 32, and of the verb, John xix. 12, and Is. xxii. 22, lxv. 2 (LXX.), in which latter passage, as quoted Rom. x. 21, the A. V. has the same expression of "gainsaying" as in Jude. The Son of Sirach, following Ps. cvi. 16, יְקַנְּאוּ לְמֹשֶׁה, etc. (otherwise rendered however by LXX., Ps. cvi. 16, παρώργισαν), describes Korah and his companions as envious or jealous of Moses, where the English "maligned" is hardly an equivalent for ἐζήλωσαν.

[b] There is but *one* instance in which the word is paraphrased by the LXX., namely, 1 Chr. xxvi. 1, *υἱοὶ Κορέ* (Vat. -εμ), Alex. *υἱοις Κορε*, for לְקָרְחִים; in the other cases, Ex. vi. 24 Num. xxvi. 58, (1 Chr. xxvi. 19,) 2 Chr. xx. 19, *γενέσεις, δῆμος*, and *υἱοί* represent distinct Hebrew words, and *Κορέ* is used instead of the patronymic; while in 1 Chr. ix. 19, 31, xii. 6, the LXX. have *Κορίτης* or *Κορῖται* (Vat. -ρει-). A.

[c] St. Augustine has a still more fanciful conceit, which he thinks it necessary to repeat in almost every homily on the eleven psalms inscribed to the sons of Kore. Adverting to the interpretation of Korah, *Calvities*, he finds in it a great mystery. Under this term is set forth Christ, who is entitled Calvus, because He was crucified on Calvary, and was mocked by the bystanders, as Elisha had been by the children, who cried after him "*Calve, calve!*" and who, when they said "*Go up*, thou bald pate," had prefigured the exact fixion. The sons of Korah are therefore the children of Christ the bridegroom (*Homil. on Psalms*).

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simpler and quieter psalms to the other choirs. J. van Iperen (ap. Rosenm.) assigns these psalms to the times of Jehoshaphat; others to those of the Maccabees; Ewald attributes the 42d Psalm to Jeremiah. The purpose of many of the German critics seems to be to reduce the antiquity of the Scriptures as low as possible.

Others, again, of the sons of Korah were "porters," *i. e.* doorkeepers, in the Temple, an office of considerable dignity. In 1 Chr. ix. 17–19, we learn that Shallum, a Korahite of the line of Ebiasaph, was chief of the doorkeepers, and that he and his brethren were over the work of the service, keepers of the gates of the tabernacle (comp. 2 K. xxv. 18), apparently after the return from the Babylonish Captivity. [KINGS.] See also 1 Chr. ix. 22–29; Jer. xxxv. 4; and Ezr. ii. 42. But in 1 Chr. xxvi. we find that this official station of the Korahites dated from the time of David, and that their chief was then Shelemiah or Meshelemiah, the son of (Abi)asaph, to whose custody the east gate fell by lot, being the principal entrance. Shelemiah is doubtless the same name as Shallum in 1 Chr. ix. 17, and, perhaps, Meshullam, 2 Chr. xxxiv. 12, Neh. xii. 25, where, as in so many other places, it designates, not the individuals, but the house or family. In 2 Chr. xxxi. 14, Kore, the son of Imnah the Levite, the doorkeeper towards the east, who was over the free-will offerings of God to distribute the oblations of the Lord and the most holy things, was probably a Korahite, as we find the name Kore in the family of Korah in 1 Chr. ix. 19. In 1 Chr. ix. 31, we find that Mattithiah, the first-born of Shallum the Korahite, had the set office over the things that were made in the pans. (Burrington's *Genealogies;* Patrick, *Comment. on Num.;* Lyell's *Princ. of Geol.*, ch. 23, 24, 25, on Earthquakes; Rosenmüller and Olshausen, *On Psalms;* De Wette, *Einl.*) A. C. H.

KO'RATHITES, THE (הַקָּרְחִי), Num. xxvi. 58. [KORAHITE.]

* This form, for which there is no justification, seems to have been derived from the reading of the Bishop's Bible in the passage referred to, "Corathites," probably a mere misprint. A.

KOR'HITES, THE (הַקָּרְחִי), Ex. vi. 24; 1 Chr. xii. 6, xxvi. 1; 2 Chr. xx. 19. [KORAHITE.]

KO'RE (קֹרֵא) [*caller*]: Κορέ; [Vat. Κωρηβ,] Alex. Χωρη in 1 Chr. ix. 19; Alex. Κορηε, 1 Chr. xxvi. 1: *Core*). 1. A Korahite, ancestor of Shallum and Meshelemiah, chief porters in the reign of David.

2. (Κορή: Alex. Κωρη.) Son of Imnah, a Levite in the reign of Hezekiah, appointed over the free-will offerings and most holy things, and a gatekeeper on the eastern side of the Temple after the reform of worship in Judah (2 Chr. xxxi. 14).

3. In the A. V. of 1 Chr. xxvi. 19, "the sons of KORE" (following the Vulg. *Core*), should properly be "the sons of the Korhite."

KOZ (קוֹץ) [*thorn*]: Ἀκκούς [Vat. Ακους] in Ezr. ii. 61; Ἀκκώς, Neh. iii. 4, 21; [in Neh. iii. 4, Vat. FA. Ακως; ver. 21, Vat. Ακωβ, FA. Ἀκκωβ:] *Accos* in Ezr., *Accus* in Neh. iii. 4, *Haccus* in Neh. iii. 21) = ACCOZ = COZ = HAKKOZ.

KUSHA'IAH [3 syl.] (קוּשַׁיָהוּ) [*Jehovah's bow*]: Κισαΐα; [Vat. FA. Κει-]: *Casaias*). The same as KISH or KISHI, the father of Ethan the Merarite (1 Chr. xv. 17).

L.

LA'ADAH (לַעְדָה) [*order, arranging*] Λααδά; [Vat. Μαδαθ:] *Laada*), the son of Shelah, and grandson of Judah. He is described as the "father," or founder, of MARESHAH in the lowlands of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 21).

LA'ADAN (לַעְדָן) [*put in order*]: Λααδάν: Alex. Γαλααδα and Λααδα: *Laadan*). 1. An Ephraimite, ancestor of Joshua the son of Nun (1 Chr. vii. 26).

2. (Ἐδάν; Alex. Λεαδαν: *Leedan*, 1 Chr. xxiii. 7, 8, 9; Λαδάν Alex. Λεδαν and Λααδα: *Ledan*, 1 Chr. xxvi. 21.) The son of Gershom, elsewhere called LIBNI. His descendants in the reign of David were among the chief fathers of his tribe, and formed part of the Temple-choir.

LA'BAN (לָבָן) [*white*]: Λάβαν; Joseph. Λάβανος: *Laban*), son of Bethuel, grandson of Nahor and Milcah, grand-nephew of Abraham, brother of Rebekah, and father of Leah and Rachel; by whom and their handmaids Bilhah and Zilpah he was the natural progenitor of three fourths of the nation of the Jews, and of our Blessed Lord, and the legal ancestor of the whole.

The elder branch of the family remained at Haran when Abraham removed to the land of Canaan, and it is there that we first meet with Laban, as taking the leading part in the betrothal of his sister Rebekah to her cousin Isaac (Gen. xxiv. 10, 29–60, xxvii. 43, xxix. 4). Bethuel, his father, plays so insignificant a part in the whole transaction, being in fact only mentioned once, and that *after* his son (xxiv. 50), that various conjectures have been formed to explain it. Josephus asserts that Bethuel was dead, and that Laban was the head of the house and his sister's natural guardian (*Ant.* i. 16, § 2); in which case "Bethuel" must have crept into the text inadvertently, or be supposed, with some (Adam Clarke, *in loc.*), to be the name of another brother of Rebekah. Le Clerc (*in Pent.*) mentions the conjecture that Bethuel was absent at first, but returned in time to give his consent to the marriage. The mode adopted by Prof. Blunt (*Undesig. ness Coincidences*, p. 35) to explain what he terms "the consistent insignificance of Bethuel," namely, that he was incapacitated from taking the management of his family by age or imbecility, is most ingenious; but the prominence of Laban may be sufficiently explained by the custom of the country, which then, as now (see Niebuhr, quoted by Rosenmüller *in loc.*), gave the brothers the main share in the arrangement of their sister's marriage, and the defence of her honor (comp. Gen. xxxiv. 13; Judg. xxi. 22; 2 Sam. xiii. 20–29). [BETHUEL.]

The next time Laban appears in the sacred narrative it is as the host of his nephew Jacob at Haran (Gen. xxix. 13, 14). The subsequent transactions by which he secured the valuable services of his nephew for fourteen years in return for his two daughters, and for six years as the price of his cattle, together with the disgraceful artifice by which he palmed off his elder and less attractive daughter on the unsuspecting Jacob, are familiar to all (Gen. xxix., xxx.).

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Laban was absent shearing his sheep, when Jacob, having gathered together all his possessions, started with his wives and children for his native land; and it was not till the third day that he heard of their stealthy departure. In hot haste he sets off in pursuit of the fugitives, his indignation at the prospect of losing a servant, the value of whose services he had proved by experience (xxx. 27), and a family who he hoped would have increased the power of his tribe, being increased by the discovery of the loss of his teraphim, or household gods, which Rachel had carried off, probably with the view of securing a prosperous journey. Jacob and his family had crossed the Euphrates, and were already some days' march in advance of their pursuers; but so large a caravan, encumbered with women and children, and cattle, would travel but slowly (comp. Gen. xxxiii. 13), and Laban and his kinsmen came up with the retreating party on the east side of the Jordan, among the mountains of Gilead. The collision with his irritated father-in-law might have proved dangerous for Jacob but for a divine intimation to Laban, who, with characteristic hypocrisy, passes over in silence the real ground of his displeasure at Jacob's departure, urging only its clandestine character, which had prevented his sending him away with marks of affection and honor, and the theft of his gods. After some sharp mutual recrimination, and an unsuccessful search for the teraphim, which Rachel, with the cunning which characterized the whole family, knew well how to hide, a covenant of peace was entered into between the two parties, and a cairn raised about a pillar-stone set up by Jacob, both as a memorial of the covenant, and a boundary which the contracting parties pledged themselves not to pass with hostile intentions. After this, in the simple and beautiful words of Scripture, "Laban rose up and kissed his sons and his daughters, and blessed them, and departed, and returned to his place;" and he thenceforward disappears from the Biblical narrative.

Few Scriptural characters appear in more repulsive colors than Laban, who seems to have concentrated all the duplicity and acquisitiveness which masked the family of Haran. The leading principle of his conduct was evidently self-interest, and he was little scrupulous as to the means whereby his ends were secured. Nothing can excuse the abominable trick by which he deceived Jacob in the matter of his wife, and there is much of harshness and mean selfishness in his other relations with him. At the same time it is impossible, on an unbiased view of the whole transactions, to acquit Jacob of blame, or to assign him any very decided superiority over his uncle in fair and generous dealing. In the matter of the flocks each was evidently seeking to outwit the other; and though the whole was divinely overruled to work out important issues in securing Jacob's return to Canaan in wealth and dignity, our moral sense revolts from what Chalmers (*Daily Scr. Readings*, i. 60) does not shrink from designating the "sneaking artifices for the promotion of his own selfishness," adopted for his own enrichment and the impoverishment of his uncle; while we can well excuse Laban's mortification at seeing himself outdone by his nephew in cunning, and the best of his flocks changing hands. In their mistaken zeal to defend Jacob Christian writers have unduly depreciated Laban and even the ready hospitality shown by him to Abraham's servant, and the affectionate reception of his nephew (Gen. xxiv. 30, 31, xxix. 13, 14) have been misconstrued into the acts of a selfish man, eager to embrace an opportunity of a lucrative connection. No man, however, is wholly selfish; and even Laban was capable of generous impulses, however mean and unprincipled his general conduct. E. V.

LA'BAN (לָבָן [*white*]: Λοβόν: *Laban*), one of the landmarks named in the obscure and disputed passage, Deut. i. 1: "Paran, and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Di-zahab." The mention of Hazeroth has perhaps led to the only conjecture regarding Laban of which the writer is aware, namely, that it is identical with LIBNAH (Num. xxxiii. 20), which was the second station from Hazeroth.

The Syriac Peshito understands the name as Lebanon. The Targums, from Onkelos downward, play upon the five names in this passage, connecting them with the main events of the wanderings. Laban in this way suggests the manna, because of its white color, that being the force of the word in Hebrew. G.

LAB'ANA (Λαβανά: *Labana*), 1 Esdr. v. 29. [LEBANA.]

* **LACE** (O. Eng. *las*, Fr. *lacs*, Span. *laso*, "lasso," It. *laccio*, from the Lat. *laqueus*) is used in the sense of *cord* or *band* in Ex. xxviii. 28, 37 xxxix. 21, 31. The corresponding Hebrew word, פְּתִיל, *pâthîl*, from a verb signifying "to twist," is translated *thread* in Judg. xvi. 9, *line* in Ex. xl. 3, *wire* (of gold) in Ex. xxxix. 3, *ribband* in Num. xv. 38, and very improperly *bracelets* in Gen xxxviii. 18, 25, where it denotes the cord or string by which the signet-ring was suspended from the neck. A.

LACEDEMO'NIANS (Σπαρτιᾶται; once Λακεδαμόνιοι, 2 Macc. v. 9: *Spartiatæ, Spartiani, Lacedæmonii*), the inhabitants of Sparta or Lacedæmon, with whom the Jews claimed kindred (1 Macc. xii. 2, 5, 6, 20, 21; xiv. 20, 23; xv. 23, 2 Macc. v. 9). [SPARTA.]

LA'CHISH (לָכִישׁ [perh. *obstinate, invincible*, Dietr.]: [Rom. Λαχις, exc. Is. xxxvi. 2, Λαχης, Mic. i. 13, Λαχεις; Vat. Alex., FA. in Neh. and Jer., Sin. in Is. xxxvi. 2,] Λαχεις; [in Is. xxxvii. 8, Alex. Sin. omit;] but in Vat. of Josh. xv. Μαχης;[a] Joseph. Λάχεισα: *Lachis*), a city of the Amorites, the king of which joined with four others, at the invitation of Adonizedek king of Jerusalem, to chastise the Gibeonites for their league with Israel (Josh. x. 3, 5). They were, however, routed by Joshua at Beth-horon, and the king of Lachish fell a victim with the others under the trees at Makkedah (ver. 26). The destruction of the town seems to have shortly followed the death

[a] The ordinary editions of the Vatican LXX., Tischendorf's included, give Λαχίς, and the Alex. Λαχείς; but the edition of the former by Cardinal Mai has the Λαχεὶς throughout. In Josh. xv. 39, all trace of Lachish has disappeared in the common editions; but in Mai's, Μαχὶς is inserted between Ἰαναρὰλ and καὶ Βασηδώθ. [In this note, as throughout the original edition of the Dictionary, the edition of the LXX. printed at Rome in 1587 is erroneously supposed to represent the Vatican manuscript No. 1209 though it differs from it, in proper names alone, in thousands of places. — A.]

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of the king: it was attacked in its turn, immediately after the fall of Libnah, and notwithstanding an effort to relieve it by Horam king of Gezer, was taken, and every soul put to the sword (vv. 31–33). In the special statement that the attack lasted two days, in contradistinction to the other cities which were taken in one (see ver. 35), we gain our first glimpse of that strength of position for which Lachish was afterwards remarkable. In the catalogue of the kings slain by Joshua (xii. 10–12), Lachish occurs in the same place with regard to the others as in the narrative just quoted; but in Josh. xv., where the towns are separated into groups, it is placed in the *Shefelah*, or lowland district, and in the same group with Eglon and Makkedah (ver. 39), apart from its former companions. It should not be overlooked that, though included in the lowland district, Lachish was a town of the Amorites, who appear to have been essentially mountaineers. Its king is expressly named as one of the "kings of the Amorites who dwell in the mountains" (Josh. x. 6). A similar remark has already been made of JARMUTH, KEILAH, and others; and see JUDAH, vol. ii. p. 1490 *b*. Its proximity to Libnah is implied many centuries later (2 K. xix. 8). Lachish was one of the cities fortified and garrisoned by Rehoboam after the revolt of the northern kingdom (2 Chr. xi. 9). What was its fate during the invasion of Shishak — who no doubt advanced by the usual route through the maritime lowland, which would bring him under its very walls — we are not told. But it is probable that it did not materially suffer, for it was evidently a place of security later, when it was chosen as a refuge by Amaziah king of Judah from the conspirators who threatened him in Jerusalem, and to whom he at last fell a victim at Lachish (2 K. xiv. 19, 2 Chr. xxv. 27). Later still, in the reign of Hezekiah, it was one of the cities taken by Sennacherib when on his way from Phœnicia to Egypt (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 477). It is specially mentioned that he laid siege to it "with all his power" (2 Chr. xxxii. 9), and here "the great king" himself remained, while his officers only were dispatched to Jerusalem (2 Chr. xxxii. 9; 2 K. xviii. 17).

This siege is considered by Layard and Hincks to be depicted on the slabs found by the former in one of the chambers of the palace at Kouyunjik,

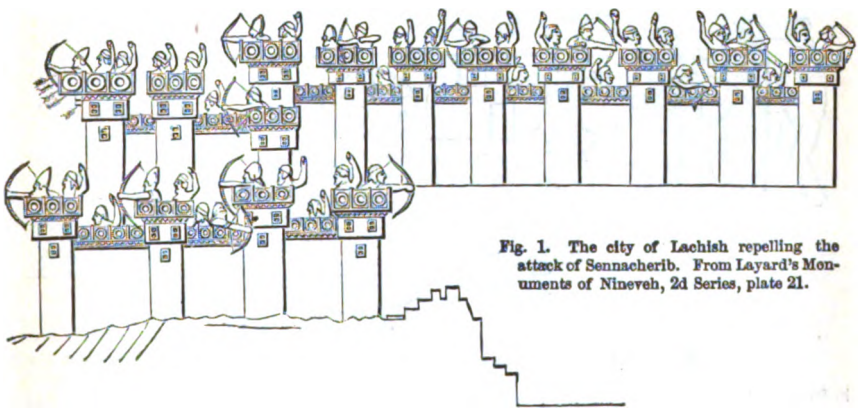


Fig. 1. The city of Lachish repelling the attack of Sennacherib. From Layard's Monuments of Nineveh, 2d Series, plate 21.

which bear the inscription "Sennacherib, the mighty king, king of the country of Assyria, sitting on the throne of judgment before (or at the entrance of) the city of Lachish (Lakhisha). I give permission for its slaughter" (Layard, *N. & B.* pp. 149–52, and 153, note). These slabs contain a view of a city which, if the inscription is correctly interpreted, must be Lachish itself.

Another slab seems to show the ground-plan of the same city after its occupation by the conquerors — the Assyrian tents pitched within the walls, and the foreign worship going on. The features of the town appear to be accurately given. At any rate there is considerable agreement between the two views in the character of the walls and towers, and both are unlike those represented on other slabs. Both support in a remarkable manner the conclusions above drawn from the statement of the Bible as to the position of Lachish. The elevation of the town (fig. 1) shows that it was on hilly ground, one part higher than the other This is also testified to by the background of the scene in fig. 2, which is too remote to be included in the limits of the woodcut, but which in the original shows a very hilly country covered with vineyards and fig-trees. On the other hand the palms round the town in fig. 2 point to the proximity of the maritime plain, in which palms flourished — and still flourish — more than in any other region of Palestine. But though the Assyrian records thus appear [a] to assert the capture of Lachish, no statement is to be found either in the Bible or Josephus that it was taken. Indeed, some expressions in the former would almost seem to imply the reverse (see "thought to win them," 2 Chr. xxxii. 1; "departed [b] from Lachish," 2 K. xix. 8; and especially Jer. xxxiv. 7).

The warning of Micah (i. 13) [c] was perhaps delivered at this time. Obscure as the passage is, it plainly implies that from Lachish some form of idolatry, possibly belonging to the northern kingdom, had been imported into Jerusalem.

[a] Col. Rawlinson seems to read the name as Lubana, *c.* Libnah (Layard. *N. & B.* 153, note).

[b] This is also the opinion of Rawlinson *Herod.* i. 480, note 6).

[c] The play of the words is between Lachish and Rechesh (רֶכֶשׁ, A. V. "swift beast"), and the exhortation is to flight.

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After the return from Captivity, Lachish with its surrounding "fields" was reoccupied by the Jews (Neh. xi. 30). It is not, however, named in the books of the Maccabees, nor indeed does its name reappear in the Bible.

By Eusebius and Jerome, in the *Onomasticon*, Lachish is mentioned as "7 miles from Eleutheropolis, towards Daroma," *i. e.* towards the south. No trace of the name has yet been found in any position at all corresponding to this. A site called *Um-Lâkis*, situated on a "low round swell or knoll," and displaying a few columns and other fragments of ancient buildings, is found between Gaza and *Beit-Jibrin*, probably the ancient Eleutheropolis, at the distance of 11 miles (14 Roman miles), and in a direction not S., but about W. S. W. from the latter. Two miles east of *Um-Lâkis* is a site of similar character, called *'Ajlân* (Rob. ii. 46, 47). Among modern travellers, these sites appear to have been first discovered by Dr. Robinson. While admitting the identity of *'Ajlân* with EGLON, he disputes that of *Um-Lâkis*, on the ground that it is at variance with the statement of Eusebius, as above quoted; and further that the remains are not those of a fortified city able to brave an Assyrian army (47). On the other hand,

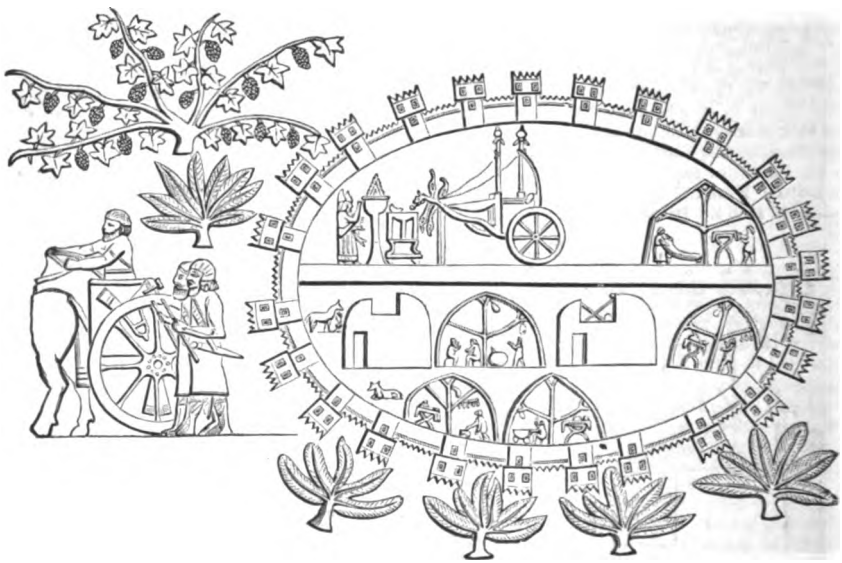


Fig. 2. Plan of Lachish (?) after its capture. From the same work, plate 24.

in favor of the identification are the proximity of Eglon (if *'Ajlân* be it), and the situation of *Um-Lâkis* in the middle of the plain, right in the road from Egypt. By "Daroma" also Eusebius may have intended, not the southern district, but a place of that name, which is mentioned in the Talmud, and is placed by the accurate old traveller Isaph-Parchi as two hours south of Gaza (Zunz in *Benj. of Tudela*, by Asher, ii. 442). With regard to the weakness of *Um-Lâkis*, Mr. Porter has a good comparison between it and Ashdod (*Handbk.* p. 261). G.

LACU'NUS (Λακκοῦνος: *Caleus*), one of the sons of Addi, who returned with Ezra, and had married a foreign wife (1 Esdr. ix. 31). The name does not occur in this form in the parallel lists of Ezr. x., but it apparently occupies the place of CHELAL (ver. 30), as is indicated by the *Caleus* of the Vulg.

LA'DAN ([Ald. Λαδάν:] Δαλάν, Tisch. [i. e. Rom.], but Ασαν in Mai's ed. [i. e. Vat.]: *Dalarus*), 1 Esdr. v. 37. [DELAIAH, 2.]

LADDER OF TYRUS, THE (ἡ κλῖμαξ Τύρου: *a terminis Tyri*, possibly reading κλίμα), one of the extremities (the northern) of the district over which Simon Maccabæus was made captain (στρατηγός) by Antiochus VI. (or Theos), very shortly after his coming to the throne; the other being "the borders of Egypt" (1 Macc. xi. 59). The Ladder of Tyre,[a] or of the Tyrians, was the local name for a high mountain, the highest in that neighborhood, a hundred stadia north of Ptolemais, the modern *Akka* or Acre (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 10, § 2). The position of the *Ras en-Nakhurah* agrees very nearly with this, as it lies 10 miles, or about 120 stadia, from *Akka*, and is characterized by travellers from Parchi downwards as very high and steep. Both the *Ras en-Nakhurah* and the *Ras el-Abyad*, *i. e.* the White Cape, sometimes called Cape Blanco, a headland 6 miles still farther north, are surmounted by a path cut in zigzags; that over the latter is attributed to Alexander the Great. It is possibly from this circumstance that the *Ras el-Abyad*[b] is by some travellers (Irby, Van de Velde, etc.) treated as the ladder of the Tyrians.

[a] This name is found in the Talmud, סלמות צוריי. See Zunz (*Benj. of Tud.* 402).

[b] Maundrell, ordinarily so exact (March 17), places "the mountain climax" at an hour and a quarter south of the *Nahr Ibrahim Basse* (Adonis River) meaning therefore the headland which encloses on the north the bay of Juneh above *Beirût!* On the other

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but by the early and accurate Jewish traveller, Isaac Parchi [a] (Zunz, 402), and in our own times by Robinson (iii. 89), Mislin (*Les Saints Lieux*, ii. 9), Porter (*Handbk.* p. 389), Schwarz (76), Stanley (*S. & P.* p. 264), the *Ras en-Nakhurah* is identified with the ladder; the last-named traveller pointing out well that the reason for the name is the fact of its "differing from Carmel in that it leaves no beach between itself and the sea, and thus, by cutting off all communication round its base, acts as the natural barrier between the Bay of Acre and the maritime plain to the north — in other words, between Palestine and Phœnicia" (comp. p. 266). G.

LA'EL (לָאֵל [*to God*, i. e. *consecrated to him*, Fürst]: Λαήλ: *Laël*), the father of Eliasaph, prince of the Gershonites at the time of the Exodus (Num. iii. 24).

LA'HAD (לָהַד: Λααδ; [Vat. Λααθ;] Alex. Λαδ: *Laad*), son of Jahath, one of the descendants of Judah, from whom sprung the Zorathites, a branch of the tribe who settled at Zorah, according to the Targ. of R. Joseph (1 Chr. iv. 2).

LAHAI'-ROI, THE WELL (בְּאֵר לַחַי רֹאִי: τὸ φρέαρ τῆς ὁράσεως: *puteus, cujus nomen est* [xxv. 11, *nomine*] *Viventis et Videntis*). In this form is given in the A. V. of Gen. xxiv. 62, and xxv. 11, the name of the famous well of Hagar's relief, in the oasis of verdure round which Isaac afterwards resided. In xvi. 14 — the only other occurrence of the name — it is represented in the full Hebrew form of BEER-LAHAI-ROI. In the Mussulman traditions the well *Zemzem* in the *Beit-allah* of Mecca is identical with it. [LEHI.] G.

LAH'MAM (לַחְמָם: Μαχές καὶ Μααχές; Alex. Λαμας: *Lehemam, Leemas*), a town in the lowland district of Judah (Josh. xv. 40) named between CABBON and KITHLISH, and in the same group with LACHISH. It is not mentioned in the *Onomasticon*, nor does it appear that any traveller has sought for or discovered its site.

In many MSS. and editions of the Hebrew Bible, amongst them the Rec. Text of Van der Hooght, the name is given with a final *s* — Lachmas.[b] Corrupt as the LXX. text is here, it will be observed that both MSS. exhibit the *s*. This is the case also in the Targum and the other oriental versions. The ordinary copies of the Vulgate have *Lehemam*, but the text published in the Benedictine edition of Jerome *Leemas*. G.

LAH'MI (לַחְמִי [*Bethlehemite*? Rom. τὸν Αιχμί; Vat.] τον Ελεμει; Alex. τον Λεεμεν: *Beth*-lehem-*ites*), the brother of Goliah the Gittite, slain by Elhanan the son of Jair, or Jaor (1 Chr. xx. 5). In the parallel narrative (2 Sam. xxi. 19), amongst other differences, Lahmi disappears in the word *Beth hal-lachmi*, i. e. the Bethlehemite. This reading is imported into the Vulgate of the Chron. (see above). What was the original form of the passage has been the subject of much debate; the writer has not however seen cause to alter the conclusion to which he came under ELHANAN — that the text of Chronicles is the more correct of the two. In addition to the LXX., the Peshito and the Targum both agree with the Hebrew in reading Lachmi. The latter contains a tradition that he was slain on the same day with his brother. G.

LA'ISH (לַיִשׁ [*lion*]; in Isaiah, לָיְשָׁה: Λαισά; Judg. xviii. 29, Οὐλαμαίς;[c] Alex. Λεεις; [in Is. x. 30, Vat. Alex. ἐν Σα, Sin. omits:] *Laïs*, [*Laisa* in Is.]), the city which was taken by the Danites, and under its new name of DAN became famous as the northern limit of the nation, and as the depository, first of the graven image of Micah (Judg. xviii. 7, 14, 27, 29), and subsequently of one of the calves of Jeroboam. In another account of the conquest the name is given, with a variation in the form, as LESHEM (Josh. xix. 47) It is natural to presume that Laish was an ancient sanctuary, before its appropriation for that purpose by the Danites, and we should look for some explanation of the mention of Dan instead of Laish in Gen. xiv.; but nothing is as yet forthcoming on these points. There is no reason to doubt that the situation of the place was at or very near that of the modern *Banias*. [DAN.]

In the A. V. Laish is again mentioned in the graphic account by Isaiah of Sennacherib's march on Jerusalem (Is. x. 30): "Lift up thy voice, O daughter of Gallim! cause it to be heard unto Laish, oh poor Anathoth!" — that is, cry so loud that your shrieks shall be heard to the very confines of the land. This translation — in which our translators followed the version of Junius and Tremellius, and the comment of Grotius — is adopted because the last syllable of the name which appears here as Laishah is taken to be the Hebrew particle of motion, "to Laish," as is undoubtedly the case in Judg. xviii. 7. But such a rendering is found neither in any of the ancient versions, nor in those of modern scholars, as Gesenius, Ewald, Zunz, etc.; nor is the Hebrew word [d] here rendered "cause it to be heard," found elsewhere in that voice, but always absolute — "hearken," or "attend." There is a certain violence in the sudden introduction amongst these little Benjamite villages of the frontier town so very far remote, and not less in the use of its ancient name, elsewhere so constantly superseded by Dan. (See Jer. viii. 16.) On the whole it seems more consonant with the tenor of the whole passage to take Laishah as the name of a small village lying between Gallim and Anathoth, and of which hitherto, as is still the case with the former, and until 1831 was the case with the latter, no traces have been found.

In 1 Macc. ix. 5 a village named Alasa (Mai, and Alex. Αλασα; A. V. Elasa) is mentioned as the

hand, Irby and Mangles (Oct. 21), with equally unusual inaccuracy, give the name of Cape Blanco to the *Ras Nakurah* — an hour's ride from *es-Zib*, the ancient Ecdippa. Wilson also (ii. 282) has fallen into a curious confusion between the two.

[a] He gives the name as *at-Nawakir*, probably a mere corruption of *en-Nakura*.

[b] לחמס for לחמם, by interchange of ס for ם.

[c] The LXX. have here transferred literally the Hebrew words וְאַיִלֹם לַיִשׁ, "and indeed Laish." Exactly the same thing is done in the case of Lus Gen xxviii. 19.

[d] הַקְשִׁיבִי, hiphil imp., from קָשַׁב.

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scene of the battle in which Judas was killed. In the Vulgate it is given as *Laisa*. If the Beræa at which Demetrius was encamped on the same occasion was Beeroth — and from the Peshito reading this seems likely — then Alasa or Laisha was somewhere on the northern road, 10 or 12 miles from Jerusalem, about the spot at which a village named Adasa existed in the time of Eusebius and Jerome. D (Δ) and L (Λ) are so often interchanged in Greek manuscripts, that the two names may indicate one and the same place, and that the Laishah of Isaiah. Such an identification would be to a certain extent consistent with the requirements of Is. x. 30, while it would throw some light on the uncertain topography of the last struggle of Judas Maccabæus. But it must be admitted that at present it is but conjectural; and that the neighborhood of Beeroth is at the best somewhat far removed from the narrow circle of the villages enumerated by Isaiah. G.

LAISH (לַיִשׁ [*lion*]; in 2 Sam. the orig. text, *Cethib*, has לוּשׁ: [Rom. Ἀμίς, Vat.] Ἀμεις, Ἐλλης; Alex. Λαΐς, Λαεις: *Lais*), father of Phaltiel, to whom Saul had given Michal, David's wife (1 Sam. xxv. 44; 2 Sam. iii. 15). He was a native of GALLIM. It is very remarkable that the names of Laish (Laishah) and Gallim should be found in conjunction at a much later date (Is. x. 30). G.

LAKES. [PALESTINE.]

LA'KUM (לָקוּם, *i. e.* Lakkûm [*very obstructer* = castle, defense]: Δωδάμ; Alex. — unusually wide of the Hebrew — εως Ακρου: [Comp. Λακκούμ:] *Lecum*), one of the places which formed the landmarks of the boundary of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 33), named next to Jabneel, and apparently between it and the Jordan; but the whole statement is exceedingly obscure, and few, if any, of the names have yet been recognized. Lakkum is but casually named in the *Onomasticon*, and no one since has discovered its situation. The rendering of the Alex. LXX. is worth remark. G.

LAMB. 1. אֵמֶר, *immar*, is the Chaldee equivalent of the Hebrew *cebes*. See below, No. 6 (Ezr. vi. 9, 17, vii. 17).

2. טָלֶה, *talêh* (1 Sam. vii. 9; Is. lxv. 25), a young sucking lamb; originally the young of any animal. The noun from the same root in Arabic signifies "a fawn," in Ethiopic "a kid," in Samaritan "a boy;" while in Syriac it denotes "a boy," and in the fem. "a girl." Hence "*Talitha kumi*," "Damsel, arise!" (Mark v. 41). The plural of a cognate form occurs in Is. xl. 11.

3. כֶּבֶשׂ, *cebes*, כֶּבֶשׂ, *ceseb*, and the feminines כִּבְשָׂה, *cibsâh*, or כִּבְשָׂה, *cabsâh*, and כִּשְׂבָּה, *cisbâh*, respectively denote a male and female lamb from the first to the third year. The former perhaps more nearly coincide with the provincial term *hog* or *hogget*, which is applied to a young ram before he is shorn. The corresponding word in Arabic, according to Gesenius, denotes a ram at that period when he has lost his first two teeth and four others make their appearance, which happens in the second or third year. Young rams of this age formed an important part of almost every sacrifice. They were offered at the daily morning and evening sacrifice (Ex. xxix 38–41), on the Sabbath day (Num. xxviii. 9), at the feast of the new moon (Num. xxviii. 11), of trumpets (Num. xxix. 2), of tabernacles (Num. xxix. 13–40), of Pentecost (Lev. xxiii. 18–20), and of the Passover (Ex. xii. 5). They were brought by the princes of the congregation as burnt-offerings at the dedication of the tabernacle (Num. vii.), and were offered on solemn occasions like the consecration of Aaron (Lev. ix. 3), the coronation of Solomon (1 Chr. xxix. 21), the purification of the Temple under Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxix. 21), and the great passover held in the reign of Josiah (2 Chr. xxxv. 7). They formed part of the sacrifice offered at the purification of women after childbirth (Lev. xii. 6), and at the cleansing of a leper (Lev. xiv. 10–25). They accompanied the presentation of first-fruits (Lev. xxiii. 12). When the Nazarites commenced their period of separation they offered a he-lamb for a trespass-offering (Num. vi. 12); and at its conclusion a he-lamb was sacrificed as a burnt-offering, and an ewe-lamb as a sin-offering (v. 14). An ewe-lamb was also the offering for the sin of ignorance (Lev. iv. 32).

4. כַּר, *car*, a fat ram, or more probably "wether," as the word is generally employed in opposition to *ayil*, which strictly denotes a "ram" (Deut. xxxii. 14; 2 K. iii. 4; Is. xxxiv. 6). Mesha king of Moab sent tribute to the king of Israel 100,000 fat wethers; and this circumstance is made use of by R. Joseph Kimchi to explain Is. xvi. 1, which he regards as an exhortation to the Moabites to renew their tribute. The Tyrians obtained their supply from Arabia and Kedar (Ez. xxvii. 21), and the pastures of Bashan were famous as grazing grounds (Ex. xxxix. 18). [BASHAN, Amer. ed.]

5. צֹאן, *tsôn*, rendered "lamb" in Ex. xii. 21, is properly a collective term denoting a "flock" of small cattle, sheep and goats, in distinction from herds of the larger animals (Eccl. ii. 7; Ex. xiv. 15). In opposition to this collective term the word

6. שֶׂה, *seh*, is applied to denote the individuals of a flock, whether sheep or goats; and hence, though "lamb" is in many passages the rendering of the A. V., the marginal reading gives "kid" (Gen. xxii. 7, 8; Ex. xii. 3, xxii. 1, &c.). [SHEEP.]

On the Paschal Lamb see PASSOVER.

W. A. W.

LA'MECH (לֶמֶךְ: [perh. *youth*, one in his strength, Ges.]: Λαμέχ: *Lamech*), properly Lemech, the name of two persons in antediluvian history. 1. The fifth lineal descendant from Cain (Gen. iv. 18–24). He is the only one except Enoch, of the posterity of Cain, whose history is related with some detail. He is the first polygamist on record. His two wives, Adah and Zillah, and his daughter Naamah, are, with Eve, the only antediluvian women whose names are mentioned by Moses. His three sons — JABAL, JUBAL, and TUBAL-CAIN, are celebrated in Scripture as authors of useful inventions. The Targum of Jonathan adds, that his daughter was "the mistress of sounds and songs," *i. e.* the first poetess. Josephus (*Ant.* 2, § 2) relates that the number of his sons was seventy-seven, and Jerome records the same tradition, adding that they were all cut off by the Deluge, and that this was the seventy-and-sevenfold vengeance which Lamech imprecated.

The remarkable poem which Lamech uttered has not yet been explained quite satisfactorily. It is

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the subject of a dissertation by Hilliger in *Thesaurus Theologico-Philol.* i. 141, and is discussed at length by the various commentators on Genesis. The history of the descendants of Cain closes with a song, which at least threatens bloodshed. Delitzsch observes, that as the arts which were afterwards consecrated by pious men to a heavenly use had their origin in the family of Cain, so this early effort of poetry is composed in honor, not of God, but of some deadly weapon. It is the only extant specimen of antediluvian poetry; it came down, perhaps as a popular song, to the generation for whom Moses wrote, and he inserts it in its proper place in his history. Delitzsch traces in it all the peculiar features of later Semitic poetry — rhythm, assonance, parallelism, strophe, and poetic diction. It may be rendered: —

Adah and Zillah! hear my voice,
Ye wives of Lamech! give ear unto my speech;
For a man had I slain for smiting me,
And a youth for wounding me:
Surely sevenfold shall Cain be avenged,
But Lamech seventy and seven.

The A. V. makes Lamech declare himself a murderer, "I have slain a man to my wounding," etc. This is the view taken in the LXX. and the Vulgate. Chrysostom (*Hom.* xx. *in Gen.*) regards Lamech as a murderer stung by remorse, driven to make public confession of his guilt solely to ease his conscience, and afterwards (*Hom. in Ps.* vi.) obtaining mercy. Theodoret (*Quæst. in Gen.* xliv.) sets him down as a murderer. Basil (*Ep.* 260 [317], § 5) interprets Lamech's words to mean that he had committed two murders, and that he deserved a much severer punishment than Cain, as having sinned after plainer warning; Basil adds, that some persons interpret the last lines of the poem as meaning, that whereas Cain's sin increased, and was followed after seven generations by the punishment of the Deluge washing out the foulness of the world, so Lamech's sin shall be followed in the seventy-seventh (see St. Luke iii. 23–38) generation by the coming of Him who taketh away the sin of the world. Jerome (*Ep.* xxxvi. *ad Damasum*, t. i. p. 161) relates as a tradition of his predecessors and of the Jews, that Cain was accidentally slain by Lamech in the seventh generation from Adam. This legend is told with fuller details by Jarchi. According to him, the occasion of the poem was the refusal of Lamech's wives to associate with him in consequence of his having killed Cain and Tubal-cain; Lamech, it is said, was blind, and was led about by Tubal-cain; when the latter saw in the thicket what he supposed to be a wild-beast, Lamech, by his son's direction, shot an arrow at it, and thus slew Cain; in alarm and indignation at the deed, he killed his son; hence his wives refused to associate with him; and he excuses himself as having acted without a vengeful or murderous purpose. Luther considers the occasion of the poem to be the deliberate murder of Cain by Lamech. Lightfoot (*Decas Chorogr. Marc. prem.* § iv.) considers Lamech as expressing remorse for having, as the first polygamist, introduced more destruction and murder than Cain was the author of into the world. Pfeiffer (*Diff. Scrip. Loc.* p. 25) collects different opinions with his usual diligence, and concludes that the poem is Lamech's vindication of himself to his wives, who were in terror for the possible consequences of his having slain two of the posterity of Seth. Lowth (*De S. Poesi Heb.* iv.) and Michaelis think that Lamech is excusing himself for some murder which he had committed in self-defense "for a wound inflicted on me."

A rather milder interpretation has been given to the poem by some, whose opinions are perhaps of greater weight than the preceding in a question of Hebrew criticism. Onkelos, followed by Pseudo-jonathan, paraphrases it, "I have not slain a man that I should bear sin on his account." The Arab. Ver. (Saadia) puts it in an interrogative form, "Have I slain a man?" etc. These two versions, which are substantially the same, are adopted by De Dieu and Bishop Patrick. Aben-Ezra, Calvin, Drusius, and Cartwright, interpret it in the future tense as a threat, "I will slay any man who wounds me." This version is adopted by Herder; whose hypothesis as to the occasion of the poem was partly anticipated by Hess, and has been received by Rosenmüller, Ewald, and Delitzsch. Herder regards it as Lamech's song of exultation on the invention of the sword by his son Tubal-cain, in the possession of which he foresaw a great advantage to himself and his family over any enemies. This interpretation appears, on the whole, to be the best that has been suggested. But whatever interpretation be preferred, all persons will agree in the remark of Bp. Kidder that the occasion of the poem not being revealed, no man can be expected to determine the full sense of it; thus much is plain, that they are vaunting words in which Lamech seems, from Cain's indemnity, to encourage himself in violence and wickedness.

W. T. B.

* The sacred writer inserts the lines, says Dr. Conant, "as an illustration of the spirit of the period of violence and blood, which culminated in the state of society described in Gen. vi. 5 and 11–13, when 'the earth was filled with violence.' They celebrate the prowess of an ancient hero, who boasts that he had signally avenged his wrong upon his adversary, and that the vengeance promised to Cain was light, compared with what he had inflicted" (*Genesis, with a revised Version and Notes*, p. 25: N. Y. 1868). H.

2. The father of Noah (Gen. v. 25–31; 1 Chr. i. 3). Chrysostom (*Serm.* ix. *in Gen.* and *Hom.* xxi *in Gen.*), perhaps thinking of the character of the other Lamech, speaks of this as an unrighteous man, though moved by a divine impulse to give a prophetic name to his son. Buttmann and others, observing that the names of Lamech and Enoch are found in the list of Seth's, as well as in the list of Cain's family, infer that the two lists are merely different versions or recensions of one original list, — traces of two conflicting histories of the first human family. This theory is deservedly repudiated by Delitzsch on *Gen.* v. W. T. B.

LAMENTATIONS. The Hebrew title of this book, *Echah* (אֵיכָה), is taken, like those of the five books of Moses, from the Hebrew word with which it opens, and which appears to have been almost a received formula for the commencement of a song of wailing (comp. 2 Sam. i. 19–27). The Septuagint translators found themselves obliged, as in the other cases referred to, to substitute some title more significant, and adopted θρῆνοι Ἱερεμίου as the equivalent of *Kinoth* (קִינוֹת, "lamentations"), which they found in Jer. vii. 29, ix. 10, 20; 2 Chr. xxxv. 25, and which had probably been

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applied familiarly, as it was afterwards by Jewish commentators, to the book itself. The Vulgate gives the Greek word and explains it (*Threni, id est, Lamentationes Jeremiæ Prophetæ*). Luther and the A. V. have given the translation only, in *Klaglieder* and *Lamentations* respectively.

The poems included in this collection appear in the Hebrew canon with no name attached to them, and there is no direct external evidence that they were written by the prophet Jeremiah earlier than the date given in the prefatory verse which appears in the Septuagint.[a] This represents, however, the established belief of the Jews after the completion of the canon. Josephus (*Ant.* x. 5, § 1) follows, so far as the question of authorship is concerned, in the same track, and the absence of any tradition or probable conjecture to the contrary, leaves the consensus of critics and commentators almost undisturbed.[b] An agreement so striking rests, as might be expected, on strong internal evidence. The poems belong unmistakably to the last days of the kingdom, or the commencement of the exile. They are written by one who speaks, with the vividness and intensity of an eye-witness, of the misery which he bewails. It might almost be enough to ask who else then living could have written with that union of strong passionate feeling and entire submission to Jehovah which characterizes both the Lamentations and the Prophecy of Jeremiah. The evidences of identity are, however, stronger and more minute. In both we meet, once and again, with the picture of the "Virgin-daughter of Zion," sitting down in her shame and misery (Lam. i. 15, ii. 13; Jer. xiv. 17). In both there is the same vehement outpouring of sorrow. The prophet's eyes flow down with tears (Lam. i. 16, ii. 11, iii. 48, 49; Jer. ix. 1, xiii. 17, xiv. 17). There is the same haunting feeling of being *surrounded* with fears and terrors on every side (Lam. ii. 22; Jer. vi. 25, xlvi. 5).[c] In both the worst of all the evils is the iniquity of the prophets and the priests (Lam. ii. 14, iv. 13; Jer. v. 30, 31, xiv. 13, 14). The sufferer appeals for vengeance to the righteous Judge (Lam. iii. 64–66; Jer. xi. 20). He bids the rival nation that exulted in the fall of Jerusalem prepare for a like desolation (Lam. iv. 21; Jer. xlix. 12). We can well understand, with all these instances before us, how the scribes who compiled the Canon after the return from Babylon should have been led, even in the absence of external testimony, to assign to Jeremiah the authorship of the Lamentations.

Assuming this as sufficiently established, there come the questions—(1.) When, and on what occasion did he write it? (2.) In what relation did it stand to his other writings? (3.) What light does it throw on his personal history, or on that of the time in which he lived?

I. The earliest statement on this point is that of Josephus (*Ant.* x. 5, § 1). He finds among the books which were extant in his own time the lamentations on the death of Josiah, which are mentioned in 2 Chr. xxxv. 25. As there are no traces of any other poem of this kind in the later Jewish literature, it has been inferred, naturally enough, that he speaks of this. This opinion was maintained also by Jerome, and has been defended by some modern writers (Ussher, Dathe, Michaelis,[d] *Notes to Lowth, Prael.* xxii.; Calovius, *Prolegom. ad Thren.*; De Wette, *Einl. in das A. T., Klagl.*). It does not appear, however, to rest on any better grounds than a hasty conjecture, arising from the reluctance of men to admit that any work by an inspired writer can have perished, or the arbitrary assumption (De Wette, *l. c.*) that the same man could not, twice in his life, have been the spokesman of a great national sorrow.[e] And against it we have to set (1) the tradition on the other side embodied in the preface of the Septuagint, (2) the contents of the book itself. Admitting that some of the calamities described in it may have been common to the invasions of Necho and Nebuchadnezzar, we yet look in vain for a single word distinctive of a funeral dirge over a devout and zealous reformer like Josiah, while we find, step by step, the closest possible likeness between the pictures of misery in the Lamentations and the events of the closing years of the reign of Zedekiah. The long siege had brought on the famine in which the young children fainted for hunger (Lam. ii. 11, 12, 20, iv. 4, 9; 2 K. xxv. 3). The city was taken by storm (Lam. ii. 7, iv. 12; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 17). The Temple itself was polluted with the massacre of the priests who defended it (Lam. ii. 20, 21; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 17), and then destroyed (Lam. ii. 6; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 19). The fortresses and strongholds of Judah were thrown down. The anointed of the Lord, under whose shadow the remnant of the people might have hoped to live in safety, was taken prisoner (Lam. iv. 20; Jer. xxxix. 5). The chief of the people were carried into exile (Lam. i. 5, ii. 9; 2 K. xxv. 11). The bitterest grief was found in the malignant exultation of the Edomites (Lam. iv. 21; Ps. cxxxvii. 7). Under the rule of the stranger the Sabbaths and solemn feasts were forgotten (Lam. i. 4, ii. 6), as they could hardly have been during the short period in which Jerusalem was in the hands of the Egyptians. Unless we adopt the strained hypothesis that the whole poem is prophetic in the sense of being predictive, the writer seeing the future as if it were actually present, or the still wilder conjecture of Jarchi, that this was the roll which Jehoiachin destroyed, and which was re-written by Baruch or Jeremiah (Carpzov, *Introd. ad lib. V. T.* iii. c. iv.), we are compelled to come to the conclusion that the coincidence is not accidental, and to adopt the later, not the earlier of the dates. At what period after the capture of the city the prophet gave this utterance to his sorrow we can only conjecture, and the materials for doing so with any probability are but scanty. The local tradition, which pointed out a cavern in the neighborhood of Jerusalem as the refuge to which Jeremiah withdrew that he might write this book (Del Rio, *Proleg. in Thren.*, quoted by Carpzov, *Introd. l. c.*), is as trustworthy

[a] "And it came to pass that after Israel was led captive and Jerusalem was laid waste, Jeremiah sat weeping, and lamented with this lamentation over Jerusalem, and said."

[b] The question whether all the five poems were by the same writer, has however been raised by Thenius, *Die Klagelieder erklärt: Vorbemerk.*, quoted in Davidson's *Introd. to O. T.*, p. 888.

[c] More detailed coincidences of words and phrases are given by Keil (quoting from Parsau) in his *Einl. in das A. T.* § 129.

[d] Michaelis and Dathe, however, afterwards abandoned this hypothesis, and adopted that of the later date.

[e] The argument that iii. 27 implies the youth of the writer, hardly needs to be confuted.

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as most of the other legends of the time of Helena. The ingenuity which aims at attaching each individual poem to some definite event in the prophet's life, is for the most part simply wasted.[a] He may have written it immediately after the attack was over, or when he was with Gedaliah at Mizpeh, or when he was with his countrymen at Tahpanhes.

II. It is well, however, to be reminded by these conjectures that we have before us, not a book in five chapters, but five separate poems, each complete in itself, each having a distinct subject, yet brought at the same time under a plan which includes them all. It is clear, before entering on any other characteristics, that we find, in full predominance, that strong personal emotion which mingled itself, in greater or less measure, with the whole prophetic work of Jeremiah. There is here no "word of Jehovah," no direct message to a sinful people. The man speaks out of the fullness of his heart, and though a higher Spirit than his own helps him to give utterance to his sorrows, it is yet the language of a sufferer rather than of a teacher. There is this measure of truth in the technical classification which placed the Lamentations among the Hagiographa of the Hebrew Canon, in the feeling which led the rabbinic writers (Kimchi, *Pref. in Psalm.*) to say that they and the other books of that group, were written indeed by the help of the Holy Spirit, but not with the special gift of prophecy.

Other differences between the two books that bear the prophet's name grew out of this. Here there is more attention to form, more elaboration. The rhythm is more uniform than in the prophecies. A complicated alphabetic structure pervades nearly the whole book. It will be remembered that this acrostic form of writing was not peculiar to Jeremiah. Whatever its origin, whether it had been adopted as a help to the memory, and so fitted especially for didactic poems, or for such as were to be sung by great bodies of people (Lowth, *Prael.* xxii.),[b] it had been a received, and it would seem popular, framework for poems of very different characters, and extending probably over a considerable period of time. The 119th Psalm is the great monument which forces itself upon our notice; but it is found also in the 25th, 34th, 37th, 111th, 112th, 145th — and in the singularly beautiful fragment appended to the book of Proverbs (Prov. xxxi. 10–31). Traces of it, as if the work had been left half-finished (De Wette, *Psalmen*, ad loc.) appear in the 9th and 10th. In the Lamentations (confining ourselves for the present to the structure) we meet with some remarkable peculiarities.

(1.) Ch. i., ii., and iv. contain 22 verses each, arranged in alphabetic order, each verse falling into three nearly balanced clauses (Ewald, *Poet. Bücher*, p. 147); ii. 19 forms an exception as having a fourth clause, the result of an interpolation, as if the writer had shaken off for a moment the restraint of his self-imposed law. Possibly the inversion of the usual order of פ and ע in ch. ii., iii., iv., may have arisen from a like forgetfulness. Grotius, *ad loc.*, explains it on the assumption that here Jeremiah followed the order of the Chaldæan alphabet.[c]

(2.) Ch. iii. contains three short verses under each letter of the alphabet, the initial letter being three times repeated.

(3.) Ch. v. contains the same number of verses as ch. i., ii., iv., but without the alphabetic order. The thought suggests itself that the earnestness of the prayer with which the book closes may have carried the writer beyond the limits within which he had previously confined himself; but the conjecture (of Ewald) that we have here, as in Ps. ix. and x., the rough draught of what was intended to have been finished afterwards in the same manner as the others, is at least a probable one.

III. The power of entering into the spirit and meaning of poems such as these depends on two distinct conditions. We must seek to see, as with our own eyes, the desolation, misery, confusion, which came before those of the prophet. We must endeavor also to feel as he felt when he looked on them. And the last is the more difficult of the two. Jeremiah was not merely a patriot-poet, weeping over the ruin of his country. He was a prophet who had seen all this coming, and had foretold it as inevitable. He had urged submission to the Chaldæans as the only mode of diminishing the terrors of that "day of the Lord." And now the Chaldæans were come, irritated by the perfidy and rebellion of the king and princes of Judah; and the actual horrors that he saw, surpassed, though he had predicted them, all that he had been able to imagine. All feeling of exultation in which, as mere prophet of evil, he might have indulged at the fulfillment of his forebodings, was swallowed up in deep overwhelming sorrow. Yet sorrow, not less than other emotions, works on men according to their characters, and a man with Jeremiah's gifts of utterance could not sit down in the mere silence and stupor of a hopeless grief. He was compelled to give expression to that which was devouring his heart and the heart of his people. The act itself was a relief to him. It led him on (as will be seen hereafter) to a calmer and serener state. It revived

[a] Paraeu (quoted by De Wette, *l. c.*) connects the poems in the life as follows: —

C. I. During the siege (Jer. xxxvii. 5).

C. II. After the destruction of the Temple.

C. III. At the time of Jeremiah's imprisonment in the dungeon (Jer. xxxviii. 6, with Lam. iii. 55).

C. IV. After the capture of Zedekiah.

C. V. After the destruction, later than c. ii

[b] De Wette maintains (*Comment. über die Psalm.* p. 56) that this acrostic form of writing was the outgrowth of a feeble and degenerate age dwelling on the outer structure of poetry when the soul had departed. His judgment as to the origin and character of the alphabetic form is shared by Ewald (*Poet. Bücher*, i. p. 140). It is hard, however, to reconcile this estimate with the impression made on us by such Psalms as the 25th and 34th; and Ewald himself, in his translation of the Alphabetic Psalms and the Lamentations, has shown how compatible such a structure is with the highest energy and beauty. With some of these, too, it must be added, the assignment of a later date than the time of David rests on the foregone conclusion that the acrostic structure is itself a proof of it. (Comp. Delitzsch, *Commentar über den Psalter*, on Ps ix., x.). De Wette however allows, condescendingly that the Lamentations, in spite of their degenerate taste, "have some merit in their way" ("sind zwar in ihrer Art von einigen Werthe").

[c] Similar anomalies occur in Ps. xxxvii., and have received a like explanation (De Wette, *Ps.* p. 57). It is however a mere hypothesis that the Chaldæan alphabet differed in this respect from the Hebrew; nor is it easy to see why Jeremiah should have chosen the Hebrew order for one poem, and the Chaldæan for the other three.

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the faith and hope which had been nearly crushed out.

It has to be remembered too, that in thus speaking he was doing that which many must have looked for from him, and so meeting at once their expectations and their wants. Other prophets and poets had made themselves the spokesmen of the nation's feelings on the death of kings and heroes. The party that continued faithful to the policy and principles of Josiah remembered how the prophet had lamented over his death. The lamentations of that period (though they are lost to us) had been accepted as a great national dirge. Was he to be silent now that a more terrible calamity had fallen upon the people? Did not the exiles in Babylon need this form of consolation? Does not the appearance of this book in their Canon of Sacred writings, after their return from exile, indicate that during their captivity they had found that consolation in it?

The choice of a structure so artificial as that which has been described above, may at first sight appear inconsistent with the deep intense sorrow of which it claims to be the utterance. Some wilder less measured rhythm would seem to us to have been a fitter form of expression. It would belong, however, to a very shallow and hasty criticism to pass this judgment. A man true to the gift he has received will welcome the discipline of self-imposed rules for deep sorrow as well as for other strong emotions. In proportion as he is afraid of being carried away by the strong current of feeling, will he be anxious to make the laws more difficult, the discipline more effectual. Something of this kind is traceable in the fact that so many of the master-minds of European literature have chosen, as the fit vehicle for their deepest, tenderest, most impassioned thoughts, the complicated structure of the sonnet; in Dante's selection of the *terza rima* for his vision of the unseen world. What the sonnet was to Petrarch and to Milton, that the alphabetic verse-system was to the writers of Jeremiah's time, the most difficult among the recognized forms of poetry, and yet one in which (assuming the earlier date of some of the Psalms above referred to) some of the noblest thoughts of that poetry had been uttered. We need not wonder that he should have employed it as fitter than any other for the purpose for which he used it. If these Lamentations were intended to assuage the bitterness of the Babylonian exile, there was, besides this, the subsidiary advantage that it supplied the memory with an artificial help. Hymns and poems of this kind, once learnt, are not easily forgotten, and the circumstances of the captives made it then, more than ever, necessary that they should have this help afforded them.[a]

An examination of the five poems will enable us to judge how far each stands by itself, how far they are connected as parts forming a whole. We must deal with them as they are, not forcing our own meanings into them; looking on them not as prophetic, or didactic, or historical, but simply as lamentations, exhibiting, like other elegies, the different phases of a pervading sorrow.

I. The opening verse strikes the key-note of the whole poem. That which haunts the prophet's mind is the solitude in which he finds himself. She that was "princess among the nations" (1) sits (like the JUDÆA CAPTA of the Roman medals) "solitary," "as a widow." Her "lovers" (the nations with whom she had been allied) hold aloof from her (2). The heathen are entered into the sanctuary, and mock at her Sabbaths (7, 10). After the manner so characteristic of Hebrew poetry, the personality of the writer now recedes and now advances, and blends by hardly perceptible transitions with that of the city which he personifies, and with which he, as it were, identifies himself. At one time, it is the daughter of Zion that asks "Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?" (12). At another, it is the prophet who looks on her, and portrays her as "spreading forth her hands, and there is none to comfort her" (17). Mingling with this outburst of sorrow there are two thoughts characteristic both of the man and the time. The calamities which the nation suffers are the consequences of its sins. There must be the confession of those sins: "The Lord is righteous, for I have rebelled against His commandment" (18). There is also, at any rate, this gleam of consolation, that Judah is not alone in her sufferings. Those who have exulted in her destruction shall drink of the same cup. They shall be like unto her in the day that the Lord shall call (21).

II. As the solitude of the city was the subject of the first lamentation, so the destruction that had laid it waste is that which is most conspicuous in the second. Jehovah had thrown down in his wrath the strongholds of the daughter of Judah (2). The rampart and the wall lament together (8). The walls of the palace are given up into the hand of the enemy (7). The breach is great as if made by the inrushing of the sea (13). With this there had been united all the horrors of the famine and the assault: young children fainting for hunger in the top of every street (19); women eating their own children, and so fulfilling the curse of Deut. xxviii. 53 (20); the priest and the prophet slain in the sanctuary of the Lord (*ibid.*). Added to all this, there was the remembrance of that which had been all along the great trial of Jeremiah's life, against which he had to wage continual war. The prophets of Jerusalem had seen vain and foolish things, false burdens, and causes of banishment (14). A righteous judgment had fallen on them. The prophets found no vision of Jehovah (9). The king and the princes who had listened to them were captive among the Gentiles.

III. The difference in the structure of this poem which has been already noticed, indicates a corresponding difference in its substance. In the two preceding poems, Jeremiah had spoken of the misery and destruction of Jerusalem. In the third he speaks chiefly, though not exclusively, of his own. He himself is the man that has seen affliction (1), who has been brought into darkness and not into light (2). He looks back upon the long life of suffering which he has been called on to endure, the scorn and derision of the people, the bitterness as of one drunken with wormwood (14, 15). But that experience was not one which had ended in

[a] The reappearance of this structure in the later literature of the East is not without interest. Alphabetic poems are found among the hymns of Ephraem Syrus (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* iii. p. 68) and other writers; sometimes, as in the case of Ebed-jesus, with a much more complicated plan than any of the O. T. poems of this type (*ibid.* iii. p. 328), and these chiefly in hymns to be sung by boys at solemn festivals, or in confessions of faith which were meant for their instruction.

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darkness and despair. Here, as in the prophecies, we find a Gospel for the weary and heavy-laden, a trust not to be shaken, in the mercy and righteousness of Jehovah. The mercies of the Lord are new every morning (22, 23). He is good to them that wait for Him (25). And the retrospect of that sharp experience showed him that it all formed part of the discipline which was intended to lead him on to a higher blessedness. It was good for a man to bear the yoke in his youth, good that he should both hope and quietly wait (26, 27). With this, equally characteristic of the prophet's individuality, there is the protest against the wrong which had been or might hereafter be committed by rulers and princes (34–36), the confession that all that had come on him and his people was but a righteous retribution, to be accepted humbly, with searchings of heart, and repentance (39–42). The closing verses may refer to that special epoch in the prophet's life when his own sufferings had been sharpest (53–56), and the cruelties of his enemies most triumphant. If so, we can enter more fully, remembering this, into the thanksgiving with which he acknowledges the help, deliverance, redemption, which he had received from God (57, 58). And feeling sure that, at some time or other, there would be for him a yet higher lesson, we can enter with some measure of sympathy, even into the terrible earnestness of his appeal from the unjust judgment of earth to the righteous Judge, into his cry for a retribution without which it seemed to him that the Eternal Righteousness would fail (64–66).

IV. It might seem, at first, as if the fourth poem did but reproduce the pictures and the thoughts of the first and second. There come before us, once again, the famine, the misery, the desolation, that had fallen on the holy city, making all faces gather blackness. One new element in the picture is found in the contrast between the past glory of the consecrated families of the kingly and priestly stocks (Nazarites in A. V.) and their later misery and shame. Some changes there are, however, not without interest in their relation to the poet's own life and to the history of his time. All the facts gain a new significance by being seen in the light of the personal experience of the third poem. The declaration that all this had come "for the sins of the prophets and the iniquities of the priests," is clearer and sharper than before (13). There is the giving up of the last hope which Jeremiah had cherished, when he urged on Zedekiah the wisdom of submission to the Chaldæans (20). The closing words indicate the strength of that feeling against the Edomites which lasted all through the Captivity[a] (21, 22). She, the daughter of Edom, had rejoiced in the fall of her rival, and had pressed on the work of destruction. But for her too there was the doom of being drunken with the cup of the Lord's wrath For the daughter of Zion there was hope of pardon, when discipline should have done its work and the punishment of her iniquity should be accomplished.

V. One great difference in the fifth and last section of the poem has been already pointed out. It obviously indicates either a deliberate abandonment of the alphabetic structure, or the unfinished character of the concluding elegy. The title prefixed in the Vulgate, "*Oratio Jeremiæ Prophetæ*," points to one marked characteristic which may have occasioned this difference. There are signs also of a later date than that of the preceding poems. Though the horrors of the famine are ineffaceable, yet that which he has before him is rather the continued protracted suffering of the rule of the Chaldæans. The mountain of Zion is desolate, and the foxes walk on it (18). Slaves have ruled over the people of Jehovah (8). Women have been subjected to intolerable outrages (11). The young men have been taken to grind,[b] and the children have fallen under the wood (13). But in this also, deep as might be the humiliation, there was hope, even as there had been in the dark hours of the prophet's own life. He and his people are sustained by the old thought which had been so fruitful of comfort to other prophets and psalmists. The periods of suffering and struggle which seemed so long, were but as moments in the lifetime of the Eternal (19); and the thought of that eternity brought with it the hope that the purposes of love which had been declared so clearly should one day be fulfilled. The last words of this lamentation are those which have risen so often from broken and contrite hearts, "Turn thou us, O Lord, and we shall be turned. Renew our days as of old" (21). That which had begun with wailing and weeping ends (following Ewald's and Michaelis's translation) with the question of hope, "Wilt thou utterly reject us? Wilt thou be very wroth against us?"

There are perhaps few portions of the O. T. which appear to have done the work they were meant to do more effectually than this. It has presented but scanty materials for the systems and controversies of theology. It has supplied thousands with the fullest utterance for their sorrows in the critical periods of national or individual suffering. We may well believe that it soothed the weary years of the Babylonian exile (comp. Zech. i. 6, with Lam. ii. 17). When they returned to their own land, and the desolation of Jerusalem was remembered as belonging only to the past, this was the book of remembrance. On the ninth day of the month of Ab (July), the Lamentations of Jeremiah were read, year by year, with fasting and weeping, to commemorate the misery out of which the people had been delivered. It has come to be connected with the thoughts of a later devastation, and its words enter, sometimes at least, into the prayers of the pilgrim Jews who meet at the "place of wailing" to mourn over the departed glory of their city.[c] It enters largely into the nobly-constructed order of the Latin Church for the services of Passion-week (*Breviar. Rom.* Feria Quinta. "In Cœna Domini"). If it has been comparatively in the background in times when the study of Scripture had passed into casuistry and speculation, it has come forward, once and again, in times of danger and suffering, as a messenger of peace, comforting men, not after the fashion of the friends of

[a] Comp. with this Obad. ver. 10, and Ps. cxxxvii. 7.

[b] The Vulgate imports into this verse also the thought of a shameful infamy. It must be remembered, however, that the literal meaning conveyed to the mind of an Israelite one of the lowest offices of slave-labor (comp. Judg. xvi. 21).

[c] Is there any uniform practice in these devotions? The writer hears from some Jews that the only prayers said are those that would have been said, as the prayer of the day, elsewhere; from others, that the Lamentations of Jeremiah are frequently employed.

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Job, with formal moralizings, but by enabling them to express themselves, leading them to feel that they might give utterance to the deepest and saddest feelings by which they were overwhelmed. It is striking, as we cast our eye over the list of writers who have treated specially of the book, to notice how many must have passed through scenes of trial not unlike in kind to that of which the Lamentations speak. The book remains to do its work for any future generation that may be exposed to analogous calamities.

A few facts connected with the external history of the book remain to be stated. The position which it has occupied in the canon of the O. T. has varied from time to time. In the received Hebrew arrangement it is placed among the *Kethubim* or Hagiographa, between Ruth and *Koheleth* (Ecclesiastes). In that adopted for synagogue use, and reproduced in some editions, as in the Bomberg Bible of 1521, it stands among the five *Megilloth* after the books of Moses. The LXX. group the writings connected with the name of Jeremiah together, but the Book of Baruch comes between the prophecy and the Lamentation. On the hypothesis of some writers that Jer. lii. was originally the introduction to the poem, and not the conclusion of the prophecy, and that the preface of the LXX. (which is not found either in the Hebrew, or in the Targum of Jonathan) was inserted to diminish the abruptness occasioned by this separation of the book from that with which it had been originally connected, it would follow that the arrangement of the Vulg. and the A. V. corresponds more closely than any other to that which we must look on as the original one.

Literature.—Theodoret, *Opp.* ii. p. 986; Jerome, *Opp.* v. 165. Special Commentaries by Calvin (*Prol. in Thren.*); Bullinger (Tigur. 1575); Peter Martyr (Tigur. 1629); Œcolampadius (Argent. 1558); Zuinglius (Tigur. 1544); Maldonatus; Pareau (*Threni Jeremiæ*, Lugd. Bat. 1790); Tarnovius (1624); Kalkar [*Lamentationes crit. et exeget. illustratæ*] (1836); Neumann (*Jeremias u. Klagelieder*, 1858). Translated by Ewald, in *Poet. Büch.* part i. [*Dichter des Alten Bundes*, i. 321–348, 3e Ausg. Gött. 1866]. E. H. P.

* Some find a reference to Lamentations in 2 Chr. xxxv. 25: "And Jeremiah lamented for Josiah; and all the singing men and the singing women spake of Josiah in their lamentations to this day, and made them an ordinance in Israel; and behold, they are written in the Lamentations." Jerome (*Comm. ad Sach.* xii. 11) went so far as to maintain that the death of Josiah forms the proper subject of the entire book. See also Jos. *Ant.* x. 5, § 1. But the contents of Lamentations utterly forbid this supposition. It is evident from the above passage that a collection of elegies on the death of this king existed at the time when Chronicles was written; and among them it no doubt contained some composed by Jeremiah. But it is impossible to identify them with any part of our present Lamentations. They belonged in all probability to songs of Jeremiah, which like various other books cited in Chronicles, were not received into the Jewish Canon, and have perished. See Bleek, *Einl. in das A. Test.* p. 504.

Some critics, as already stated, assign a low rank to the poetry of this book in comparison with other Hebrew poetry. It has been decried as artificial, overwrought, without vigor of imagination or style. Against this view we may oppose the authority of so eminent a critic and scholar as the late Dean Milman. "Never," he says (*History of the Jews*, i 446), "was ruined city lamented in language so exquisitely pathetic. Jerusalem is, as it were, personified, and bewailed with the passionate sorrow of private and domestic attachment; while the more general pictures of the famine, common misery of every rank and age and sex, all the desolation, the carnage, the violation, the dragging away into captivity, the remembrance of former glories of the gorgeous ceremonies, and of the glad festivals, the awful sense of the Divine wrath, heightening the present calamities, are successively drawn with all the life and reality of an eye-witness." In illustration of this statement he presents in English several extracts from these elegies, which as an expression of the thoughts and spirit of the original are remarkably faithful. We cannot forbear citing here one of these translations for the gratification of the reader. It is taken from the last chapter (v. 1 ff.):

"Remember, Lord, what hath befallen,
Look down on our reproach:
Our heritage is given to strangers,
Our home to foreigners.
Our water have we drank for money,
Our fuel hath its price.

"We stretch our hands to Egypt,
To Assyria for our bread,
At our life's risk we gain our food,
From the sword of desert robbers.
Our skins are like an oven, parched
By the fierce heat of famine.
Matrons in Zion have they ravished,
Virgins in Judah's cities.

"Princes were hung up by the hand,
And age had no respect.
Young men are grinding at the mill,
Boys faint 'neath loads of wood.
The elders from the gate have ceased,
The young men from their music.

"The crown is fallen from our head,
Woe! woe! that we have sinned.
'Tis therefore that our hearts are faint,
Therefore our eyes are dim,
For Zion's mountain desolate;
The foxes walk on it." W.

* *Literature.*—In addition to the works referred to above, the following may be noted: C. B. Michaelis, notes, in the *Uberiores Adnot. in Hagiogr. V. T. Libros* by J. H. Michaelis and others, vol. ii. (1730). J. G. Lessing, *Obss. in Tristia Jerem.*, Lips. 1770. J. G. Bürmel, *Klaggesänge übers. mit Anmerkungen, u. mit einer Vorrede von Herder*, Weimar, 1781. J. F. Schleusner, *Curæ crit. et exeg. in Threnos Jerem.*, in Eichhorn's *Repert.* (1783), xii. 1–57. G. A. Horrer, *Neue Bearbeitung d. Klaggesänge*, Halle, 1784. Benj. Blayney, *Jerem. and Lam., New Transl. with Notes*, Oxf., 1784, 3d ed. Lond. 1836. A. Wolfssohn and J. Löwe, *Die Klagelieder mit deutscher Uebersetzung u. hebr. Comm.*, Berl. 1788 (the introd. and comm. by Löwe). J. Hamon, *Comm. sur les Lam. de Jérémie*, Paris, 1790. J. D. Michaelis, *Obss. philol. et crit. in Jerem. Vaticinia et Threnos. Edidit et auxit J. F. Schleusner* Gotting. 1793. J. K. Volborth, *Klaggesänge aufs Neue übers.*, Celle, 1795. T. A. Deresser, *Die Klagelieder u. Baruch, aus d. Hebr. u. Griech. übers. u. erklärt*, Frankf. a. M. 1809. J. M. Hartmann, *Klaglieder übersetzt*, in Justi's *Blumen althebr. Dichtkunst*, Giessen, 1809, ii. 517 ff. C. A

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Ilura, *Threnos Jerem. et Vaticin. Nahumi metrice reddidit, Notisque illustravit*, Haunia, 1814. Geo. Riegler, *Klagelieder metrisch übers.*, Erlang. 1814. C. P. Conz, *Die Klagelieder*, in E. G. Bengel's *Archiv f. d. Theol.* (1821), iv. 146–66, 374–428. E. F. C. Rosenmüller, Lat. trans. and notes, in his *Scholia in V. T.*, pars viii. vol. ii. (1827). F. W. Joldwitzer, *Die Klagelieder übers., mit d. LXX. u. d. Vulgata verglichen, nebst krit. Anmerkk.*, Sulzb. 1828. K. W. Wiedenfeld, *Klagelieder, neu übers. u. erläutert*, Elberf. 1830. Maurer, notes, in his *Comm. gram. crit. in V. T.* (1835), i. 691–708. G. R. Noyes, transl. and notes, in his *Hebrew Prophets*, vol. ii. Boston, 1837, 3d ed. 1866. E. Henderson, *Jerem. and Lam. translated, with a Comm.*, Lond. 1851, reprinted Andover, 1868. A. Hetzel, *Die Klagelieder in teutsche Liederform übertragen, mit erkl. Anmm.*, 1854. O. Thenius, *Die Klagelieder erklärt* (with a transl.), Leipz. 1855 (Lief. xvi. of the *Kurzgef. exeg. Handb. zum A. Test.*). J. G. Vaihinger, *Sprüche u. Klglieder, metr. übers. u. erklärt*, Stuttg. 1857 (Bd. iii. of his *Die dicht. Schriften des A. Bundes*). W. Engelhardt, *Die Klagelieder Jerem. übers. u. ausgelegt*, Leipz. 1867. C. W. E. Nägelsbach, *Der Proph. Jeremia u. die Klagelieder*, Bielefeld, 1868 (Theil xv. of Lange's *Bibelwerk*). Other translations which deserve mention here, but which embrace either the poetical books or the whole of the Old Testament, are those of Dathe, De Wette, Cahen, Meier, and H. A. Perret-Gentil (*La Sainte Bible*, Paris, 1866, publ. by the *Société biblique protestante de Paris*).

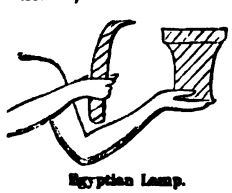
The article *Lamentations* in Kitto's *Cycl. of Bibl. Lit.*, 3d ed., by Emanuel Deutsch of the British Museum, is particularly good. A.

LAMP.[a] 1. That part of the golden candlestick belonging to the Tabernacle which bore the light; also of each of the ten candlesticks placed by Solomon in the Temple before the Holy of Holies (Ex. xxv. 37; 1 K. vii. 49; 2 Chr. iv. 20, xiii. 11; Zech. iv. 2). The lamps were lighted every evening, and cleansed every morning (Ex. xxx. 7, 8; Reland, *Ant. Hebr.* i. v. 9, and vii. 8). The primary sense of light (Gen. xv. 17) gives rise to frequent metaphorical usages, indicating life, welfare, guidance, as *e. g.* 2 Sam. xxi. 17; Ps. cxix. 105; Prov. vi. 23, xiii. 9.

2. A torch or flambeau, such as was carried by the soldiers of Gideon (Judg. vii. 16, 20; comp. xv. 4). See vol. i. p. 695, note.

3. In N. T. λαμπάδες is in A. V., Acts xx. 8, "lights;" in John xviii. 3, "torches;" in Matt. xxv. 1, Rev. iv. 5, "lamps."

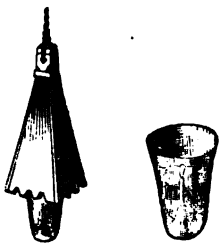
Herodotus, speaking of Egyptian lamps used at a festival, describes them as vessels filled with salt and olive oil with floating wicks, but does not mention the material of the vessels (Herod. ii. 62; Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg. Abridg.* i. 298, ii. 71).



Egyptian Lamp.

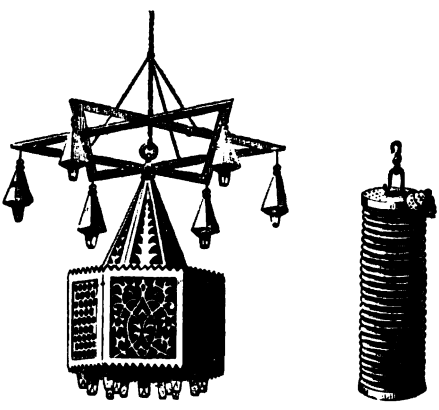
The use of lamps fed with oil at marriage processions is alluded to in the parable of the ten virgins (Matt. xxv. 1).

Modern Egyptian lamps consist of small glass vessels with a tube at the bottom containing a cotton-wick twisted round a piece of straw. Some water is poured in first, and then oil. [The engraving also illustrates the conical wooden receptacle which serves to protect the flame from the wind.] For night-travelling, a lantern composed of waxed cloth strained over a sort of cylinder of wire-rings, and a top and bottom of perforated copper. This would, in form at least, answer to the lamps within pitchers of Gideon. [It may also, possibly, correspond with the lamps referred to in the parable of the ten virgins.]



Egyptian Lamp.

On occasions of marriage the street or quarter where the bridegroom lives is illuminated with lamps suspended from cords drawn across. Sometimes the bridegroom is accompanied to a mosque by men bearing flambeaux, consisting of frames of iron fixed on staves, and filled with burning wood; and on his return, by others bearing frames with many lamps suspended from them (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 202, 215, 224, 225, 230; Mrs. Poole, *Englishw. in Eg.* iii. 131). H. W. P



Lanterns.

LANCET. This word is found in 1 K. xviii. 28 only. The Hebrew term is *Romach*, which is elsewhere rendered, and appears to mean a javelin, or light spear. [See Arms, vol. i. 160 *a*.] In the original edition of the A. V. (1611) this meaning is preserved, the word being "lancers."

* **LAND-MARK.** [Field.]

* **LANES.** The Greek word (ῥύμη) so rendered occurs in Luke xiv. 21, Matt. vi. 12, and Acts ix. 11, and xii. 10. It originally meant "a rushing," and then a "line of direction," or "current," and occasionally in later Greek and the N. T., a place where the current of people flows along, *i. e.* a "street." It denoted especially a "narrow street" (see Lobeck, *ad Phryn.* p. 404), where, as in Luke xiv. 21, the poorer class of people would be found. R. D. C. R.

LANGUAGE. [Tongues, Confusion of.]

[a] נֵר, once נִיר (2 Sam. xxii. 29), from נָרַר, "to shine," Ges. p. 657: λύχνος: lucerna.

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* **LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.** The subject of this article is not the language used by the *writers* of the New Testament (see NEW TESTAMENT, *IV.), but the language of its *speakers*, the *actual* language of the discourses and conversations which stand reported in the Greek of the New Testament.

On the question, *What was the prevailing language of Palestine in the time of our Saviour?* there has been great difference of opinion and much earnest controversy. Some have maintained that the mass of the people spoke Aramaic only; others that they spoke Greek only; and yet others that they were acquainted with both languages, and could use this or that at pleasure. To understand the merits of the case, the simplest way will be to take up each of the two languages in question, and trace the indications of its use among the Palestine-Jews of the first century.

We begin then with THE ARAMAIC (the *Jewish-Aramaic* or *Chaldee*, in distinction from the Christian-Aramaic or Syriac, dialect). It is not unlikely that the long intercourse, friendly and hostile, between the Kingdom of Israel and its Aramæan neighbors on the north, especially the Syrians of Damascus, may have produced some effect on the language of the northern Israelites. But the effect must have been much greater when the Kingdom of Israel was overthrown by the Assyrians, the higher classes carried into other lands, and their places filled by importations from tribes of Aramæan speech. In the siege of Jerusalem by the Assyrians, a few years later, it appears from the proposal of the Jewish chiefs to Rabshakeh (2 K. xviii. 26) that the Aramæan language was understood by the leading men of the city, though unintelligible to the people at large. The course of events during the next century must have added to the influence of the Aramaic in southern Palestine, until at length the conquest by Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonian Captivity gave it a decided preponderance. Surrounded for two generations by speakers of Aramaic, the Judæan exiles could not fail to acquire that language. It may be presumed that many, perhaps most of them, still kept up the use of Hebrew in their intercourse with one another; but some, doubtless, forgot it altogether. After the return to their own land, the Aramaic was still required for communication with many brethren out of Palestine or in it, and with the officers or agents of the Persian government, which seems to have made this the official language for the provinces between the Tigris and the Mediterranean (comp. Ezra iv. 7, 8). The progress of the change which made the Hebrew a dead language, and put the Aramaic in its place as a living one, cannot be distinctly traced for want of literary monuments. But the result is certain: it was complete at the Christian era, and may have been so two or three centuries earlier. It is true that the New Testament in several passages speaks of the Hebrew as if still in use; but in some of these (John v. 2, xix. 13, 17) it is evident from the form of a word described as Hebrew (Βηθεσδά, Γαββαθᾶ, Γολγοθᾶ), that the Aramaic is meant, the current language of the Hebrew people. In many other cases, where words of the popular idiom are given in the N. T., but without being called Hebrew, they can only be explained from the Aramaic: thus Matt. v. 22, ῥακά: vi. 24 (Luke xvi. 9, 13), μαμωνᾶς; xvi. 17, βὰρ Ἰωνᾶ; Mark v. 41, ταλιθὰ κοῦμι; vii. 34 ἐφφαθά; xiv. 36, Ἀββᾶ; John i. 43, Κηφᾶς; Acts i. 19, Ἀκελδαμᾶ; 1 Cor xvi. 22, μαράν ἀθά; — to which add the words ῥαββί, ῥαββουνί, μεσσίας, πάσχα, and proper names beginning with Bar- (son). By Josephus too, the name Hebrew is often used to denote the popular Aramaic; thus ἔδαφος "red" (*Ant.* ii. 1, § 1), χανάλας "priests" (iii. 7, § 1), Ἀσαρθᾶ "Pentecost" (iii. 10, § 6), ἐμίλαν "priest's girdle" (iii. 7, § 2), all of which he designates as Hebrew, are evidently Aramaic.

That this Jewish-Aramaic was not confined to a fraction of the people, but was in general and familiar use among the Jews of Palestine in the first century, is proved by a variety of evidence outside of the N. T. as well as in it. Josephus speaks of it repeatedly (*B. J.* pr. § 1, v. 6, § 3, v 9, § 2) as ἡ πάτριος γλῶσσα, the tongue of the fathers and fatherland, or, as we should say, the mother-tongue, the native, vernacular idiom. As such he contrasts it with the Greek, which he describes (*Ant.* pr. § 2) as ἀλλοδαπὴν ἡμῖν καὶ ξένης διαλέκτου συνήθειαν, "a mode (of expression) alien to us and belonging to a foreign language." From Josephus we learn (*B. J.* v. 6, § 3) that in the siege of Jerusalem, when the watchman on the towers saw a heavy stone launched from the Roman catapults, he cried in the native tongue, "the missile is coming;" he would, of course, give warning in the language best understood by the citizens at large. Josephus himself, when sent by Titus to communicate with the Jews and persuade them to surrender, addressed the multitude in Hebrew (*B. J.* v. 9, § 2), which he would not have done, if the language had not been generally intelligible and acceptable. For further proof we might appeal to the Targums or Chaldee paraphrases of parts of the Old Testament, of which the oldest, that of the Pentateuch by Onkelos, was probably written not far from the time of Christ; but it is possible that these Targums may have been composed, not for the Jews of Palestine, but for those of Babylonia and the adjacent countries; as Josephus states (*B. J.* pr. § 1) that the first edition of his own History was composed in the native tongue (τῇ πατρίῳ) for the barbarians of the interior (τοῖς ἄνω βαρβάροις). Of more weight as proof of a vernacular Aramaic in Palestine is the early existence of a Hebrew gospel (*i. e.* an Aramaic, or, as Jerome calls it, Syro-Chaldaic gospel, "Chaldaico Syroque sermone conscriptum"), commonly ascribed to the Apostle MATTHEW. Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, who flourished in the first half of the second century, speaks of such a book, and holds it for the composition of the Apostle. He may have been mistaken as to the authorship; but as to the existence of an Aramaic gospel at a very early period, there is no sufficient ground to discredit his testimony. It appears then that there was a body of people in Palestine during the first century to whom it seemed desirable to have the gospel in Aramaic, perhaps not solely as being more intelligible, but as recommended also by patriotic or sectarian feeling.

Turning to the New Testament, we find it stated (Acts i. 19) that when the catastrophe of Judas became known to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the place where it occurred was called Ἀκελδαμά, "field of blood," a name clearly Aramaic; and that it was called thus τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν "in their own dialect." This does not imply that the Aramaic belonged to the

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inhabitants of Jerusalem exclusively, so as to be spoken by no other population; nor that it belonged to them as their only language, so that no other tongue was spoken in the city; but that it belonged to them more properly than any other tongue which might be spoken there, which could only be true of the native vernacular, ἡ πάτριος γλῶσσα. A strong light is thrown on this whole subject by the account of Paul's address to the people of the city (Acts xxi. 27 ff.). The Apostle, having been rescued by the chief captain from a mob who sought to kill him, was about to be taken to the castle; but was allowed at his own request to address the multitude. "And when there was made a great silence, he spake unto them in the Hebrew tongue." "And when they heard that he spake in the Hebrew tongue to them, they kept the more silence." (Acts xxi. 40, xxii. 2.) It is plain that he took them by surprise. If they did not know him for a native of the Greek city Tarsus, they had heard him charged with bringing Greeks into the Temple; and they expected him to use the Greek. When they found him speaking Aramaic, they showed by their greater attentiveness that they were not only surprised but gratified; not that a Greek address would have been unintelligible, and perhaps not on account of any prejudice against the language, but because the speaker, by adopting an idiom which was peculiarly their own, evinced his respect for their nationality, his sympathy with their feelings, and, as it were, made himself one of their number.

Of our Lord himself it is expressly stated that on three occasions he made use of the Aramaic: when with the words ταλιθὰ κοῦμι he raised the daughter of Jairus (Mark v. 41); when with ἐφφαθά he opened the ears of the deaf man (Mark vii. 34); and when upon the cross, paraphrasing the first words of Ps. xxii., he cried, ἐλωΐ, ἐλωΐ, λαμᾶ σαβαχθανί (Mark xv. 34; in Matt. xxvii. 46, ἠλί, ἠλί, λημὰ σαβαχθανί). It is hardly supposable that among all his utterances recorded in the Gospels these three were the only ones for which he used the native idiom of the country. Yet it is not easy to say why out of a larger series these alone should be given in the original form. In the last case it seems probable that the Aramaic words actually uttered by our Lord were given by the writer to explain how it was that some of the bystanders conceived him to be calling on Elias. As to the other two, it is noteworthy that they appear in only one of the Evangelists. The miracle wrought with the word ἐφφαθά is found in Mark alone: the miracle wrought with ταλιθὰ κοῦμι is found in Luke also, but the words ascribed to our Lord (viii. 54) are Greek, ἡ παῖς, ἐγείρου, — showing how unsafe it is in other cases to conclude that he spoke Greek because he is not said to have spoken Aramaic. It is not an unlikely supposition that in these two instances the narrative of Mark reflects the impressions of an individual, whose mind was peculiarly struck by the stupendous effect instantly following, and seemingly produced by, the utterance of one or two words, so that the very sound of the words became indelibly fixed in his memory. That the same subjective impression was not made in other cases of the same kind, or that being made it did not find its way with uniformity into the narrative, are both easily conceivable. There is however, yet another instance in which our Lord is expressly stated to have spoken Hebrew (Aramaic): in his appearance to Paul when journeying to Damascus. Of this event there are three narratives (Acts ix., xxii., xxvi.); and here again it is worth noticing that among the parallel accounts only one (xxvi. 14) alludes to the fact that the language used was Hebrew. An able writer, who holds that Christ seldom spoke Hebrew, suggests that he used it on this occasion to keep his words from being understood by Paul's companions. But if these companions failed to hear or to understand the voice (Acts ix. 7, xxii. 9), it is not safe in an event of this nature to infer their ignorance of the language. And it is quite supposable that the use of Hebrew here belonged to the verisimilitude of the manifestation, Jesus appearing to this new apostle not only with the form in which he was known to the Twelve, but with the language in which he was accustomed to converse with them.

The influence of THE GREEK in Palestine began with the conquest by Alexander. The country fell under the power of Macedonian rulers, the Ptolemies of Egypt, and afterwards the Seleucidæ of Syria, with whom Greek was the language of court and government. It was used for the official correspondence of the state; for laws and proclamations; for petitions addressed to the sovereign, and charters, rights, or patents granted by him. The administration of justice was conducted in it, at least so far as the higher tribunals were concerned. At the same time commercial intercourse between the countries under Macedonian rule came into the hands of men who either spoke Greek as their native tongue or adopted it as the means of easiest and widest communication. Partly for purposes of trade and partly as supports for Macedonian domination, colonial cities were planted in these regions, and settled by people who, if not all of Hellenic birth, had the Greek language and civilization and bore the name of Greeks. Such influences were common to the countries about the eastern Mediterranean; and their effect in all was to establish the Greek as the general language of public life, of law, of trade, of literature, and of communication between men of different lands and races. It did not in general supplant the native idioms, as the Latin afterwards supplanted those of Gaul and Spain: it subsisted along with them, contracting but not swallowing up the sphere of their use. Its position and influence may be compared with those possessed, though in a much inferior degree, by the French language in modern Europe. The sway of the Greek extended to lands never conquered by Alexander. To a language so capable, so highly cultivated, so widely diffused, so rich in literature and science, the Romans could not remain indifferent, especially when the regions where it prevailed became part of their empire. Long before the Christian era a knowledge of Greek was an indispensable element in the training of an educated Roman. In the reign of the emperor Tiberius, under whom our Lord suffered, we are told (Val. Max. ii. 2, 3) that speeches in the Roman Senate were often made in Greek. The emperor himself, acting as judge, frequently heard pleadings and made examinations in it (Dion. Cass. lvii. 15). Of the emperor Claudius, a few years later, it is said (Sueton. *Claud.* 42) that he gave audience to Greek ambassadors speaking in their own tongue and made replies in the same language.

The people of Palestine were subjected to Hellenizing influences of a special character. Their Seleucid rulers, not content with the natural operation of circumstances, made strenuous efforts to

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impose upon them the Greek culture and religion. The great national reaction under the Maccabees, provoked by these efforts, was of no long duration. The Romans became masters of the country; and must have given new force to the Greek influences to which they had themselves yielded. It cannot be doubted that the Roman administration of state and justice in Palestine was conducted in the Greek, not the Latin, language. The first Herod, who reigned for many years under Roman supremacy, was manifestly partial to the Greeks. Cæsarea, which he founded, and made, after Jerusalem, the greatest city in the land, was chiefly occupied by Greek inhabitants. Of many other cities in or near the Holy Land, we learn, mostly from incidental notices, that the population was wholly or partly Greek. Thus Gaza, Ascalon, Joppa, Ptolemais, Dora, as well as Cæsarea, on the western sea-coast; Tiberias and Sebaste in the interior; and on the east and northeast, Hippos, Gadara, Scythopolis (or Bethshan), Pella, Gerasa, Philadelphia, and perhaps the remaining cities of the Decapolis. It is obvious that the Jews must have been powerfully affected by so many Greek communities established near them and connected with them by manifold political relations, — and especially the Jews of Galilee, surrounded as they were and pressed upon by such communities.

While many Greeks were becoming settled in Palestine, Jews in yet larger numbers were leaving it to establish themselves in all the important places of the Grecian world. Without losing their nationality and religion, they gave up their Aramaic mother-tongue for the general language of the people round them. Had the Jews of Egypt retained the native idiom, the first translation of the Scriptures would probably have been made in Aramaic and not in Greek. Even Philo of Alexandria, an older contemporary of our Lord, gives no evidence in his voluminous and learned writings of an acquaintance with either Hebrew or Aramaic. But these Jews of the dispersion frequently returned to their fatherland; they gathered in crowds to the great national festivals; and in personal communication with their Palestinian kindred, did much to extend the use of their adopted language. In many cases they continued to reside in Palestine. Thus we hear (Acts vi. 9) of one or more synagogues of Libertines (Jewish freedmen from Italy), Cyrenians, Alexandrians, Cilicians, and peoples from western Asia Minor. That many would content themselves with their familiar Greek, as being sufficient for the ordinary purposes of communication, without taking the trouble to learn Aramaic, is a fact which can hardly be doubted. It is generally believed that the Hellenists, mentioned in Acts ix. 29 and (as converts to Christianity) in Acts vi. 1, were persons of this sort, — separated from those around them not by speaking Greek (for most others could do so), but by speaking *only* Greek. The satisfaction which Paul gave by his use of Aramaic (Acts xxii. 2), makes it easy to understand how such persons, who being settled in Palestine disdained to acquire the native idiom, might be looked upon with coldness or disfavor as a class by themselves, especially if they showed, as may often have been the case, a weakened attachment to other features of the national life. [HELLENISTS.]

The Greek version of the LXX. did much to make the Greek known and familiar to the Jews of Palestine. The original Hebrew was an object of scholastic study; a learned acquaintance with it was highly valued in popular estimation (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 11, § 2); and the number of scribes, lawyers, etc., who possessed such knowledge was probably not inconsiderable; but to the mass of the people the Hebrew Scriptures were a sealed book. Nor was there, so far as we know, prior to the Christian era, any Aramaic version. To the common man — the man of common education — if he had any knowledge of Greek, the most natural and easy way to gain a knowledge of the Scriptures was by reading the Greek translation. That such use was made of it by great numbers of the people cannot well be doubted. Of the quotations from the Old Testament made by the writers of the New, the greater part are in the words of the LXX. Comparatively few give any clear evidence that the writer had in mind the Hebrew original. This familiarity with the Greek version makes it probable that it was used not only for private reading, but in the public services of the synagogue. In many places there may have been no one sufficiently acquainted with the ancient Hebrew to read and translate it for the congregation; but in every community, we may presume, there were persons who could both read the Greek and add whatever paraphrase or explanation may have been needed in Aramaic. It is apparent in the case of Josephus, that even men of learning who had studied the Hebrew were familiar with the version of the LXX.; in his *Antiquities* Josephus makes more use of the latter than of the former. To the influence of the LXX. must be added that of a considerable Jewish-Greek literature, composed mainly in the last two centuries before Christ, the so-called Apocrypha of the Old Testament. It is true that one of these books, the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, is declared in its preface to be the translation of a work composed in Hebrew (*i. e.*, not improbably, in Aramaic) by the grandfather of the translator. There is much reason for believing also that the First Book of Maccabees was written in Hebrew; and the same may perhaps be true of some other apocryphal books. The fact, however, that no one of them is extant in that language seems to show that in general use (except perhaps in countries east of the Syrian desert) the Hebrew (or Aramaic) original was early superseded by the Greek version. A case nearly parallel is seen in Josephus's *History of the Jewish War*. It was composed (according to the statement of the preface) in the native tongue for the barbarians of the interior, *i. e.* beyond the Syrian desert, the limit of the Roman power. But for those under the Roman government he translated it into Greek (*τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν τῇ Ἑλλάδι γλώσσῃ μεταβαλών*). And this translation has so thoroughly superseded the original work that, but for the statement of its author, we should not have known, or perhaps even suspected, its existence.

That Greek was generally understood by the people of Jerusalem, is evident from the circumstances of Paul's address in Acts xxii. The multitude, who listened with hushed attention when he spoke to them in Aramaic, were already attentive while expecting to hear him in Greek. It does not follow that *all* understood him in the former language, or that *all* would have understood him in the latter. To gain attention, it would be enough that a large majority could understand the language of the speaker; those who could not, might still get some notion of the speech, its drift and substance, by occasional renderings of their fellows.

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The Greek New Testament is itself the strongest proof of the extent to which its language had become naturalized among the Jews of Palestine. Most of its writers, though not belonging to the lowest class, to the very poor or the quite uneducated, were men in humble life, in whom one could hardly expect to find any learning or accomplishment beyond what was common to the great body of their countrymen. We are not speaking of Saul or Luke or the unknown writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews; but of Peter, Jude, James, John, and Matthew, if (as is most probable) we have his Gospel in its original language. Yet we find them not only writing in Greek, but writing in a way which proves that they were familiar with it and at home in it. They do not write it with elegance or with strict grammatical correctness; but they show a facility, a confidence, an abundance of apt and forcible expression, which men seldom attain in a language not acquired during early life. Some have found in the Hebrew idioms which color their style an indication that they thought in Hebrew (or Aramaic), and had to translate their thoughts when they expressed them in Greek. But similar idioms occur in the compositions of Paul, who as the native of a Greek city must have been all his life familiar with the Greek language. When Greek began to be spoken by Hebrews, learning it in adult years, they had to go through a process of mental translation; and the natural result was the formation of a Hellenistic dialect, largely intermixed with Semitic idioms, which they handed down to their descendants. The latter, as they did not cease to speak an Aramaic idiom, were little likely to correct the Aramaic peculiarities in the Greek received from their fathers. Josephus speaks with emphasis of the difficulty which even a well-educated Jew found in writing Greek with idiomatic accuracy. The Greek style of a Jew, especially when writing on religious subjects, was naturally affected by his familiarity with the LXX., which copied from the original many Hebrew forms of expression, and kept them alive in the memory and use of the people.

In view of these proofs, the conclusion seems unavoidable that, as a general fact, the Palestine Jews of the first century were acquainted with both languages, Greek and Aramaic. It is probable, indeed, as already stated, that some were not acquainted with the Aramaic; and it is by no means improbable, though the proof is less distinct, that some were not acquainted with the Greek. Of both these classes the absolute number may have been considerable. But apparently they were the exceptions, the majority of the people having a knowledge more or less extended of both languages. Other instances of bilingual communities, of populations able for the most part to express themselves in two different tongues, are by no means wanting. One of the most striking at the present day is to be found in a people of Aramæan origin with a firmly held Aramaic vernacular, the Nestorian Syrians or Chaldee Christians. "In Persia most of the Nestorians are able to speak fluently the rude Tatar (Turkish) dialect used by the Mohammedans of this province, and those of the mountains are equally familiar with the language of the Koords. Still they have a strong preference for their own tongue, and make it the constant and only medium of intercourse with each other." (Stoddard, Preface to *Modern Syriac Grammar* in *Journal of Amer. Oriental Soc.* vol. v.)

It is a common opinion that by the pentecostal gift of tongues (Acts ii.) the Apostles were miraculously endowed with a knowledge of many languages and the power of using them at pleasure. But this gift would seem from the tenor of the accounts to have been a kind of inspiration under which the speaker gave utterance to a succession of sounds, without himself willing, or perhaps even understanding, the sounds which he uttered. It does not appear from the subsequent history that the Apostles in their teaching made use of any other languages than Greek and Aramaic. It is not necessary to suppose that Paul spoke Latin at Rome, or Maltese in Melita (Acts xxviii.) or Lycaonian at Lystra (Acts xiv.). In the transactions at Lystra it is pretty clearly implied that Paul and Barnabas did *not* understand the speech of Lycaonia, and therefore failed to perceive and oppose the idolatrous intentions of the people until they had broken out into open act. In choosing between the two languages which they undoubtedly possessed, the Apostles were of course guided by the circumstances. Outside of the Holy Land, they would generally, if not always, make use of the Greek. In Syria, indeed, a considerable part of the people — the same for which the Peshito version was made in the next century — would probably have understood an address in the Aramaic of Palestine; but in Antioch, the capital, where the disciples were first called Christians, Greek must have been the prevalent language. Even in Palestine, Paul's addresses to the Roman governors Felix and Festus would naturally be made in Greek. This is not so clear of the address to Agrippa, who had enjoyed a Jewish education. In the meeting of apostles and elders at Jerusalem (Acts xv.), occasioned by events in Antioch and attended by delegates from that city, the proceedings were probably in Greek, as also the circular letter which announced its result to "the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia." When Peter on the day of Pentecost addressed the multitude of Jews gathered from many different countries, he would naturally use the language which was most widely understood. It is true that the "Parthians and Medes and Elamites — and Arabians," if no others, would have been most accessible to an Aramaic address: so we judge from the fact that Josephus, writing for readers in these very lands, composed his history in the native tongue. Still, when we consider the "dwellers in Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome," it is probable that more would have understood Greek than Aramaic; so that if there was only one address in one language (which perhaps the terms of the narrative do not require us to suppose), it was probably made in Greek.

The difficulty of determining the language used for each particular discourse is even greater in the Gospels than in the Acts. It seems reasonable to suppose that conversations between kindred and friends, and the familiar utterances of Christ to his disciples, were in Aramaic; the native idiom of the country, if not wholly given up, would naturally be employed for occasions like these. Yet as long as speakers and hearers had another language at command, there always remains, in the absence of express statements, a possibility that this, and not Aramaic, may have been used for any given conversation. And if, on the other hand it seems reasonable to suppose that our Lord in his more

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public discourses spoke Greek, there is a similar difficulty about being sure in particular cases that he did not use the other language which was familiar to him and to the mass of his hearers. A recent writer assumes that every discourse which, as reported to us, contains quotations from the O. T. *in the words of the LXX.*, must have been pronounced in Greek; and this criterion, were it trustworthy, would decide many cases. But if an Aramaic speech containing Scripture quotations were to be reported in Greek by a writer familiar with the LXX., who seldom (if ever) read the Scriptures in any other form, is it not probable that he would give the quotations for the most part according to the LXX.? Sometimes, it is likely, he would depart from it, because he did not correctly remember its phraseology; and sometimes, because he remembered that the Aramaic speaker gave the passage a sense varying from that given by the LXX. As the writers of the Gospels were probably in this condition — of persons familiar with the LXX., who seldom (if ever) read the Scriptures in any other form — it is unsafe from the way in which they give the Scripture quotations to infer anything as to the language used by the speakers who quoted them. There are instances, however, in which the circumstances of the case afford some indications on this point. Thus in communicating with the people of Gadara, which Josephus calls a Greek city, our Lord would use the Greek language. Among the crowds who followed him before the Sermon on the Mount and who seem to have stood about the mountain while he was speaking, were some from Decapolis (Matt. iv. 25). As already stated, the ten cities of that region were (most, if not all, of them) Greek. As our Lord had thus in the surrounding multitude of his auditors some who probably were unacquainted with Aramaic, there is plausible ground for believing that on this important occasion he made use of the Greek language. In the closing scenes of his life, when he was brought before the Roman governor for judgment and execution, it is nearly certain that Greek was used by Pilate himself and by the various speakers about his tribunal.

It is stated in the Mishnah (*Sotah*, c. 9, n. 14), that when the war of Titus broke out, an order was issued in which fathers were forbidden to have their sons instructed in Greek. Whether this is true or not, it would be only natural that the excited patriotism of such a time should cause the Jews to set a higher value on their national tongue. Perhaps those who spoke Greek *and* Aramaic were now inclined as far as possible to discard the use of Greek; the Targums, which seem to have made their first appearance or to have assumed a permanent shape about this time, would be a help in doing so. At all events there is reason for believing that after this period there was a considerable population in Palestine who did not understand Greek. The general opinion of the Fathers (from Clement of Alexandria down) that the Epistle to the Hebrews was composed in Aramaic, had probably no other foundation than the belief that it would otherwise have been unintelligible to the Jews of Palestine for whom it was designed. This belief is of little weight as regards the original language of the epistle; but as regards the prevailing language of Palestine in later times it may not be without value. Eusebius of Cæsarea, a native and lifelong resident of Palestine, declares (*Dem. Evang.* lib. iii.) that the Apostles before the death of their Master understood no language but that of the Syrians this he would hardly have done if Greek had been generally spoken by the Galilæans of his own day

The discussion as to the language of Palestine in our Saviour's time has been quite generally connected with the question whether Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew or in Greek. Most defenders of the Hebrew original (as Du Pin, Mill, Michaelis Marsh, Weber, Kuinoel, etc.) have maintained that this was the only language then understood by the body of the people. And many champions of the Greek original (as Cappell, Basnage, Masch, Lardner, Walæus, etc.) have made a like claim for the Greek. For a full list of the older writers, see Kuinoel in Fabricius, *Bibl. Græca* ed. Harles. iv. 760. We add the names of some writers who have treated the subject more at large. Isaac Vossius (*De Oraculis Sibyllinis*, Oxon. 1680), though a staunch believer in the Hebrew original, held that Greek was almost universal in the towns of Palestine, and that the Syriac still spoken in the country and in villages had become so corrupted as to be a kind of mongrel Greek. He found an opponent in Simon (*Hist. Crit. du Texte du N. T.*, Rotterd. 1689), who allowed that Greek was the common language (*langue vulgaire*) of the country, but contended that the Jews, beside the Greek, had preserved the Chaldee which they brought with them from Babylon, and which they called the *national* language. Diodati of Naples (*De Christo Græce loquente*, 1767; reprinted London, 1843) went further than Vossius, asserting that Greek in the days of our Lord had entirely supplanted the old Palestinian dialect. Replies to this work were put forth by Ernesti (in *Neueste Theol. Bibl.*, 1771) and De Rossi (*Della Lingua propria di Cristo*, Parma, 1772). De Rossi's work was adopted by Pfannkuche as the basis of his essay on the Aramæan language in Palestine (in Eichhorn's *Allgem. Bibl.*, 1797), translated by E. Robinson (in *Am. Bibl. Repos.*, 1831) with an introduction on the literature of the subject. Another translation (by T. G. Repp) is given in Clark's *Biblical Cabinet*, vol. ii. Against Pfannkuche, who is one-sided in his advocacy of the Aramaic, Hug (*Einl. in d. N. T.*, 4th ed., 1847; 3d ed. transl. by Fosdick, Andover, 1836) maintained the concurrent use of Greek. His position — which is nearly the same with that of Simon — is held substantially by most later writers, as Credner (*Einl. in d. N. T.*, Halle, 1836) and Bleek (*Einl. in d. N. T.*, Berlin, 1862). A somewhat more advanced position is taken by Dr. Alex. Roberts (*Discussions on the Gospels*, 2d ed., London, 1863), who, while admitting that both languages were in general use, contends that our Lord spoke for the most part in Greek, and only now and then in Hebrew (Aramaic). J. H.

LANGUAGES, SEMITIC. [SHEM.]

LANTERN (φανός) occurs only in John xviii. 3. See *Dict. of Ant.* art. *Laterna*. [LAMP, p. 1589.]

LAODICE'A (Λαοδίκεια: [*Laodicea*]). The two passages in the N. T. where this city is mentioned, define its geographical position in harmony with other authorities. In Rev. i. 11, iii. 14, it is spoken of as belonging to the general district which contained Ephesus, Smyrna, Thyatira, Pergamus Sardis, and Philadelphia. In Col. iv. 13, 15 it appears in still closer association with Colossæ and Hierapolis. And this was exactly its position. It

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was a town of some consequence in the Roman province of ASIA; and it was situated in the valley of the Maeander, on a small river called the Lycus, with COLOSSÆ and HIERAPOLIS a few miles distant to the west.

Built, or rather rebuilt, by one of the Seleucid monarchs, and named in honor of his wife, Laodicea became under the Roman government a place of some importance. Its trade was considerable; it lay on the line of a great road; and it was the seat of a *conventus*. From Rev. iii. 17 we should gather it was a place of great wealth. The damage which was caused by an earthquake in the reign of Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 27) was promptly repaired by the energy of the inhabitants. It was soon after this occurrence that Christianity was introduced into Laodicea, not however, as it would seem, through the direct agency of St. Paul. We have good reason for believing that when, in writing from Rome to the Christians of Colossæ, he sent a greeting to those of Laodicea, he had not personally visited either place. But the preaching of the Gospel at Ephesus (Acts xviii. 19–xix. 41) must inevitably have resulted in the formation of churches in the neighboring cities, especially where Jews were settled; and there were Jews in Laodicea (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3, § 4; xiv. 10, § 20). In subsequent times it became a Christian city of eminence, the see of a bishop, and a meeting-place of councils. It is often mentioned by the Byzantine writers. The Mohammedan invaders destroyed it; and it is now a scene of utter desolation; but the extensive ruins near *Denishi* justify all that we read of Laodicea in Greek and Roman writers. Many travellers (Pococke, Chandler, Leake, Arundell, Fellows) have visited and described the place, but the most elaborate and interesting account is that of Hamilton.

One Biblical subject of interest is connected with



Laodicea

Laodicea. From Col. iv. 16 it appears that St. Paul wrote a letter to this place (ἡ ἐκ Λαοδικείας) when he wrote the letter to Colossæ. The question arises whether we can give any account of this Laodicean epistle. Wieseler's theory (*Apost. Zeitalter*, p. 450) is that the Epistle to Philemon is meant; and the tradition in the *Apostolical Constitutions* that he was bishop of this see is adduced in confirmation. Another view, maintained by Paley and others, and suggested by a manuscript variation in Eph. i., is that the Epistle to the Ephesians is intended. [EPHESIANS.] Usher's view is, that this last epistle was a circular letter sent to Laodicea among other places (see *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, ii. 488, with Alford's *Prolegomena*, G. T. v. iii. 13–18). None of these opinions can be maintained with much confidence. It may however be said, without hesitation, that the apocryphal *Epistola ad Laodicenses* is a late and clumsy forgery. It exists only in Latin MSS., and is evidently a cento from the Galatians and Ephesians. A full account of it is given by Jones (*On the Canon*, ii. 31–49).

The subscription at the end of the First Epistle to Timothy (ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Λαοδικείας, ἥτις ἐστὶ μητρόπολις Φρυγίας τῆς Πακατιανῆς) is of no authority; but it is worth mentioning, as showing the importance of Laodicea. J. S. H.

* The reasons for regarding Paul's letter to Philemon as the letter to the Laodiceans are very inconclusive. The letter to Philemon was of a private nature, and in the salutation (vv. 1, 2) restricts itself to a private circle, and could not therefore be a letter to the entire Laodicean church (comp. Col. i. 1 f.). Further as Onesimus certainly belonged to Colossæ (Col. iv. 9), Philemon also must have belonged there, and the letter have been written to him at that place. Wieseler argues (*Chronologie des Apost. Zeitalters*, p. 454) that Philemon lived at Laodicea because Archippus

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(Phil. ver. 2 and Col. iv. 17) lived there; and he argues that Archippus lived there because Paul sends a message to him just after speaking of the church in Laodicea. But Paul directs these same Colossians to whom he writes to deliver this message as by word of mouth to Archippus (*εἴπατε Ἀρχίππῳ*), and hence Archippus must have been at Colossæ as well as the Colossians. It may be said indeed that *εἴπατε* denotes an intermediate act like *ἀσπάσασθε* in ver. 15; that is possible, we must admit, but altogether against the natural impression of the passage. The tradition that an Archippus was bishop at Laodicea (*Apost. Const.* vii. 46) may or may not have some weight as an argument. It is an inadvertence in the article above that Wieseler is said to connect that tradition with Philemon.

The best edition of this Latin *Epistola ad Laodicenses* is Anger's, appended to his treatise *Ueber den Laodicenerbrief* (Leipz. 1843). He agrees with those who regard the Epistle to the Ephesians as encyclical, and hence the one from Laodicea (Col. iv. 16) to which Paul refers. Prof. Lightfoot (*Epistle to the Philippians*, p. 137 f.) maintains also this opinion. He has a valuable note there on this question of lost Apostolic epistles. Hutter's Greek translation of this epistle will be found in Anger as above (p. 172), and in Fabricius, *Cod. Apocr. N. T.* i. 873 f. Dr. Eadie has given an English version of this Greek copy in his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians*. H.

LAODICE'ANS (*Λαοδικεῖς*: *Laodicenses*), the inhabitants of Laodicea (Col. iv. 16; Rev. iii. 14).

LAPPIDOTH (לַפִּידוֹת, *i. e.* Lappidoth: [Rom. Alex *Λαφιδώθ*; Vat. Ald.] *Λαφειδώθ*: *Lapidoth*). the husband of Deborah the prophetess (Judg. iv. 4 only). The word rendered "wife" in the expression "wife of Lapidoth," has simply the force of "woman;" and thus *lappidoth* ("torches") has been by some understood as descriptive of Deborah's disposition, and even of her occupations. [DEBORAH.] But there is no real ground for supposing it to mean anything but wife, or for doubting the existence of her husband. True, the termination of the name is feminine; but this is the case in other names undoubtedly borne by men, as MERE MOTH, MAHAZIOTH, etc. G.

LAPWING (דּוּכִיפַת, *dukiphath*: *ἔποψ*: *upupa*) occurs only in Lev. xi. 19, and in the parallel passage of Deut. xiv. 18, amongst the list of those birds which were forbidden by the law of Moses to be eaten by the Israelites. Commentators generally agree with the LXX. and Vulg. that the hoopoe is the bird intended, and with this interpretation the Arabic versions[a] coincide: all these three versions give one word, *hoopoe*, as the meaning of *dukiphath*; but one cannot definitely say whether the Syriac reading,[b] the Targums of Jerusalem, Onkelos, and Jonathan,[c] and the Jewish doctors, indicate any particular bird or not, for they merely appear to resolve the Hebrew word into its component parts, *dukiphath* being by them understood as the "mountain-cock," or "woodland-cock." This translation has, as may be supposed, produced considerable discussion as to the kind of bird represented by these terms — expressions which would, before the date of acknowledged scientific nomenclature, have a very wide meaning. According to Bochart, these four different interpretations have been assigned to *dukiphath*: 1. The Sadducees supposed the bird intended to be the *common hen*, which they therefore refused to eat. 2. Another interpretation understands the *cock of the woods* (*Tetrao urogallus*). 3. Other interpreters think the *attagen* is meant. 4. The last interpretation is that which gives the hoopoe as the rendering of the Hebrew word.[d]



The Hoopoe (*Upupa epops*).

As to the value of 1. nothing can be urged in its favor except that the first part of the word *duk* or *dik* does in Arabic mean a *cock*.[e] 2. With almost as little reason can the *cock of the woods*, or *capercailzie*, be considered to have any claim to be the bird indicated: for this bird is an inhabitant of the northern parts of Europe and Asia, and although it has been occasionally found, according to M. Temminck, as far south as the Ionian Islands, yet such occurrences are rare indeed, and we have no record of its ever having been seen in Syria or Egypt. The *capercailzie* is therefore a bird not at all likely to come within the sphere of the observation of the Jews. 3. As to the third theory, it is certainly at least as much a question what is signified by *attagen*, as by *dukiphath*.[f]

Many, and curious in some instances, are the derivations proposed for the Hebrew word, but the most probable one is that which was alluded to

[a] الهدهد, *alhudhud*, from root هدهد, "to moan as a dove." *Hudhud* is the modern Arabic name for the hoopoe. At Cairo the name of this bird is *hidhid* (vid. Forskål, *Descr. Animal.* p. vii.).

[b] ܐܘܦܐ ܕܒܪ (Syriac), *woodland-cock.*

[c] גַּבָּר מִדְּרָא (Chaldee), *artifex montis*: German *Bergmeister* (then, *gallus montanus*): from the rabbinical story of the Hoopoe and the Shâmîr. (See ADAMANT, and Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald. Talm.* s. v. גבר.)

[d] There can be no doubt that the hoopoe is the bird intended by *dukiphath*; for the Coptic *koukoupha*, the Syriac *kikupha*, which stand for the *Upupa epops* are almost certainly allied to the Hebrew דּוּכִיפַת *dukiphath*.

[e] ديك دِيكٌ: *gallina, gallus.*

[f] By *attagen* is here of course meant the ἀτταγὰς of the Greeks, and the *attagen* of the Romans; not that name as sometimes applied locally to the *pas*-*senger*, or *white grouse*.

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above, namely, the *mountain-cock*. Æschylus speaks of the hoopoe by name, and expressly calls it the *bird of the rocks* (*Fragm.* 291, quoted by Arist. *H. A.* ix. 49). Ælian (*N. A.* iii. 26) says that these birds build their nests in *lofty rocks*. Aristotle's words are to the same effect, for he writes, "Now some animals are found in the mountains, as the hoopoe for instance" (*H. A.* i. 1). When the two lawsuit-wearied citizens of Athens, Euelpides and Pisthetærus, in the comedy of the *Birds* of Aristophanes (20, 54), are on their search for the home of Epops, king of birds, their *ornithological* conductors lead them through a wild desert tract *terminated by mountains and rocks*, in which is situated the royal aviary of Epops.

It must, however, be remarked that the observations of the habits of the hoopoe recorded by modern oölogists do not appear to warrant the assertion that it is so preëminently a mountain-bird as has been implied above.[a] Marshy ground, ploughed land, wooded districts, such as are near to water, are more especially its favorite haunts; but perhaps more extended observation on its habits may hereafter confirm the accuracy of the statements of the ancients.

The hoopoe was accounted an unclean bird by the Mosaic law, nor is it now eaten[b] except occasionally in those countries where it is abundantly found — Egypt, France, Spain, etc. etc. Many and strange are the stories which are told of the hoopoe in ancient oriental fable, and some of these stories are by no means to its credit. It seems to have been always regarded, both by Arabians and Greeks, with a superstitious reverence[c] — a circumstance which it owes no doubt partly to its crest (Aristoph. *Birds*, 94; comp. Ov. *Met.* vi. 672), which certainly gives it a most imposing appearance; partly to the length of its beak, and partly also to its habits "If any one anointed himself with its blood, and then fell asleep, he would see demons suffocating him" — "If its liver were eaten with rue, the eater's wits would be sharpened, and pleasing memories be excited" — are superstitions held respecting this bird. One more fable narrated of the hoopoe is given, because its origin can be traced to a peculiar habit of the bird. The Arabs say that the hoopoe is a betrayer of secrets; that it is able moreover to point out hidden wells and fountains under ground. Now the hoopoe, on settling upon the ground, has a strange and portentous-looking habit of bending the head downwards till the point of the beak touches the ground, raising and depressing its crest at the same time.[d] Hence with much probability arose the Arabic fable.

These stories, absurd as they are, are here mentioned because it was perhaps in a great measure owing, not only to the uncleanly habits of the bird, but also to the superstitious feeling with which the hoopoe was regarded by the Egyptians and heathen generally, that it was forbidden as food to the Israelites, whose affections Jehovah wished to wean from the land of their bondage, to which, as we know, they fondly clung.

The word *hoopoe* is evidently onomatopoetic, being derived from the voice of the bird, which resembles the words "hoop, hoop," softly but rapidly uttered. The Germans call the bird *Ein Houp*, the French *La Huppe*, which is particularly appropriate, as it refers both to the crest and note of the bird. In Sweden it is known by the name of *Här-Fogel*, the army-bird, because from its ominous cry, frequently heard in the wilds of the forest, while the bird itself moves off as any one approaches, the common people have supposed that seasons of scarcity and war are impending (Lloyd's *Scand. Advent.* ii. 321).

The hoopoe is an occasional visitor to this country, arriving for the most part in the autumn, but instances are on record of its having been seen in the spring. Col. Hamilton Smith has supposed that there are two Egyptian species of the genus *Upupa*, from the fact that some birds remain permanently resident about human habitations in Egypt, while others migrate: he says that the migratory species is eaten in Egypt, but that the stationary species is considered inedible (Kitto's *Cycl.* art. *Lapwing*). There is, however, but one species of Egyptian hoopoe known to ornithologists, namely, *Upupa epops*. Some of these birds migrate northwards from Egypt, but a large number remain all the year round; all, however, belong to the same species The hoopoe is about the size of the *missel-thrush* (*Turdus viscivorus*). Its crest is very elegant, the long feathers forming it are each of them tipped with black. It belongs to the family *Upupidæ*, sub-order *Tenuirostres*, and order *Passeres*.

W. H.

[a] I have eaten the hoopoe, and found it very palatable. As for filthy habits, it has no more of them than all birds that live in the neighborhood of human habitations, and make the dunghill one of their localities for seeking their food. In cleanliness of plumage, as in contrast of coloring, it resembles the barnyard cock. Other reasons than its filthiness must be assumed for the prohibition of the Mosaic law, if this be the bird intended.

G. E. P.

LASÆ'A (Λασαία: [*Thalassa*]). Four or five years ago it would have been impossible to give any information regarding this Cretan city, except indeed that it might be presumed (Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*, ii. 394, 2d ed.) to be identical with the "Lisia" mentioned in the *Peutinger Table* as 16 miles to the east of GORTYNA. This corresponds sufficiently with what is said in Acts xxvii. 8 of its proximity to FAIR HAVENS. The whole matter, however, has been recently cleared up. In the month of January, 1856, a yachting party made inquiries at Fair Havens, and were told that the name Lassea was still given to some ruins a few miles to the eastward. A short search sufficed to discover these ruins, and independent testimony

[a] See Macgillivray's *British Birds*, vol. iii. 43; Yarrell, *Brit. B.* ii. 178, 2d edit.; Lloyd's *Scandinavian Adventures*, ii. 321; Tristram in *Ibis*, vol. i. The chief grounds for all the filthy habits which have been ascribed to this much-maligned bird are to be found in the fact that it resorts to dunghills, etc., in search of the worms and insects which it finds there.

[b] A writer in *Ibis*, vol. i. p. 49, says, "We found the hoopoe a very good bird to eat."

[c] Such is the case even to this day. The Rev. H. B. Tristram, who visited Palestine in the spring of 1858, says of the hoopoe (*Ibis*, i. 27): "The Arabs have a superstitious reverence for this bird, which they believe to possess marvelous medicinal qualities, and call it 'the Doctor.' Its head is an indispensable ingredient in all charms, and in the practice of witchcraft."

[d] This habit of *inspecting* probably first suggested the Greek word ἔποψ.

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confirmed the name. A full account of the discovery, with a plan, is given in the 2d ed. of Smith's *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, App. iii. pp. 262, 263.[a] Captain Spratt, R. N., had previously observed some remains, which probably represent the harbor of Lasea (see pp. 80, 82, 245). And it ought to be noticed that in the *Descrizione dell' Isola di Candia*, a Venetian MS. of the 16th century, as published by Mr. E. Falkener in the *Museum of Classical Antiquities*, Sept. 1852 (p. 237), a place called Lapsea, with a "temple in ruins," and "other vestiges near the harbor," is mentioned as being close to Fair Havens. This also is undoubtedly St. Luke's Lasea; and we see how needless it is (with Cramer, *Ancient Greece*, iii. 374, and the *Edinburgh Review*, No. civ. 176) to resort to Lachmann's reading, "Alassa," or to the "Thalassa" of the Vulgate. [CRETE.]

J. S. H.

LA'SHA (לָשָׁע, *i. e.* Lesha: Λασά: *Lesa*), a place noticed in Gen. x. 19 only, as marking the limit of the country of the Canaanites. From the order in which the names occur, combined with the expression "*even unto* Lasha," we should infer that it lay somewhere in the southeast of Palestine. Its exact position cannot, in the absence of any subsequent notice of it, be satisfactorily ascertained, and hence we can neither absolutely accept or reject the opinion of Jerome and other writers, who identify it with Callirhoë, a spot famous for hot springs near the eastern shore of the Dead Sea. It may indeed be observed, in corroboration of Jerome's view, that the name Lasha, which signifies, according to Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 764), "a fissure," is strikingly appropriate to the deep chasm of the *Zerka Main*, through which the waters of Callirhoë find an outlet to the sea (Lynch's *Exped.* p. 370). No town, however, is known to have existed in the neighborhood of the springs, unless we place there Machærus, which is described by Josephus (*B. J.* vii. 6, § 3) as having hot springs near it. That there was some sort of a settlement at Callirhoë may perhaps be inferred from the fact that the springs were visited by Herod during his last illness (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 6, § 5); and this probability is supported by the discovery of tiles, pottery, and coins on the spot. But no traces of buildings have as yet been discovered; and the valley is so narrow as not to offer a site for anything like a town (Irby and Mangles, ch. viii. June 8).

W. L. B.

LASHA'RON (לַשָּׁרוֹן, *i. e.* Lasharon: LXX. omits; [but Comp. Ασαρών, Ald. Χασαρών:] *Saron;* but in the Benedictine text *Lassaron*), one of the Canaanite towns whose kings were killed by Joshua (Josh. xii. 18). Some difference of opinion has been expressed as to whether the first syllable is an integral part of the name or the Hebrew possessive particle. (See Keil, *Josua*, ad loc.) But there seems to be no warrant for supposing the existence of a particle before this one name, which certainly does not exist before either of the other thirty names in the list. Such at least is the conclusion of Bochart (*Hieroz.* i. ch. 31), Reland (*Pal* 871), and others, a conclusion supported by the reading of the Targum,[b] and the Arabic version, and also by Jerome, if the Benedictine text can be relied on. The opposite conclusion of the Vulgate given above, is adopted by Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 642), but not on very clear grounds, his chief argument being apparently that, as the name of a town, Sharon would not require the article affixed, which, as that of a district, it always bears. But this appears to be begging the question. The name has vanished from both MSS. of the LXX., unless a trace exists in the Οφεκτηϲ αρ ω χ of the Vat.

G.

LASTHENES (Λασθένης; cf. Λά-μαχος: [*Lasthenes*]), an officer who stood high in the favor of Demetrius II. Nicator. He is described as "cousin" (συγγενής, 1 Macc. xi. 31) and "father" (1 Macc. xi. 32; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 3, § 9) of the king. Both words may be taken as titles of high nobility (comp. Grimm on 1 Macc. x. 89; Diod. xvii. 59; Ges. *Thes. s. v.* אָב, § 4). It appears from Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 4, § 3) that he was a Cretan, to whom Demetrius was indebted for a large body of mercenaries (cf. 1 Macc. x. 67), when he asserted his claim to the Syrian throne. The service which he thus rendered makes it likely (Vales. *ad loc.*) that he was the powerful favorite whose evil counsels afterwards issued in the ruin of his master (Diod. *Exc* xxxii. p. 592). But there is not the slightest ground for identifying him with the nameless *Cretan* to whose charge Demetrius I. committed his sons (Just. xxxv. 2).

B. F. W.

LATCHET, the thong or fastening by which the sandal was attached to the foot. The English word is apparently derived from the Anglo-Saxon *læccan*, "to catch" or "fasten" (Old Eng. "to latch"), as "hatchet" from *haccan*, "to hack;" whence "latch," the fastening of a door, "lock," and others. The Fr. *lacet* approaches most nearly in form to the present word. The Hebrew שְׂרוֹךְ, *serôc*, is derived from a root which signifies "to twist." It occurs in the proverbial expression in Gen. xiv. 23, and is there used to denote something trivial or worthless. Gesenius (*Thes.* s. v. רוּמִּי) compares the Lat. *hilum* = *filum*, and quotes two Arabic proverbs from the Hamasa and the Kamûs, in which a corresponding word is similarly employed. In the poetical figure in Is. v. 27 the "latchet" occupies the same position with regard to the shoes as the girdle to the long flowing oriental dress, and was as essential to the comfort and expedition of the traveller. Another semi-proverbial expression in Luke iii. 16 points to the fact that the office of bearing and unfastening the shoes of great personages fell to the meanest slaves. [SHOE.]

W. A. W.

LATIN, the language spoken by the Romans, is mentioned only in John xix. 20, and Luke xxiii. 38; the former passage being a translation of

[a] See *Voyage*, etc., pp. 81, 259 f. 3d ed. (1866). The travellers were not only directed to the place for which they inquired, but on asking the peasants on the spot what the place was called were told "Lasea." It lies just east of Fair Havens, and shows traces of an important town. Two white pillars, masses of masonry and ruins of temples are found there. Rangabes (Ἑλληνικά, iii. 572) speaks of Lasea as mentioned in Acts, but not of the name as still current. There is good reason for accepting the reported identification as correct. H.

[b] מַלְכָּא דְלַשָּׁרוֹן = "king of Lasharon."

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Ῥωμαϊστί, "in the Roman tongue," i. e. *Latin*; and the latter of the adjective Ῥωμαϊκοῖς (γράμμασιν).

* But though the Latin language is hardly recognized by name in the N. T., it is represented there by various Latin words under Greek forms. This is especially true of terms which designate Roman objects or ideas for which no suitable expression existed in Greek. They are found, as we should expect, chiefly in the Gospels and the Acts; for the narrative there brings us into contact with Roman life more than in the other books of the N. T. They are such as the following: κεντυρίων, κολωνία, κουστωδία, κοδράντης, κῆνσος, λεγεών, λέντιον, λιβερτῖνος, μίλιον, μάκελλον, μόδιος, σουδάριον, σιμικίνθιον, σπεκουλάτωρ, τίτλος, πραιτώριον, φραγέλλιον, ῥάβδη, ξέστης, and others.

Latin terminations of adjectives occur instead of the proper Greek endings, as Ἡρωδιανός (Matt. xxii. 16; Mark iii. 6) and Χριστιανός (Acts xi. 26), instead of forms like Ἰταλικός (Acts x. 1), Ναζωραῖος (Acts ii. 22). Latin proper names are numerous, borne not only by Romans, but Greeks and Jews. The lexical effect of the Latin is very limited. The law-phrase, λαβόντες τὸ ἱκανόν, "having taken bail or surety," Acts xvii. 9, probably stands for "satis accipere." In Mark v. 23 ἐσχάτως ἔχειν and in xv. 15 τῷ ὄχλῳ τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῆσαι correspond to "populo satisfacere" and "in extremis esse." Similar phrases are συμβούλιον λαβεῖν, (Matt. xii. 14, &c.), δοῦναι ἐργασίαν (Luke xii. 38), ἔχε με παρῃτημένον (Luke xiv. 18).

It will be found that the Latinisms are relatively more frequent in Mark than in the other Evangelists. Hence those who maintain that Mark wrote his Gospel at Rome and for Roman readers find in that peculiarity an indication of this origin and destination of his Gospel. The presence of this Latin element in the N. T. Greek is a proof of some value that our Christian books belong to the age to which we are accustomed to refer them.

The fuller treatises on this subject are those of Jo. Erh. Kapp, *De N. T. Latinismis merito ac falso suspectis* (Lips. 1726), and C. S. Georgi, *De Latinismis N. T.* (Witteb. 1733). For briefer notices see Credner's *Einleitung in das N. T.* p. 104; De Wette's *Einleitung in das N. T.* p. 7; Schirlitz, *Grundzüge d. Neutest. Gräcität*, pp. 14, 27 f.; Tregelles in Horne's *Introd.*, 10th ed., iv. 14 f.; and Westcott's *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, p. 369 (Amer. ed.). H.

* **LATIN VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE.** [VULGATE.]

LATTICE. The rendering in A. V. of three Hebrew words.

1. אֶשְׁנָב, *eshnâb*, which occurs but twice, Judg. v. 28, and Prov. vii. 6, and in the latter passage is translated "casement" in the A. V. In both instances it stands in parallelism with "window." Gesenius, following Schultens, connects it with an Arab root, which signifies "to be cool," esp. of the day, and thus attaches to *eshnâb* the signification of a "latticed window," through which the cool breezes enter the house, such as is seen in the illustrations to the article HOUSE (vol. ii. p. 1103 f.). But Fuerst and Meier attach to the root the idea of twisting, twining, and in this case the word will be synonymous with the two following, which are rendered by the same English term, "lattice," in the A. V. The LXX. in Judg. v. 28 render *eshnâb* by τοξικόν, which is explained by Jerome (*ad Ex.* xl. 16) to mean a small arrow-shaped aperture, narrow on the outside, but widening inwards, by which light is admitted. Others conjecture that it denoted a narrow window, like those in the castles of the Middle Ages, from which the archers could discharge their arrows in safety. It would then correspond with the "shot-window" of Chaucer ("Miller's Tale"), according to the interpretation which some give to that obscure phrase.

2. חַרַכִּים, *khărackîm* (Cant. ii. 9), is apparently synonymous with the preceding, though a word of later date. The Targum gives it, in the Chaldee form, as the equivalent of *eshnâb* in Prov. vii. 6. Fuerst (*Conc.* s. v.) and Michaelis before him assign to the root the same notion of twisting or weaving, so that *khărackîm* denotes a network or jalousie before a window.

3. שְׂבָכָה, *sebâcâh*, is simply "a network" placed before a window or balcony. Perhaps the network through which Ahaziah fell and received his mortal injury was on the parapet of his palace (2 K. i. 2). [HOUSE, vol. ii. pp. 1105 *b*, 1106 *a*.] The root involves the same idea of weaving or twisting as in the case of the two preceding words. *Sebâcâh* is used for "a net" in Job xviii. 8, as well as for the network ornaments on the capitals of the columns in the Temple. [WINDOW.]

W. A. W.

LAVER.[a] 1. In the Tabernacle, a vessel of brass containing water for the priests to wash their hands and feet before offering sacrifice. It stood in the court between the altar and the door of the Tabernacle, and, according to Jewish tradition, a little to the south (Ex. xxx. 19, 21; Reland, *Ant Hebr.* pt. i. ch. iv. 9; Clemens, *de Labro Æneo*, iii. 9; ap. Ugolini, *Thes.* vol. xix.). It rested on a basis,[b] i. e. a foot, though by some explained to be a cover (Clemens, *ibid.* ch. iii. 5), of copper or brass, which, as well as the laver itself, was made from the mirrors[c] of the women who assembled[d] at the door of the Tabernacle-court (Ex. xxxviii. 8). The notion held by some Jewish writers, and reproduced by Franzius, Bähr (*Symb.* i. 484), and others, founded on the omission of the word "women," that the brazen vessel, being polished, served as a mirror to the Levites, is untenable.[e]

The form of the laver is not specified, but may be assumed to have been circular. Like the other vessels belonging to the Tabernacle, it was, together

[a] כִּיּוֹר and כִּיֹּר, from כּוּר, "to boil. Gen. 671: λουτήρ: *labrum*.

[b] יָסוֹד, βάσις, *basis*, and so also A. V.

[c] מַרְאֹת, κάτοπτρα, *specula*.

[d] LXX. τῶν νηστευσασῶν.

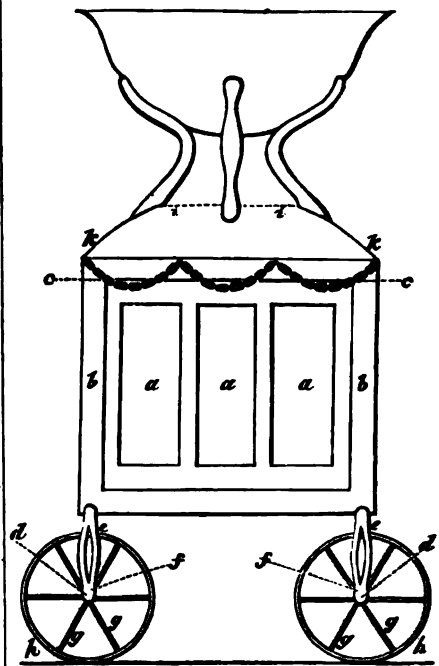
[e] See the parallel passage, 1 Sam. ii. 22, where נָשִׁים, γυναικῶν, is inserted; Gesenius on the prep. בְּ, p. 172; Keil, *Bibl. Arch.* pt. i. c. 1. § 19; Glassius, *Phil. Sacr.* i. p. 580, ed. Dathe; Lightfoot, *Decor Templ.* ch. 37, 1; Jennings, *Jew. Antiq.* p. 202 Knobel, *Kurzg. exeg. Handb.* Exod. xxxviii.; Philo *Vit. Mos.* iii. 15, ii. 156, ed Mangey

with its "foot," consecrated with oil (Lev. viii. 10, 11). No mention is found in the Hebrew text of the mode of transporting it, but in Num. iv. 14 a passage is added in the LXX., agreeing with the Samaritan Pent. and the Samaritan version, which prescribes the method of packing it, namely, in a purple cloth, protected by a skin covering. As no mention is made of any vessel for washing the flesh of the sacrificial victims, it is possible that the laver may have been used for this purpose also (Reland, *Ant. Hebr.* i. iv. 9).

2. In Solomon's Temple, besides the great molten sea, there were ten lavers [a] of brass, raised on bases [b] (1 K. vii. 27, 39), five on the N. and S. sides respectively of the court of the priests. Each laver contained 40 of the measures called "bath" (χόας, LXX. and Josephus). They were used for washing the animals to be offered in burnt-offerings (2 Chr. iv. 6; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 3, § 6). The bases were mutilated by Ahaz, and carried away as plunder, or at least what remained of them, by Nebuzar-adan, after the capture of Jerusalem (2 K. xvi. 17, xxv. 13). No mention is made in Scripture of the existence of the lavers in the second Temple, nor by Josephus in his account of Herod's restoration (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 5). [MOLTEN SEA.]

The dimensions of the bases with the lavers, as given in the Hebrew text, are 4 cubits in length and breadth, and 3 in height. The LXX. gives 4+4+6 in height. Josephus, who appears to have followed a var. reading of the LXX., makes them 5 in length, 4 in width, and 6 in height (1 K. vii. 28; Thenius, *ad loc.*; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 3, § 3). There were to each 4 wheels of 1½ cubit in diameter, with spokes, etc., all cast in one piece. The principal parts requiring explanation may be thus enumerated: (*a.*) "Borders," [c] probably panels. Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 938) supposes these to have been ornaments like square shields with engraved work. (*b.*) "Ledges," [d] joints in corners of bases or fillets covering joints. [e] (*c.*) "Additions," [f] probably festoons; Lightfoot translates "margines oblique descendentes." (*d.*) Plates, [g] probably axles, cast in the same piece as the wheels. (*e.*) Undersetters, [h] either the naves of the wheels, or a sort of handles for moving the whole machine; Lightfoot renders "columnæ fulcientes lavacrum." (*f.*) Naves. [i] (*g.*) Spokes. [k] (*h.*) Felloes. [l] (*i.*) Chapiter, [m] perhaps the rim of the circular opening ("mouth," ver. 31) in the convex top. (*k.*) A round compass, [n] perhaps the convex roof of the base. To these parts Josephus adds chains, which may probably be the festoons above mentioned (*Ant.* viii. 3, § 6).

Thenius, with whom Keil in the main agrees, both of them differing from Ewald, in a minute examination of the whole passage, but not without some transposition, chiefly of the greater part of ver. 31 to ver. 35, deduces a construction of the bases and lavers, which seems fairly to reconcile the very great difficulties of the subject. Following chiefly his description, we may suppose the base to have been a quadrangular hollow frame, connected at its corners by pilasters (ledges), and moved by 4 wheels or high castors, one at each corner, with handles (plates) for drawing the machine. The sides of this frame were divided into 3 vertical panels or compartments (borders), ornamented with bas-reliefs of lions, oxen, and cherubim. The top of the base was convex, with a circular opening



Conjectural Diagram of the Laver. (After Thenius.)

a, borders; *b*, ledges; *c*, additions; *d*, plates; *e*, undersetters; *f*, naves; *g*, spokes; *h*, felloes; *i*, chapiter; *k*, round compass.

[a] כִּיּוֹר.

[b] מְכֹנוֹת, pl. of מְכֹנָה or מְכוֹנָה, from כּוּן, "stand upright." Ges. pp. 665, 670: μεχωνώθ: *bases*

[c] מְסִגְרוֹת: συγκλείσματα: *sculpturæ*.

[d] שְׁלַבִּים, ἐξεχόμενα, *junctura*, from שָׁלַב, "cut in notches," Ges. p. 1411.

[e] Josephus says: κιονίσκοι τετράγωνοι, τὰ πλευρὰ τῆς βάσεως ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες ἐξηρμοσμένα.

[f] לְיוֹת, from לָוָה, "twine," Ges. p. 746: χῶραι: *loræ*; whence Thenius suggests לְאֹרוֹת or לְאֹרָה as the true reading.

[g] סְרָנִים, προέχοντα, *axes*, Ges. 972; Lightfoot *massæ areæ tetragonæ*.

[h] תַּחְתֹּות, ὑφίεις, *humeruli*, Ges. 724.

[i] חִשֻּׁקִים, *modioli*; and

[k] חִשֻּׁקִים, *radii*; the two words combined in LXX. ἡ πραγματεία, Ges. p. 536; Schleusner, *Lex V. T.*, πραγμ.

[l] גַּבִּים, νῶτοι, *canthi*, Ges. p. 258.

[m] כֹּתֶרֶת, κεφαλίς, *summitas*, Ges. p. 726.

[n] גֻּלָּל סָבִיב, Ges. 985, 989: στρόγγυλον σῶμα *rotunditas*.

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of 1½ cubit diameter. The top itself was covered with engraved cherubim, lions, and palm-trees or branches. The height of the convex top from the upper plane of the base was ½ cubit, and the space between this top and the lower surface of the laver ½ cubit more. The laver rested on supports (undersetters) rising from the 4 corners of the base. Each laver contained 40 "baths," or about 300 gallons. Its dimensions therefore, to be in proportion to 7 feet (4 cubits, ver. 38) in diameter, must have been about 30 inches in depth. The great height of the whole machine was doubtless in order to bring it near the height of the altar (2 Chr. iv. 1; Arias Montanus, *de Templi Fabrica, Crit. Sacr.* vii. 626; Lightfoot, *Descr. Templi*, ch. xxxvii. 3, vol. i. p. 646; Thenius, in *Kurzg. exeg. Handb.* on 1 K. vii., and App. p. 41; Ewald, *Geschichte*, iii. 313; Keil, *Handb. der Bibl. Arch.* § 24, pp. 128, 129; Winer, s. v. *Handfass*). H. W. P.

LAW (תּוֹרָה: Νόμος). The word is properly used, in Scripture as elsewhere, to express a definite commandment laid down by any recognised authority. The commandment may be general, or (as in Lev. vi. 9, 14, &c., "the law of the burnt-offering," etc.) particular in its bearing; the authority either human or divine. But when the word is used with the article, and without any words of limitation, it refers to the expressed will of God, and, in nine cases out of ten, to the Mosaic Law, or to the Pentateuch, of which it forms the chief portion.

The Hebrew word (derived from the root יָרָה, "to point out," and so "to direct and lead") lays more stress on its moral authority, as teaching the truth, and guiding in the right way; the Greek Νόμος (from νέμω, "to assign or appoint"), on its constraining power, as imposed and enforced by a recognized authority. But in either case it is a commandment proceeding from without, and distinguished from the free action of its subjects, although not necessarily opposed thereto.

The sense of the word, however, extends its scope, and assumes a more abstract character in the writings of St. Paul. Νόμος, when used by him with the article, still refers in general to the Law of Moses; but when used without the article, so as to embrace any manifestation of "Law," it includes all powers which act on the will of man by compulsion, or by the pressure of external motives, whether their commands be or be not expressed in definite forms. This is seen in the constant opposition of ἔργα νόμου ("works done under the constraint of law") to faith, or "works of faith," that is, works done freely by the internal influence of faith. A still more remarkable use of the word is found in Rom. vii. 23, where the power of evil over the will, arising from the corruption of man, is spoken of as a "law of sin," that is, an unnatural tyranny proceeding from an evil power without.

The occasional use of the word "law" (as in Rom. iii. 27, "law of faith;" in vii. 23, "law of my mind," τοῦ νοός; in viii. 2, "law of the spirit of life;" and in Jam. i. 25, ii. 12, "a perfect law, the law of liberty") to denote an *internal* principle of action does not really militate against the general rule. For in each case it will be seen, that such principle is spoken of in contrast with some formal law, and the word "law" is consequently applied to it "improperly," in order to mark this opposition, the qualifying words which follow guarding against any danger of misapprehension of its real character.

It should also be noticed that the title "the Law" is occasionally used loosely to refer to the whole of the Old Testament (as in John x. 34, referring to Ps. lxxxii. 6; in John xv. 25, referring to Ps. xxxv. 19; and in 1 Cor. xiv. 21, referring to Is. xxviii. 11, 12). This usage is probably due, not only to desire of brevity and to the natural prominence of the Pentateuch, but also to the predominance in the older Covenant (when considered separately from the New, for which it was the preparation) of an external and legal character. A. B.

LAW OF MOSES. It will be the object of this article, not to enter into the history of the giving of the Law (for which see MOSES, THE EXODUS, etc.), nor to examine the authorship of the books in which it is contained (for which see PENTATEUCH, EXODUS, *etc.*), nor to dwell on particular ordinances, which are treated of under their respective heads; but to give a brief analysis of its substance, to point out its main principles, and to explain the position which it occupies in the progress of Divine Revelation. In order to do this the more clearly, it seems best to speak of the Law, 1st, in relation to the past; 2dly, in its own intrinsic character; and, 3dly, in its relation to the future.

(I.) (*a.*) In reference to the past, it is all-important, for the proper understanding of the Law, to remember its *entire dependence on the Abrahamic Covenant*, and its adaptation thereto (see Gal. iii. 17–24). That covenant had a twofold character. It contained the "spiritual promise" of the Messiah, which was given to the Jews as representatives of the whole human race, and as guardians of a treasure in which "all families of the earth should be blessed." This would prepare the Jewish nation to be the centre of the unity of all mankind. But it contained also the temporal promises subsidiary to the former, and needed in order to preserve intact the nation, through which the race of man should be educated and prepared for the coming of the redeemer. These promises were special, given distinctively to the Jews as a nation, and, so far as they were considered in themselves, calculated to separate them from other nations of the earth. It follows that there should be in the Law a corresponding duality of nature. There would be much in it of the latter character, much (that is) peculiar to the Jews, local, special, and transitory; but the fundamental principles on which it was based must be universal, because expressing the will of an unchanging God, and springing from relations to Him, inherent in human nature, and therefore perpetual and universal in their application.

(*b.*) The nature of this *relation of the Law to the promise* is clearly pointed out. The belief in God as the Redeemer of man, and the hope of his manifestation as such in the person of the Messiah, involved the belief that the Spiritual Power must be superior to all carnal obstructions, and that there was in man a spiritual element which could rule his life by communion with a Spirit from above. But it involved also the idea of an antagonistic Power of Evil, from which man was to be redeemed, existing in each individual, and existing also in the world at large. The promise was the witness of the one truth, the Law was the declara-

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tion of the other. It was "added because of transgressions." In the individual, it stood between his better and his worser self; in the world, between the Jewish nation, as the witness of the spiritual promise, and the heathendom, which groaned under the power of the flesh. It was intended, by the gift of guidance and the pressure of motives, to strengthen the weakness of good, while it curbed directly the power of evil. It followed inevitably, that, in the individual, it assumed somewhat of a coercive, and, as between Israel and the world, somewhat of an antagonistic and isolating character; and hence that, viewed without reference to the promise (as it was viewed by the later Jews), it might actually become a hindrance to the true revelation of God, and to the mission for which the nation had been made a "chosen people."

(*c.*) Nor is it less essential to remark the *period of the history* at which it was given. It marked and determined the transition of Israel from the condition of a tribe to that of a nation, and its definite assumption of a distinct position and office in the history of the world. It is on no unreal metaphor that we base the well-known analogy between the stages of individual life and those of national or universal existence. In Israel the patriarchal time was that of childhood, ruled chiefly through the affections and the power of natural relationship, with rules few, simple, and unsystematic. The national period was that of youth, in which this indirect teaching and influence gives place to definite assertions of right and responsibility, and to a system of distinct commandments, needed to control its vigorous and impulsive action. The fifty days of their wandering alone with God in the silence of the wilderness represent that awakening to the difficulty, the responsibility, and the nobleness of life, which marks the "putting away of childish things." The Law is the sign and the seal of such an awakening.

(*d.*) Yet, though new in its general conception, it was probably *not wholly new in its materials.* Neither in his material nor his spiritual providence does God proceed *per saltum.* There must necessarily have been, before the Law, commandments and revelations of a fragmentary character, under which Israel had hitherto grown up. Indications of such are easily found, both of a ceremonial and moral nature; as, for example, in the penalties against murder, adultery, and fornication (Gen. ix. 6, xxxviii. 24), in the existence of the Levirate law (Gen. xxxviii. 8), in the distinction of clean and unclean animals (Gen. viii. 20), and probably in the observance of the Sabbath (Ex. xvi. 23, 27–29). But, even without such indications, our knowledge of the existence of Israel as a distinct community in Egypt would necessitate the conclusion, that it must have been guided by some laws of its own, growing out of the old patriarchal customs, which would be preserved with oriental tenacity, and gradually becoming methodized by the progress of circumstances. Nor would it be possible for the Israelites to be in contact with an elaborate system of ritual and law, such as that which existed in Egypt, without being influenced by its general principles, and, in less degree, by its minuter details. As they approached nearer to the condition of a nation they would be more and more likely to modify their patriarchal customs by the adoption from Egypt of laws which were fitted for national existence. This being so, it is hardly conceivable that the Mosaic legislation should have embodied none of these earlier materials. It is clear, even to human wisdom, that the only constitution, which can be efficient and permanent, is one which has grown up slowly, and so been assimilated to the character of a people. It is the peculiar mark of legislative genius to mould by fundamental principles, and animate by a higher inspiration, materials previously existing in a cruder state. The necessity for this lies in the nature, not of the legislator, but of the subjects; and the argument therefore is but strengthened by the acknowledgment in the case of Moses of a divine and special inspiration. So far therefore as they were consistent with the objects of the Jewish law, the customs of Palestine and the laws of Egypt would doubtless be traceable in the Mosaic system.

(*e.*) In close connection with and almost in consequence of this reference to antiquity we find an *accommodation of the Law* to the temper and circumstances of the Israelites, to which our Lord refers in the case of divorce (Matt. xix. 7, 8) as necessarily interfering with its absolute perfection. In many cases it rather should be said to guide and modify existing usages than actually to sanction them; and the ignorance of their existence may lead to a conception of its ordinances not only erroneous, but actually the reverse of the truth. Thus the punishment of filial disobedience appears severe (Deut. xxi. 18–21); yet when we refer to the extent of parental authority in a patriarchal system, or (as at Rome) in the earlier periods of national existence, it appears more like a limitation of absolute parental authority by an appeal to the judgment of the community. The Levirate Law again appears (see Mich. *Mos. Recht*, bk. iii. ch. 6, art. 98) to have existed in a far more general form in the early Asiatic peoples, and to have been rather limited than favored by Moses. The law of the Avenger of Blood is a similar instance of merciful limitation and distinction in the exercise of an immemorial usage, probably not without its value and meaning, and certainly too deep-seated to admit of any but gradual extinction. Nor is it less noticeable that the degree of prominence, given to each part of the Mosaic system, has a similar reference to the period at which the nation had arrived. The ceremonial portion is marked out distinctly and with elaboration; the moral and criminal law is clearly and sternly decisive; even the civil law, so far as it relates to individuals, is systematic: because all these were called for by the past growth of the nation, and needed in order to settle and develope its resources. But the political and constitutional law is comparatively imperfect; a few leading principles are laid down, to be developed hereafter; but the law is directed rather to sanction the various powers of the state, than to define and balance their operations. Thus the existing authorities of a patriarchal nature in each tribe and family are recognized; while side by side with them is established the priestly and Levitical power, which was to supersede them entirely in sacerdotal, and partly also in judicial functions. The supreme civil power of a "judge," or (hereafter) a king, is recognised distinctly, although only in general terms, indicating a sovereign and summary jurisdiction (Deut. xvii. 14–20); and the prophetic office, in its political as well as its moral aspect, is spoken of still more vaguely as future (Deut. xviii. 15–22). These powers, being recognized, are left, within due limits, to work out the

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political system of Israel, and to ascertain by experience their proper spheres of exercise. On a careful understanding of this adaptation of the Law to the national growth and character of the Jews (and of a somewhat similar adaptation to their climate and physical circumstances) depends the correct appreciation of its nature, and the power of distinguishing in it what is local and temporary from that which is universal.

(*f*.) In close connection with this subject we observe also *the gradual process by which the Law was revealed* to the Israelites. In Ex. xx.–xxiii., in direct connection with the revelation from Mount Sinai, that which may be called the rough outline of the Mosaic Law is given by God, solemnly recorded by Moses, and accepted by the people. In Ex. xxv.–xxxi. there is a similar outline of the Mosaic ceremonial. On the basis of these it may be conceived that the fabric of the Mosaic system gradually grew up under the requirements of the time. In certain cases indeed (as *e. g.* in Lev. x. 1, 2, compared with 8–11; Lev. xxiv. 11–16: Num. ix. 6–12; xv. 32–41; xxvii. 1–11 compared with xxxvi. 1–12) we actually see how general rules, civil, criminal, and ceremonial, originated in special circumstances; and the unconnected nature of the records of laws in the earlier books suggests the idea that this method of legislation extended to many other cases.

The first revelation of the Law in anything like a perfect form is found in the book of Deuteronomy, at a period when the people, educated to freedom and national responsibility, were prepared to receive it, and carry it with them to the land which was now prepared for them. It is distinguished by its systematic character and its reference to first principles; for probably even by Moses himself, certainly by the people, the Law had not before this been recognized in all its essential characteristics; and to it we naturally refer in attempting to analyze its various parts. [DEUTERONOMY.] Yet even then the revelation was not final; it was the duty of the prophets to amend and explain it in special points (as in the well-known example in Ex. xviii.), and to bring out more clearly its great principles, as distinguished from the external rules in which they were embodied; for in this way, as in others, they prepared the way of Him, who "came to fulfill" (πληρῶσαι) the Law of old time.

The relation, then, of the Law to the Covenant, its accommodation to the time and circumstances of its promulgation, its adaptation of old materials, and its gradual development, are the chief points to be noticed under the first head.

(II.) In examining the nature of the Law in itself, it is customary to divide it into the Moral, Political, and Ceremonial. But this division, although valuable, if considered as a distinction merely subjective (as enabling us, that is, to conceive the objects of Law, dealing as it does with man in his social, political, and religious capacity), is wholly imaginary, if regarded as an objective separation of various classes of Laws. Any single ordinance might have at once a moral, a ceremonial, and a political bearing; and in fact, although in particular cases one or other of these aspects predominated, yet the whole principle of the Mosaic institutions is to obliterate any such supposed separation of laws, and refer all to first principles, depending on the Will of God and the nature of man.

In giving an analysis of the substance of the Law it will probably be better to treat it, as any other system of laws is usually treated, by dividing it into — (1) Laws Civil; (2) Laws Criminal; (3) Laws Judicial and Constitutional; (4) Laws Ecclesiastical and Ceremonial.

(I.) LAWS CIVIL.

(A.) OF PERSONS.

(*a*.) FATHER AND SON.

The power of a Father to be held sacred, cursing, or smiting (Ex. xxi. 15, 17; Lev. xx. 9), or stubborn and willful disobedience to be considered capital crimes. But uncontrolled power of life and death was apparently refused to the father, and vested only in the congregation (Deut. xxi. 18–21).

Right of the first-born to a double portion of the inheritance not to be set aside by partiality (Deut. xxi. 15–17).[a]

Inheritance by Daughters to be allowed in default of sons, provided (Num. xxvii. 6–8, comp. xxxvi.) that heiresses married in their own tribe.

Daughters unmarried to be entirely dependent on their father (Num. xxx. 3–5).

(*b*.) HUSBAND AND WIFE.

The power of a Husband to be so great that a wife could never be *sui juris*, or enter independently into any engagement, even before God (Num. xxx. 6–15). A widow or divorced wife became independent, and did not again fall under her father's power (ver. 9).

Divorce (for uncleanness) allowed, but to be formal and irrevocable (Deut. xxiv. 1–4).

Marriage within certain degrees forbidden (Lev. xviii. etc.).

A Slave Wife, whether bought or captive, not to be actual property, nor to be sold; if ill-treated, to be *ipso facto* free (Ex. xxi. 7–9; Deut. xxi. 10–14).

Slander against a wife's virginity to be punished by fine, and by deprival of power of divorce; on the other hand, ante-connubial uncleanness in her to be punished by death (Deut. xxii. 13–21).

The raising up of seed (Levirate law), a formal right to be claimed by the widow, under pain of infamy, with a view to preservation of families (Deut. xxv. 5–10).

(*c*.) MASTER AND SLAVE.

Power of Master so far limited, that death under actual chastisement was punishable (Ex. xxi. 20); and maiming was to give liberty *ipso facto* (vv. 26, 27).

The Hebrew Slave to be freed at the sabbatical year,[b] and provided with necessaries (his wife and children to go with him only if they came to his master with him), unless by his own formal act he consented to be a perpetual slave (Ex. xxi. 1–6; Deut. xv. 12–18). In any case (it would seem) to be freed at the jubilee (Lev. xxv. 10), with his

[a] For an example of the authority of the first-born, see 1 Sam. xx. 29 ("my brother, he hath commanded me to be there").

[b] The difficulty of enforcing this law is seen in Jer xxxiv. 8–16.

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children. If sold to a resident alien, to be always redeemable, at a price proportional to the distance of the jubilee (Lev. xxv. 47–54).

Foreign Slaves to be held and inherited as property for ever (Lev. xxv. 45, 46); and fugitive slaves from foreign nations not to be given up (Deut. xxiii. 15).

• The condition of servants under the Mosaic code is discussed at length in the article SLAVE. In the view of some of the ablest expounders of that code, both Jewish and Christian, the servant was not regarded as a chattel or as property in the intent of the law, but always as a person. "The Hebrew language has no word for stigmatizing by a degrading appellation one part of those who owe service, and distinguishing them from the rest as 'slaves,' but only one term for all who are under obligation to render service to others. For males, this is *Ebed*, 'servant,' 'man-servant,' properly 'laborer;' for females *Shifchah*, *Ama*, 'maid-servant,' 'maid.' The laws respecting servants protect in every regard their dignity and their feelings as men. They by no means surrendered these to the arbitrary will of the master, as in other ancient and modern states in which slavery and thraldom have prevailed." Saalschütz, *Das Mosaische Recht*, Kap. 101. Dr. Mielziner, of Copenhagen, in his *Sklaven bei den Hebr.*, defines *ebed* as "a common name for all who stood in a dependent or subordinate relation. It had not the degrading sense which we connect with the words *slave* or *bondman*; but it often had the mild significancy which we associate, in certain relations, with the word *servant*." Salvador, in his *Histoire des Institutions de Moïse*, treats of Hebrew servitude under the title of "Domesticity, or the condition of servants improperly called slaves." He does not find in the laws of Moses any trace of chattelism. While the Hebrew servant was released at the end of seven years, or sooner if the jubilee intervened, the foreign servant could be held for the whole jubilee lease, and if, at the death of the master, the term of service had not expired, the natural heirs of the master could enforce it until the jubilee; this, and not service in perpetuity, was the meaning of "for ever," in Lev. xxv. 45, 46. In this sense, also, as owing unfulfilled service, the servant was "money" to his master, but never a salable chattel. Man-stealing and man-selling were punished with death. Ewald has shown that in all the spiritual blessings of life the servant was on a par with the free man; and that important civil rights were secured to him as a protection against his master. *Die Alterthümer des Volkes Israel*, pp. 241–249. Cochin, *L'Abolition de l'Esclavage*. J. P. T.

(*d.*) STRANGERS.

They seem never to have been *sui juris*, or able to protect themselves, and accordingly protection and kindness towards them are enjoined as a sacred duty (Ex. xxii. 21; Lev. xix. 33, 34).

(B.) LAW OF THINGS.

(*a.*) LAWS OF LAND (AND PROPERTY).

(1.) *All Land to be the property of God alone*, and its holders to be deemed his tenants (Lev. xxv. 23).

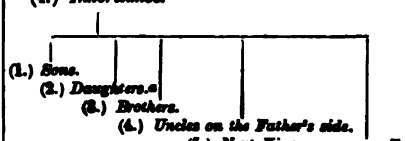
(2.) *All sold Land* therefore to *return to its original owners* at the jubilee, and the price of sale to be calculated accordingly; and redemption on equitable terms to be allowed at all times (xxv 25–27).

A House sold to be redeemable within a year and, if not redeemed, to pass away altogether (xxv 29, 30).

But the Houses of the Levites, or those in unwalled villages, to be redeemable at all times, in the same way as land; and the Levitical suburbs to be inalienable (xxv. 31–34).

(3.) *Land or Houses sanctified*, or tithes, or unclean firstlings to be capable of being redeemed, at $\frac{1}{5}$ value (calculated according to the distance from the jubilee-year by the priest); if devoted by the owner and unredeemed, to be hallowed at the jubilee for ever, and given to the priests; if only by a possessor, to return to the owner at the jubilee (Lev. xxvii. 14–34).

(4.) *Inheritance.*



(*b.*) LAWS OF DEBT.

(1.) *All Debts* (to an Israelite) to be released at the 7th (sabbatical) year; a blessing promised to obedience, and a curse on refusal to lend (Deut. xv. 1–11).

(2.) *Usury* (from Israelites) not to be taken (Ex. xxii. 25–27; Deut. xxiii. 19, 20).

(3.) *Pledges* not to be insolently or ruinously exacted (Deut. xxiv. 6, 10–13, 17, 18).

(*c.*) TAXATION.

(1.) *Census-money*, a poll-tax (of a half-shekel), to be paid for *the service of the tabernacle* (Ex. xxx. 12–16).

All spoil in war to be halved; of the combatant's half, $\frac{1}{500}$th, of the people's, $\frac{1}{50}$th, to be paid for a "heave-offering" to Jehovah.

(2.) *Tithes.*

(*a.*) *Tithes of all produce* to be given for maintenance of the Levites (Num. xviii. 20–24).

(Of this $\frac{1}{10}$th to be paid as a heave-offering (for maintenance of the priests) 24–32.)

(*β.*) *Second Tithe* to be bestowed in religious feasting and charity, either at the Holy Place, or every 3d year at home (?) (Deut. xiv. 22–28).

(*γ.*) *First-Fruits* of corn, wine, and oil (at least $\frac{1}{60}$th, generally $\frac{1}{40}$th, for the priests) to be offered at Jerusalem, with a solemn declaration of dependence on God the King of Israel (Deut. xxvi. 1–15; Num. xviii. 12, 13).

Firstlings of clean beasts; the redemption-money (5 shekels) of man, and ($\frac{1}{2}$ shekel, or 1 shekel) of unclean beasts, to be given to the priests after sacrifice (Num xviii. 15–18).

(3.) *Poor-Laws.*

(*a.*) *Gleanings* (in field or vineyard) to be legal right of the poor (Lev. xix. 9, 10 Deut. xxiv. 19–22).

a Heiresses to marry in their own tribe (Num xxvii. 6–8, xxxvi.).

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(β.) *Slight Trespass* (eating on the spot) to be allowed as legal (Deut. xxiii. 24, 25).

(γ.) *Second Tithe* (see 2 β) to be given in charity.

(δ.) *Wages to be paid day by day* (Deut. xxiv. 15).

(ε.) *Maintenance of Priests* (Num. xviii. 8–32).

(α.) *Tenth of Levites' Tithe.* (See 2 α.)

(β.) *The heave and wave-offerings* (breast and right shoulder of all peace-offerings).

(γ.) *The meat and sin-offerings* to be eaten solemnly, and only in the holy place.

(δ.) *First-Fruits* and redemption money. (See 2 γ.)

(ε.) *Price of all devoted things*, unless specially given for a sacred service. A man's service, or that of his household, to be redeemed at 50 shekels for man, 30 for woman, 20 for boy, and 10 for girl.

(II.) Laws Criminal.

(A.) Offenses against God (of the nature of treason).

1st Command. Acknowledgment of false gods (Ex. xxii. 20), as e. g. Moloch (Lev. xx. 1–5), and generally all *idolatry* (Deut. xiii., xvii. 2–5).

2d Command. *Witchcraft and false prophecy* (Ex. xxii. 18; Deut. xviii. 9–22; Lev. xix. 31).

3d Command. *Blasphemy* (Lev. xxiv. 15, 16).

4th Command. *Sabbath-breaking* (Num. xv. 32–36).

Punishment in all cases, death by stoning. Idolatrous cities to be utterly destroyed.

(B.) Offenses against Man.

5th Command. *Disobedience to* or cursing or smiting *of parents* (Ex. xxi. 15, 17; Lev. xx. 9; Deut. xxi. 18–21) to be punished by death by stoning, publicly adjudged and inflicted; so also of disobedience to the priests (as judges) or Supreme Judge. Comp. 1 K. xxi. 10–14 (Naboth); 2 Chr. xxiv. 21 (Zechariah).

6th Command. (1.) *Murder* to be punished by death without sanctuary or reprieve, or satisfaction (Ex. xxi. 12, 14; Deut. xix. 11–13). Death of a slave actually under the rod, to be punished (Ex. xxi. 20, 21).

(2.) *Death by negligence* to be punished by death (Ex. xxi. 28–30).

(3.) *Accidental Homicide*; the avenger of blood to be escaped by flight to the cities of refuge till the death of the high-priest (Num. xxxv. 9–28; Deut. iv. 41–43, xix. 4–10).

(4.) *Uncertain Murder* to be expiated by formal disavowal and sacrifice by the elders of the nearest city (Deut. xxi. 1–9).

(5.) *Assault* to be punished by *lex talionis*, or damages (Ex. xxi. 18, 19, 22–25; Lev. xxiv. 19, 20).

7th Command. (1.) *Adultery* to be punished by death of both offenders; the rape of a married or betrothed woman, by death of the offender (Deut. xxii. 13–27).

(2.) *Rape or Seduction* of an unbetrothed virgin, to be compensated by marriage, with dowry (50 shekels), and without power of divorce; or, if she be refused, by payment of full dowry (Ex. xxii. 16, 17; Deut. xxii. 28, 29).

(3.) *Unlawful Marriages* (incestuous, etc.) to be punished, some by death, some by childlessness (Lev. xx.).

8th Command. (1.) *Theft* to be punished by fourfold or double restitution; a nocturnal robber might be slain as an outlaw (Ex. xxii. 1–4).

(2.) *Trespass* and injury of things lent to be compensated (Ex. xxii. 5–15).

(3.) *Perversion of Justice* (by bribes, threats, etc.), and especially oppression of strangers, strictly forbidden (Ex. xxiii. 9, &c.).

(4.) *Kidnapping* to be punished by death (Deut. xxiv. 7).

9th Command. *False Witness* to be punished by *lex talionis* (Ex. xxiii. 1–3; Deut. xix. 16–21).

Slander of a wife's chastity, by fine and loss of power of divorce (Deut. xxii. 18, 19).

A fuller consideration of the tables of the Ten Commandments is given elsewhere. [Ten Commandments.]

(III.) Laws Judicial and Constitutional.

(A.) Jurisdiction.

(a.) *Local Judges* (generally Levites, as more skilled in the Law) appointed, for ordinary matters, probably by the people with approbation of the supreme authority (as of Moses in the wilderness, Ex. xviii. 25; Deut. i. 15–18), through all the land (Deut. xvi. 18).

(b.) *Appeal to the Priests* (at the holy place), or to *the judge*; their sentence final, and to be accepted under pain of death. See Deut. xvii. 8–13 (comp. appeal to Moses, Ex. xviii. 26).

(c.) *Two witnesses* (at least) required in capital matters (Num. xxxv. 30; Deut. xvii. 6, 7).

(d.) *Punishment* (except by special command) to be personal, and not to extend to the family (Deut. xxiv. 16).

Stripes allowed and limited (Deut. xxv. 1–3), so as to avoid outrage on the human frame.

All this would be to a great extent set aside —

1st. By the summary jurisdiction of the king, see 1 Sam. xxii. 11–19 (Saul); 2 Sam. xii. 1–5, xiv. 4–11; 1 K. iii. 16–28; which extended even to the deposition of the high-priest (1 Sam. xxii. 17, 18; 1 K. ii. 26, 27).

The practical difficulty of its being carried out is seen in 2 Sam. xv. 2–6, and would lead of course to a certain delegation of his power.

2d. By the appointment of the Seventy (Num. xi. 24–30) with a solemn religious sanction. In later times there was a local Sanhedrim of 23 in each city, and two such in Jerusalem, as well as the Great Sanhedrim, consisting of 70 members, besides the president, who was to be the high-priest if duly qualified, and controlling even the king and high-priest. The members were priests, scribes (Levites), and elders (of other tribes). A court of exactly this nature is noticed, as appointed to supreme power by Jehoshaphat. (See 2 Chr. xix. 8–11.)

(B.) Royal Power.

The King's Power limited by the Law, as written and formally accepted by the king: and directly forbidden to be despotic[a] (Deut. xvii. 14–20; comp. 1 Sam. x. 25). Yet he had power of taxation (to $\frac{1}{10}$th); and of compulsory service (1 Sam. viii. 10–18); the declaration of war (1 Sam. xi.),

[a] Military conquest discouraged by the prohibition of the use of horses. (See Josh. xi. 6.) For an example of obedience to this law, see 2 Sam viii. 4, and of disobedience to it in 1 K. x. 26–29.

etc. There are distinct traces of a "mutual contract" (2 Sam. v. 3 (David); a "league" (Josh), 2 K. xi. 17); the remonstrance with Rehoboam being clearly not extraordinary (1 K. xii. 1–6).

The Princes of the Congregation. The heads of the tribes (see Josh. ix. 15) seem to have had authority under Joshua to act for the people (comp. 1 Chr. xxvii. 16–22); and in the later times "the princes of Judah" seem to have had power to control both the king and the priests (see Jer. xxvi. 10-24, xxxviii. 4, 5, &c.).

(C.) ROYAL REVENUE. (See Mich. b. ii. c. 7, art. 59.)

(1.) *Tenth of produce.*

(2.) *Domain land* (1 Chr. xxvii. 26–29). Note confiscation of criminal's land (1 K. xxi. 15).

(3.) *Bond service* (1 K. v. 17, 18) chiefly on foreigners (1 K. ix. 20–22; 2 Chr. ii. 16, 17).

(4.) *Flocks and herds* (1 Chr. xxvii. 29–31).

(5.) *Tributes* (gifts) from foreign kings.

(6.) *Commerce;* especially in Solomon's time (1 K. x. 22, 29, &c.).

(IV.) ECCLESIASTICAL AND CEREMONIAL LAW.

(A.) LAW OF SACRIFICE (considered as the sign and the appointed means of the union with God, on which the holiness of the people depended).

(1.) ORDINARY SACRIFICES.

(α.) *The whole Burnt-Offering* (Lev. i.) of the herd or the flock; to be offered continually (Ex. xxix. 38–42); and the fire on the altar never to be extinguished (Lev. vi. 8–13).

(β.) *The Meat-Offering* (Lev. ii., vi. 14–23) of flour, oil, and frankincense, unleavened, and seasoned with salt.

(γ.) *The Peace-Offering* (Lev. iii., vii. 11–21) of the herd or the flock; either a thank-offering, or a vow, or freewill offering.

(δ.) *The Sin-Offering*, or *Trespass-Offering* (Lev. iv., v., vi.).

(a.) For sins committed in ignorance (Lev. iv.).

(b.) For vows unwittingly made and broken, or uncleanness unwittingly contracted (Lev. v.).

(c.) For sins wittingly committed (Lev. vi. 1–7).

(2.) EXTRAORDINARY SACRIFICES.

(α.) *At the Consecration of Priests* (Lev. viii., ix.).

(β.) *At the Purification of Women* (Lev. xii.).

(γ.) *At the Cleansing of Lepers* (Lev. xiii., xiv.).

(δ.) *On the Great Day of Atonement* (Lev. xvi.).

(ε.) *On the Great Festivals* (Lev. xxiii.).

(B.) LAW OF HOLINESS (arising from the union with God through sacrifice).

(1.) HOLINESS OF PERSONS.

(α.) *Holiness of the whole people* as "children of God" (Ex. xix. 5, 6; Lev. xi.–xv., xvii., xviii.; Deut. xiv. 1–21) shown in

(a.) The Dedication of the first-born (Ex. xiii. 2, 12, 13, xxii. 29, 30, &c.); and the offering of all firstlings and first-fruits (Deut. xxvi., etc.).

(b.) Distinction of clean and unclean food (Lev. xi.; Deut. xiv.).

(c.) Provision for purification (Lev. xii., xiii., xiv., xv.; Deut. xxiii. 1–14).

(d.) Laws against disfigurement (Lev xix. 27; Deut. xiv. 1; comp. Deut xxv. 3, against excessive scourging).

(e.) Laws against unnatural marriages and lusts (Lev. xviii., xx.).

(β.) *Holiness of the Priests (and Levites)*

(a.) Their consecration (Lev. viii., ix. Ex. xxix.).

(b.) Their special qualifications and restrictions (Lev. xxi., xxii. 1–9).

(c.) Their rights (Deut. xvii. 1–8; Num. xviii.) and authority (Deut. xvii. 8–13).

(2.) HOLINESS OF PLACES AND THINGS.

(α.) *The Tabernacle* with the ark, the veil, the altars, the laver, the priestly robes, etc. (Ex. xxv.–xxviii., xxx.).

(β.) *The Holy Place* chosen for the permanent erection of the tabernacle (Deut. xii., xiv. 22–29), where only all sacrifices were to be offered, and all tithes, first-fruits, vows, etc., to be given or eaten.

(3.) HOLINESS OF TIMES.

(α.) *The Sabbath* (Ex. xx. 9–11, xxiii. 12, etc.).

(β.) *The Sabbatical Year* (Ex. xxiii. 10, 11 Lev. xxv. 1–7, &c.).

(γ.) *The Year of Jubilee* (Lev. xxv. 8–16, &c.).

(δ.) *The Passover* (Ex. xii. 3–27; Lev. xxiii. 4–14).

(ε.) *The Feast of Weeks* (Pentecost) (Lev. xxiii. 15, &c.).

(ζ.) *The Feast of Tabernacles* (Lev. xxiii. 33–43).

(η.) *The Feast of Trumpets* (Lev. xxiii. 23–25).

(θ.) *The Day of Atonement* (Lev. xxiii. 26–32, &c.).

On this part of the subject, see FESTIVALS, PRIESTS, TABERNACLE, SACRIFICE, etc.

Such is the substance of the Mosaic Law; its details must be studied under their several heads; and their full comprehension requires a constant reference to the circumstances, physical and moral, of the nation, and a comparison with the corresponding ordinances of other ancient codes.

The leading principle of the whole is its THEOCRATIC CHARACTER, its reference (that is) of all action and thoughts of men *directly and immediately* to the will of God. All law, indeed, must ultimately make this reference. If it bases itself on the sacredness of human authority, it must finally trace that authority to God's appointment; if on the rights of the individual and the need of protecting them, it must consider these rights as inherent and sacred, because implanted by the hand of the Creator. But it is characteristic of the Mosaic Law, as also of all Biblical history and prophecy, that it passes over all the intermediate steps, and refers at once to God's commandment as the foundation of all human duty. The key to it is found in the ever-recurring formula, "Ye shall observe all these statutes: I am the LORD."

It follows from this, that it is to be regarded not merely as a law, that is, a rule of conduct

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based on known truth and acknowledged authority but also as a *Revelation of God's nature* and his dispensations. In this view of it, more particularly, lies its connection with the rest of the Old Testament. As a law, it is definite and (generally speaking) final; as a revelation, it is the beginning of the great system of prophecy, and indeed bears within itself the marks of gradual development, from the first simple declaration ("I am the Lord thy God") in Exodus to the full and solemn declaration of his nature and will in Deuteronomy. With this peculiar character of revelation stamped upon it, it naturally ascends from rule to principle, and regards all goodness in man as the shadow of the Divine attributes, "Ye shall be holy: for I the Lord your God am holy" (Lev. xix. 2, &c.; comp. Matt. v. 48).

But this theocratic character of the Law depends necessarily on the *belief in God*, as not only the Creator and Sustainer of the world, but as, by special covenant, *the head of the Jewish nation*. It is not indeed doubted that He is the king of all the earth, and that all earthly authority is derived from Him; but here again, in the case of the Israelites, the intermediate steps are all but ignored, and the people at once brought face to face with Him as their ruler. It is to be especially noticed, that God's claim (so to speak) on their allegiance is based not on his power or wisdom, but on his especial mercy in being their Saviour from Egyptian bondage. Because they were made free by Him, therefore they became his servants (comp. Rom. vi. 19–22); and the declaration, which stands at the opening of the law is "I am the Lord thy God, *which brought thee out of the land of Egypt*." (Comp. also the reason given for the observation of the Sabbath in Deut. v. 15; and the historical preface of the delivery of the second law (Deut. i.–iii.); of the renewal of the covenant by Joshua (Josh. xxiv. 1–13); and of the rebuke of Samuel at the establishment of the kingdom (1 Sam. xii. 6–15).

This immediate reference to God as their king is clearly seen as the groundwork of their whole polity. The foundation of the whole law of land, and of its remarkable provisions against alienation, lies in the declaration, "The land is mine, and ye are strangers and sojourners with me" (Lev. xxv. 23). As in ancient Rome, all land belonged properly to the state, and under the feudal system in mediæval Europe to the king; so in the Jewish law the true ownership lay in Jehovah alone. The very system of tithes embodied only a peculiar form of a tribute to their king, such as they were familiar with in Egypt (see Gen. xlvii. 23–26); and the offering of the first-fruits, with the remarkable declaration by which it was accompanied (see Deut. xxvi. 5–10), is a direct acknowledgment of God's immediate sovereignty. And, as the land, so also the persons of the Israelites are declared to be the absolute property of the Lord, by the dedication and ransom of the first-born (Ex. xiii. 2–13, &c.), by the payment of the half-shekel at the numbering of the people, "as a ransom for their souls to the Lord" (Ex. xxx. 11–16); and by the limitation of power over Hebrew slaves, as contrasted with the absolute mastership permitted over the heathen and the sojourner (Lev. xxv. 39–46).

From this theocratic nature of the law follow important deductions with regard to (*a*) the view which it takes of political society; (*b*) the extent of the scope of the law; (*c*) the penalties by which it is enforced; and (*d*) the character which it seeks to impress on the people.

(*a.*) *The basis of human society* is ordinarily sought, by law or philosophy, either in the rights of the individual, and the partial delegation of them to political authorities; or in the mutual needs of men, and the relations which spring from them; or in the actual existence of power of man over man, whether arising from natural relationship, or from benefits conferred, or from physical or intellectual ascendency. The maintenance of society is supposed to depend on a "social compact" between governors and subjects; a compact, true as an abstract idea, but untrue if supposed to have been a historical reality. The Mosaic Law seeks the basis of its polity, first, in the absolute sovereignty of God, next in the relationship of each individual to God, and through God to his countrymen. It is clear that such a doctrine, while it contradicts none of the common theories, yet lies beneath them all, and shows why each of them, being only a secondary deduction from an ultimate truth, cannot be in itself sufficient; and, if it claim to be the whole truth, will become an absurdity. It is the doctrine which is insisted upon and developed in the whole series of prophecy; and which is brought to its perfection only when applied to that universal and spiritual kingdom for which the Mosaic system was a preparation.

(*b.*) The Law, as proceeding directly from God, and referring directly to Him, is necessarily *absolute in its supremacy* and *unlimited in its scope*.

It is supreme over the governors, as being only the delegates of the Lord, and therefore it is incompatible with any despotic authority in them. This is seen in its limitation of the power of the master over the slave, in the restrictions laid on the priesthood, and the ordination of the "manner of the kingdom" (Deut. xvii. 14–20; comp. 1 Sam. x. 25). By its establishment of the hereditary priesthood side by side with the authority of the heads of tribes ("the princes"), and the subsequent sovereignty of the king, it provides a balance of powers, all of which are regarded as subordinate. The absolute sovereignty of Jehovah is asserted in the earlier times in the dictatorship of the judge; but much more clearly under the kingdom by the spiritual commission of the prophet. By his rebukes of priests, princes, and kings, for abuse of their power, he was not only defending religion and morality, but also maintaining the divinely-appointed constitution of Israel. On the other hand, it is supreme over the governed, recognising no inherent rights in the individual, as prevailing against, or limiting the law. It is therefore unlimited in its scope. There is in it no recognition, such as is familiar to us, that there is one class of actions directly subject to the coersive power of law, while other classes of actions and the whole realm of thought are to be indirectly guided by moral and spiritual influence. Nor is there any distinction of the temporal authority which wields the former power, from the spiritual authority to which belongs the other. In fact these distinctions would have been incompatible with the character and objects of the law. They depend partly on the want of insight and power in the lawgiver; they could have no place in a system traced directly to God: they depend also partly on the freedom which belongs to the manhood of our race; they could not therefore be appropriate to the more imperfect period of its youth.

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Thus the Law regulated the whole life of an Israelite. His house, his dress, and his food, his domestic arrangements and the distribution of his property, all were determined. In the laws of the release of debts, and the prohibition of usury, the dictates of self-interest and the natural course of commercial transactions are sternly checked. His actions were rewarded and punished with great minuteness and strictness; and that according to the standard, not of their consequences, but of their intrinsic morality; so that, for example, fornication and adultery were as severely visited as theft or murder. His religious worship was defined and enforced in an elaborate and unceasing ceremonial. In all things it is clear, that, if men submitted to it merely as a law, imposed under penalties by an irresistible authority, and did not regard it as a means to the knowledge and love of God, and a preparation for his redemption, it would well deserve from Israelites the description given of it by St. Peter (Acts xv. 10), as "a yoke which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear."

(*c.*) *The penalties and rewards* by which the Law is enforced are such as depend on the direct theocracy. With regard to individual actions, it may be noticed that, as generally some penalties are inflicted by the subordinate, and some only by the supreme authority, so among the Israelites some penalties came from the hand of man, some directly from the providence of God. So much is this the case, that it often seems doubtful whether the threat that a "soul shall be cut off from Israel" refers to outlawry and excommunication, or to such miraculous punishments as those of Nadab and Abihu, or Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. In dealing with the nation at large, Moses, regularly and as a matter of course, refers for punishments and rewards to the providence of God. This is seen, not only in the great blessing and curse which enforces the law as a whole, but also in special instances, as, for example, in the promise of unusual fertility to compensate for the sabbatical year, and of safety of the country from attack when left undefended at the three great festivals. Whether these were to come from natural causes, *i. e.* laws of his providence, which we can understand and foresee, or from causes supernatural, *i. e.* incomprehensible and inscrutable to us, is not in any case laid down, nor indeed does it affect this principle of the Law.

The bearing of this principle on the inquiry as to the *revelation of a future life in the Pentateuch* is easily seen. So far as the Law deals with the nation as a whole, it is obvious that its penalties and rewards could only refer to this life, in which alone the nation exists. So far as it relates to such individual acts as are generally cognizable by human law, and capable of temporal punishments, no one would expect that its divine origin should necessitate any reference to the world to come. But the sphere of moral and religious action and thought to which it extends is beyond the cognizance of human laws, and the scope of their ordinary penalties, and is therefore left by them to the retribution of God's inscrutable justice, which, being but imperfectly seen here, is contemplated especially as exercised in a future state. Hence arises the expectation of a direct revelation of this future state in the Mosaic Law. Such a revelation is certainly not given. Warburton (in his *Divine Legation of Moses*) even builds on its non-existence an argument for the supernatural power and commission of the law-giver, who could promise and threaten retribution from the providence of God in this life, and submit his predictions to the test of actual experience. The truth seems to be that, in a law which appeals directly to God himself for its authority and its sanction, there cannot be that broad line of demarcation between this life and the next, which is drawn for those whose power is limited by the grave. Our Lord has taught us (Matt. xxii. 31, 32) that in the very revelation of God as the "God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob," the promise of immortality and future retribution was implicitly contained. We may apply this declaration even more strongly to a law in which God was revealed as entering into covenant with Israel, and in them drawing mankind directly under his immediate government. His blessings and curses, by the very fact that they came from Him, would be felt to be unlimited by time; and the plain and immediate fulfillment, which they found in this life, would be accepted as an earnest of a deeper, though more mysterious completion in the world to come. But the time for the clear revelation of this truth was not yet come, and therefore, while the future life and its retribution is implied, yet the rewards and penalties of the present life are those which are plainly held out and practically dwelt upon.

* Moses was of course acquainted with the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments as held by the Egyptians. This embraced the following particulars. (1.) The continued existence of the soul after death. (2.) The immediate descent of every soul, at death, into Hades, or the under-world. (3.) The inspection of the soul in Hades by judges and tests, with a view to determine its moral character. (4.) The remanding of the wicked from Hades to a degraded form of existence in this world, as for instance, in the body of a pig. (5.) The progress of the justified, through various experiences, sometimes purgatorial, up to the Elysium of the gods. (6.) A final judgment and the condemnation of the incorrigibly wicked. (7.) The reunion of the justified soul with its mummified body. (See *Bibl. Sacra*, January 1868, p. 69.) According to Egyptian theology the future condition of the soul was determined by its conduct in the present life. The Israelites must have been familiar with the same principle; and the absence of an explicit statement of it in their Law may be accounted for by the fact that it belonged to the sphere of theology rather than of legislation, and was assumed throughout as the basis of the government of the spiritual, holy, and eternal Jehovah.

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(*d.*) But perhaps the most important consequence of the theocratic nature of the Law was the *peculiar character of goodness* which it sought to *impress on the people*. Goodness in its relation to man takes the forms of righteousness and love; in its independence of all relation, the form of purity, and in its relation to God, that of piety. Laws, which contemplate men chiefly in their mutual relations, endeavor to enforce or protect in them the first two qualities; the Mosaic Law, beginning with piety, as its first object, enforces most emphatically the purity essential to those who, by their union with God, have recovered the hope of intrinsic goodness, while it views righteousness and love rather as deductions from these than as independent objects. Not that it neglects these qualities: on the contrary it is full of precepts which show a high conception and tender care of our relative duties to

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mean;[a] but these can hardly be called its distinguishing features. It is most instructive to refer to the religious preface of the Law in Deut. vi.–xi. (especially to vi. 4–13), where all is based on the first great commandment, and to observe the subordinate and dependent character of "the second that is like unto it," — "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself; *I am the Lord*" (Lev. xix. 18). On the contrary, the care for the purity of the people stands out remarkably, not only in the enforcement of ceremonial "cleanness," and the multitude of precautions or remedies against any breach of it, but also in the severity of the laws against sensuality and self-pollution, a severity which distinguishes the Mosaic code before all others ancient and modern. In punishing these sins, as committed against a man's own self, without reference to their effect on others, and in recognizing purity as having a substantive value and glory, it sets up a standard of individual morality, such as, even in Greece and Rome, philosophy reserved for its most esoteric teaching.

Now in all this it is to be noticed that the appeal is not to any dignity of human nature, but to the obligations of communion with a Holy God. The subordination, therefore, of this idea also to the religious idea is enforced; and so long as the due supremacy of the latter was preserved, all other duties would find their places in proper harmony. But the usurpation of that supremacy in practice by the idea of personal and national sanctity was that which gave its peculiar color to the Jewish character. In that character there was intense religious devotion and self-sacrifice; there was a high standard of personal holiness, and connected with these an ardent feeling of nationality, based on a great idea, and, therefore, finding its vent in their proverbial spirit of proselytism. But there was also a spirit of contempt for all unbelievers, and a forgetfulness of the existence of any duties towards them, which gave even to their religion an antagonistic spirit, and degraded it in after-times to a ground of national self-glorification. It is to be traced to a natural, though not justifiable perversion of the law, by those who made it their all; and both in its strength and its weaknesses it has reappeared remarkably among those Christians who have dwelt on the O. T. to the neglect of the New.

It is evident that this characteristic of the Israelites would tend to preserve *the seclusion* which, under God's providence, was intended for them, and would in its turn be fostered by it. We may notice, in connection with this part of the subject, many subordinate provisions tending to the same direction. Such are the establishment of an agricultural basis of society and property, and the provision against its accumulation in a few hands; the discouragement of commerce by the strict laws as to usury, and of foreign conquest by the laws against the maintenance of horses and chariots; as well as the direct prohibition of intermarriage with idolaters, and the indirect prevention of all familiar intercourse with them by the laws as to meats — all these things tended to impress on the Israelitish polity a character of permanence, stability, and comparative isolation. Like the nature and position of the country to which it was in great measure adapted, it was intended to preserve in purity the witness borne by Israel for God in the darkness of heathenism, until the time should come for the gathering in of all nations to enjoy the blessing promised to Abraham.

III. In considering the relation of the Law to the future, it is important to be guided by the general principle laid down in Heb. vii. 19, "The Law made nothing perfect" (Οὐδὲν ἐτελείωσεν ὁ Νόμος). This principle will be applied in different degrees to its bearing (*a*) on the after history of the Jewish commonwealth before the coming of Christ; (*b*) on the coming of our Lord Himself; and (*c*) on the dispensation of the Gospel.

(*a.*) To that after-history the Law was, to a great extent, the key; for in ceremonial and criminal law it was complete and final; while, even in civil and constitutional law, it laid down clearly the general principles to be afterwards more fully developed. It was indeed often neglected, and even forgotten. Its fundamental assertion of the Theocracy was violated by the constant lapses into idolatry, and its provisions for the good of man overwhelmed by the natural course of human selfishness (Jer. xxxiv. 12–17); till at last, in the reign of Josiah, its very existence was unknown, and its discovery was to the king and the people as a second publication; yet still it formed the standard from which they knowingly departed, and to which they constantly returned; and to it therefore all which was peculiar in their national and individual character was due. Its direct influence was probably greatest in the periods before the establishment of the kingdom, and after the Babylonish Captivity. The last act of Joshua was to bind the Israelites to it as the charter of their occupation of the conquered land (Josh. xxiv. 24–27); and, in the semi-anarchical period of the judges, the Law and the Tabernacle were the only centres of anything like national unity. The establishment of the kingdom was due to an impatience of this position, and a desire for a visible and personal centre of authority, much the same in nature as that which plunged them so often in idolatry. The people were warned (1 Sam. xii. 6–25) that it involved much danger of their forgetting and rejecting the main principle of the Law — that "Jehovah their God was their King." The truth of the prediction was soon shown. Even under Solomon, as soon as the monarchy became one of great splendor and power, it assumed a heathenish and polytheistic character, breaking the Law, both by its dishonor towards God, and its forbidden tyranny over man. Indeed if the Law was looked upon as a collection of abstract rules, and not as a means of knowledge of a Personal God, it was inevitable that it should be overborne by the presence of a visible and personal authority.

Therefore it was, that from the time of the establishment of the kingdom began the prophetic office. Its object was to enforce and to perfect the Law, by bearing witness to the great truths on which it was built, namely, the truth of God's government over all, kings, priests, and people alike, and the consequent certainty of a righteous retribution. It is plain that at the same time this witness went far beyond the Law as a definite code of institutions. It dwelt rather on its great principles, which were to transcend the special forms in which they were embodied. It frequently contrasted (as in Is. i., etc.) the external observance of form with the spiritual homage of the heart. It tended therefore, at least indirectly, to the time when, ascending

[a] See, for example, Ex. xxi. 7–11, 28–36, xxiii. 1–9; Deut. xxii. 1–4, xxiv. 10–22, &c., &c.

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to the well-known contrast drawn by Jeremiah, the Law written on the tables of stone should give place to a new Covenant, depending on a law written on the heart, and therefore coercive no longer (Jer. xxxi. 31–34). In this they did but carry out the prediction of the Law itself (Deut. xviii. 9–22), and prepare the way for "the Prophet" who was to come.

Still the Law remained as the distinctive standard of the people. In the kingdom of Israel, after the separation, the deliberate rejection of its leading principles by Jeroboam and his successors was the beginning of a gradual declension into idolatry and heathenism. But in the kingdom of Judah the very division of the monarchy and consequent diminution of its splendor, and the need of a principle to assert against the superior material power of Israel, brought out the Law once more in increased honor and influence. In the days of Jehoshaphat we find, for the first time, that it was taken by the Levites in their circuits through the land, and the people taught by it (2 Chr. xvii. 9). We find it especially spoken of in the oath taken by the king "at his pillar" in the Temple, and made the standard of reference in the reformations of Hezekiah and Josiah (2 K. xi. 14, xxiii. 3; 2 Chr. xxx., xxxiv. 14–31).

Far more was this the case after the Captivity. The revival of the existence of Israel was hallowed by the new and solemn publication of the Law by Ezra, and the institution of the synagogues, through which it became deeply and familiarly known. [EZRA.] The loss of the independent monarchy, and the cessation of prophecy, both combined to throw the Jews back upon the Law alone, as their only distinctive pledge of nationality, and sure guide to truth. The more they mingled with the other subject-nations under the Persian and Grecian empires, the more eagerly they clung to it as their distinction and safeguard; and opening the knowledge of it to the heathen, by the translation of the LXX., based on it their proverbial eagerness to proselytize. This love for the Law, rather than any abstract patriotism, was the strength of the Maccabean struggle against the Syrians,[a] and the success of that struggle, enthroning a Levitical power, deepened the feeling from which it sprang. It so entered into the heart of the people that open idolatry became impossible. The certainty and authority of the Law's commandments amidst the perplexities of paganism, and the spirituality of its doctrine as contrasted with sensual and carnal idolatries, were the favorite boast of the Jew, and the secret of his influence among the heathen. The Law thus became the moulding influence of the Jewish character; and, instead of being looked upon as subsidiary to the promise, and a means to its fulfillment, was exalted to supreme importance as at once a means and a pledge of national and individual sanctity.

This feeling laid hold of and satisfied the mass of the people, harmonizing as it did with their ever-increasing spirit of an almost fanatic nationality, until the destruction of the city. The Pharisees, truly representing the chief strength of the people, systematized this feeling; they gave it fresh food, and assumed a predominant leadership over it by the floating mass of tradition which they gradually accumulated around the Law as a nucleus. The popular use of the word "lawless" (ἄνομος as a term of contempt (Acts ii. 23; 1 Cor. ix. 21 for the heathen, and even for the uneducated mass of their followers (John vii. 49), marked and stereotyped their principle.

Against this idolatry of the Law (which when imported into the Christian Church is described and vehemently denounced by St. Paul), there were two reactions. The first was that of the SADDUCEES, one which had its basis, according to common tradition, in the idea of a higher love and service of God, independent of the Law and its sanctions; but which degenerated into a speculative infidelity, and an anti-national system of politics, and which probably had but little hold of the people. The other, that of the ESSENES, was an attempt to burst the bonds of the formal law, and assert its ideas in all fullness, freedom, and purity. In its practical form it assumed the character of high and ascetic devotion to God; its speculative guise is seen in the school of Philo, as a tendency not merely to treat the commands and history of the Law on a symbolical principle, but actually to allegorize them into mere abstractions. In neither form could it be permanent, because it had no sufficient relation to the needs and realities of human nature, or to the personal Subject of all the Jewish promises; but it was still a declaration of the insufficiency of the Law in itself, and a preparation for its absorption into a higher principle of unity. Such was the history of the Law before the coming of Christ. It was full of effect and blessing, when used as a means; it became hollow and insufficient, when made an end.

(*b.*) The relation of the Law to the advent of Christ is also laid down clearly by St. Paul. "The Law was the παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστόν, the servant (that is), whose task it was to guide the child to the true teacher (Gal. iii. 24); and Christ was "the end" or object "of the Law" (Rom. x. 4). As being subsidiary to the promise, it had accomplished its purpose when the promise was fulfilled. In its national aspect it had existed to guard the faith in the theocracy. The chief hindrance to that faith had been the difficulty of realizing the invisible presence of God, and of conceiving a communion with the infinite Godhead which should not crush or absorb the finite creature (comp. Deut. v. 24–27; Num. xvii. 12, 13; Job ix. 32–35, xiii. 21, 22; Is. xlv. 15, lxiv. 1, &c.). From that had come in earlier times open idolatry, and a half-idolatrous longing for and trust in the kingdom; in after-times the substitution of the Law for the promise. This difficulty was now to pass away forever, in the Incarnation of the Godhead in One truly and visibly man. The guardianship of the Law was no longer needed, for the visible and personal presence of the Messiah required no further witness. Moreover, in the Law itself there had always been a tendency of the fundamental idea to burst the formal bonds which confined it. In looking to God as especially their King, the Israelites were inheriting a privilege, belonging originally to all mankind, and destined to revert to them. Yet that element of the Law which was local and national, now most prized of all by the Jews, tended to limit this gift to them, and place them in a position antagonistic to the rest of the world. It needed therefore to pass away, before all men could be brought into kingdom, where there was to be "neither Jew nor Gentile, barbarian, Scythian, bond or free"

[a] Note here the question as to the lawfulness of war on the Sabbath in this war (1 Macc. ii. 29–41).

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In its individual, or what is usually called its 'moral' aspect, the Law bore equally the stamp of transitoriness and insufficiency. It had, as we have seen, declared the authority of truth and goodness over man's will, and taken for granted in man the existence of a spirit which could recognize that authority; but it had done no more. Its presence had therefore detected the existence and the sinfulness of sin, as alien alike to God's will and man's true nature; but it had also brought out with more vehement and desperate antagonism the power of sin dwelling in man as fallen (Rom. vii. 7–25). It only showed therefore the need of a Saviour from sin, and of an indwelling power which should enable the spirit of man to conquer the "law" of evil. Hence it bore witness of its own insufficiency, and led men to Christ. Already the prophets, speaking by a living and indwelling spirit, ever fresh and powerful, had been passing beyond the dead letter of the law, and indirectly condemning it of insufficiency. But there was need of "*the* Prophet" who should not only have the fullness of the spirit dwelling in Himself, but should have the power to give it to others, and so open the new dispensation already foretold. When He had come, and by the gift of the Spirit implanted in man a free internal power of action tending to God, the restraints of the Law, needful to train the childhood of the world, became unnecessary and even injurious to the free development of its manhood.

The relation of the Law to Christ in its sacrificial and ceremonial aspect, will be more fully considered elsewhere. [SACRIFICE.] It is here only necessary to remark on the evidently typical character of the whole system of sacrifices, on which alone their virtue depended; and on the imperfect embodiment, in any body of mere men, of the great truth which was represented in the priesthood. By the former declaring the need of Atonement, by the latter the possibility of Mediation, and yet in itself doing nothing adequately to realize either, the Law again led men to Him, who was at once the only Mediator and the true Sacrifice.

Thus the Law had trained and guided man to the acceptance of the Messiah in his threefold character of King, Prophet, and Priest; and then, its work being done, it became, in the minds of those who trusted in it, not only an encumbrance but a snare. To resist its claim to allegiance was therefore a matter of life and death in the days of St. Paul, and, in a less degree, in after-ages of the Church.

(*c.*) It remains to consider how far it has any obligation or existence under the dispensation of the Gospel. As a means of justification or salvation, it ought never to have been regarded, even before Christ; it needs no proof to show that still less can this be so since He has come. But yet the question remains whether it is binding on Christians, even when they do not depend on it for salvation.

It seems clear enough, that its formal coercive authority as a whole ended with the close of the Jewish dispensation. It is impossible to separate, though we may distinguish, its various elements: it must be regarded as a whole, for he who offended "in one point against it was guilty of all" (James ii. 10). Yet it referred throughout to the Jewish covenant, and in many points to the constitution the customs, and even the local circumstances of the people. That covenant was preparatory to the Christian, in which it is now absorbed; those customs and observances have passed away. It follows, by the very nature of the case, that the formal obligation to the Law must have ceased with the basis on which it is grounded. This conclusion is stamped most unequivocally with the authority of St. Paul through the whole argument of the Epistles to the Romans and to the Galatians. That we are "not under law" (Rom. vi. 14, 15; Gal. v 18); "that we are dead to law" (Rom. vii. 4–6, Gal. ii. 19), "redeemed from under law" (Gal. iv. 5), etc., etc., is not only stated without any limitation or exception, but in many places is made the prominent feature of the contrast between the earlier and later covenants. It is impossible, therefore, to make distinctions in this respect between the various parts of the Law, or to avoid the conclusion that the formal code, promulgated by Moses and sealed with the prediction of the blessing and the curse, cannot, *as a law*, be binding on the Christian.

But what then becomes of the declaration of our Lord, that He came "not to destroy the Law, but to perfect it," and that "not one jot or one tittle of it shall pass away?" what of the fact consequent upon it, that the Law has been reverenced in all Christian churches, and had an important influence on much Christian legislation? The explanation of the apparent contradiction lies in the difference between positive and moral obligation. The *positive* obligation of the Law, as such, has passed away; but every revelation of God's Will, and of the righteousness and love which are its elements, imposes a *moral* obligation, by the very fact of its being known, even on those to whom it is not primarily addressed. So far as the Law of Moses is such a revelation of the will of God to mankind at large, occupying a certain place in the education of the world as a whole, so far its declarations remain for our guidance, though their coercion and their penalties may be no longer needed. It is in their general principle, of course, that they remain, not in their outward form; and our Lord has taught us, in the Sermon on the Mount, that these principles should be accepted by us in a more extended and spiritual development than they could receive in the time of Moses.

To apply this principle practically there is need of much study and discretion, in order to distinguish what is local and temporary from what is universal, and what is mere external form from what is the essence of an ordinance. The moral law undoubtedly must be most permanent in its influence, because it is based on the nature of man generally, although at the same time it is modified by the greater prominence of love in the Christian system. Yet the political law, in the main principles which it lays down as to the sacredness and responsibility of all authorities, and the rights which belong to each individual, and which neither slavery nor even guilt can quite eradicate, has its permanent value. Even the ceremonial law, by its enforcement of the purity and perfection needed in any service offered, and in its disregard of mere costliness on such service, and limitation of it strictly to the prescribed will of God, is still in many respects our best guide. In special cases (as for example that of the sabbatical law and the prohibition of marriage within the degrees) the question of its authority must depend on the further inquiry, whether the basis of such laws is one common to all human nature or one peculiar to the Jewish people. This inquiry will be difficult, espe-

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mally in the distinction of the essence from the form; but by it alone can the original question be thoroughly and satisfactorily answered.

For the chief authorities, see Winer, *Realw.* "Gesetz." Michaelis (*Mos. Gerecht*) is valuable for facts and antiquities, not much so for theory. Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, vol. ii. pp. 124–205, is most instructive and suggestive as to the main ideas of the Law. But after all, the most important parts of the subject need little else than a careful study of the Law itself, and the references to it contained in the N. T. A. B.

* The moral law does not derive its obligation from the preceptive form of the ten commandments. Every duty there enjoined, with the exception perhaps of keeping the Sabbath, lies in the moral nature of man, and was in force from the beginning. And even the Sabbath was observed upon moral grounds before the decalogue gave it such prominence as a positive institution. If then the decalogue as a national code passed away with the Jewish polity, as some interpret 2 Cor. iii. 7, the moral force of its precepts remains unimpaired for all mankind.

Ewald, who regards the institution of the Sabbath as purely Mosaic, yet says concerning it, "the Sabbath, though the simplest and most spiritual, is at the same time the wisest and most fruitful of institutions. Nothing could be devised which would require so few outward signs or equipments, nor which would so directly lead man both to supply what is lost in the tumult of life, and effectually to turn his thoughts again to the higher and the eternal. Thus it becomes the true symbol of the higher religion which now entered into the world, and the most eloquent witness to the greatness of the human soul which first grasped the idea of it." Hence the Sabbath rests upon the indestructible grounds of the moral law.

It has been fitly said that "the legislation of the Pentateuch is impregnated with *Egyptian* memories." The diet, the dress, and the ablutions of the priests, the details of the sacrifice, the scapegoat and the red-heifer, the Urim and Thummim, the waters of jealousy, and various purifying ceremonies, show a correspondence more or less marked with Egyptian customs. The same is true of some of the more humane and delicate provisions of the Law concerning widows and orphans, the poor and slaves, the rights of private property, etc. But such incidental correspondences, while confirming its author's acquaintance with Egypt, by no means detract from that superiority which marks the Law of Moses as an ethical and spiritual code. In addition to authorities above named, see Saalschütz, *das Mos. Recht;* J. Salvador, *Histoire des Institutions de Moïse;* Rev. W. Smith, *The Pentateuch;* Ebers, *Ægypten und die Bücher Moses.* J. P. T.

LAWYER (νομικός). The title "lawyer" is generally supposed to be equivalent to the title "scribe," both on account of its etymological meaning, and also because the man, who is called a "lawyer" in Matt. xxii. 35 and Luke x. 25, is called "one of the scribes" in Mark xii. 28. If the common reading in Luke xi. 44, 45, 46, be correct, it will be decisive against this; for there, after our Lord's denunciation of the "scribes and Pharisees," we find that a lawyer said, "Master, thus saying, thou reproachest us *also*. And Jesus said, Woe unto you *also* ye lawyers." But it is likely that the true reading refers the passage to the Pharisees alone. By the use of the word νομικός (in Tit. iii. 9) as a simple adjective, it seems more probable that the title "scribe" was a legal and official designation, but that the name νομικός was properly a mere epithet signifying one "learned in the law" (somewhat like the *οἱ ἐκ νόμου* in Rom. iv. 14), and only used as a title in common parlance (comp. the use of it in Tit. iii. 13, "Zenas the lawyer"). This would account for the comparative unfrequency of the word, and the fact that it is always used in connection with "Pharisees," never, as the word "scribe" so often is, in connection with "chief priests" and "elders." [SCRIBES.] A. B.

LAYING ON OF HANDS. [See Supplement to BAPTISM, vol. i. p. 242 ff.]

LAZ'ARUS (Λάζαρος: *Lazarus*). In this name, which meets us as belonging to two characters in the N. T., we may recognize an abbreviated form of the old Hebrew Eleazar (Tertull. *De Idol.*, Grotius, *et al.*). The corresponding לְעָזָר appears in the Talmud (Winer, *Realwb.* s. v.). In Josephus, and in the historical books of the Apocrypha (1 Macc. viii. 17; 2 Macc. vi. 18), the more frequent form is Ἐλεάζαρος; but Λάζαρος occurs also (*B. J.* v. 13, § 7).

1. Lazarus of Bethany, the brother of Martha and Mary (John xi. 1). All that we know of him is derived from the Gospel of St. John, and that records little more than the facts of his death and resurrection. We are able, however, without doing violence to the principles of a true historical criticism, to arrive at some conclusions helping us, with at least some measure of probability, to fill up these scanty outlines. In proportion as we bring the scattered notices together, we find them combining to form a picture far more distinct and interesting than at first seemed possible; and the distinctness in this case, though it is not to be mistaken for certainty, is yet less misleading than that which, in other cases, seems to arise from the strong statements of apocryphal traditions. (1.) The language of John xi. 1 implies that the sisters were the better known. Lazarus is "of (ἀπό) Bethany, of the village (*ἐκ τῆς κώμης*) of Mary and her sister Martha." No stress can be laid on the difference of the prepositions (Meyer and Lampe, *in loc.*), but it suggests as possible the inference that while Lazarus was, at the time of St. John's narrative, *of* Bethany, he was yet described as *from* the *κώμη τις* of Luke x. 38, already known as the dwelling-place of the two sisters (Greswell, *On the Village of Martha and Mary*, Dissert. V. ii. 545).[a]

[a] By most commentators (Trench, Alford, Tholuck, (Meke) the distinction which Greswell insists on is rejected as utterly untenable. It may be urged, however, (1) that it is the distinction drawn by a scholar like Hermann ("Ponitur autem ἀπό nonnisi de origine mouuli, cum in origine primâ usurpetur ἐκ," quoted by Wahl, *Clavis N. T.*); (2) that though both might come to be used apart with hardly any shade of difference, their use in close juxtaposition might still be antithetical, and that this was more likely to be with one who, though writing in Greek, was not using it as his native tongue; (3) that John i. 45 is open to the same doubt as this passage; (4) that our Lord is always said to be ἀπό, never ἐκ Ναζαρέτ.

In connection with this verse may be noticed also the Vulg. translation, "de castello Marthæ," and the

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From this, and from the order of the three names in John xi. 5, we may reasonably infer that Lazarus was the youngest of the family. The absence of the name from the narrative of Luke x. 38–42, and his subordinate position (εἷς τῶν ἀνακειμένων) in the feast of John xii. 2, lead to the same conclusion. (2.) The house in which the feast is held appears, from John xii. 2, to be that of the sisters. Martha "serves," as in Luke x. 40. Mary takes upon herself that which was the special duty of a hostess towards an honored guest (comp. Luke vii. 46). The impression left on our minds by this account, if it stood alone, would be that they were the givers of the feast. In Matt. xxvi. 6, Mark xiv. 3, the same fact [a] appears as occurring in "the house of Simon the Leper:" but a leper, as such, would have been compelled to lead a separate life, and certainly could not have given a feast and received a multitude of guests. Among the conjectural explanations which have been given of this difference, [b] the hypothesis that this Simon was the father of the two sisters and of Lazarus, that he had been smitten with leprosy, and that actual death, or the civil death that followed on his disease, had left his children free to act for themselves, is at least as probable as any other, and has some support in early ecclesiastical traditions (Niceph. *H. E.* i. 27; Theophyl. *in loc.*; comp. Ewald, *Geschichte*, v. 357). Why, if this were so, the house should be described by St. Matthew and St. Mark as it is; why the name of the sister of Lazarus should be altogether passed over, will be questions that will meet us further on. (3.) All the circumstances of John xi. and xii., — the feast for so many guests, the number of friends who come from Jerusalem to condole with the sisters, left with female relations, but without a brother or near kinsman (John xi. 19), the alabaster-box, the ointment of spikenard very costly, the funeral vault of their own, — point to wealth and social position above the average (comp. Trench, *Miracles*, 29). The peculiar sense which attaches to St. John's use of οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι (comp. Meyer on John xi. 19), as the leaders of the opposition to the teaching of Christ, in other words, as equivalent to Scribes and Elders and Pharisees, suggests the further inference that these visitors or friends belonged to that class, and that previous relations must have connected them with the family of Bethany. (4.) A comparison of Matt. xxvi. 6, Mark xiv. 3, with Luke vii. 36, 44, suggests another conjecture that harmonizes with and in part explains the foregoing. To assume the identity of the anointing of the latter narrative with that of the former (so Grotius), of the woman that was a sinner with Mary the sister of Lazarus, and of one or both of these with Mary Magdalene (Lightfoot, *Harm.* § 33, vol. iii. 75), is indeed (in spite of the authorities, critical and patristic, which may be arrayed on either side) altogether arbitrary and uncritical. It would be hardly less so to infer, from the mere recurrence of so common a name as Simon, the identity of the leper of the one narrative with the Pharisee of the other; nor would the case be much strengthened by an appeal to the interpreters who have maintained that opinion (comp. Chrysost. *Hom. in Matt.* lxxx.; Grotius, *in Matt.* xxvi. 6; Lightfoot, *l. c.*; Winer, *Realwb.* s. v. Simon). [Comp. MARY MAGDELENE and SIMON.] There are however some other facts which fall in with this hypothesis, and to that extent confirm it. If Simon the leper were also a Pharisee, it would explain the fact just noticed of the friendship between the sisters of Lazarus and the members of that party in Jerusalem. It would account also for the ready utterance by Martha of the chief article of the creed of the Pharisees (John xi. 24). Mary's lavish act of love would gain a fresh interest for us if we thought of it (as this conjecture would lead us to think) as growing out of the recollection of that which had been offered by the woman that was a sinner. The disease which gave occasion to the later name may have supervened after the incident which St. Luke records. The difference between the localities of the two histories (that of Luke vii. being apparently in Galilee near Nain, that of Matt. xxvi. and Mark xiv. in Bethany) is not greater than that which meets us on comparing Luke x. 38 with John xi. 1 (comp. Greswell, *Diss. l. c.*). It would follow on this assumption that the Pharisee, whom we thus far identify with the father of Lazarus, was probably one of the members of that sect, sent down from Jerusalem to watch the new teacher (comp. Ellicott's *Hulsean Lectures*, p. 169); that he looked on him partly with reverence, partly with suspicion; that in his dwelling there was a manifestation of the sympathy and love of Christ, which could not but leave on those who witnessed or heard of it, and had not hardened themselves in formalism, a deep and permanent impression. (5.) One other conjecture, bolder perhaps than the others, may yet be hazarded. Admitting, as must be admitted, the absence at once of all direct evidence and of traditional authority, there are yet some coincidences, at least remarkable enough to deserve attention, and which suggest the identification of Lazarus with the young ruler that had great possessions, of Matt. xix., Mark x., Luke xviii.[c] The age (νεανίας, Matt. xix. 20, 22) agrees with what has been before inferred (see above, 1), as does the fact of wealth above the average with what we know of the condition of the family at Bethany (see 2). If the father were an influential Pharisee, if there were ties of some kind uniting the family with that body, it would be natural enough that the son, even in comparative youth, should occupy the position of an ἄρχων. The character of the young ruler, the reverence of his salutation (διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, Mark x. 17) and of his attitude (γονυπετήσ-

sequent traditions of a Castle of Lazarus, pointed out to mediæval pilgrims among the ruins of the village, which had become famous by a church erected in his honor, and had taken its Arab name (Lazarieh, or Elazarieh) from him. [BETHANY vol. i. 195 *b*.]

[a] The identity has been questioned by some harmonists; but it will be discussed under SIMON.

[b] Meyer assumes (on Matt. xxvi. 6) that St. John, as an eye-witness, gives the true account, St. Matthew and St. Mark an erroneous one. Paulus and Greswell suggest that Simon was the husband, living or deceased, of Martha; Grotius and Kuinöl, that he was a kinsman, or a friend who gave the feast for them.

[c] The arrangement of Greswell, Tischendorf, and other harmonists, which places the inquiry of the rich ruler after the death and resurrection of Lazarus, is of course destructive of this hypothesis. It should be remembered, however, that Greswell assigns the same position to the incident of Luke x. 38–42. The order here followed is that given in the present work by Dr. Thomson under GOSPELS and JESUS CHRIST, by Lightfoot, and by Alford.

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eus, ibid.), his eager yearning after eternal life, the strict training of his youth in the commandments of God, the blameless probity of his outward life, all these would agree with what we might expect in the son of a Pharisee, in the brother of one who had chosen "the good part." It may be noticed further, that as his spiritual condition is essentially that which we find about the same period in Martha, so the answer returned to him, "One thing thou lackest," and that given to her, "One thing is needful," are substantially identical.[a] But further, it is of this rich young man that St. Mark uses the emphatic word ("Jesus, beholding him, *loved* him," ἠγάπησεν) which is used of no others in the Gospel-history, save of the beloved Apostle and of Lazarus and his sisters (John xi. 5). We can hardly dare to believe that that love, with all the yearning pity and the fervent prayer which it implied, would be altogether fruitless. There might be for a time the hesitation of a divided will, but the half-prophetic words, "with God all things are possible," "there are last that shall be first," forbid our hasty condemnation, as they forbade that of the disciples, and prepare us to hope that some discipline would yet be found to overcome the evil which was eating into and would otherwise destroy so noble and beautiful a soul. However strongly the absence of the name of Lazarus, or of the locality to which he belonged, may seem to militate against this hypothesis, it must be remembered that there is just the same singular and perplexing omission in the narrative of the anointing in Matt. xxvi. and Mark xiv.

Combining these inferences then, we get, with some measure of likelihood, an insight into one aspect of the life of the Divine Teacher and Friend, full of the most living interest. The village of Bethany and its neighborhood were — probably from the first, certainly at a later period of our Lord's ministry — a frequent retreat from the controversies and tumults of Jerusalem (John xviii. 2; Luke xxi. 37, xxii. 39). At some time or other one household, wealthy, honorable, belonging to the better or Nicodemus section of the Pharisees (see above, 1, 2, 3), learns to know and reverence him. There may have been within their knowledge or in their presence, one of the most signal proofs of his love and compassion for the outcast (*sup.* 4). Disease or death removes the father from the scene, and the two sisters are left with their younger brother to do as they think right. They appear at Bethany, or in some other village, where also they had a home (Luke x. 38, and Greswell, *l. c.*), as loving and reverential disciples, each according to her character. In them and in the brother over whom they watch, He finds that which is worthy of his love, the craving for truth and holiness, the hungering and thirsting after righteousness which shall assuredly be filled. But two at least need an education in the spiritual life. Martha tends to rest in outward activity and Pharisaic dogmatism, and does not rise to the thought of an eternal life as actually present. Lazarus (see 5) oscillates between the attractions of the higher life and those of the wealth and honor which surround the pathway of his life, and does not see how deep and wide were the commandments which, as he thought, he had "kept from his youth up." The searching words, the loving look and act,[b] fail to undo the evil which has been corroding his inner life. The discipline which could provide a remedy for it was among the things that were "impossible with men," and "possible with God only." A few weeks pass away, and then comes the sickness of John xi. One of the sharp malignant fevers of Palestine[c] cuts off the life that was so precious. The sisters know how truly the Divine Friend has loved him on whom their love and their hopes centered. They send to Him in the belief that the tidings of the sickness will at once draw Him to them (John xi. 3). Slowly, and in words which (though afterwards understood otherwise) must at the time have seemed to the disciples those of one upon whom the truth came not at once but by degrees, he prepares them for the worst. "This sickness is not unto death" — "Our friend Lazarus sleepeth" — "Lazarus is dead." The work which He was doing as a teacher or a healer (John x. 41, 42) in Bethabara, or the other Bethany (John x. 40, and i. 28), was not interrupted, and continues for two days after the message reaches him. Then comes the journey, occupying two days more. When He and his disciples come, three days have passed since the burial. The friends from Jerusalem, chiefly of the Pharisee and ruler class, are there with their consolations. The sisters receive the Prophet, each according to her character, Martha hastening on to meet Him, Mary sitting still in the house, both giving utterance to the sorrowful, half-reproachful thought, "Lord, if thou hadst been here my brother had not died" (John xi. 21–32). His sympathy with their sorrow leads Him also to weep as if He felt it in all the power of its hopelessness, though He came with the purpose and the power to remove it. Men wonder at what they look on as a sign of the intensity of his affection for him who had been cut off (John xi. 35, 36). They do not perhaps see that with this emotion there mingles indignation (ἐνεβριμήσατο, John xi. 33, 38) at their want of faith. Then comes the work of might as the answer of the prayer which the Son offers to the Father (John xi. 41, 42). The stone is rolled away from the mouth of the rock-chamber in which the body had been placed. The Evangelist writes as if he were once again living through every sight and sound of that hour. He records what could never fade from his memory any more than could the recollection of his glance into that other sepulchre (comp. John xi. 44, with xx. 7). "He that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with grave-clothes; and his face was bound about with a napkin."

It is well not to break in upon the silence which hangs over the interval of that "four days' sleep" (comp. Trench, *Miracles, l. c.*). In nothing does the Gospel narrative contrast more strongly with the mythical histories which men have imagined of those who have returned from the unseen world,—

[a] The resemblance is drawn out in a striking and beautiful passage by Clement of Alexandria (*Quis dives*, § 10).

[b] By some interpreters the word was taken as = ἀπεσήλασεν. It was the received rabbinic custom for the teacher to kiss the brow of the scholar whose answers gave special promise of wisdom and holiness. Comp. Grotius, *ad loc.*

[c] The character of the disease is inferred from its rapid progress, and from the fear expressed by Martha (John xi. 39). Comp. Lampe, *ad loc.*

[d] The return of Er the Armenian (Plato, *Rep.* x. and Cunningham of Melrose (Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* v. 12)

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and with the legends which in a later age have gathered round the name of Lazarus (Wright's *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, p. 167), than in this absence of all attempt to describe the experiences of the human soul that had passed from the life of sense to the land of the shadow of death. But thus much at least must be borne in mind in order that we may understand what has yet to come, that the man who was thus recalled as on eagle's wings from the kingdom of the grave (comp. the language of the complaint of Hades in the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, Tischendorf, *Evang. Apoc.* p. 305) must have learnt "what it is to die" (comp. a passage of great beauty in Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, xxxi., xxxii.). The soul that had looked with open gaze upon the things behind the veil had passed through a discipline sufficient to burn out all selfish love of the accidents of his outward life.[a] There may have been an inward resurrection parallel with the outward (comp. Olshausen, *ad loc.*). What men had given over as impossible had been shown in a twofold sense to be possible with God.

One scene more meets us, and then the life of the family which has come before us with such daylight clearness lapses again into obscurity. The fame of the wonder spreads rapidly, as it was likely to do, among the ruling class, some of whom had witnessed it. It becomes one of the proximate occasions of the plots of the Sanhedrim against our Lord's life (John xi. 47–53). It brings Lazarus no less than Jesus within the range of their enmity (John xii. 10), and leads perhaps to his withdrawing for a time from Bethany (Greswell). They persuade themselves apparently that they see in him one who has been a sharer in a great imposture, or who has been restored to life through some demoniac agency.[b] But others gather round to wonder and congratulate. In the house which, though it still bore the father's name (*sup.* 1), was the dwelling of the sisters and the brother, there is a supper, and Lazarus is there, and Martha serves, no longer jealously, and Mary pours out her love in the costly offering of the spikenard ointment, and finds herself once again misjudged and hastily condemned. The conjecture which has been ventured on above connects itself with this fact also. The indignant question of Judas and the other disciples implies the *expectation* of a lavish distribution among the poor. They look on the feast as like that which they had seen in the house of Matthew the publican, the farewell banquet given to large numbers (comp. John xii. 9, 12) by one who was renouncing the habits of his former life. If they had in their minds the recollection of the words, "Sell that thou hast, and give to the poor," we can understand with what a sharpened edge their reproach would come as they contrasted the command which their Lord had given with the "waste" which He thus approved. After this all direct knowledge of Lazarus ceases. We may think of him, however, as sharing in or witnessing the kingly march from Bethany to Jerusalem (Mark xi. 1), "enduring life again that Passover to keep" (Keble, *Christian Year*, Advent Sunday). The sisters and the brother must have watched eagerly, during those days of rapid change and wonderful expectation, for the evening's return to Bethany and the hours during which "He lodged there" (Matt. xxi. 17). It would be as plausible an explanation of the strange fact recorded by St. Mark alone (xiv. 51) as any other, if we were to suppose that Lazarus, whose home was near, who must have known the place to which the Lord "oftentimes resorted," was drawn to the garden of Gethsemane by the approach of the officers "with their torches and lanterns and weapons" (John xviii. 3), and in the haste of the night-alarm, rushed eagerly, "with the linen cloth cast about his naked body," to see whether he was in time to render any help. Whoever it may have been, it was not one of the company of professed disciples. It was one who was drawn by some strong impulse to follow Jesus when they, all of them, "forsook him and fled." It was one whom the high-priest's servants were eager to seize, as if destined for a second victim (comp. John xii. 10), when they made no effort to detain any other. The linen-cloth (σινδών), forming, as it did, one of the "soft raiment" of Matt. xi. 8, used in the dress and in the funerals of the rich (Mark xv. 46; Matt. xxvii. 59), points to a form of life like that which we have seen reason to assign to Lazarus (comp. also the use of the word in the LXX. of Judg. xiv. 12, and Prov. xxxi. 24). Uncertain as all inferences of this kind must be, this is perhaps at least as plausible as those which identify the form that appeared so startlingly with St. John (Ambrose, Chrysost. Greg. Mag.); or St. Mark (Olshausen, Lange, Isaac Williams, *On the Passion*, p. 30); or James the brother of the Lord (Epiphan. *Hær.* p. 87, 13; comp. Meyer, *ad loc.*); and, on this hypothesis, the omission of the name is in harmony with the noticeable reticence of the first three Gospels throughout as to the members of the family at Bethany. We can hardly help believing that to them, as to others ("the five hundred brethren at once," 1 Cor. xv. 6), was manifested the presence of their risen Lord; that they must have been sharers in the Pentecostal gifts, and have taken their place among the members of the infant Church at Jerusalem in the first days of its overflowing love; that then, if not before, the command, "Sell that thou hast and give to the poor," was obeyed by the heir of Bethany, as it was by other possessors of lands or houses (Acts ii. 44, 45). But they had chosen now, it would seem, the better part of a humble and a holy life, and their names appear no more in the history of the N. T. Apocryphal traditions even are singularly scanty and jejune, as if the silence which "sealed the lips of the Evangelists" had restrained others also. We almost wonder, looking at the wild luxuriance with which they gather round other names, that they have

may be taken as two typical instances, appearing under circumstances the most contrasted possible, yet having not a few features in common.

[a] A tradition of more than average interest, bearing on this point, is mentioned (though without an authority) by Trench (*Miracles*, l. c.). The first question asked by Lazarus, on his return to life, was whether he should die again. He heard that he was still subject to the common doom of all men, and was never afterwards seen to smile.

[b] The explanation, "He casteth out devils by Beelzebub" (Matt. ix. 34, x. 25; Mark iii. 22, &c.), which originated with the scribes of Jerusalem, would naturally be applied to such a case as this. That it was so applied we may infer from the statement in the *Sepher Toldoth Jeshu* (the rabbinic anticipation of another *Leben Jesu*), that this and other like miracles were wrought by the mystic power of the cabbalistic Shemhamphorash, or other magical formula (Lampe, *Comm. in Joan.* xi. 44).

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nothing more to tell of Lazarus than the meagre tale that follows: He lived for thirty years after his resurrection, and died at the age of sixty (Epiphan. *Hær.* i. 652). When he came forth from the tomb, it was with the bloom and fragrance as of a bridegroom (Ἀναφορὰ Πιλάτου, Thilo, *Cod. Apoc. N. T.* p. 807). He and his sisters, with Mary the wife of Cleophas, and other disciples, were sent out to sea by the Jews in a leaky boat, but miraculously escaped destruction, and were brought safely to Marseilles. There he preached the Gospel, and founded a church, and became its bishop. After many years, he suffered martyrdom, and was buried, some said, there; others, at Citium in Cyprus. Finally his bones and those of Mary Magdalene were brought from Cyprus to Constantinople by the Emperor Leo the Philosopher, and a church erected to his honor. Some apocryphal books were extant bearing his name (comp. Thilo, *Codex Apoc. N. T.* p. 711; Baronius, *ad Martyrol. Rom. Dec.* xvii.; and for some wild Provençal legends as to the later adventures of Martha, Migne, *Dict. de la Bible*, s. v. "Marthe"). These traditions have no personal or historical interest for us. In one instance only do they connect themselves with any fact of importance in the later history of Christendom. The Canons of St. Victor at Paris occupied a Priory dedicated (as one of the chief churches at Marseilles had been) to St. Lazarus. This was assigned, in 1633, to the fraternity of the Congregation founded by St. Vincent de Paul, and the mission-priests sent forth by it consequently became conspicuous as the Lazarists (Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, July xix.).

The question why the first three Gospels omit all mention of so wonderful a fact as the resurrection of Lazarus, has from a comparatively early period forced itself upon interpreters and apologists. Rationalist critics have made it one of their chief points of attack, directly on the trustworthiness of St. John, indirectly on the credibility of the Gospel history as a whole. Spinoza professed to make this the crucial instance by which, if he had but proof of it, he would be determined to embrace the common faith of Christians (Bayle, *Dict.* s. v. "Spinoza"). Woolston, the *maledicentissimus* of English Deists, asserts that the story is "brimfull of absurdities," "a contexture of folly and fraud" (*Diss. on Miracles*, v.; comp. N. Lardner's *Vindications*, Works, ii. 1–54). Strauss (*Leben Jesu*, pt. ii. ch. ix. § 100) scatters with triumphant scorn the subterfuges of Paulus and the naturalist interpreters (such, for example, as the hypothesis of suspended animation), and pronounces the narrative to have all the characteristics of a mythus. Ewald (*Gesch.* v. p. 404), on the other hand, in marked contrast to Strauss, recognizes, not only the tenderness and beauty of St. John's narrative, and its value as a representation of the quickening power of Christ, but also its distinct historical character. The explanations given of the perplexing phenomenon are briefly these: (1.) That fear of drawing down persecution on one already singled out for it kept the three Evangelists, writing during the lifetime of Lazarus, from all mention of him; and that, this reason for silence being removed by his death, St. John could write freely. By some (Grotius, *ad loc.*) this has perhaps been urged too exclusively. By others (Alford, *ad loc.*; Trench, *On Miracles*, l. c.) it has perhaps been too hastily rejected as extravagant. (2.) That the writers of the first three Gospels confine themselves, as by a deliberate plan, to the miracles wrought in Galilee (that of the blind man at Jericho being the only exception), and that they therefore abstained from all mention of any fact, however interesting, that lay outside that limit (Meyer, *ad loc.*). This too has its weight, as showing that, in this omission, the three Evangelists are at least consistent with themselves, but it leaves the question, "what led to that consistency?" unanswered. (3.) That the narrative, in its beauty and simplicity, its human sympathies and marvelous transparency, carries with it the evidence of its own truthfulness, and is as far removed as possible from the embellishments and rhetoric of a writer of myths, bent upon the invention of a miracle which should outdo all others (Meyer, *l. c.*). In this there is no doubt great truth. To invent and tell any story as this is told would require a power equal to that of the highest artistic skill of our later age, and that skill we should hardly expect to find combined at once with the deepest yearnings after truth and a deliberate perversion of it. There would seem, to any but a rationalist critic, an improbability quite infinite, in the union, in any single writer, of the characteristics of a Goethe, an Ireland, and an à Kempis. (4.) Another explanation, suggested by the attempt to represent to one's-self what must have been the sequel of such a fact as that now in question upon the life of him who had been affected by it, may perhaps be added. The history of monastic orders, of sudden conversions after great critical deliverances from disease or danger, offers an analogy which may help to guide us. In such cases it has happened, in a thousand instances, that the man has felt as if the thread of his life was broken, the past buried forever, old things vanished away. He retires from the world, changes his name, speaks to no one, or speaks only in hints, of all that belongs to his former life, shrinks above all from making his conversion, his resurrection from the death of sin, the subject of common talk. The instance already referred to in Bede offers a very striking illustration of this. Cunningham, in that history, gives up all to his wife, his children, and the poor, retires to the monastery of Melrose, takes the new name of Drithelm, and "would not relate these and other things which he had seen to slothful persons and such as lived negligently." Assume only that the laws of the spiritual life worked in some such way on Lazarus; that the feeling would be strong in proportion to the greatness of the wonder to which it owed its birth; that there was the recollection, in him and in others, that, in the nearest parallel instance, silence and secrecy had been solemnly enjoined (Mark v. 43), and it will seem hardly wonderful that such a man should shrink from publicity, and should wish to take his place as the last and lowest in the company of believers. Is it strange that it should come to be tacitly recognized among the members of the Church of Jerusalem that, so long as he and those dear to him survived, the great wonder of their lives was a thing to be remembered with awe by those who knew it, not to be talked or written about to those who knew it not?

The facts of the case are, at any rate, singularly in harmony with this last explanation. St. Matthew and St. Mark, who (the one writing for the Hebrews, the other under the guidance of St. Peter) represent what may be described as the feeling of the Jerusalem Church, omit equally all mention of the three names. They use words which may indeed have been φανῶτα συνετοῖσιν, but they

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avoid the names. Mary's costly offering is that of "a woman" (Matt. xxvi. 7; Mark xiv. 3). The house in which the feast was made is described so as to indicate it sufficiently to those who knew the place, and yet to keep the name of Lazarus out of sight. The hypothesis stated above would add two more instances of the same reticence. St. Luke, coming later (probably after St. Matthew and St. Mark had left the Church of Jerusalem with the materials afterwards shaped into their Gospels), collecting from all informants all the facts they will communicate, comes across one in which the two sisters are mentioned by name, and records it, suppressing, or not having learnt, that of the locality. St. John, writing long afterwards, when all three had "fallen asleep," feels that the restraint is no longer necessary, and puts on record, as the Spirit brings all things to his remembrance, the whole of the wonderful history. The circumstances of his life, too, his residence in or near Jerusalem as the protector of the bereaved mother of his Lord (John xix. 27), his retirement from prominent activity for so long a period [JOHN THE APOSTLE], the insight we find he had into the thoughts and feelings of those who would be the natural companions and friends of the sisters of Lazarus (John xx. 1, 11–18); all these indicate that he more than any other Evangelist was likely to have lived in that inmost circle of disciples, where these things would be most lovingly and reverently remembered. Thus much of truth there is, as usual, in the idealism of some interpreters, that what to most other disciples would seem simply a *miracle* (τέρας), a work of power (δύναμις), like other works, and therefore one which they could without much reluctance omit, would be to him a *sign* (σημεῖον) manifesting the glory of God, witnessing that Jesus was "the resurrection and the life," which he could in no wise pass over, but must when the right time came record in its fullness. (Comp. for this significance of the miracle, and for its probable use in the spiritual education of Lazarus, Olshausen, *ad loc.*) It is of course obvious, that if this supposition accounts for the omission in the three Gospels of the name and history of Lazarus, it accounts also for the chronological dislocation and harmonistic difficulties which were its inevitable consequences.[a]

2. The name Lazarus occurs also in the well-known parable of Luke xvi. 19–31. What is there chiefly remarkable is, that while in all other cases persons are introduced as in certain stations, belonging to certain classes, here, and here only, we meet with a proper name. Is this exceptional fact to be looked on as simply one of the accessories of the parable, giving as it were a dramatic semblance of reality to what was, like other parables, only an illustration? Were the thoughts of men called to the etymology of the name, as signifying that he who bore it had in his poverty no help but God (comp. Germ. "Gotthilf"), or as meaning, in the shortened form, one who had become altogether "helpless"? (So Theophyl. *ad loc.*, who explains it as = ἀβοήθητος, recognizing possibly the derivation which has been suggested by later critics from לֹא עֵזֶר, "there is no help." Comp. Suicer, *s. v.*; Lampe, *ad loc.*) Or was it again not a parable, but, in its starting-point at least, a history, so that Lazarus was some actual beggar, like him who lay at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple, familiar therefore both to the disciples and the Pharisees? (So Theophyl. *ad loc.*; Chrysost., Maldon.; Suicer, *s. v.* Λάζαρος.) Whatever the merit of either of these suggestions, no one of them can be accepted as quite satisfactory, and it adds something to the force of the hypothesis ventured on above, to find that it connects itself with this question also. The key which has served to open other doors fits into the wards here. If we assume the identity suggested in (5), or if, leaving that as unproved, we remember only that the historic Lazarus belonged by birth to the class of the wealthy and influential Pharisees, as in (3), then, though we may not think of him as among those who were "covetous," and who therefore derided by scornful look and gesture (ἐξεμυκτήριζον, Luke xvi. 14) Him who taught that they could not serve God and Mammon, we may yet look on him as one of the same class, known to them, associating with them, only too liable, in spite of all the promise of his youth, to be drawn away by that which had corrupted them. Could anything be more significant, if this were so, than the introduction of this name into such a parable? Not Eleazar the Pharisee, rich, honored, blameless among men, but Eleazar the beggar, full of leprous sores, lying at the rich man's gate, was the true heir of blessedness, for whom was reserved the glory of being in Abraham's bosom. Very striking too, it must be added, is the coincidence between the teaching of the parable and of the history in another point. The Lazarus of the one remains in Abraham's bosom because "if men hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead." The Lazarus of the other returned from it, and yet bears no witness to the unbelieving Jews of the wonders or the terrors of Hades.

In this instance also the name of Lazarus has been perpetuated in an institution of the Christian Church. The parable did its work, even in the dark days of her life, in leading men to dread simply selfish luxury, and to help even the most loathsome forms of suffering. The leper of the Middle Ages appears as a Lazzaro.[b] Among the orders, half-military and half-monastic, of the 12th century, was one which bore the title of the Knights of St. Lazarus (A. D. 1119), whose special work it was to minister to the lepers, first of Syria, and afterwards of Europe. The use of *lazaretto* and *lazar-house* for the leper-hospitals then founded in all parts of Western Christendom, no less than that of *lazzarone* for the mendicants of Italian towns, are indications of the effect of the parable upon the mind of Europe in the Middle Ages, and thence upon its later speech. In some cases there seems to have been a singular transfer of the attributes of the one Lazarus to the other. Thus in Paris the prison of St. Lazare (the Clos S. Lazare,

[a] On the resurrection of Lazarus there is an essay by Gumlich, *Die Rathsel d. Erweckung Lazarus*, in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1862, pp. 65–110, 245–336. On the internal evidence of the truth of the narrative, see Furness, *The Unconscious Truth of the Four Gospels*, Phila. 1868. pp. 46–75. A.

[b] It is interesting, as connected with the traditions given above under (1), to find that the first occurrence of the name with this generic meaning is in the old Provençal dialect, under the form Ladre. (Comp. Diez, *Roman. Wörterbuch*, s. v. *Lazzaro*, [and Scheler, *Dict. d'étymol. française*, s. v. *Ladre.*])

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so famous in 1848) had been originally a hospital for lepers. In the 17th century it was assigned to the Society of Lazarists, who took their name, as has been said, from Lazarus of Bethany, and St. Vincent de Paul died there in 1660. In the immediate neighborhood of the prison, however, are two streets, the Rue d'Enfer and Rue de Paradis, the names of which indicate the earlier associations with the Lazarus of the parable.

It may be mentioned incidentally, as there has been no article under the head of DIVES, that the occurrence of this word, used as a quasi-proper name, in our early English literature, is another proof of the impression which was made on the minds of men, either by the parable itself, or by dramatic representations of it in the mediæval mysteries. The writer does not know where it is found for the first time in this sense, but it appears as early as Chaucer ("Lazar and Dives," Sompnoure's Tale) and Piers Ploughman ("Dives in the dyntees lyvede," l. 9158), and in later theological literature its use has been all but universal. In no other instance has a descriptive adjective passed in this way into the received name of an individual. The name Nimeusis, which Euthymius gives as that of the rich man (Trench, *Parables*, l. c.), seems never to have come into any general use.

E. H. P.

* The view proposed above (5) that Lazarus of Bethany and the rich ruler were the same person, deserves a brief consideration. It is not only a conjecture incapable of proof, but is open to manifold objections. In the first place, it requires us to reverse the probable order of events in the Evangelic history. Christ's interview with the young ruler is recorded by each of the first three Evangelists, and in all three is preceded and followed by the same incidents. Its connection with these incidents, since not obviously logical, may be presumed to be chronological. But Matt. (xix. 1, 2; xx. 17, 29) and Mark (x. 1, 32, 46) both represent these transactions as occurring when our Lord was approaching Jerusalem by the way of Jericho. As respects this passage through Jericho, Luke (xviii. 35; xix. 1) agrees with them; and all three then coincide with John (xii. 1) in the arrival at Bethany. This arrival occurred after the resurrection of Lazarus. And it seems fair to infer, therefore, that the inquiry of the rich ruler, which three Evangelists concur in connecting with the journey, and apparently with its close, actually belongs where it stands. This harmonistic result is corroborated by the circumstance, that of the various visits Christ made to Jerusalem during his ministry, Matthew, Mark, and Luke record only the last; so that what they connect with that visit may be presumed to pertain to it. Further, the journeys thither shortly antecedent (John vii., x.), seem both to have been characterized by privacy; but the progress to which the interview with the ruler belongs was marked by publicity. We may conclude, therefore, with considerable confidence, that the interview with the rich man took place after the resurrection of Lazarus.

While thus, on the one hand, we find no reason to detach that interview and its attendant events from their more obvious connection, there are obstacles, on the other hand, in the way of such a separation. In order to make the interview precede the resurrection, it is generally transferred to the period of our Lord's stay "where John at first baptized" (John x. 40). But, according to the concurrent representation of the Synoptists, it occurred while Jesus was on a journey towards Jerusalem. So that this representation does not harmonize easily either with the fourth Evangelist's phrase ἔμεινεν ἐκεῖ (x. 40; cf. ver. 42, xi. 7); or with the fact that John (xi. 8) represents our Lord as recalled by the sisters' message to a locality he had recently left, rather than as hastened in his progress towards one he was already approaching; or further, with the circumstance that the afflicted family seem to have known at once where to send for him.[a]

Moreover, the hypothesis considered by itself is unsatisfactory in several respects. That Lazarus was too young to be mentioned, is, indeed, a precarious inference to draw from the silence of Luke (x. 38 ff.) when relating an incident in which he was not concerned. And with still greater improbability is confirmation for this extreme opinion respecting his youth derived from the circumstance mentioned in John xii. 2. (On this view, too, how does it happen that Bethany is at the same time described as the place "where Lazarus was"?) Still, admitting him to be as young as represented, he is too young to be identified with the rich ruler. If even after his resurrection he held a "subordinate position" in his own home, he can hardly have been a man of such distinction abroad as the ruler clearly was. Nor would his youth be compatible with this official rank. The term ἄρχων, indeed, may be taken in the general sense of "a leading man." But such preëminence even, would require in its possessor something more than a vacillating character and a large inheritance. While if the word is understood to designate him as a ruler of the synagogue, he must have been of full age. [SYNAGOGUE.] In fact the common impression respecting the youthfulness of the ruler also, harmonizes neither with his title, nor with the more natural suggestion of his words ἐκ νεότητός μου; and, according to usage, νεανίσκος employed of him by Matthew, appears to have been applicable to men quite up to middle life. Again, Mark makes the impression that the "love" of Jesus for the rich "young man," had its origin as he looked upon him in their first interview with each other, and not in a prior intimacy either with him or with the family to which he belonged. Once more, the reference given to the words "with God all things are possible," is not only at variance with Christ's apparent design in uttering them, but, when we consider the miraculous method in which their verification was secured, reduces them from a lofty and abiding encouragement very nearly to the level of a truism.

The supposed identity, if established, would give good ground for the perplexity that has been felt at the entire absence of an allusion to the resurrection of Lazarus in the narratives of the synoptic Evangelists. That all three should introduce so interesting a personage and not only make no mention of his name, but omit also what, according to the above hypothesis, was the sequel of the story

[a] * The arrangement of occurrences by which the hypothesis under consideration becomes possible, is not only at variance with the intimations of the sacred text but is rejected by the majority of critics. (Compare especially Robinson's *Greek Harmony*, part vi. Introductory Note, and Ellicott on the *Life of our Lord*, Lect. vi. J. H. T.

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the illustration of God's power he fulfillment of their Master s "half-prophetic words," is an improbability which requires better support than conjecture. J. H. T.

LEAD (עוֹפֶרֶת: μόλιβος, μόλιβδος), one of the most common of metals, found generally in veins of rocks, though seldom in a metallic state, and most commonly in combination with sulphur. It was early known to the ancients, and the allusions to it in Scripture indicate that the Hebrews were well acquainted with its uses. The rocks in the neighborhood of Sinai yielded it in large quantities, and it was found in Egypt. That it was common in Palestine is shown by the expression in Ecclus. xlvii. 18, where it is said, in apostrophizing Solomon, "Thou didst multiply silver as *lead*;" the writer having in view the hyperbolical description of Solomon's wealth in 1 K. x. 27: "the king made the silver to be in Jerusalem as *stones*." It was among the spoils of the Midianites which the children of Israel brought with them to the plains of Moab, after their return from the slaughter of the tribe (Num. xxxi. 22). The ships of Tarshish supplied the market of Tyre with lead, as with other metals (Ez. xxvii. 12). Its heaviness, to which allusion is made in Ex. xv. 10 and Ecclus. xxii. 14, caused it to be used for weights, which were either in the form of a round flat cake (Zech. v. 7), or a rough unfashioned lump or "stone" (ver. 8); stones having in ancient times served the purpose of weights (comp. Prov. xvi. 11). This fact may perhaps explain the substitution of "lead" for "stones" in the passage of Ecclesiasticus above quoted; the commonest use of the commonest metal being present to the mind of the writer. If Gesenius is correct in rendering אֲנָךְ, *anâc*, by "lead," in Am. vii. 7, 8, we have another instance of the purposes to which this metal was applied in forming the ball or bob of the plumb-line. [PLUMB-LINE.] Its use for weighting fishing-lines was known in the time of Homer (*Il.* xxiv. 80). But Bochart and others identify *anâc* with tin, and derive from it the etymology of "Britain."

In modern metallurgy lead is used with tin in the composition of solder for fastening metals together. That the ancient Hebrews were acquainted with the use of solder is evident from the description given by the prophet Isaiah of the processes which accompanied the formation of an image for idolatrous worship. The method by which two pieces of metal were joined together was identical with that employed in modern times; the substances to be united being first clamped before being soldered. No hint is given as to the composition of the solder, but in all probability lead was one of the materials employed, its usage for such a purpose being of great antiquity. The ancient Egyptians used it for fastening stones together in the rough parts of a building, and it was found by Mr. Layard among the ruins at Nimroud (*Nin. and Bab.* p. 357). Mr. Napier (*Metallurgy of the Bible*, p. 130) conjectures that "the solder used in early times or lead, and termed lead, was the same as is now used — a mixture of lead and tin"

But, in addition to these more obvious uses of this metal, the Hebrews were acquainted with another method of employing it, which indicates some advance in the arts at an early period. Job (xix. 24) utters a wish that his words, "with a pen of iron and lead, were graven in the rock for ever." The allusion is supposed to be to the practice of carving inscriptions upon stone, and pouring molten lead into the cavities of the letters, to render them legible, and at the same time preserve them from the action of the air. Frequent references to the use of leaden tablets for inscriptions are found in ancient writers. Pausanias (ix. 31) saw Hesiod's Works and Days graven on lead, but almost illegible with age. Public proclamations, according to Pliny (xiii. 21), were written on lead, and the name of Germanicus was carved on leaden tablets (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 69). Eutychius (*Ann. Alex.* p. 390) relates that the history of the Seven Sleepers was engraved on lead by the Cadi.

Oxide of lead is employed largely in modern pottery for the formation of glazes, and its presence has been discovered in analyzing the articles of earthenware found in Egypt and Nineveh, proving that the ancients were acquainted with its use for the same purpose. The A. V. of Ecclus. xxxviii. 30 assumes that the usage was known to the Hebrews, though the original is not explicit upon the point. Speaking of the potter's art in finishing off his work, "he applieth himself to *lead* it over," is the rendering of what in the Greek is simply "he giveth his heart to complete the smearing," the material employed for the purpose not being indicated.

In modern metallurgy lead is employed for the purpose of purifying silver from other mineral products. The alloy is mixed with lead, exposed to fusion upon an earthen vessel, and submitted to a blast of air. By this means the dross is consumed. This process is called the cupelling operation, with which the description in Ez. xxii. 18–22, in the opinion of Mr. Napier (*Met. of Bible*, pp. 20–24), accurately coincides. "The vessel containing the alloy is surrounded by the fire, or placed in the midst of it, and the blowing is not applied to the fire, but to the fused metals. . . . And when this is done, nothing but the perfect metals, gold and silver, can resist the scorifying influence. And in support of his conclusion he quotes Jer. vi. 28–30, adding, "This description is perfect. If we take silver having the impurities in it described in the text, namely, iron, copper, and tin, and mix it with lead, and place it in the fire upon a cupell, it soon melts; the lead will oxidize and form a thick coarse crust upon the surface, and thus consume away, but effecting no purifying influence. The alloy remains, if anything, worse than before. . . . The silver is not refined, because 'the bellows were burned' — there existed nothing to blow upon it. Lead is the purifier, but only so in connection with a blast blowing upon the precious metals." An allusion to this use of lead is to be found in Theognis (*Gnom.* 1127, 28; ed. Welcker), and it is mentioned by Pliny (xxxiii. 31) as indispensable to the purification of silver from alloy. W. A. W.

LEB'ANA (לְבָנָא: Λαβανά; FA. Λαβαν: *Lebana*), one of the Nethinim whose descendants returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Neh. vii. 48). He is called LABANA in the parallel list of 1 Esdras, and

LEB'ANAH (לְבָנָה: Λαβανώ: *Lebana*) in Ezr ii. 45.

LEAF, LEAVES. The word occurs in the A. V. either in the singular or plural number in three different senses — (1.) *Leaf* or *leaves* of trees.

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(2.) *Leaves* of the doors of the Temple. (3.) *Leaves* of the roll of a book.

1. LEAF (עָלֶה, *'âleh*; טָרָף,[b] *tereph*; עָפִי,[c] *'ephî*: φύλλον, σ-ίλεχος, ἀνάβασις: *folium, frons, cortex*). The olive-leaf is mentioned in Gen. viii. 11. Fig-leaves formed the first covering of our parents in Eden. The barren fig-tree (Matt. xxi. 19; Mark xi. 13) on the road between Bethany and Jerusalem "had on it nothing but *leaves*." The fig-leaf is alluded to by our Lord (Matt. xxiv. 32; Mark xiii. 28): "When his branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh." The oak-leaf is mentioned in Is. i. 30, and vi. 13. The righteous are often compared to green leaves (Jer. xvii. 8), "her leaf shall be green"—to leaves that fade not (Ps. i. 3), "his leaf also shall not wither." The ungodly on the other hand are as "an oak whose leaf fadeth" (Is. i. 30); as a tree which "shall wither in all the leaves of her spring" (Ez. xvii. 9); the "sound of a shaken leaf shall chase them" (Lev. xxvi. 36). In Ezekiel's vision of the holy waters, the blessings of the Messiah's kingdom are spoken of under the image of trees growing on a river's bank; there "shall grow all trees for food, whose leaf shall not fade" (Ez. xlvii. 12). In this passage it is said that "the fruit of these trees shall be for food, and the leaf thereof for medicine" (margin, *for bruises and sores*). With this compare (Rev. xxii. 1, 2) St. John's vision of the heavenly Jerusalem. "In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life . . . and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations." There is probably here an allusion to some tree whose leaves were used by the Jews as a medicine or ointment; indeed, it is very likely that many plants and leaves were thus made use of by them, as by the old English herbalists.

2. LEAVES of doors (דְּלָתַיִם, *delâthîm*; דֶּלֶת, *deleth*: πτυχή, θύρωμα: *ostium, ostiolum*). The Hebrew word, which occurs very many times in the Bible, and which in 1 K. vi. 32 (margin) and 34 is translated "leaves" in the A. V., signifies *beams, ribs, sides*, etc. In Ez. xli. 24, "And the doors had two leaves apiece," the Hebrew word *deleth* is the representative of both *doors* and *leaves*. By the expression two-leaved doors, we are no doubt to understand what we term folding-doors.

3. LEAVES of a book or roll (דֶּלֶת, *deleth*; σελίς: *pagella*) occurs in this sense only in Jer. xxxvi. 23. The Hebrew word (literally *doors*) would perhaps be more correctly translated *columns*. The Latin *columna*, and the English *column*, as applied to a book, are probably derived from resemblance to a column of a building. W. H.

LE'AH (לֵאָה [*wearied*]: Λεία, Λία: *Lia*), the elder daughter of Laban (Gen. xxix. 16). The dullness or weakness of her eyes was so notable, that it is mentioned as a contrast to the beautiful form and appearance of her younger sister Rachel. Her father took advantage of the opportunity which the local marriage-rite afforded to pass her off in her sister's stead on the unconscious bridegroom, and excused himself to Jacob by alleging that the custom of the country forbade the younger sister to be given first in marriage. Rosenmüller cites instances of these customs prevailing to this day in some parts of the East. Jacob's preference of Rachel grew into hatred of Leah, after he had married both sisters. Leah, however, bore to him in quick succession Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, then Issachar, Zebulun, and Dinah, before Rachel had a child. Leah was conscious and resentful (ch. xxx.) of the smaller share she possessed in her husband's affections; yet in Jacob's differences with his father-in-law, his two wives appear to be attached to him with equal fidelity. In the critical moment when he expected an attack from Esau, his discriminate regard for the several members of his family was shown by his placing Rachel and her child hindermost, in the least exposed situation, Leah and her children next, and the two handmaids with their children in the front. Leah probably lived to witness the dishonor of her daughter (ch. xxxiv.), so cruelly avenged by two of her sons; and the subsequent deaths of Deborah at Bethel, and of Rachel near Bethlehem. She died some time after Jacob reached the south country in which his father Isaac lived. Her name is not mentioned in the list of Jacob's family (ch. xlvi. 5) when they went down into Egypt. She was buried in the family grave in Machpelah (ch. xlix. 31). W. T. B.

LEASING, "falsehood." This word is retained in the A. V. of Ps. iv. 2, v. 6, from the older English versions; but the Hebrew word of which it is the rendering is elsewhere almost uniformly translated "lies" (Ps. xl. 4, lviii. 3, &c.). It is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *lens*, "false," whence *leasung*, "leasing," "falsehood," and is of frequent occurrence in old English writers. So in Piers Ploughman's *Vision*, 2113:

> "Tel me no tales,
> Ne *lesynge* to laughen of."

And in Wickliffe's New Testament, John viii. 44, "Whanne he spekith a *lesinge*, he spekith of his owne thingis, for he is a lyiere, and fadir of it." It is used both by Spenser and Shakespeare. W. A. W.

LEATHER (עוֹר, *'or*). The notices of leather in the Bible are singularly few: indeed the word occurs but twice in the A. V., and in each instance in reference to the same object, a girdle (2 K. i. 8; Matt. iii. 4). There are, however, other instances in which the word "leather" might with propriety be substituted for "skin," as in the passages in which vessels (Lev. xi. 32; Num. xxxi. 20) or raiment (Lev. xiii. 48) are spoken of; for in these cases the skins must have been prepared. Though the material itself is seldom noticed, yet we cannot doubt that it was extensively used by the Jews; shoes, bottles, thongs, garments, kneading-troughs, ropes, and other articles, were made of it. For the mode of preparing it see TANNER [Amer. ed.]. W. L. B.

[a] From עָלָה, to ascend or grow up. Precisely identical in ἀνάβασις, from ἀναβαίνειν, to ascend.

[b] Strictly, "a green and tender leaf," "one easily plucked off;" from טָרַף, "to tear, or pluck off," whence "as the leaves of her spring" (Is. xvii. 9).

Comp. the Syr. ܛܪܦܐ, *folium*, from ܛܪܦ, to strike off (Castell. *Lex. Hept.* s. v.).

[c] From the unused root עָפָה, to flower, flye ; Arab. عفا.

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LEAVEN (שְׂאֹר, *seor*: ζύμη: *fermentum*). The Hebrew word *seor* has the radical sense of *effervescence* or *fermentation*, and therefore corresponds in point of etymology to the Greek ζύμη (from ζέω), the Latin *fermentum* (from *ferveo*), and the English *leaven* (from *levare*). It occurs only five times in the Bible (Ex. xii. 15, 19, xiii. 7; Lev. ii. 11: Deut. xvi. 4), and is translated "leaven" in the first four of the passages quoted, and "leavened bread" in the last. In connection with it, we must notice the terms *chămets*[a] and *matstsōth*,[b] the former signifying "fermented" or "leavened," literally "sharpened," bread; the latter "unleavened," the radical force of the word being variously understood to signify *sweetness* or *purity*. The three words appear in juxtaposition in Ex. xiii. 7: "Unleavened bread (*matstsōth*) shall be eaten seven days; and there shall no leavened bread (*chămets*) be seen with thee, neither shall there be leaven (*seor*) seen with thee in all thy quarters." Various substances were known to have fermenting qualities; but the ordinary leaven consisted of a lump of old dough in a high state of fermentation, which was inserted into the mass of dough prepared for baking. [BREAD.] As the process of producing the leaven itself, or even of leavening bread when the substance was at hand, required some time, unleavened cakes were more usually produced on sudden emergencies (Gen. xviii. 6; Judg. vi. 19). The use of leaven was strictly forbidden in all offerings made to the Lord by fire; as in the case of the meat-offering (Lev. ii. 11), the trespass-offering, (Lev. vii. 12), the consecration-offering (Ex. xxix. 2; Lev. viii. 2), the Nazarite-offering (Num. vi. 15), and more particularly in regard to the feast of the Passover, when the Israelites were not only prohibited on pain of death from eating leavened bread, but even from having any leaven in their houses (Ex. xii. 15, 19) or in their land (Ex. xiii. 7; Deut. xvi. 4) during seven days commencing with the 14th of Nisan. It is in reference to these prohibitions that Amos (iv. 5) ironically bids the Jews of his day to "offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving *with leaven*;" and hence even honey was prohibited (Lev. ii. 11), on account of its occasionally producing fermentation. In other instances, where the offering was to be consumed by the priests, and not on the altar, leaven might be used, as in the case of the peace-offering (Lev. vii. 13), and the Pentecostal loaves (Lev. xxiii. 17). Various ideas were associated with the prohibition of leaven in the instances above quoted; in the feast of the Passover it served to remind the Israelites both of the haste with which they fled out of Egypt (Ex. xii. 39), and of the sufferings that they had undergone in that land, the insipidity of unleavened bread rendering it a not inapt emblem of affliction (Deut. xvi. 3). But the most prominent idea, and the one which applies equally to all the cases of prohibition, is connected with the *corruption* which leaven itself had undergone, and which it communicated to bread in the process of fermentation. It is to this property of leaven that our Saviour points when he speaks of the "leaven (*i. e.* the corrupt doctrine) of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees" (Matt. xvi. 6); and St. Paul, when he speaks of the "old leaven" (1 Cor. v. 7). This association of ideas was not peculiar to the Jews, it was familiar to the Romans, who forbade the priest of Jupiter to touch flour mixed with leaven (Gell. x. 15, 19), and who occasionally used the word *fermentum* as = "corruption" (Pers. *Sat.* i. 24). Plutarch's explanation is very much to the point: "The leaven itself is born from corruption, and corrupts the mass with which it is mixed" (*Quæst. Rom.* 109). Another quality in leaven is noticed in the Bible, namely, its *secretly penetrating* and *diffusive* power; hence the proverbial saying, "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump" (1 Cor. v. 6; Gal. v. 9). In this respect it was emblematic of moral influence generally, whether good or bad, and hence our Saviour adopts it as illustrating the growth of the kingdom of heaven in the individual heart and in the world at large (Matt. xiii. 33). W. L. B.

LEB'ANON (in prose with the art. הַלְּבָנוֹן, 1 Ki. v. 6 (Heb. 20); in poetry without the art. לְבָנוֹן: Ps. xxix. 6: Λίβανος: *Libanus*), a mountain range in the north of Palestine. The name *Lebanon* signifies "white," and was applied either on account of the snow, which, during a great part of the year, covers its whole summit,[c] or on account of the white color of its limestone cliffs and peaks. It is the "white mountain" — the *Mont Blanc* of Palestine; an appellation which seems to be given, in one form or another, to the highest mountains in all the countries of the old world. Lebanon is represented in Scripture as lying upon the northern border of the land of Israel (Deut. i. 7, xi. 24; Josh. i. 4). Two distinct ranges bear this name. They both begin in lat. 33° 20′, and run in parallel lines from S. W. to N. E. for about 90 geog. miles, enclosing between them a long fertile valley from 5 to 8 miles wide, anciently called *Cœle-Syria* The modern name is *el-Bukâ'a*,[d] "the valley," corresponding exactly to "the valley of Lebanon" in Joshua (xi. 17).[e] It is a northern prolongation of the Jordan valley, and likewise a southern prolongation of that of the Orontes (Porter's *Handbook*, p. xvi.).[f] The western range is the "Libanus" of the old geographers, and the Lebanon of Scripture where Solomon got timber for the Temple (1 K. v. 9, &c.), and where the Hivites and Giblites dwelt (Judg. iii. 3; Josh. xiii. 5). The eastern range was called "Anti-Libanus" by geographers, and "Lebanon toward the sun-rising" by the sacred writers (Josh. xiii. 5). Strabo describes (xvi. p. 754) the two as commencing near the Mediterranean — the former at Tripolis, and the latter at Sidon — and running in parallel lines toward Damascus and, strange to say, this error has, in

[a] חָמֵץ. Another form of the same root, *chămets* (חֹמֶץ), is applied to sharpened or sour wine [VINEGAR]: *chămets* is applied exclusively to bread.

[b] מַצּוֹת.

[c] So Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 6): "Præcipuum montium Libanum erigit, mirum dictu, tantos inter ardores quorum fidumque nivibus."

[d] البقاع

[e] עֵמֶק הַלְּבָנוֹן.

[f] Rawlinson has given a fine description of the geographical features of this valley, and its historical importance as the great high-road of the Babylonian armies on their march to Palestine (*Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, iii. 250). E

part at least, been followed by most modern writers, who represent the mountain-range between Tyre and the lake of Merom as a branch of Anti-Libanus (Winer, *Realwb.*, s. v. "Libanon;" Robinson, 1st ed. iii. 346; but see the corrections in the new edition). The topography of Anti-Libanus was first clearly described in Porter's *Damascus* (i. 297, &c., ii. 309, &c.). A deep valley called *Wady el-Teim* separates the southern section of Anti-Libanus from both Lebanon and the hills of Galilee.[a]

Lebanon — the western range — commences on the south at the deep ravine of the *Litâny*, the ancient river Leontes, which drains the valley of Cœle-Syria, and falls into the Mediterranean five miles north of Tyre. It runs N. E. in a straight line parallel to the coast, to the opening from the Mediterranean into the plain of Emesa, called in Scripture the "Entrance of Hamath" (Num. xxxiv. 8). Here *Nahr el-Kebîr* — the ancient river Eleutherus — sweeps round its northern end, as the Leontes does round its southern. The average elevation of the range is from 6000 to 8000 ft.; but two peaks rise considerably higher. One of these is *Sunnîn*, nearly on the parallel of *Beyrout*, which is more than 9,000 feet; the other is *Jebel Mukhmel*, which was measured in September, 1860, by the hydrographer of the Admiralty, and found to be very nearly 10,200 feet high (*Nat. Hist. Rev.*, No. V. p. 11). It is the highest mountain in Syria. On the summits of both these peaks the snow remains in patches during the whole summer.

The central ridge or backbone of Lebanon has smooth, barren sides, and gray rounded summits. It is entirely destitute of verdure, and is covered with small fragments of limestone, from which white crowns and jagged points of naked rock shoot up at intervals. Here and there a few stunted pine-trees or dwarf oaks are met with. The line of cultivation runs along at the height of about 6,000 ft.; and below this the features of the western slopes are entirely different. The descent is gradual; but is everywhere broken by precipices and towering rocks which time and the elements have chiseled into strange, fantastic shapes. Ravines of singular wildness and grandeur furrow the whole mountain side, looking in many places like huge rents. Here and there, too, bold promontories shoot out, and dip perpendicularly into the bosom of the Mediterranean. The rugged limestone banks are scantily clothed with the evergreen oak, and the sandstone with pines; while every available spot is carefully cultivated. The cultivation is wonderful, and shows what all Syria might be if under a good government. Miniature fields of grain are often seen where one would suppose the eagles alone, which hover round them, could have planted the seed. Fig-trees cling to the naked rock; vines are trained along narrow ledges; long ranges of mulberries, on terraces like steps of stairs, cover the more gentle declivities; and dense groves of olives fill up the bottoms of the glens. Hundreds of villages are seen — here built amid labyrinths of rocks; there clinging like swallows' nests to the sides of cliffs; while convents, no less numerous, are perched on the top of every peak. When viewed from the sea on a morning in early spring, Lebanon presents a picture which, once seen, is never forgotten; but deeper still is the impression left on the mind when one looks down over its terraced slopes clothed in their gorgeous foliage, and through the vistas of its magnificent glens, on the broad and bright Mediterranean. How beautifully do these noble features illustrate the words of the prophet: "Israel shall grow as the lily, and strike forth his roots as Lebanon" (Hos. xiv. 5). And the fresh mountain breezes, filled in early summer with the fragrance of the budding vines, and throughout the year with the rich odors of numerous aromatic shrubs, call to mind the words of Solomon — "The smell of thy garments is like the smell of Lebanon" (Cant. iv. 11; see also Hos. xiv. 6).[b] When the plains of Palestine are burned up with the scorching sun, and when the air in them is like the breath of a furnace, the snowy tops and ice-cold streams of Lebanon temper the breezes, and make the mountain-range a pleasant and luxurious retreat, — "Shall a man leave the snow of Lebanon . . . or shall the cold-flowing waters be forsaken?" (Jer. xviii. 14). The vine is still largely cultivated in every part of the mountain; and the wine is excellent, notwithstanding the clumsy apparatus and unskillful workmen employed in its manufacture (Hos. xiv. 7). Lebanon also abounds in olives, figs, and mulberries; while some remnants exist of the forests of pine, oak, and cedar, which formerly covered it (1 K. v. 6; Ps. xxix. 5; Is. xiv. 8; Ezr. iii. 7; Diod. Sic. xix. 58). Considerable numbers of wild beasts still inhabit its retired glens and higher peaks; the writer has seen jackals, hyenas, wolves, bears, and panthers (2 K. xiv. 9; Cant. iv. 8; Hab. ii. 17).

Some noble streams of classic celebrity have their sources high up in Lebanon, and rush down in sheets of foam through sublime glens, to stain with their ruddy waters the transparent bosom of the Mediterranean. The Leontes is on the south. Next comes *Nahr Auwaly* — the "graceful Bostrenos" of Dionysius Periegetes (905). Then follows the *Dâmûr* — the "Tamuras" of Strabo (xvi. p. 726), and the "Damuras" of Polybius (v. 68). Next, just on the north side of Beyrout, *Nahr Beyrout*, the "Magoras" of Pliny (v. 20). A few miles beyond it is *Nahr el-Kelb*, the "Lycus flumen" of the old geographers (Plin. v. 20). At its mouth is the celebrated pass where Egyptian, Assyrian, and Roman conquerors have left, on tablets of stone, records of their routes and their victories (Porter's *Handbook*, p. 407). *Nahr Ibrahim*, the classic river "Adonis," follows, bursting from a cave beneath the lofty brow of *Sunnîn*, beside the ruins of Apheca. From its native rock it runs

> "Purple to the sea, supposed with blood
> Of Thammuz, yearly wounded."

(Lucian *de Syr. Dea*, 6–8; Strab. xvi. 755; Plin. v. 17; Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 295.) Lastly, we have the "sacred river," *Kadîsha* — descending

[a] Pliny was more accurate than Strabo. He says (v. 20): "A tergo (Sidonis) mons Libanus orsus, mille quinquentis stadiis Simyram usque porrigitur, qua Cœle-Syria cognominatur. Huic par interjacente valle mons adversus obtenditur, muro conjunctus." Ptolemy (v. 15) follows Strabo; but Eusebius (*Onom.* s. v. "Antilibanus") says, 'Αντιλίβανος, τὰ ὑπὲρ τὸν Λίβανον πρὸς ἀνατολάς, πρὸς Δαμασκηνῶν χώραν.

[b] "The cedar cones exude a balsam which is very fragrant. The writer plucked several in the celebrated grove of cedars on Mt. Lebanon, and taking them to Beirût, hung them in his apartment. For weeks after every one who entered the room noticed the delicious perfume which filled it — "the smell of Lebanon" H. B.

from the side of the loftiest peak in the whole range, through a gorge of surpassing grandeur. Upon its banks, in a notch of a towering cliff, is perched the great convent of *Kanobin*, the residence of the Maronite patriarch.

The situation of the little group of cedars — the last remnant of that noble forest, once the glory of Lebanon — is very remarkable. Round the head of the sublime Valley of the Kadisha sweep the highest summits of Lebanon in the form of a semicircle. Their sides rise up, bare, smooth, majestic, to the rounded snow-capped heads. In the centre of this vast recess, far removed from all other foliage and verdure, stand, in strange solitude, the cedars of Lebanon, as if they scorned to mingle their giant arms, and graceful fan-like branches, with the degenerate trees of a later age.[a]

Along the base of Lebanon runs the irregular plain of Phœnicia; nowhere more than two miles wide, and often interrupted by bold rocky spurs, that dip into the sea.

The eastern slopes of Lebanon are much less imposing and less fertile than the western. In the southern half of the range there is an abrupt descent from the summit into the plain of Cœle-Syria, which has an elevation of about 2,500 ft. Along the proper base of the northern half runs a low side ridge partially covered with dwarf oaks.

The northern half of the mountain-range is peopled almost exclusively by Maronite Christians — a brave, industrious, and hardy race; but sadly oppressed by an ignorant set of priests. In the southern half the Druzes predominate, who, though they number only some 20,000 fighting men, form one of the most powerful parties in Syria.

The main ridge of Lebanon is composed of Jura limestone, and abounds in fossils. Long belts of more recent sandstone run along the western slopes.



The grand range of Lebanon.

which is in places largely impregnated with iron. Some strata towards the southern end are said to yield as much as 90 per cent. of pure iron (Deut. viii. 9, xxxiii. 25). Coal is found in the district of *Metn*, east of *Beyrout*, near the village of *Kurnâyil*. A mine was opened by Ibrahim Pasha, but soon abandoned. Cretaceous strata of a very late period lie along the whole western base of the mountain-range.

Lebanon was originally inhabited by the Hivites and Giblites (Judg. iii. 3; Josh. xiii. 5, 6). The latter either gave their name to, or took their name from the city of Gebal, called by the Greeks Byblus (LXX. of Ez. xxvii. 9; Strabo, xvi. p. 755). The old city — now almost in ruins, — and a small district round it, still bear the ancient name in the Arabic form *Jebail*[b] (Porter's *Handbook*, p. 586). The whole mountain range was assigned to the Israelites, but was never conquered by them (Josh xiii. 2–6; Judg. iii. 1–3). During the Jewish monarchy it appears to have been subject to the Phœnicians (1 K. v. 2–6; Ezr. iii. 7). From the Greek conquest until modern times Lebanon had no separate history.

Anti-Libanus. — The main chain of Anti-Libanus commences in the plateau of Bashan, near the parallel of Cæsarea-Philippi, runs north to Hermon, and then northeast in a straight line till it sinks down into the great plain of Emesa, not far from the site of Riblah. HERMON is the loftiest peak, and has already been described; the next highest is a few miles north of the site of Aula, beside the village of *Bludân*, and has an elevation of about

[a] The height of the grove is now ascertained to be 6172 ft. above the Mediterranean (Dr. Hooker, in *Nat. Hist. Rev.* No. V. p. 11). [Respecting other groves, see CEDAR, vol. i. p. 4[illegible] (addition) and the supplement to this article. — A.]

[b] جبيل.

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7,000 ft. The rest of the ridge averages about 5,000 ft.; it is in general bleak and barren, with shelving gray declivities, gray cliffs, and gray rounded summits. Here and there we meet with thin forests of dwarf oak and juniper. The western slopes descend abruptly into the *Bukâ'a*; but the features of the eastern are entirely different. Three side-ridges here radiate from Hermon, like the ribs of an open fan, and form the supporting walls of three great terraces. The last and lowest of these ridges takes a course nearly due east, bounding the plain of Damascus, and running out into the desert as far as Palmyra. The greater part of the terraces thus formed are parched flinty deserts, though here and there are sections with a rich soil. Anti-Libanus can only boast of two streams — the Pharpar, now *Nahr el-'Awaj*, which rises high up on the side of Hermon; and the Abana, now called *Barâda*. The fountain of the latter is in the beautiful little plain of *Zebulâny*, on the western side of the main chain, through which it cuts in a sublime gorge, and then divides successively each of the side-ridges in its course to Damascus. A small streamlet flows down the Valley of Helbon parallel to the Abana.

Anti-Libanus is more thinly peopled than its sister range; and it is more abundantly stocked with wild beasts. Eagles, vultures, and other birds of prey, may be seen day after day sweeping in circles round the beetling cliffs. Wild swine are numerous; and vast herds of gazelles roam over the bleak eastern steppes.

Anti-Libanus is only once distinctly mentioned in Scripture, where it is accurately described as "Lebanon toward the sun-rising" [a] (Josh. xiii. 5); but the southern section of the chain is frequently referred to under other names. [See HERMON.] The words of Solomon in Cant. iv. 8 are very striking — "Look from the top of Amana, from the top of Shenir and Hermon, from the lions' den, from the mountains of the leopards." [b] The reference is, in all probability, to the two highest peaks of Anti-Libanus, — Hermon, and that near the fountain of the Abana; and in both places panthers [c] still exist. "The tower of Lebanon which looketh toward Damascus" (Cant. vii. 4) is doubtless Hermon, which forms the most striking feature in the whole panorama round that city. Josephus mentions Lebanon as lying near Dan and the fountains of the Jordan (*Ant.* v. 3, § 1), and as bounding the province of Gaulanitis on the north (*B. J.* iii. 3, § 5); he of course means Anti-Libanus. [d] The old city of Abila stood in one of the wildest glens of Anti-Libanus, on the banks of the Abana, and its territory embraced a large section of the range. [ABILENE.] Damascus owes its existence to a stream from these mountains; so did the once great and splendid city of Heliopolis; and the chief sources of both the Leontes and Orontes lie along their western base (Porter's *Handbook*, pp. xviii., xix.). J. L. P.

* For a long time it was contended that the cedar was not found in any part of Lebanon except the famous grove near *Besherreh*, and that any trees resembling it in other localities were only cognate species, but not the true *Larix cedrus*. I have, however, settled this point by a laborious search and botanical examination. There are certainly in existence the following groves:

(1.) An extensive one near *el-Hadet*, described by previous authors, consisting of many thousand small trees.

(2.) A small grove was in existence up to October 1866, east of *'Ain Zehalta*, on the crest of the ridge overlooking the *Bukâ'a*. I visited the same grove in company with Rev. H. H. Jessup, D. D. in October 1865, and at that time we counted about twenty trees, some of them of considerable size. One isolated from the grove, distant a mile, would have measured twenty feet in circumference. This grove was felled when I visited it in 1866, and the last timbers were being sawn for roofing purposes.

(3.) A large grove of very young trees east of *'Ain Zehalta*, in the valleys and on the western slopes of Lebanon. I estimated the number at 10,000 trees. This grove a few years since consisted of very large trees, many of them from 6 to 10 feet in diameter. But a few years ago they were sold to a company of pitch-burners from *Beirût* for the paltry sum of 30,000 piastres, and all cut down, and consumed in making rosin and tar. The new sprouts are now beginning to re-clothe the hill-sides and valleys, and in a couple of centuries may claim the name of a forest.

(4.) A grove beginning above *Barûk* and stretching southward two or three miles, terminating in a cluster of noble trees overhanging the village *el-Measir*, vying with the grove at *Besherreh* in magnitude and beauty. The northernmost end of this grove above *Barûk* has a few score of large trees, one or two of which are gigantic. The central portion, clothing the western slope of the mountain, consists of large trees, but so miserably hacked and hewed and burnt by the wood-cutters, that most of its trees are dead or dying. They may number 20,000 to 30,000 in all, small and large.

The southernmost portion is a grand collection of about two hundred and fifty trees. One measures 27 feet in circumference, another 23, and many from 15 to 20. Some of them spread widely their horizontal branches, and bear numerous cones. The grandeur of their situation on the declivity of a deep gorge enhances the interest which always attends the sight of this venerable tree.

It will be seen by these remarks, that, were the groves mentioned protected from spoliation, and allowed to increase, Mount Lebanon might be again covered with mighty forests of its royal tree.

A word on the value of the cedar for building purposes. In Syria, where the worms so soon destroy the softer woods, and where the long soaking to which roof timbers are subjected, owing to the oozing of water from the earth-roofs during the rainy season, causes the timbers to rot, a resinous,

[a] חַלְּבָנוֹן מִזְרַח הַשָּׁמֶשׁ.

[b] Amana and Abana seem to be identical, for in 2 S. v. 12 the Keri reading is אֲבָנָה.

[c] The Heb. נָמֵר is identical with the Arabic نمر, "a panther."

[d] Strabo says (xvi. p. 755), Ὁ Μασσύας ἔχων τινὰ καὶ ὀρεινά, ἐν οἷς ἡ Χαλκὶς ὥσπερ ἀκρόπολις τοῦ Μασσύου. Ἀρχὴ δ' αὐτοῦ Δαοδίκεια ἡ πρὸς Λιβάνῳ. From this it appears that the province of Mamyas in his day embraced the whole of Anti-Libanus; for Laodicea ad Libanum lies at the northern end of the range (Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 339), and the site of Chalcis is at its western base, twenty miles south of Ba'albek (*id.* i. 14).

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indestructible wood like the cedar is invaluable for the rafters which are universally used as supports for the roofs throughout the Lebanon. It is true that the timber as now found cannot be worked into very long straight columns, as it is gnarled and twisted like the oak, but for most of the purposes for which timber is used here it would be invaluable. What might be its character, were the trees allowed to grow naturally, without being lopped and mutilated, cannot be positively asserted. I am of opinion, however, from the symmetry of some of the older trees, that much of the disparagement which has been used in speaking of this wood is due to the deformity and disease inflicted on the tree by the careless hand of man, and I can readily believe that Solomon found all that he desired for the stately columns and beams and rafters of his Temple and palace in the uninjured primeval forests of which we see a faint type near *Besherreh* and *el-Mensir*.

Since the massacres of 1860, Lebanon has constituted a separate government, tributary to the Turkish Sultan, but in many important respects independent. Its governor, Daoud Pasha, is a Christian, of the American Catholic sect. He was nominated by the Porte, subject to the ratification of the Five Powers. He governs the mountains with the aid of a police force enrolled by volunteer enlistments from among the various populations of the mountains — Druze, Maronite, Greek, and Greek Catholic. No Turkish troops are stationed in his district, which includes all of both slopes of Lebanon, and a part of the *Buk'a*. He is a man of enlightened judgment and views, and has succeeded in establishing a government which is an honor to himself and the great powers to which he is responsible, and an unspeakable relief to the country after the centuries of misrule and anarchy which have desolated it. He has even introduced the franchise, and has organized local governments, elective by the people. He is not under the jurisdiction of the governor-general of Syria, but is answerable directly to the Sublime Porte, and the representatives of England, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Under his benign administration the fruitful mountain grows visibly every year in cultivation and beauty, and the thrifty aspect of its villages bears testimony to the sense of security which is so sadly wanting in the neighboring plains and mountains.

G. E. P.

LEB'AOTH (לְבָאוֹת) [*lions*]: Λαβώθ; Alex. Λαβωθ: *Lebaoth*), a town which forms one of the last group of the cities of "the South" in the enumeration of the possessions of Judah (Josh. xv. 32). It is named between Sansannah and Shilhim; and is very probably identical with BETH-LEBAOTH, elsewhere called BETH-BIRKI. No trace of any names answering to these appears to have been yet discovered. If we may adopt the Hebrew signification of the name ("lionesses"), it furnishes an indication of the existence of wild animals in the south of Palestine. G.

LEBBÆ'US (Λεββαῖος). This name occurs in Matt. x. 3, according to Codex D (Beze Cantabrigiensis) of the sixth century, [and most other MSS.], and in the Received Text. In Mark iii. 18 it is substituted in a few unimportant MSS. for Thaddæus. The words "Lebbæus who is called (Matt. x. 3) are not found in the Vatican MS. (B nor the Sinaitic], and Lachmann rejects them as, on his opinion, not received by the most ancient Eastern churches. [So also Tregelles.] The Vulgate omits them; but Jerome (*Comm. in Matt.*) says that Thaddæus, or Judas *the brother* of James, is elsewhere called Lebbæus; and he concludes that this Apostle had three names. It is much easier to suppose that a strange name has been omitted than that it has been inserted by later transcribers. [Lebbæus is retained in Tischendorf's 8th critical edition of the Greek Testament, but he omits ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Θαδδαῖος. — A.] It is admitted into the ancient versions of the N. T., and into all the English versions (except the Rhemish) since Tyndale's in 1534. For the signification of the name, and for the life of the Apostle, see JUDE, p 1504.

W. T. B.

LEBO'NAH (לְבֹנָה [*frankincense*, and in that sense also לִבְנָה]: τῆς Λεβωνᾶ; Alex. τοῦ Λιβανου τῆς Λεβωνα: *Lebona*), a place named in Judg. xxi. 19 only; and there but as a landmark to determine the position of Shiloh, which is stated to have lain south of it. Lebonah has survived to our times under the almost identical form of *el-Lubban*. It lies to the west of, and close to, the *Nablûs* road, about eight miles north of *Beitîn* (Bethel), and two from *Seilûn* (Shiloh), in relation to which it stands, however, nearer W. than N. The village is on the northern acclivity of the wady to which it gives its name. Its appearance is ancient; and in the rocks above it are excavated sepulchres (Rob. ii. 272). To Eusebius and Jerome it does not appear to have been known. The earliest mention of it yet met with is in the Itinerary of the Jewish traveller Isaac Parchi (A. D. cir. 1320), who describes it under the name of *Lubin*, and refers especially to its correspondence with the passages in Judges (see Asher's *Benj. of Tudela*, ii. 435). It was visited by Maundrell (March 24, 25), who mentions the identification with Lebonah, but in such terms as may imply that he was only repeating a tradition. Since then it has been passed and noticed by most travellers to the Holy Land (Rob. ii. 272: Wilson, ii. 292, 293; Bonar, 363; Mislin, iii. 319, &c., &c.). G.

LE'CAH (לֶכָה [*walking, course*]: [Rom. Ληχάβ; Vat.] Ληχα; Alex. Ληχαβ: *Lecha*), a name mentioned in the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 21) only, as one of the descendants of Shelah, the third son of Judah by the Canaanitess Bathshua. The immediate progenitor of Lecah was ER. Many of the names in this genealogy, especially when the word "father" is attached, are towns (comp. Eshtemoa, Keilah, Mareshah, etc.); but this, though probably the case with Lecah, is not certain, because it is not mentioned again, either in the Bible or the *Onomasticon*, nor have any traces of it been since discovered. G.

* **LEDGES** (שְׂלָבִים), 1 K. vii. 28 35, 36. [LAVER, *b.*]

LEECH. [HORSE-LEECH.]

LEEKS (חָצִיר, *chătsîr*: τὰ πράσα, *βοτάνη χλόη, χόρτος, χλωρός*: *herba, porrus, fœnum, pratum*). The word *chătsîr*, which in Num. xi. 5 is translated *leeks*, occurs twenty times in the Hebrew text. In 1 K. xviii. 5: Job xl. 15; Ps. civ. 14, cxlvii. 8, cxxix. 6. xxxvii. 2, xc. 5, ciii. 15; Is. xxxvii. 27. xl. 6. 7, 8, xliv. 4, li. 12, it is rendered *grass*; in Job viii. 12, it is rendered *herb*; in Prov. xxvii. 25, Is. xv. 6, it is erroneously translated

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key; in Is. xxxiv. 13, the A. V. has *court* (see note). The word *leeks* occurs in the A. V. only in Num. xi. 5; it is there mentioned as one of the good things of Egypt for which the Israelites longed in their journey through the desert, just before the terrible plague at Kibroth-hattaavah, "the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlic." The Hebrew term, which properly denotes *grass*, is derived from a root signifying "to be green,"[a] and may therefore stand in this passage for any green food, lettuce, endive, etc., as Ludolf and Maillet have conjectured; it would thus be applied somewhat in the same manner as we use the term "greens;" yet as the *chătsîr* is mentioned together with onions and garlic in the text, and as the most ancient versions, Onkelos, the LXX., and the Vulgate, together with the Syriac and the Arabic of Saadias,[b] unanimously understand *leeks* by the Hebrew word, we may be satisfied with our own translation. Moreover, *chătsîr* would apply to the *leek* appropriately enough, both from its green color and the grass-like form of the leaves.

There is, however, another and a very ingenious interpretation of *chătsîr*, first proposed by Hengstenberg, and received by Dr. Kitto (*Pictor. Bible*, Num. xi. 5), which adopts a more literal translation



Common leek (*Allium porrum*).

of the original word, for, says Dr. Kitto, "among the wonders in the natural history of Egypt, it is mentioned by travellers that the common people there eat with special relish a kind of *grass similar to clover*." Mayer (*Reise nach Ægyptien*, p. 226) says of this plant (whose scientific name is *Trigonella fœnum Græcum*, belonging to the natural order *Leguminosæ*), that it is similar to clover, but its leaves more pointed, and that great quantities of it are eaten by the people. Forskâl mentions the *Trigonella* as being grown in the gardens at Cairo; its native name is *Halbeh* (*Flor. Ægypt.* p. 81).

Sonnini (*Voyage*, i. 379) says, "In this fertile country, the Egyptians themselves eat the *fœnu-græc* so largely, that it may be properly called the food of man. In the month of November they cry 'green halbeh for sale!' in the streets of the town; it is tied up in large bunches, which the inhabitants purchase at a low price, and which they eat with incredible greediness without any kind of seasoning."

The seeds of this plant, which is also cultivated in Greece, are often used; they are eaten boiled or



Trigonella fœnum-græcum.

raw, mixed with honey. Forskâl includes it in the Materia Medica of Egypt (*Mat. Med. Kahir.* p. 155). However plausible may be this theory of Hengstenberg, there does not appear sufficient reason for ignoring the old versions, which seem all agreed that the *leek* is the plant denoted by *chătsîr*, a vegetable from the earliest times a great favorite with the Egyptians, as both a nourishing and savory food. Some have objected that, as the Egyptians held the *leek*, *onion*, etc., sacred, they would abstain from eating these vegetables themselves, and would not allow the Israelites to use them.[c] We have, however, the testimony of Herodotus (ii. 125) to show that *onions* were eaten by the Egyptian poor, for he says that on one of the pyramids is shown an inscription, which was explained to him by an interpreter, showing how much money was spent in providing *radishes*, *onions*, and *garlic*, for the workmen. The priests were not allowed to eat these things, and Plutarch (*De Is. et Osir.* ii. p. 353) tells us the reasons. The Welshman reverences his leek, and wears one on St. David's Day — he *eats the leek* nevertheless; and doubtless

[a] חָצַר, *viruit*, i. q. Arab. حضر (*hhadhr*). Gesenius has shown that this word is identical with חָצַר, *circumvallit*. He compares the Greek χόρτος, which primarily means a *court* (for cattle); hence, a *pasture*; hence, in an extended sense, *grass* or *herbage*. But see the different derivation of Fürst. [In Is. xxxiv. 13 חָצִיר is to be compared with the Arabic حظير (*hazirat*), which is the fold or pen of sheep. — G. E. P.]

[b] The word employed here is still the name in Egypt for leek (Hasselquist, 562).

[c] Juvenal's derision of the Egyptians for the veneration they paid to the leek may here be quoted:

"Porrum et cepe nefas violare ac frangere morsu,
O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
Numina!" — *Sat.* xv. 9.

Cf. Plin. *H. N.* xix. 6; Celsii *Hierob.* ii. 269; Hillar *Hierophyt.* pt. ii. 36; Diosc. ii. 4

the Egyptians were not over-scrupulous (*Scripture Herbal*, p. 230). The *leek*[a] is too well known to need description. Its botanical name is *Allium porrum*; it belongs to the order *Liliacea*. W. H.

LEES (שְׁמָרִים: τρυγίαι: *faces*). The Hebrew *shemer* bears the radical sense of *preservation*, and was applied to "lees" from the custom of allowing the wine to stand on the lees in order that its color and body might be better preserved. Hence the expression "wine on the lees," as meaning a generous, full-bodied liquor (Is. xxv. 6). The wine in this state remained, of course, undisturbed in its cask, and became thick and syrupy; hence the proverb, "to settle upon one's lees," to express the sloth, indifference, and gross stupidity of the ungodly (Jer. xlviii. 11; Zeph. i. 12). Before the wine was consumed, it was necessary to strain off the lees; such wine was then termed "well refined" (Is. xxv. 6). To drink the lees, or "dregs," was an expression for the endurance of extreme punishment (Ps. lxxv. 8). W. L. B.

LEGION (Λεγεών; [Tisch., 8th ed., λεγιών:] *Legio*), the chief subdivision of the Roman army, containing about 6,000 infantry, with a contingent of cavalry. The term does not occur in the Bible in its primary sense, but appears to have been adopted in order to express any large number, with the accessory ideas of order and subordination. Thus it is applied by our Lord to the angels (Matt. xxvi. 53), and in this sense it answers to the "hosts" of the Old Testament (Gen. xxxii. 2; Ps. cxlviii. 2).[b] It is again the name which the demoniac assumes, "My name is Legion (Λεγιών); for we are many" (Mark v. 9), implying the presence of a spirit of superior power in addition to subordinate ones. W. L. B.

LEHA'BIM (לְהָבִים [perh. *fiery, flaming*]: Λαβιείμ; [in 1 Chr., Rom. Vat. omit, Alex. Λαβειν:] *Laabim*), occurring only in Gen. x. 13 [and 1 Chr. i. 11], the name of a Mizraite people or tribe, supposed to be the same as the Lubim, mentioned in several places in the Scriptures as mercenaries or allies of the Egyptians. There can be no doubt that the Lubim are the same as the ReBU or LeBU of the Egyptian inscriptions, and that from them Libya and the Libyans derived their name. These primitive Libyans appear, in the period at which they are mentioned in these two historical sources, that is from the time of Menptah, B. C. *cir.* 1250, to that of Jeremiah's notice of them late in the 6th century B. C., and probably in the case of Daniel's, prophetically to the earlier part of the second century B. C., to have inhabited the northern part of Africa to the west of Egypt, though latterly driven from the coast by the Greek colonists of the Cyrenaica, as is more fully shown under LUBIM. Philologically, the interchange of ה and the middle letter of a root into י quiescent, is frequent, although it is important to remark that Gesenius considers the form with ה to be more common in the later dialects, as the Semitic languages are now found (*Thes.* art. ה). There seems, however, to be strong reason for considering many of these later forms to be recurrences to primitive forms. Geographically, the position of the Lehabim in the enumeration of the Mizraites immediately before the Naphtuhim, suggests that they at first settled to the westward of Egypt, and nearer to it, or not more distant from it than the tribes or peoples mentioned before them [MIZRAIM]. Historically and ethnologically, the connection of the ReBU and Libyans with Egypt and its people suggests their kindred origin with the Egyptians. [LUBIM.] On these grounds there can be no reasonable doubt of the identity of the Lehabim and Lubim. R. S. P.

LE'HI (with the def. article, הַלֶּחִי except in ver. 14 [*the jawbone*]: in ver. 9, [Rom Λεχί, Vat.] Λευι, Alex. Λευι: [in vv. 14, 19,] Σιαγών: *Lechi, id est maxilla*), a place in Judah, probably on the confines of the Philistines' country, between it and the cliff Etam; the scene of Samson's well-known exploit with the jawbone (Judg. xv. 9, 14, 19). It contained an eminence — Ramath-lehi, and a spring of great and lasting repute — En hak-kore.

Whether the name existed before the exploit or the exploit originated the name cannot now be determined from the narrative.[c] On the one hand, in vv. 9 and 19, Lehi is named as if existing before this occurrence, while on the other the play of the story and the statement of the bestowal of the name Ramath-lehi look as if the reverse were intended. The analogy of similar names in other countries[d] is in favor of its having existed previously. Even taken as a Hebrew word, "Lechi" has another meaning besides a jawbone; and after all there is throughout a difference between the two words, which, though slight to our ears, would be much more marked to those of a Hebrew, and which so far betrays the accommodation.[e]

A similar discrepancy in the case of Beer Lahai-

[a] "Leek" is from the Anglo-Saxon *leac*, German *lauch*.

[b] This application of the term is illustrated by the rabbinical usage of לְגִיוֹן as = "leader, chief" (Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* p. 1123).

[c] It is unusually full of plays and paronomastic turns. Thus לֶחִי signifies a jaw, and לֶחִי is the name of the place; חֲמוֹר is both a he-ass and a heap, etc.

[d] Compare the somewhat parallel case of Dunchurch and Dunsmoor, which, in the local traditions, derive their names from an exploit of Guy of Warwick.

[e] לֶחִי = Lechi, is the name of the place in vv. 9, 14, 19, and in Ramath-Lehi, v. 17; whereas L'chi, לֶחִי, is the word for jawbone. In ver. 19 the words "in the jaw" should be "in Lehi:" the original is בַּלֶּחִי, exactly as in 9; not בַּלֶּחִי, as in 16. See Milton, *Samson Ag.*, line 562

[e] The above distinction between לֶחִי as the name of the place, and לֶחִי as jawbone, is not valid; for the difference arises from the pause which falls on the initial consonant in one case and not in the other. Thus the form in Ps. lii. 9 is לֶחִי, and yet certainly means "jawbone." Hence whether we should read "Lehi" or "jawbone" in ver. 19, depends not on the punctuation, but the view taken of the nature of the occurrence.

hail understands Judg. xv. 19 as meaning that God caused water to spring forth not from the mortar or socket of the jawbone, but from the cavity (lit. *tooth-hollow*), of a rock well known at Lehi when the record was written. He assigns good reasons for regarding this as the true sense of the passage (*Comm.*, *Notes*

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roi, and a great similarity between the two names in the original (Ges. *Thes.* 175 *b*), has led to the supposition that that place was the same as Lehi. But the situations do not suit. The well Lahai-roi was below Kadesh, very far from the locality to which Samson's adventures seem to have been confined. The same consideration would also appear fatal to the identification proposed by M. Van de Velde (*Memoir*, p. 343) at *Tell el-Lakhiyeh*, in the extreme south of Palestine, only four miles above Beer-sheba, a distance to which we have no authority for believing that either Samson's achievements or the possessions of the Philistines (at least in those days) extended. As far as the name goes, a more feasible suggestion would be *Beit-Likiyeh*, a village on the northern slopes of the great *Wady Suleiman*, about two miles below the upper Beth-horon (see Tobler, *3te Wanderung*) Here is a position at once on the borders of both Judah and the Philistines, and within reasonable proximity to Zorah, Eshtaol, Timnath, and other places familiar to the history of the great Danite hero. On this, however, we must await further investigation; and in the mean time it should not be overlooked that there are reasons for placing the cliff Etam — which seems to have been near Lehi — in the neighborhood of Bethlehem. [ETAM, THE ROCK.]

The spring of En hak-kore is mentioned by Jerome (*Epitaph. Paulæ*, § 14) in such terms as to imply that it was then known, and that it was near Morasthi, the native place of the prophet Micah, which he elsewhere (*Onom.* s. v.; *Præf. ad Mich.*) mentions as east of Eleutheropolis (*Beit Jibrin*).

Lehi is possibly mentioned in 2 Sam. xxiii. 11 — the relation of another encounter with the Philistines hardly less disastrous than that of Samson. The word [a] rendered in the A. V. "into a troop," by alteration of the vowel-points becomes "to Lehi," which gives a new and certainly an appropriate sense. This reading first appears in Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 12, § 4), who gives it "a place called Siagona" — the jaw — the word which he employs in the story of Samson (*Ant.* v. 8, § 9). It is also given in the Complutensian [b] LXX., and among modern interpreters by Bochart (*Hieroz.* l. 2, ch. 13), Kennicott (*Dissert.* 140), J. D. Michaelis (*Bibel für Ungelehrt.*), Ewald (*Geschichte*, iii. 180, *note*). G.

LEMUEL (לְמוּאֵל and לְמוֹאֵל: *Lamuel*), the name of an unknown king to whom his mother addressed the prudential maxims contained in Prov. xxxi. 1–9. The version of this chapter in the LXX. is so obscure that it is difficult to discover what text they could have had before them. In the rendering of Lemuel by ὑπὸ θεοῦ, in Prov. xxxi. 1, some traces of the original are discernible, but in ver. 4 it is entirely lost. The rabbinical commentators identify Lemuel with Solomon, and tell a strange tale how that when he married the daughter of Pharaoh, on the day of the dedication of the Temple, he assembled musicians of all kinds, and passed the night awake. On the morrow he slept till the fourth hour, with the keys of the Temple beneath his pillow, when his mother entered and upbraided him in the words of Prov. xxxi. 2–9. Grotius, adopting a fanciful etymology from the Arabic, makes Lemuel the same as Hezekiah. Hitzig and others regard him as king or chief of an Arab tribe dwelling on the borders of Palestine, and elder brother of Agur, whose name stands at the head of Prov. xxx. [See JAKEH.] According to this view *massâ* (A. V. "the prophecy") is Massa in Arabia; a region mentioned twice in close connection with Dumah, and peopled by the descendants of Ishmael. In the reign of Hezekiah a roving band of Simeonites drove out the Amalekites from Mount Seir and settled in their stead (1 Chr. iv. 38–43), and from these exiles of Israelitish origin Hitzig conjectures that Lemuel and Agur were descended, the former having been born in the land of Israel; and that the name Lemuel is an older form of Nemuel, the first-born of Simeon (*Die Sprüche Salomo's*, pp. 310–314). But it is more probable, as Eichhorn and Ewald suggest, that Lemuel is a poetical appellation, selected by the author of these maxims for the guidance of a king, for the purpose of putting in a striking form the lessons which they conveyed. Signifying as it does "to God," *i. e.* dedicated or devoted to God, like the similar word Lael, it is in keeping with the whole sense of the passage, which contains the portraiture of a virtuous and righteous king, and belongs to the latest period of the proverbial literature of the Hebrews. W. A. W.

* **LEND, LENDER.** [LOAN.]

LENTILES (עֲדָשִׁים, *ădâshim*: φακός: *lens*). There cannot be the least doubt that the A. V. is correct in its translation of the Hebrew word which occurs in the four following passages: Gen. xxv. 34, 2 Sam. xvii. 28, 2 Sam xxiii. 11, and Ez. iv. 9; from which last we learn that in times of scarcity lentiles were sometimes used in making bread. There are three or four kinds of lentiles, all of which are still much esteemed in those countries where they are grown, namely, the South of Europe, Asia, and North Africa: the red lentile is still a favorite article of food in the East; it is a small kind, the seeds of which after being decorticated, are commonly sold in the bazaars of India. The modern Arabic name of this plant is identical with the Hebrew; it is known in Egypt and Arabia, Syria, etc., by the name *'Adas*, as we learn from the testimony of several travellers.[c] When Dr. Robinson was staying at the castle of *'Akrabah*, he partook of lentiles, which he says he "found very palatable, and could well conceive that

es *Judges*, p. 416 f., Eng. transl.). See also Studer, *Richter*, p. 339. The version of the *Société biblique protestante de Paris* (1866) follows this interpretation. H.

[a] לַחֲיָה, as if חַיָּה, from the root חָיָה (Ges. *Thes.* p. 470). In this sense the word very rarely occurs (see A. V. of Ps. lxviii. 10, 30, lxxiv. 19). It elsewhere has the sense of "living," and thence of wild animals, which is adopted by the LXX. in this place as remarked above. In ver. 13 it is again rendered "troop." In the parallel narrative of 1 Chronicles (xi. 15), the word מַחֲנֵה, a "camp," is substituted.

[b] The Vatican and Alex. MSS. read εἰς θηρία (רֹאִי, as if the Philistines had come on a hunting expedition.

[c] See also Catafago's *Arabic Dictionary*, "Lentiles" عدس, *adas*.

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to a weary hunter, faint with hunger, they would be quite a dainty" (*Bibl. Res.* i. 246). Dr. Kitto also says that he has often partaken of red pottage, prepared by seething the lentiles in water, and then adding a little suet, to give them a flavor; and that he found it better food than a stranger would imagine; "the mess," he adds, "had the redness which gained for it the name of *adom*" (*Pict. Bib.*, Gen. xxv. 30, 34). From Sonnini we



Lentile (*Ervum lens*).

learn that lentile bread is still eaten by the poor of Egypt, even as it was in the time of Ezekiel; indeed, that towards the cataracts of the Nile there is scarce any other bread in use, because corn is very rare; the people generally add a little barley in making their bread of lentiles, which "is by no means bad, though heavy" (Sonnini's *Travels*, Hunter's transl. iii. 226). Shaw and Russell bear similar testimony.



Egyptians cooking Lentiles (Wilkinson.)

The Arabs have a tradition that Hebron is the spot where Esau sold his birthright, and in memory of this event the dervises distribute from the kitchen of a mosque there a daily supply of lentile soup to travellers and poor inhabitants (D'Arvieux, *Mem.* ii. 237).

The lentile, *Ervum lens*, is much used with other pulse in Roman Catholic countries during Lent; and some say that from hence the season derives its name. It is occasionally cultivated in England, but only as fodder for cattle; it is also imported from Alexandria. From the quantity of gluten the ripe seeds contain they must be highly nutritious, though they have the character of being heating if taken in large quantities. In Egypt the haulm is used for packing. The lentile belongs to the natural order *Leguminosæ*. W. H.

* Esau's pottage may be supposed to have been the original of the dish, so common at this day among the Arabs, called مجدرة (*majaddarah*). It is composed of lentiles boiled with onions and rice, with the addition of oil, and seasoned to the taste. It is one of the commonest dishes of the laboring classes in Syria, and is used more particularly during the season of fasting, when it takes the place of rice cooked with butter, and meat stews. It is very palatable to those who like oil in cookery. G. E. P.

LEOPARD (נָמֵר, *nâmer*: πάρδαλις: *pardus*) is invariably given by the A. V. as the translation of the Hebrew word,[a] which occurs in the seven following passages, — Is. xi. 6; Jer. v. 6, xiii. 23; Dan. vii. 6; Hos. xiii. 7; Cant. iv. 8; Hab. i. 8. *Leopard* occurs also in Ecclus. xxviii. 23, and in Rev. xiii. 2. The swiftness of this animal, to which Habakkuk compares the Chaldæan horses, and to which Daniel alludes in the winged leopard, the emblem in his vision of Alexander's rapid conquests, is well known: so great is the flexibility of its body, that it is able to take surprising leaps, to climb trees, or to crawl snake-like upon the ground. Jeremiah and Hosea allude to the insidious habit of this animal, which is abundantly confirmed by the observations of travellers; the leopard will take up its position in some spot near a village, and watch for some favorable opportunity



Leopard (*Leopardus varius*).

for plunder. From the passage of Canticles, quoted above, we learn that the hilly ranges of Lebanon were in ancient times frequented by these animals, and it is now not uncommonly seen in and about Lebanon, and the southern maritime mountains of Syria[b] (Kitto, note on *Cant.* iv. 8). Burckhardt

[a] The word נָמֵר means "spotted" (see the derivations of Fürst and Gesenius). The same word for "leopard" occurs in all the cognate languages. The Arabic is نَمِر (*namir*), نِمِر (*nimr*), with which the modern Arabic is identical, though this name is also applied to the tiger; but perhaps "tiger" and "leopard" are synonymous in those countries where the former animal is not found.

[b] Beth-nimrah, Nimrah, the waters of Nimrim, possibly derive their names from *Nimer* (Bochart, *Hieroz* ii. 107, ed. Rosenmüll.

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mentions that leopards have sometimes been killed in "the low and rocky chain of the Richel mountain," but he calls them ounces (Burck. *Syria*, p. 132). In another passage (p. 335) he says, "in the wooded parts of Mount Tabor are wild boars and ounces." Mariti says that the "grottoes at Kedron cannot be entered at all seasons without danger, for in the middle of summer it is frequented by tigers, who retire hither to shun the heat" (Mariti, *Trav.* (translated), iii. 58). By *tigers* he undoubtedly means *leopards*, for the tiger does not occur in Palestine. Under the name *nâmer*,[a] which means "spotted," it is not improbable that another animal, namely, the cheetah (*Guepardus jubata*), may be included; which is tamed by the Mohammedans of Syria, who employ it in hunting the gazelle. These animals are represented on the Egyptian monuments; they were chased as an amusement for the sake of their skins, which were worn by the priests during their ceremonies, or they were hunted as enemies of the farmyard (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ch. viii. 20). Sir G. Wilkinson also draws attention to the fact that there is no appearance of the leopard (cheetah) having been employed for the purpose of the chase, on the monuments of Egypt;[b] nor is it now used by any of the African races for hunting. The natives of Africa seem in some way to connect the leopard skin with the idea of royalty, and to look upon it as part of the insignia of majesty (Wood's *Nat. Hist.* i. 160). The leopard (*Leopardus varius*) belongs to the family *Felida*, sub-order *Digitigradæ*, order *Carnivora*. The panther is now considered to be only a variety of the same animal.

W. H.

* The leopard is still found in Syria. I have seen a fine specimen from near Jezzin. One was killed near Abeih during the winter of 1866–67, after it had killed about 60 goats. A young one was taken near Bano in Akkar the same winter. They are not rare in the neighborhood of the castle of esh-Shukeef, opposite Deir Mimas. They work much mischief by their sanguinary attacks on the herds of goats and sheep which pasture in that vicinity. The shepherds invariably keep up a loud shouting to drive them off, when their flocks are ascending the mountain side from the Valley of the Litâny toward evening, returning from the water. Native authorities profess to find a difference between the نمر and the فهد, the former standing for the leopard, and the latter for the panther. It is more probable that the trifling difference in color, and the arrangement of the spots, are only such as mark varieties, not distinct species. G. E. P.

LEPER, LEPROSY. The Egyptian and Syrian climates, but especially the rainless atmosphere of the former, are very prolific in skin-diseases; including, in an exaggerated form, some which are common in the cooler regions of western Europe. The heat and drought acting for long periods upon the skin, and the exposure of a large surface of the latter to their influence, combine to predispose it to such affections. Even the modified forms known to our western hospitals show a perplexing variety and at times a wide departure from the best-known and recorded types; much more then may we expect departure from any routine of symptoms amidst the fatal fecundity of the Levant in this class of disorders (Good's *Study of Medicine*, vol. iv. p. 445, &c., 4th ed.). It seems likely that diseases also tend to exhaust their old types, and to reappear under new modifications. [MEDICINE.] This special region, however, exhibiting in wide variety that class of maladies which disfigures the person and makes the presence horrible to the beholder, it is no wonder that notice was early drawn to their more popular symptoms. The Greek imagination dwelt on them as the proper scourge of an offended deity, and perhaps foreign forms of disease may be implied by the expressions used (*Æschyl. Choëph.* 271, &c.), or such as an intercourse with Persia and Egypt would introduce to the Greeks. But, whatever the variety of form, there seems strong general testimony to the cause of all alike, as being to be sought in hard labor in a heated atmosphere, amongst dry or powdery substances, rendering the proper care of the skin difficult or impossible. This would be aggravated by unwholesome or innutritious diet, want of personal cleanliness, of clean garments, etc. Thus a "baker's" and a "bricklayer's itch," are recorded by the faculty (Bateman, *On Skin Diseases, Psoriasis*; Good's *Study of Med.*, ib. pp. 459 and 484).[c]

The predominant and characteristic form of leprosy in Scripture is a white variety, covering either the entire body or a large tract of its surface; which has obtained the name of *lepra Mosaica*. Such were the cases of Moses, Miriam, Naaman, and Gehazi (Ex. iv. 6; Num. xii. 10; 2 K. v. 1, 27; comp. Lev. xiii. 13). But, remarkably enough, in the Mosaic ritual-diagnosis of the disease (Lev. xiii., xiv.), this kind, when overspreading the whole surface, appears to be regarded as "clean" (xiii. 12, 13, 16, 17). The first question which occurs as we read the entire passage is, have we any right to assume *one* disease as spoken of throughout? or rather — for the point of view in the whole passage is ceremonial, not medical — is not a register of certain symptoms, marking the afflicted person as under a Divine judgment, all that is meant, without raising the question of a plurality of diseases? But beyond this preliminary question, and supposing the symptoms ascertained, there are circumstances which, duly weighed, will prevent our expecting the identity of these with modern symptoms in the same class of maladies. The Egyptian bondage, with its studied degradations and privations, and especially the work of the kiln under an Egyptian sun, must have had a frightful tendency to generate this class of disorders; hence Manetho (Joseph. *cont. Ap.* i. 26) asserts that the Egyptians drove out the Israelites as infected with leprosy — a strange reflex, perhaps, of the Mosaic narrative of the "plagues" of Egypt, yet probably also containing a germ of truth. The sudden and total change of food, air, dwelling, and mode of life, caused by the Exodus, to this nation of newly-

[a] The leopard is called by the natives of India *shree-baug*, "tree-tiger." In Africa also "tiger" is applied to the "leopard," the former animal not existing there.

[b] The lion was always employed by the Egyptians for the purpose of the chase. See Diodor. i. 45; and Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* ch. viii. 17.

[c] The use of the word נֶגַע in association with the proper term, צָרַעַת, marks the outward appearance as the chief test of the malady. For נֶגַע means a "blow" or "touch," and is etymologically represented by *plaga*, our "plague."

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emancipated slaves, may possibly have had a further tendency to skin-disorders, and novel and severe repressive measures may have been required in the desert-moving camp to secure the public health, or to allay the panic of infection. Hence it is possible that many, perhaps most, of this repertory of symptoms may have disappeared with the period of the Exodus, and the snow-white form, which had pre-existed, may alone have ordinarily continued in a later age. But it is observable that, amongst these Levitical symptoms, the scaling, or peeling off of the surface, is nowhere mentioned, nor is there any expression in the Hebrew text which points to exfoliation of the cuticle.[a] The principal morbid features are a rising or swelling,[b] a scab or baldness,[c] and a bright or white[d] spot (xiii. 2). [BALDNESS.] But especially a white swelling in the skin, with a change of the hair of the part from the natural black to white or yellow (3, 10, 4, 20, 25, 30), or an appearance of a taint going "deeper than the skin," or again, "raw flesh" appearing in the swelling (10, 14, 15), were critical signs of pollution. The mere swelling, or scab, or bright spot, was remanded for a week as doubtful (4, 21, 26, 31), and for a second such period, if it had not yet pronounced (5). If it then spread (7, 22, 27, 35), it was decided as polluting. But if after the second period of quarantine the trace died away[e] and showed no symptom of spreading, it was a mere scab, and he was adjudged clean (6, 23, 34). This tendency to spread seems especially to have been relied on. A spot most innocent in all other respects, if it "spread much abroad," was unclean; whereas, as before remarked, the man so wholly overspread with the evil that it could find no farther range, was on the contrary "clean" (12, 13). These two opposite criteria seem to show, that whilst the disease manifested activity, the Mosaic law imputed pollution to and imposed segregation on the sufferer, but that the point at which it might be viewed as having run its course was the signal for his readmission to communion. The question then arises, supposing contagion were dreaded, and the sufferer on that account suspended from human society, would not one who offered the whole area of his body as a means of propagating the pest be more shunned than the partially afflicted? This leads us to regard the disease in its sacred character. The Hebrew was reminded on every side, even on that of disease, that he was of God's peculiar people. His time, his food and raiment, his hair and beard, his field and fruit-tree, all were touched by the finger of ceremonial; nor was his bodily condition exempt. Disease itself had its sacred relations arbitrarily imposed. Certainly contagion need not be the basis of our views in tracing these relations. In the contact of a dead body there was no notion of contagion, for the body the moment life was extinct was as much ceremonially unclean as in a state of decay. Many of the unclean of beasts, etc., are as wholesome as the clean. Why then in leprosy must we have recourse to a theory of contagion? To cherish an undefined horror in the mind was perhaps the primary object; such horror, however, always tends to some definite dread, in this case most naturally to the dread of contagion. Thus religious awe would ally itself with and rest upon a lower motive, and there would thus be a motive to weigh with carnal and spiritual natures alike. It would perhaps be nearer the truth to say, that uncleanness was imputed, rather to inspire the dread of contagion, than in order to check contamination as an actual process. Thus this disease was a living plague set in the man by the finger of God whilst it showed its life by activity — by "spreading;" but when no more showing signs of life, it lost its character as a curse from Him. Such as dreaded contagion — and the immense majority in every country have an exaggerated alarm of it — would feel on the safe side through the Levitical ordinance; if any did not fear, the loathsomeness of the aspect of the malady would prevent them from wishing to infringe the ordinance.

It is not our purpose to enter into the question whether the contagion existed, nor is there perhaps any more vexed question in pathology than how to fix a rule of contagiousness; but whatever was currently believed, unless opposed to morals or humanity, would have been a sufficient basis for the lawgiver on this subject. The panic of infection is often as distressing, or rather far more so, in proportion as it is far more widely diffused, than actual disease. Nor need we exclude popular notions, so far as they do not conflict with higher views of the Mosaic economy. A degree of deference to them is perhaps apparent in the special reference to the "head" and "beard" as the seat of some form of polluting disorder. The sanctity and honor attaching to the head and beard (1 Cor. xi. 3, 4, 5, see also BEARD) made a scab thereon seem a heinous disfigurement, and even baldness, though not unclean, yet was unusual and provoked reproach (2 K. ii. 23), and when a diseased appearance arose "out of a baldness," even without "spreading abroad," it was at once adjudged "unclean." On the whole, though we decline to rest leprous defilement merely on popular notions of abhorrence, dread of contagion, and the like, yet a deference to them may be admitted to have been shown, especially at the time when the people were, from previous habit and associations, up to the moment of the actual Exodus, most strongly imbued with the scrupulous purity and refined ceremonial example of the Egyptians on these subjects.

To trace the symptoms, so far as they are recorded, is a simple task, if we keep merely to the text of Leviticus, and do not insist on finding like definitions in the broad and simple language of an

[a] The raw flesh of xiii. 10 *might* be discovered in this way, or by the skin merely cracking, an abscess forming, or the like. Or — what is more probable — "raw flesh" means granulations forming on patches where the surface had become excoriated. These granulations would form into a fungous flesh, which might be aptly called "raw flesh."

[b] שְׂאֵת.

[c] סַפַּחַת, מִסְפַּחַת. Gesenius, *s. v.*, says, "strictly a bald place on the head occasioned by the scab or itch."

[d] בֶּהָרֶת. The root appears to be בָּהַר, which in Chald. and Arab. means "to be white, or shining" (Gesen. *s. v.*).

[e] The word in the Heb. is כָּהָה, which means to languish or fade away; hence the A. V. hardly conveys the sense adequately by "be somewhat dark." Perhaps the expressions of Hippocrates, who speaks of a μέλας form of leprosy, and of Celsus, who mentions one *umbræ similis*, may have led our translators to endeavor to find equivalents for them in the Hebrew.

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early period. It appears that not only the beforementioned appearances, but any open sore which exposed raw flesh was to be judged by its effect on the hair, by its being in sight lower than the skin, by its tendency to spread; and that any one of these symptoms would argue uncleanness. It seems also that from a boil and from the effects of a burn a similar disease might be developed. Nor does modern pathology lead us to doubt that, given a constitutional tendency, such causes of inflammation may result in various disorders of the skin or tissues. Cicatrices after burns are known sometimes to assume a peculiar tuberculated appearance, thickened and raised above the level of the surrounding skin — the keloid tumor, which, however, may also appear independently of a burn.

The language into which the LXX. has rendered the simple phrases of the Hebrew text shows traces of a later school of medicine, and suggests an acquaintance with the terminology of Hippocrates. This has given a hint, on which, apparently wishing to reconcile early Biblical notices with the results of later observation, Dr. Mason Good and some other professional expounders of leprosy have drawn out a comparative table of parallel terms.[a]

It is clear then that the leprosy of Lev. xiii., xiv. means any severe disease spreading on the surface of the body in the way described, and so shocking of aspect, or so generally suspected of infection, that public feeling called for separation. No doubt such diseases as syphilis, elephantiasis, cancer, and all others which not merely have their seat in the skin, but which invade and disorganize the underlying and deeper-seated tissues, would have been classed levitically as "leprosy," had they been so generally prevalent as to require notice.

It is now undoubted that the "leprosy" of modern Syria, and which has a wide range in Spain, Greece, and Norway, is the *Elephantiasis Græcorum*. The Arabian physicians perhaps caused the confusion of terms, who, when they translated the Greek of Hippocrates, rendered his elephantiasis by leprosy, there being another disease to which they gave a name derived from the elephant, and which is now known as *Elephantiasis Arabum*, — the "Barbadoes leg," *Boucnemia Tropica*. The *Elephantiasis Græcorum* is said to have been brought home by the crusaders into the various countries of Western and Northern Europe. Thus an article on "Leprosy," in the Proceedings of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society of London, Jan. 1860, vol. iii. 3, p. 164, &c., by Dr. Webster, describes what is evidently this disease. Thus Michaelis (Smith's translation, vol. iii. p. 283, Art. ccx.) speaks of what he calls *lepra Arabum*, the symptoms of which are plainly elephantiasic. For a discussion of the question whether this disease was known in the early Biblical period, see MEDICINE. It certainly was not that distinctive white leprosy of which we are now speaking, nor do any of the described symptoms in Lev. xiii. point to elephantiasis. "White as snow" (2 K. v. 27) would be as inapplicable to elephantiasis as to small-pox. Further, the most striking and fearful results of this modern so-called "leprosy" are wanting in the Mosaic description — the transformation of the features to a leonine expression, and the corrosion of the joints, so that the fingers drop piecemeal, from which the Arabic name, جذام *Judhâm*, i. e. mutilation, seems derived.[b] Yet before we dismiss the question of the affinity of this disease with Mosaic leprosy, a description of Rayer's (*Traité Théorique*, etc., *des Maladies de la Peau*, s. v. *Elephantiasis*) is worth quoting. He mentions *two* characteristic species, the one tuberculated, probably the commoner kind at present (to judge from the concurrence of modern authorities in describing this type), the other "characterisée par des plaques fauves, larges, étendues, flétries, ridées, insensibles, accompagnées d'une legère desquamation et d'une déformation particulière des pieds et

[a] Thus we have in Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature* the following table, based apparently on a more extensive one in Dr. Mason Good (*ub. sup.* pp. 448, 452), which is chiefly characterised by an attempt to fix modern specific meanings on the general terms of Lev. xiii.: *e. g.* שְׂאֵת, *herpes*, or tetter; נֶגַע, *ictus*, "blow" or "bruise," etc.

בהרת, Lev. comprehending		λέπρα, Hipp. comprehending		*vitiligo*, Cels. comprehending
(1) בֹּהַק,		(1) ἀλφός,		(1) *albida*,
(2) בַּהֶרֶת לְבָנָה,	=	(2) λεύκη,	=	(2) *candida*,
(3) בַּהֶרֶת כֵּהָה.		(3) μέλας.		(3) *nigrescens*, or *umbræ similis*.

But the Hebrew of (1) is in Lev. xiii. 39 predicated of a subject compounded of the phraseology of (2) and (3), whereas the (1), (2), and (3) of Hipp. and of Celsus are respectively distinct and mutually exclusive of one another. Further, the word כֵּהָה appears mistranslated by "black" or "dark;" meaning rather "languid," "dim," as an old man's eyes, an expiring and feeble flame, etc. Now it is remarkable that the Hippocratic terms ἀλφός and λεύκη, are found in the LXX. The phraseology of the latter is also more specific than will adequately represent the Hebrew, suggesting shades of meaning * where this has a wide general word, or substituting a word denoting one symptom as θραῦσμα,† "crust," formed probably by humor coming, for נְתֵק, "expilation."

* Thus the expression, עָמֹק מַרְאֵהוּ מֵעוֹר בְּשָׂרוֹ, "deeper than the skin of the flesh," is rendered in ver. 3 by ταπεινὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ δέρματος, in 20 by ἐγκοιλοτέρα τοῦ δέρματος, in 34 by κοίλη ἀπὸ τοῦ δ.

b This is clearly and forcibly pointed out in an article by Dr. Robert Sim in the *Medical Times*, April 14, 1860, whose long hospital experience in Jerusalem entitles his remarks to great weight.

† So Dr. M. Good, who improves on the θραῦσμα by an ὑπόστασις, "suppuration," wishing to substitute moist scall for the "dry scall" of the A. V., which latter is no doubt nearer the mark.

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disease, and which he deems identical with the "lépre du moyen âge." This certainly appears to be at least a link between the tuberculated elephantiasis and the Mosaic leprosy.[a] Celsus, after distinguishing the three Hippocratic varieties of *vitiligo* = leprosy, separately describes elephantiasis. Avicenna (Dr. Mead, *Medica Sacra*, "the leprosy") speaks of leprosy as a sort of universal cancer of the whole body. But amidst the evidence of a redundant variety of diseases of the skin and adjacent tissues, and of the probable rapid production and evanescence of some forms of them, it would be rash to assert the identity of any from such resemblance as this.

Nor ought we in the question of identity of symptoms to omit from view, that not only does observation become more precise with accumulated experience; but, that diseases also, in proportion as they fix their abiding seat in a climate, region, or race of men, tend probably to diversity of type, and that in the course of centuries, as with the fauna and flora, varieties originate in the modifying influence of circumstances, so that Hippocrates might find three kinds of leprosy, where one variety only had existed before. Whether, therefore, we regard Lev. xiii. as speaking of a group of diseases having mutually a mere superficial resemblance, or a real affinity, it need not perplex us that they do not correspond with the threefold leprosy of Hippocrates (the ἀλφός, λεύκη, and μέλας), which are said by Bateman (*Skin Diseases*, Plates vii. and viii.) to prevail still respectively as *lepra alphoides*, *lepra vulgaris*, and *lepra nigricans*. The first has more minute and whiter scales, and the circular patches in which they form are smaller than those of the *vulgaris*, which appears in scaly discs of different sizes, having nearly always a circular form, first presenting small distinct red shining elevations of the cuticle, then white scales which accumulate sometimes into a thick crust; or, as Dr. Mason Good describes its appearance (vol. iv. p. 451), as having a spreading scale upon an elevated base; the elevations depressed in the middle, but without a change of color; the black hair on the patches, which is the prevailing color of the hair in Palestine, participating in the whiteness, and the patches themselves perpetually widening in their outline. A phosphate of lime is probably what gives their bright glossy color to the scaly patches, and this in the kindred disease of ichthyosis is deposited in great abundance on the surface. The third, *nigricans*, or rather *subfusca*,[b] is rarer, in form and distribution, resembling the second, but differing in the dark livid color of the patches. The scaly incrustations of the first species infest the flat of the fore-arm, knee, and elbow joints, but on the face seldom extend beyond the forehead and temples; comp. 2 Chr. xxvi. 19: "the leprosy rose up in his forehead." The cure of this is not difficult; the second scarcely ever heals (Celsus, *De Med.* v. 28, § 19). The third is always accompanied by a cachectic condition of body. Further, elephantiasis itself has also passed current under the name of the "black leprosy." It is possible that the "freckled spot" of the A. V. Lev. xiii. 39 [c] may correspond with the harmless *l. alphoides*, since it is noted as "clean." The ed. of Paulus Ægin. by the Sydenham Society (vol. ii. p. 17 ff.) gives the following summary of the opinions of classical medicine on this subject: "Galen is very deficient on the subject of lepra, having nowhere given a complete description of it, though he notices it incidentally in many parts of his works. In one place he calls elephas, leuce, and alphos cognate affections. Alphos, he says, is much more superficial than leuce. Psora is said to partake more of the nature of ulceration. According to Oribasius, lepra affects mostly the deep-seated parts, and psora the superficial. Aëtius on the other hand, copying Archigines, represents lepra as affecting only the skin. Actuarius states that lepra is next to elephantia in malignity, and that it is distinguished from psora by spreading deeper and having scales of a circular shape like those of fishes. Leuce holds the same place to alphos that lepra does to psora; that is to say, leuce is more deep-seated and affects the color of the hair, while alphos is more superficial, and the hair in general is unchanged. . . . Alexander Aphrodisiensis mentions psora among the contagious diseases, but says that lepra and leuce are not contagious. Chrysostom alludes to the common opinion that psora was among the contagious diseases. . . Celsus describes alphos, melas, and leuce, very intelligibly, connecting them together by the generic term of vitiligo."

There is a remarkable concurrence between the Æschylean description of the disease which was to produce "lichens coursing over the flesh, eroding with fierce voracity the former natural structure, and white hairs shooting up over the part diseased," [d] and some of the Mosaic symptoms; the spreading energy of the evil is dwelt upon both by Moses and by Æschylus, as vindicating its character as a scourge of God. But the symptoms of "white hairs" is a curious and exact confirmation of the genuineness of the detail in the Mosaic account, especially as the poet's language would rather imply that the disease spoken of was *not* then domesticated in Greece, but the strange horror of some other land. Still, nothing very remote from our own experience is implied in the mere changed color of the hair; it is common to see horses with galled backs, etc., in which the hair has turned white through the destruction of those follicles which secrete the coloring matter.

There remains a curious question, before we quit Leviticus, as regards the leprosy of garments and houses. Some have thought garments worn by leprous patients intended. The discharges of the diseased skin absorbed into the apparel would, if infection were possible, probably convey disease; and it is known to be highly dangerous in some cases to allow clothes which have so imbibed the discharges of an ulcer to be worn again.[e] And the words of

[a] On the question how far elephantiasis may probably have been mixed up with the leprosy of the Jews, see Paul. Ægin. vol. ii. pp. 6 and 32, 33, ed. *Syd. Soc.*

[b] Still it is known that black secretions, sometimes carried to the extent of negro blackness, have been produced under the skin, as in the *rete mucosum* of the African. See *Medico-Chirurgical Rev.*, New Series, vol. v. p. 215, January, 1847.

[c] Heb. בֹּהֶרֶת; Arab. بهرة.

[d] Χαρὰν ἐναμβατῆρας ἀγρίαις γνάθοις
Διχῆρας ἐξέσθοντας ἀρχαίαν φύσιν
Λευκὰς δὲ κόρσας τῇδ' ἐναντέλλειν νόσῳ

Choëph. 271-274.

[e] So Surenhusius (Mishna, *Negaim*) says, "Macula aliquando subviridis, aliquando subrubida, cujus modi videri solent in segrotorum indusiis, et præcipue eâ in parte ubi vis morbi medicinâ evocatâ a corpore exterius prodierit."

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Jude 23 may seem to countenance this,[a] "hating even the garment spotted by the flesh." But 1st, no mention of infection occurs; 2dly, no connection of the leprous garment with a leprous human wearer is hinted at; 3dly, this would not help us to account for a leprosy of stone-walls and plaster. Thus Dr. Mead (*ut sup.*) speaks at any rate plausibly of the leprosy of garments, but becomes unreasonable when he extends his explanation to that of walls. Michaelis thought that wool from sheep which had died of a particular disease might fret into holes, and exhibit an appearance like that described, Lev. xiii. 47-59 (Michaelis, art. ccxi. iii. 290-91). But woolen cloth is far from being the only material mentioned; nay, there is even some reason to think that the words rendered in the A. V. "warp" and "woof," are not those distinct parts of the texture, but distinct materials. Linen, however, and leather are distinctly particularized, and the latter not only as regards garments, but "any thing (lit. vessel) made of skin," for instance, bottles. This classing of garments and house-walls with the human epidermis, as leprous, has moved the mirth of some, and the wonder of others. Yet modern science has established what goes far to vindicate the Mosaic classification as more philosophical than such cavils. It is now known that there are some skin-diseases which originate in an acarus, and others which proceed from a fungus. In these we may probably find the solution of the paradox. The analogy between the insect which frets the human skin and that which frets the garment that covers it, between the fungous growth that lines the crevices of the epidermis and that which creeps within the interstices of masonry,[b] is close enough for the purposes of a ceremonial law, to which it is essential that there should be an arbitrary element intermingled with provisions manifestly reasonable. Michaelis (*ib.* art. ccxi. iii. 293-99) has suggested a nitrous efflorescence on the surface of the stone, produced by saltpetre, or rather an acid containing it, and issuing in red spots, and cited the example of a house in Lubeck; he mentions also exfoliation of the stone from other causes; but probably these appearances would not be developed without a greater degree of damp than is common in Palestine and Arabia. It is manifest also that a disease in the human subject caused by an acarus or by a fungus would be certainly contagious, since the propagative causes could be transferred from person to person. Some physicians indeed assert that *only* such skin diseases *are* contagious. Hence perhaps arose a further reason for marking, even in their analogues among lifeless substances, the strictness with which forms of disease so arising were to be shunned. The sacrificial law attending the purgation of the leper will be more conveniently treated of under UNCLEANNESS.

The lepers of the New Testament do not seem to offer occasion for special remark, save that by the N. T. period the disease, as known in Palestine, probably did not differ materially from the Hippocratic record of it, and that when St. Luke at any rate uses the words λέπρα, λέπρος, he does so with a recognition of their strict medical signification.

From Surenhusius (Mishna, *Negaim*), we find that some rabbinical commentators enumerate 16, 36, or 72 diverse species of leprosy, but they do so by including all the phases which each passes through, reckoning a red and a green variety in garments, the same in a house, etc., and counting *calvities*, *recalvatio*, *adustio*, and even *ulcus*, as so many distinct forms of leprosy.

For further illustrations of this subject see Schilling, *de Lepra*; Reinhard, *Bibelkrankheiten*; Schmidt, *Biblischer Medecin*; Rayer, *ut sup.*, who refers to Rousaille-Chamseru, *Recherches sur la véritable Caractère de la Lèpre des Hébreux*, and *Relation Chirurgicale de l'Armée de l'Orient*, Paris, 1804; Cazenave and Schedel, *Abrégé Pratique des Maladies de la Peau*; Dr. Mead, *et sup.*, who refers to Aretæus,[c] *Morb. Chron.* ii. 13; Fracastorius, *de Morbis Contagiosis*; Johannes Manardus, *Epist. Medic.* vii. 2, and to iv. 3, 3, § 1; Avicenna, *de Medicina*, v. 28, § 19; also Dr. Sim in *the North American Chirur. Rev.* Sept. 1859, p. 876. The ancient authorities are Hippocrates, *Prorrhetica*, lib. xii. *ap. fin.*; Galen, *Explicatio Linguarum Hippocratis*, and *de art. Curat.* lib. ii.; Celsus, *de Medic.* v. 28, § 19. H. H.

LE'SHEM (לֶשֶׁם [*strong, fortress*, Fürst]: *Lesem*), a variation in the form of the name of LAISH, afterwards DAN, occurring only in Josh. xix. 47 (twice). The Vat. LXX. is very corrupt, having Λαχεις and Λασενδαν [Rom. Λαχίς and Λασενδάν], (see Mai's ed.); but the Alex., as usual, is in the second case much closer to the Hebrew, Λεσεμ and Λεσενδαν.

The commentators and lexicographers afford no clew to the reason of this variation in form. G.

* LET is used in a few passages of the A. V. (Ex. v. 4; Num. xxii. 16, marg.; Is. xliii. 13; Rom. i. 13; 2 Thess. ii. 7; Wisd. vii. 23) in the sense of to *hinder*, being derived from the Anglo-Saxon *lettan*, connected with *last*, "late." "Let" in the sense of "permit" is a word of different origin. A.

LET'TUS (Λαττούς; [Vat. omits;] Alex. Αττους: *Acchus*), the same as HATTUSH (1 Esdr. viii. 29). The Alex. MS. has evidently the correct reading, of which the name as it appears in the Vat. MS. [Roman ed.] is an easy corruption, from the similarity of the uncial A and Λ.

LETU'SHIM (לְטוּשִׁים? [*have ground, sharpened*]: Λατουσιείμ: *Latusim*, *Latussim*), the name of the second of the sons of Dedan, son of Jokshan, Gen. xxv. 3 (and 1 Chr. i. 32, Vulg.). Fresnel (*Journ. Asiat.* iii[e] série, vol. vi. pp. 217, 218) identifies it with *Tasm*,[d] one of the ancient and extinct

[a] See, however, Lev. xv. 3, 4, which suggests another possible meaning of the words of St. Jude.

[b] The word λειχήν (the "lichen" of botany), the Æschylean word to express the dreaded scourge in *Choëphor.* 271-274 (comp *Eumen.* 785, see p 1633 *b*), is also the technical term for a disease akin to leprosy. The ed. of Paulus Ægin. Sydenh. Soc., vol. ii. p. 19, says that the poet here means to describe leprosy. In the Lexicons, generally ascribed to Galen (*ib.* p. 26), two varieties are described, the *lichen mitis* and the *lichen agrius*, in both of which scales are formed upon the skin. Galen remarks on the tendency of this disease to pass into lepra and scabies.

[c] Dr. Mead's reference is *de Morbis Contagiosis*, ii cap. 9. There is no such title extant to any portion of Aretæus' work; see, however, the Sydenham Society edition of that writer, p. 370.

[d] طسم.

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tribes of Arabia, like as he compares Leummim with Umeiyim. The names may perhaps be regarded as commencing with the Hebrew article. Nevertheless, the identification in each case seems to be quite untenable. (Respecting these tribes, see LEUMMIM and ARABIA.) It is noteworthy that the three sons of the Keturahite Dedan are named in the plural form, evidently as tribes descended from him. E. S. P.

LEUM'MIM (לְאֻמִּים, from לְאֹם [*peoples*]: Λαομείμ; [Alex. Λοομειν, and in 1 Chr. Λαομειν:] *Loomim, Laomim*), the name of the third of the descendants of Dedan, son of Jokshan, Gen. xxv. 3 (1 Chr. i. 32, Vulg.), being in the plural form like his brethren, Asshurim and Letushim. It evidently refers to a tribe or people sprung from Dedan, and indeed in its present form literally signifies "peoples," "nations;" but it has been observed in art. LETUSHIM, that these names perhaps commence with the Hebrew article. Leummim has been identified with the Ἀλλευναιτῶναι of Ptolemy (vi. 7, § 24; see *Dict. of Geogr.*), and by Fresnel (in the *Journ. Asiat.* iiie serie, vol. vi. p. 217) with an Arab tribe called *Umeiyim*.[a] Of the former, the writer knows no historical trace: the latter was one of the very ancient tribes of Arabia of which no genealogy is given by the Arabs, and who appear to have been ante-Abrahamic, and possibly aboriginal inhabitants of the country. [ARABIA.] E. S. P.

LE'VI. 1. (לֵוִי [perh. *crown, wreath*, Ges.]: Λευεί: *Levi.*) The name of the third son of Jacob by his wife Leah. This, like most other names in the patriarchal history, was connected with the thoughts and feelings that gathered round the child's birth. As derived from לָוָה, "to adhere," it gave utterance to the hope of the mother that the affections of her husband, which had hitherto rested on the favored Rachel, would at last be drawn to her. "This time will my husband be joined unto me, because I have borne him three sons" (Gen. xxix. 34). The new-born child was to be a κοινωνίας βεβαιωτὴς (Jos. *Ant.* i. 19, § 8), a new link binding the parents to each other more closely than before.[b] But one fact is recorded in which he appears prominent. The sons of Jacob have come from Padan-Aram to Canaan with their father, and are with him "at Shalem, a city of Shechem." Their sister Dinah goes out "to see the daughters of the land" (Gen. xxxiv. 1), *i. e.* as the words probably indicate, and as Josephus distinctly states (*Ant.* i. 21), to be present at one of their great annual gatherings for some festival of nature-worship, analogous to that which we meet with afterwards among the Midianites (Num. xxv. 2). The license of the time or the absence of her natural guardians exposes her, though yet in earliest youth, to lust and outrage. A stain is left, not only on her, but on the honor of her kindred, which, according to the rough justice of the time, nothing but blood could wash out. The duty of extorting that revenge fell, as in the case of Amnon and Tamar (2 Sam. xiii. 22), and in most other states of society in which polygamy has prevailed (comp. for the customs of modern Arabs, J. D. Michaelis, quoted by Kurtz, *Hist. of Old Covenant*, i. § 82, p. 340), on the brothers rather than the father, just as in the case of Rebekah, it belonged to the brother to conduct the negotiations for the marriage. We are left to conjecture why Reuben, as the first-born, was not foremost in the work, but the sin of which he was afterwards guilty, makes it possible that his zeal for his sister's purity was not so sensitive as theirs. The same explanation may perhaps apply to the non-appearance of Judah in the history. Simeon and Levi, as the next in succession to the first-born, take the task upon themselves. Though not named in the Hebrew text of the O. T. till xxxiv. 25, there can be little doubt that they were "the sons of Jacob" who heard from their father the wrong over which he had brooded in silence, and who planned their revenge accordingly. The LXX. version does introduce their names in ver 14. The history that follows is that of a cowardly and repulsive crime. The two brothers exhibit, in its broadest contrasts, that union of the noble and the base, of characteristics above and below the level of the heathen tribes around them, which marks the whole history of Israel. They have learned to loathe and scorn the impurity in the midst of which they lived, to regard themselves as a peculiar people, to glory in the sign of the covenant. They have learnt only too well from Jacob and from Laban the lessons of treachery and falsehood. They lie to the men of Shechem as the Druses and the Maronites lie to each other in the prosecution of their blood-feuds. For the offense of one man, they destroy and plunder a whole city. They cover their murderous schemes with fair words and professions of friendship. They make the very token of their religion the instrument of their perfidy and revenge.[c] Their father, timid and anxious as ever, utters a feeble lamentation (Blunt's *Scripture Coincidences*, Part i. § 8), "Ye have made me to stink among the inhabitants of the land . . . I being few in number, they shall gather themselves against me." With a zeal that, though mixed with baser elements, foreshadows the zeal of Phinehas, they glory in their deed, and meet all remonstrance with the question, "Should he deal with our sister as with a harlot?" Of other facts in the life of Levi, there are none in which he takes, as in this, a prominent and distinct part. He shares in the hatred which his brothers bear to Joseph, and joins in the plots against him (Gen. xxxvii. 4). Reuben and Judah interfere severally to prevent the consummation of the crime (Gen. xxxvii. 21, 26). Simeon appears, as being made afterwards the subject of a sharper discipline than the others, to have been foremost — as his position among the sons of Leah made it likely that he would be — in this attack on the favored son of Rachel; and it is at least probable that in this, as in their former guilt, Simeon and Levi were brethren. The rivalry of the mothers was perpetuated in the jealousies of their children; and the two who had shown themselves so keenly sensitive when their sister had been wronged, make themselves the instruments and as-

[a] لميم.

[b] The same etymology is recognised, though with a higher significance, in Num. xviii. 2.

[c] Josephus (*Ant.* l. c.) characteristically glosses over all that connects the attack with the circumcision of the Shechemites, and represents it as made in a time of feasting and rejoicing.

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complices of the hatred which originated, we are told, with the baser-born sons of the concubines (Gen. xxxvii. 2). Then comes for him, as for the others, the discipline of suffering and danger, the special education by which the brother whom they had wronged leads them back to faithfulness and natural affection. The detention of Simeon in Egypt may have been designed at once to be the punishment for the large share which he had taken in the common crime, and to separate the two brothers who had hitherto been such close companions in evil. The discipline does its work. Those who had been relentless to Joseph become self-sacrificing for Benjamin.

After this we trace Levi as joining in the migration of the tribe that owned Jacob as its patriarch. He, with his three sons, Gershon, Kohath, Merari, went down into Egypt (Gen. xlvi. 11). As one of the four eldest sons we may think of him as among the five (Gen. xlvii. 2) that were specially presented before Pharaoh.[a] Then comes the last scene in which his name appears. When his father's death draws near, and the sons are gathered round him, he hears the old crime brought up again to receive its sentence from the lips that are no longer feeble and hesitating. They, no less than the incestuous first-born, had forfeited the privileges of their birthright. "In their anger they slew men, and in their wantonness they maimed oxen" (marg. reading of A. V.; comp. LXX. ἐνευροκόπησαν ταῦρον). And therefore the sentence on those who had been united for evil was, that they were to be "divided in Jacob and scattered in Israel." How that condemnation was at once fulfilled and turned into a benediction, how the zeal of the patriarch reappeared purified and strengthened in his descendants; how the very name came to have a new significance, will be found elsewhere. [LEVITES.]

The history of Levi has been dealt with here in what seems the only true and natural way of treating it, as a history of an individual person. Of the theory that sees in the sons of Jacob the mythical Eponymi of the tribes that claimed descent from them — which finds in the crimes and chances of their lives the outlines of a national or tribal chronicle — which refuses to recognize that Jacob had twelve sons, and insists that the history of Dinah records an attempt on the part of the Canaanites to enslave and degrade a Hebrew tribe (Ewald, *Geschichte*, i. 466–496) — of this one may be content to say, as the author says of other hypotheses hardly more extravagant, "die Wissenschaft verscheucht alle solche Gespenster" (*ibid.* . 466). The book of Genesis tells us of the lives of men and women, not of ethnological phantoms.

A yet wilder conjecture has been hazarded by another German critic. P. Redslob (*Die alttestamentl. Namen*, Hamb. 1846, pp. 24, 25), recognizing the meaning of the name of Levi as given above, finds in it evidence of the existence of a confederacy or synod of the priests that had been connected with the several local worships of Canaan, and who, in the time of Samuel and David, were gathered together, *joined*, "round the Central Pantheon in Jerusalem." Here also we may borrow the terms of our judgment from the language of the writer himself. If there are "abgeschmackten etymologischen Mährchen" (Redslob, p. 82) connected with the name of Levi, they are hardly those we meet with in the narrative of Genesis. E. H. P.

2. (*Λευεί*; Rec. Text, *Λευΐ*: *Levi.*) Son of Melchi, one of the near ancestors of our Lord, in fact the great-grandfather of Joseph (Luke iii. 24). This name is omitted in the list given by Africanus.

3. A more remote ancestor of Christ, son of Simeon (Luke iii. 29). Lord A. Hervey considers that the name of Levi reappears in his descendant Lebbæus (*Geneal. of Christ*, p. 132, and see 36, 46).

4. (*Λευεὶς*; R. T. *Λευΐς.*) Mark ii. 14; Luke v. 27, 29. [MATTHEW.]

LEVI'ATHAN (לִוְיָתָן, *liv'yâthân*: τὸ μέγα κῆτος, δράκων; Complut. Job ii. 8, λεβιαθάν: *leviathan, draco*) occurs five times in the text of the A. V., and once in the margin of Job iii. 8, where the text has "mourning." In the Hebrew Bible the word *liv'yathan*,[b] which is, with the foregoing exception, always left untranslated in the A. V., is found only in the following passages: Job iii. 8, xl. 25 (xli. 1, A. V.); Ps. lxxiv. 14, civ. 26; Is. xxvii. 1. In the margin of Job iii. 8, and text of Job xli. 1,[c] the crocodile is most clearly the animal denoted by the Hebrew word. Ps. lxxiv. 14 also clearly points to this same saurian. The context of Ps. civ. 26, "There go the ships: *there is* that leviathan, *whom* thou hast made to play therein," seems to show that in this passage the name represents some animal of the whale tribe; but it is somewhat uncertain what animal is denoted in Is. xxvii. 1. It would be out of place here to attempt any detailed explanation of the passages quoted above, but the following remarks are offered. The passage in Job iii. 8 is beset with difficulties, and it is evident from the two widely different readings of the text and margin that our translators were at a loss. There can however be little doubt that the margin is the correct rendering, and this is supported by the LXX., Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus, the Vulgate and the Syriac. There appears to be some reference to those who practised enchantments. Job is lamenting the day on which he was born, and he says, "Let them curse it that curse the day, who are ready to raise up a leviathan:" *i. e.* "Let those be hired to imprecate evil on my natal day who say they are able by their incantations to render days propitious or unpropitious, yea, let such as are skillful enough to raise up even leviathan (the crocodile) from his watery bed, be summoned to curse that day;" or, as Mason Good has translated the passage, "O! that night! let it be a barren rock! let no sprightliness enter into it! let the sorcerers of the day curse it! the expertest among them that can conjure up leviathan!"

The detailed description of leviathan given in Job xli. indisputably belongs to the crocodile, and it is astonishing that it should ever have been understood to apply to a whale or a dolphin; but Lee (*Comm. on Job* xli.), following Hasæus (*Disq. de Lev. Jobi et Ceto Jonæ*," Brem. 1723), has labored hard, though unsuccessfully, to prove that the levi

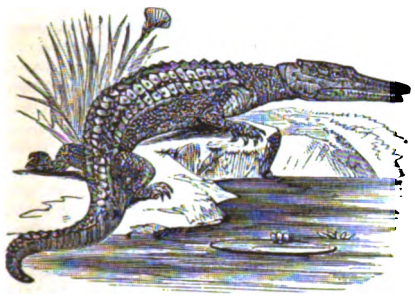
[a] The Jewish tradition (*Targ. Pseudojon.*) states the five to have been Zebulun, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher

[b] לִוְיָתָן, from לָוָה, an animal *wreathed.*

[c] *Whirlpool*, i. e. some *sea-monster*: vid. Tremell. *Select Glossary*, p. 226.

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than of this passage is some species of *whale*, probably, he says, the *Delphinus orca*, or common grampus. That it can be said to be the pride of any cetacean that his "scales shut up together as with a close seal," is an assertion that no one can accept, since every member of this group has a body almost bald and smooth.



Crocodile of the Nile (*C. vulgaris*).

The Egyptian crocodile also is certainly the animal denoted by *leviathan* in Ps. lxxiv. 14:[a] "Thou, O God, didst destroy the princes of Pharaoh, the great crocodile or 'dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers' (Ez. xxix. 3) in the Red Sea, and didst give their bodies to be food for the wild beasts of the desert."[b] The leviathan of Ps. civ. 26 seems clearly enough to allude to some great cetacean. The "great and wide sea" must surely be the Mediterranean, "the great sea," as it is usually called in Scripture; it would certainly be stretching the point too far to understand the expression to represent any part of the Nile. The crocodile, as is well known, is a fresh-water, not a marine animal:[c] it is very probable therefore that some *whale* is signified by the term *leviathan* in this passage, and it is quite an error to assert, as Dr. Harris (*Dict. Nat. Hist. Bib.*), Mason Good (*Book of Job translated*), Michaelis (*Supp.* 1297), and Rosenmüller (quoting Michaelis in *not. ad Bocharti Hieroz.* iii. 738) have done, that the whale is not found in the Mediterranean. The *Orca gladiator* (Gray) — the grampus mentioned above by Lee — the *Physalus antiquorum* (Gray), or the *Rorqual de la Méditerranée* (Cuvier), are not uncommon in the Mediterranean (Fischer, *Synops. Mam.* 525, and Lacépède, *H. N. des Cétac.* 115), and in ancient times the species may have been more numerous.

There is some uncertainty about the *leviathan* of Is. xxvii. 1. Rosenmüller (*Schol. in l. c.*) thinks that the word *nachash*, here rendered *serpent*, is to be taken in a wide sense as applicable to any great monster; and that the prophet, under the term "leviathan that crooked serpent," is speaking of Egypt, typified by the *crocodile*, the usual emblem of the prince of that kingdom. The Chaldee paraphrase understands the "leviathan that piercing serpent" to refer to Pharaoh, and "leviathan that crooked serpent" to refer to Sennacherib.

As the term *leviathan* is evidently used in no limited sense, it is not improbable that the "leviathan the piercing serpent," or "leviathan the crooked serpent," may denote some species of the great rock-snakes (*Boidæ*) which are common in South and West Africa, perhaps the *Hortulia Seba*, which Schneider (*Amph.* ii. 266), under the synonym *Boa hieroglyphica*, appears to identify with the huge serpent represented on the Egyptian monuments. This python, as well as the crocodile, was worshipped by the Egyptians, and may well therefore be understood in this passage to typify the Egyptian power. Perhaps the English word *monster* may be considered to be as good a translation of *liv'yâthân* as any other that can be found; and though the *crocodile* seems to be the animal more particularly denoted by the Hebrew term, yet, as has been shown, the *whale*, and perhaps the *rock-snake* also, may be signified under this name.[d] [WHALE.] Bochart (iii. 769, ed. Rosenmüller) says that the Talmudists use the word *liv'yâthân* to denote the crocodile; this however is denied by Lewysohn (*Zoöl. des Talm.* pp. 155, 355), who says that in the Talmud it always denotes a *whale*, and never a *crocodile*. For the Talmudical fables about the leviathan, see Lewysohn (*Zoöl. des Talm.*), in passages referred to above, and Buxtorf, *Lex. Chal. Talm.* s. v. לויתן. W. H.

LE'VIS (Λευΐς; [Vat. Λευεις:] *Levis*), improperly given as a proper name in 1 Esdr. ix. 14. It is simply a corruption of "the Levite" in Ezr x. 15.

LE'VITES (הַלְוִיִּם: Λευῖται [Vat. -ει-]: *Levitæ*: also בְּנֵי לֵוִי: *vioì* Λευΐ [Vat. Λευει]: *filii Levi*). The analogy of the names of the other tribes of Israel would lead us to include under these titles the whole tribe that traced its descent from Levi. The existence of another division, however, within the tribe itself, in the higher office of the priesthood as limited to the "sons of Aaron," gave to the common form, in this instance, a peculiar meaning. Most frequently the Levites

[a] The modern Arabic name of crocodile is *timsâh*. The word is derived from the Coptic, *emsah*, *amsah*, whence with the aspirate χάμψαι (Herod. ii. 69). Wilkins, however (*de L. Copt.* p. 101), contends that the word is of Arabic origin. See Jablonsk. *Opera* i. 287, 287, ed. Te Water, 1804.

[b] "The people inhabiting the wilderness" — a poetical expression to denote the wild beasts; comp. "the ants are a *people* not strong," "the conies are but a feeble *folk*" (Prov. xxx. 25, 26). For other interpretations of this passage see Rosenmüll *Schol.*, and Bochart *Phaleg*, p. 818.

[c] According to Warburton (*Oress. & Cr.* 85), the crocodile is never now seen below Minyeh, but it should be stated that Pliny (*N. H.* viii. 25), not Herodotus, as Mr. Warburton asserts, speaks of crocodiles being attacked by dolphins at the mouth of the Nile. Seneca (*Nat. Quæst.* iv. 2) gives an account of a contest between these animals. Cuvier thinks that a species of dog-fish is meant (*Acanthias vulgaris*), on account of the dorsal spines of which Pliny speaks, and which no species of dolphin possesses.

[d] The Heb. word בָּרִחַ occurs about thirty times in the O. T., and it seems clear enough that in every case its use is limited to the *serpent tribe*. If the LXX. interpretation of בָּרִחַ be taken, the *flexing* and not *piercing* serpent is the rendering: the Heb. עֲקַלָּתוֹן, *tortuosus*, is more applicable to a serpent than to any other animal. The expression, "He shall slay the dragon that is in the sea," refers also to the Egyptian power and is merely expletive — the dragon being the crocodile, which is in this part of the verse an emblem of Pharaoh, as the serpent is in the former part of the verse.

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are distinguished, as such, from the priests (1 K. viii. 4; Ezr. ii. 70; John i. 19, &c.), and this is the meaning which has perpetuated itself. Sometimes the word extends to the whole tribe, the priest included (Num. xxxv. 2; Josh. xxi. 3, 41; Ex. vi. 25; Lev. xxv. 32, &c.). Sometimes again it is added as an epithet of the smaller portion of the tribe, and we read of "the priests the Levites" (Josh. iii. 3; Ex. xliv. 15). The history of the tribe, and of the functions attached to its several orders, is obviously essential to any right apprehension of the history of Israel as a people. They are the representatives of its faith, the ministers of its worship. They play at least as prominent a part in the growth of its institutions, in fostering or repressing the higher life of the nation, as the clergy of the Christian Church have played in the history of any European kingdom. It will be the object of this article to trace the outlines of that history, marking out the functions which at different periods were assigned to the tribe, and the influence which its members exercised. This is, it is believed, a truer method than that which would attempt to give a more complete picture by combining into one whole the fragmentary notices which are separated from each other by wide intervals of time, or treating them as if they represented the permanent characteristics of the order. In the history of all priestly or quasi-priestly bodies, functions vary with the changes of time and circumstances, and to ignore those changes is a sufficient proof of incompetency for dealing with the history. As a matter of convenience, whatever belongs exclusively to the functions and influence of the priesthood, will be found under that head [PRIEST]; but it is proposed to treat here of all that is common to the priests and Levites, as being together the sacerdotal tribe, the *clerisy* of Israel. The history will fall naturally into four great periods

I. The time of the Exodus.
II. The period of the Judges.
III. That of the Monarchy.
IV. That from the Captivity to the destruction of Jerusalem.

I. The absence of all reference to the consecrated character of the Levites in the book of Genesis is noticeable enough. The prophecy ascribed to Jacob (Gen. xlix. 5–7) was indeed fulfilled with singular precision; but the terms of the prophecy are hardly such as would have been framed by a later writer,[a] after the tribe had gained its subsequent preëminence; and unless we frame some hypothesis to account for this omission as deliberate, it takes its place, so far as it goes, among the evidences of the antiquity of that section of Genesis in which these prophecies are found. The only occasion on which the patriarch of the tribe appears — the massacre of the Shechemites — may indeed have contributed to influence the history of his descendants, by fostering in them the same fierce wild zeal against all that threatened to violate the purity of their race; but generally what strikes us is the absence of all recognition of the later character. In the genealogy of Gen. xlvi. 11, in like manner, the list does not go lower down than the three sons of Levi, and they are given in the order of their birth, not in that which would have corresponded to the official superiority of the Kohathites.[b] There are no signs, again, that the tribe of Levi had any special preeminence over the others during the Egyptian bondage. As tracing its descent from Leah, it would take its place among the six chief tribes sprung from the wives of Jacob, and share with them a recognized superiority over those that bore the names of the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah. Within the tribe itself there are some slight tokens that the Kohathites are gaining the first place. The classification of Ex. vi. 16–25 gives to that section of the tribe four clans or houses, while those of Gershon and Merari have but two each.[c] To it belonged the house of Amram; and "Aaron the Levite" (Ex. iv. 14) is spoken of as one to whom the people will be sure to listen. He marries the daughter of the chief of the tribe of Judah (Ex. vi. 23). The work accomplished by him, and by his yet greater brother, would tend naturally to give prominence to the family and the tribe to which they belonged; but as yet there are no traces of a caste-character, no signs of any intention to establish an hereditary priesthood. Up to this time the Israelites had worshipped the God of their fathers after their fathers' manner. The first-born of the people were the priests of the people. The eldest son of each house inherited the priestly office. His youth made him, in his father's lifetime, the representative of the purity which was connected from the beginning with the thought of worship (Ewald, *Alterthüm.* p. 273, and comp. PRIEST). It was apparently with this as their ancestral worship that the Israelites came up out of Egypt. The "young men" of the sons of Israel offer sacrifices[d] (Ex. xxiv. 5). They, we may infer, are the priests who remain with the people while Moses ascends the heights of Sinai (xix. 22–24). They represented the truth that the whole people were "a kingdom of priests" (xix. 6). Neither they, nor the "officers and judges" appointed to assist Moses in

[a] Ewald (*Gesch.* ii. 454) refers the language of Gen. xlix. 7 not to the distribution of the Levites in their 48 cities, but to the time when they had fallen into disrepute, and become, as in Judg. xvii., a wandering, half-mendicant order. But see Kalisch, *Genesis*, ad loc.

[b] The later genealogies, it should be noticed, reproduce the same order. This was natural enough; but a genealogy originating in a later age, and reflecting its feelings, would probably have changed the order. Comp. Ex. vi. 16, Num. iii. 17, 1 Chr. vi. 16.)

[c] As the names of the lesser houses recur, some of them frequently, it may be well to give them here.

- Gershon: Libni, Shimei
- Kohath: Amram (Moses, Aaron (Eleazar, Ithamar)); Izhar (Korah, Nepheg, Zithri); Hebron; Uzziel (Mishael, Elzaphan, Zithri)
- Merari: Mahali, Mushi.

[d] This is expressly stated in the Targ. *Pseudojon* on this verse: "And he sent the first-born of the Ch of Isr., for even to that time the worship was by the first-born, because the Tabernacle was not yet made nor the priesthood given to Aaron," etc.

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administering justice (xviii. 25) are connected in any special manner with the tribe of Levi. The first step towards a change was made in the institution of an hereditary priesthood in the family of Aaron, during the first withdrawal of Moses to the solitude of Sinai (xxviii. 1). This, however, was one thing: it was quite another to set apart a whole tribe of Israel as a priestly caste. The directions given for the construction of the tabernacle imply no preëminence of the Levites. The chief workers in it are from the tribes of Judah and of Dan (Ex. xxxi. 2–6). The next extension of the idea of the priesthood grew out of the terrible crisis of Ex. xxxii. If the Levites had been sharers in the sin of the golden calf, they were at any rate the foremost to rally round their leader when he called on them to help him in stemming the progress of the evil. And then came that terrible consecration of themselves, when every man was against his son and against his brother, and the offering with which they filled their hands (מַלְּאוּ יֶדְכֶם, Ex. xxxii. 29, comp. Ex. xxviii. 41) was the blood of their nearest of kin. The tribe stood forth, separate and apart, recognizing even in this stern work the spiritual as higher than the natural, and therefore counted worthy to be the representative of the ideal life of the people, "an Israel within an Israel" (Ewald, *Alterthüm.* p. 279), chosen in its higher representatives to offer incense and burnt-sacrifice before the Lord (Deut. xxxiii. 9, 10), not without a share in the glory of the Urim and Thummim that were worn by the prince and chieftain of the tribe. From this time accordingly they occupied a distinct position. Experience had shown how easily the people might fall back into idolatry — how necessary it was that there should be a body of men, an *order*, numerically large, and when the people were in their promised home, equally diffused throughout the country, as witnesses and guardians of the truth Without this the individualism of the older worship would have been fruitful in an ever-multiplying idolatry. The tribe of Levi was therefore to take the place of that earlier priesthood of the first-born as representatives of the holiness of the people. The minds of the people were to be drawn to the fact of the substitution by the close numerical correspondence of the consecrated tribe with that of those whom they replaced. The first-born males were numbered, and found to be 22,273; the census of the Levites gave 23,000, reckoning in each case from children of one month upwards[a] (Num. iii.). The fixed price for the redemption of a victim vowed in sacrifice (comp. *Lev.* xxvii. 6; Num. xviii. 16) was to be paid for each of the odd number by which the first-born were in excess of the Levites (Num. iii. 47). In this way the latter obtained a sacrificial as well as a priestly character.[b] They for the first-born of men, and their cattle for the firstlings of beasts, fulfilled the idea that had been asserted at the time of the destruction of the first-born of Egypt (Ex. xiii. 12, 13). The commencement of the march from Sinai gave a prominence to their new character. As the Tabernacle was the sign of the presence among the people of their unseen King so the Levites were, among the other tribes of Israel, as the royal guard that waited exclusively on Him. The warlike title of "host" is specially applied to them (comp. use of צָבָא, in Num. iv. 3, 30; and of מַחֲנֶה, in 1 Chr. ix. 19). As such they were not included in the number of the armies of Israel (Num. i. 47, ii. 33, xxvi. 62), but reckoned separately by themselves. When the people were at rest they encamped as guardians round the sacred tent; no one else might come near it under pain of death (Num. i. 51, xviii. 22). They were to occupy a middle position in that ascending scale of consecration, which, starting from the idea of the whole nation as a priestly people, reached its culminating point in the high-priest who, alone of all the people, might enter "within the veil." The Levites might come nearer than the other tribes; but they might not sacrifice, nor burn incense, nor see the "holy things" of the sanctuary till they were covered (Num. iv. 15). When on the march, no hands but theirs might strike the tent at the commencement of the day's journey, or carry the parts of its structure during it, or pitch the tent once again when they halted (Num. i. 51). It was obviously essential for such a work that there should be a fixed assignment of duties; and now accordingly we meet with the first outlines of the organization which afterwards became permanent. The division of the tribe into the three sections that traced their descent from the sons of Levi, formed the groundwork of it. The work which they all had to do required a man's full strength, and therefore, though twenty was the starting-point for military service (Num. i.) they were not to enter on their active service till they were thirty[c] (Num. iv. 23, 30, 35). At fifty they were to be free from all duties but those of superintendence (Num. viii. 25, 26). The result of this limitation gave to the Kohathites 2,750 on active service out of 8,600; to the sons of Gershon 2,630 out of 7,500; to those of Merari 3,200 out of 6,200 (Num. iv.). Of these the Kohathites, as nearest of kin to the priests, held from the first the highest offices. They were to bear all the vessels of the sanctuary, the ark itself included[d] (Num. iii. 31, iv. 15; Deut. xxxi. 25), after the priests had covered them with the dark-blue cloth which was to hide them from all profane gaze; and thus they became also the guar-

[a] The separate numbers in Num. iii. (Gershon, 7,500; Kohath, 8,600; Merari, 6,200) give a total of 23,300. The received solution of the discrepancy is that 300 were the first-born of the Levites, who as such were already consecrated, and therefore could not take the place of others. Talmudic traditions (*Gemar. Bab. bit. Sanhedrim*, quoted by Patrick) add that the question, which of the Israelites should be redeemed by a Levite, or which should pay the five shekels, was settled by lot. The number of the first-born appears disproportionately small, as compared with the population. It must be remembered, however, that the conditions to be fulfilled were that they should be at once (1) the first child of the father, (2) the first child of the mother, (3) males. (Comp. on this question, and on that of the difference of numbers, Kurtz, *History of the Old Covenant*, iii. 201.)

[b] Comp. the recurrence of the same thought in the ἀπολυτρώσεις πρωτοτόκων of Heb. xii. 23.

[c] The mention of twenty-five in Num. viii. 24, as the age of entrance, must be understood either of a probationary period during which they were trained for their duties, or of the lighter work of keeping the gates of the tabernacle.

[d] On more solemn occasions the priests themselves appear as the bearers of the ark (Josh. iii. 3, 15, vi. 6; 1 K. viii. 6).

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tians of all the sacred treasures which the people had so freely offered. The Gershonites, in their turn, had to carry the tent-hangings and curtains (Num. iv. 22–26). The heavier burden of the boards, bars, and pillars of the Tabernacle fell on the sons of Merari. The two latter companies were allowed, however, to use the oxen and the wagons which were offered by the congregation, Merari, in consideration of its heavier work, having two-thirds of the number (Num. vii. 1–9). The more sacred vessels of the Kohathites were to be borne by them on their own shoulders (Num. vii. 9). The Kohathites in this arrangement were placed under the command of Eleazar, Gershon and Merari under Ithamar (Num. iv. 28, 33). Before the march began, the whole tribe was once again solemnly set apart. The rites (some of them at least) were such as the people might have witnessed in Egypt, and all would understand their meaning. Their clothes were to be washed. They themselves, as if they were, prior to their separation, polluted and unclean, like the leper, or those that had touched the dead, were to be sprinkled with "water of purifying" (Num. viii. 7, comp. with xix. 13; Lev. xiv. 8, 9), and to shave all their flesh.[a] The people were then to lay their hands upon the heads of the consecrated tribe and offer them up as their representatives (Num. viii. 10). Aaron, as high-priest, was then to present them as a wave-offering (turning them, *i. e.* this way and that, while they bowed themselves to the four points of the compass; comp. Abarbanel on Num. viii. 11, and Kurtz, iii. 208), in token that all their powers of mind and body were henceforth to be devoted to that service.[b] They, in their turn, were to lay their hands on the two bullocks which were to be slain as a sin-offering and burnt-offering for an atonement (כַּפֵּר, Num. viii. 12). Then they entered on their work; from one point of view given by the people to Jehovah, from another given by Jehovah to Aaron and his sons (Num. iii. 9, viii. 19, xviii. 6). Their very name is turned into an omen that they will cleave to the service of the Lord (comp. the play on יִלָּוֹת and לֵוִי in Num. xviii. 2, 4).

The new institution was, however, to receive a severe shock from those who were most interested in it. The section of the Levites whose position brought them into contact with the tribe of Reuben conspired with it to reassert the old patriarchal system of a household priesthood. The leader of that revolt may have been impelled by a desire to gain the same height as that which Aaron had attained; but the ostensible pretext, that the "whole congregation were holy" (Num. xvi. 3), was one which would have cut away all the distinctive privileges of the tribe of which he was a member. When their self-willed ambition had been punished, when all danger of the sons of Levi "taking too much upon them" was for the time checked, it was time also to provide more definitely for them, and so to give them more reason to be satisfied with what they actually had: and this involved a permanent organization for the future as well as for the present. If they were to have, like other tribes, a distinct territory assigned to them, their influence over the people at large would be diminished, and they themselves would be likely to forget, in labors common to them with others, their own peculiar calling. Jehovah therefore was to be their inheritance (Num. xviii. 20; Deut. x. 9, xviii. 2). They were to have no territorial possessions. In place of them they were to receive from the others the tithes of the produce of the land, from which they, in their turn, offered a tithe to the priests as a recognition of their higher consecration (Num. xviii. 21, 24, 26; Neh. x. 37). As if to provide for the contingency of failing crops or the like, and the consequent inadequacy of the tithes thus assigned to them, the Levite, not less than the widow and the orphan, was commended to the special kindness of the people (Deut. xii. 19, xiv. 27, 29). When the wanderings of the people should be over and the tabernacle have a settled place, great part of the labor that had fallen on them would come to an end, and they too would need a fixed abode. Concentration round the Tabernacle would lead to evils nearly as great, though of a different kind, as an assignment of special territory. Their ministerial character might thus be intensified, but their pervading influence as witnesses and teachers would be sacrificed to it. Distinctness and diffusion were both to be secured by the assignment to the whole tribe (the priests included) of forty-eight cities, with an outlying "suburb" (מִגְרָשׁ, προάστεια; Num. xxxv. 2) of meadow-land for the pasturage of their flocks and herds.[d] The reverence of the people for them was to be heightened by the selection of six of these as cities of refuge, in which the Levites were to present themselves as the protectors of the fugitives who, though they had not incurred the guilt, were yet liable to the punishment of murder.[e] How rapidly the feeling of reverence gained strength, we may judge from the share assigned to them out of the flocks and herds and women of the conquered Midianites (Num. xxxi. 27, &c.). The same victory led to the dedication of gold and silver vessels of great value, and thus increased the importance of the tribe as guardians of the national treasures (Num. xxxi. 50–54).

The book of Deuteronomy is interesting as indicating more clearly than had been done before

[a] Comp. the analogous practice (differing, however, in being constantly repeated) of the Egyptian priests (Herod. ii. 37; comp. Spencer, *De Leg. Heb.* b. iii. c. 5).

[b] Solemn as this dedication is, it fell short of the consecration of the priests, and was expressed by a different word. [Palmer.] The Levites were purified, not consecrated (comp. Gesen. *s. v.* קָדַשׁ and קֹדֶשׁ, and Oehler, *s. v.* "Levi," in Herzog's *Real-Encykl.*).

[c] In the encampment in the wilderness, the sons of Aaron occupied the foremost place of honor on the east. The Kohathites were at their right, on the south, the Gershonites on the west, the sons of Merari on the north of the tabernacle. On the south were also Reuben, Simeon, and Gad (Num. ii. and iii.).

[d] Heliopolis (Strabo, xvii. 1), Thebes and Memphis in Egypt, and Benares in Hindostan, have been referred to as parallels. The aggregation of priests round a great national sanctuary, so as to make it as it were the centre of a collegiate life, was however different in its object and results from that of the polity of Israel. (Comp. Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 402.)

[e] The importance of giving a sacred character to such an asylum is sufficient to account for the assignment of the cities of refuge to the Levites. Philo, however, with his characteristic love of an inner meaning, sees in it the truth that the Levites themselves were, according to the idea of their lives, fugitives from the world of sense, who had found their place of refuge in God.

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their other functions, over and above their ministrations in the Tabernacle, which were to be allotted to the tribe of Levi. Through the whole land they were to take the place of the old household priests (subject, of course, to the special rights of the Aaronic priesthood), sharing in all festivals and rejoicings (Deut. xii. 19, xiv. 26, 27, xxvi. 11). Every third year they were to have an additional share in the produce of the land (Deut. xiv. 28, xxvi. 12). The people were charged never to forsake them. To "the priests the Levites"[a] was to belong the office of preserving, transcribing, and interpreting the Law (Deut. xvii. 9–12; xxxi. 26). They were solemnly to read it every seventh year at the Feast of Tabernacles (Deut. xxxi. 9–13). They were to pronounce the curses from Mount Ebal (Deut. xxvii. 14).

Such, if one may so speak, was the ideal of the religious organization which was present to the mind of the lawgiver. Details were left to be developed as the altered circumstances of the people might require.[b] The great principle was, that the warrior-caste who had guarded the tent of the captain of the hosts of Israel, should be throughout the land as witnesses that the people still owed allegiance to Him. It deserves notice that, as yet, with the exception of the few passages that refer to the priests, no traces appear of their character as a learned caste, and of the work which afterwards belonged to them as hymn-writers and musicians. The hymns of this period were probably occasional, not recurring (comp. Ex. xv.; Num. xxi. 17; Deut. xxxii.). Women bore a large share in singing them (Ex. xv. 20; Ps. lxviii. 25). It is not unlikely that the wives and daughters of the Levites, who must have been with them in all their encampments, as afterwards in their cities, took the foremost part among the "damsels playing with their timbrels,"[c] or among the "wise-hearted," who wove hangings for the decoration of the Tabernacle. There are at any rate signs of their presence there, in the mention of the "women that assembled" at its door (Ex. xxxviii. 8, and comp. Ewald, *Alterthüm.* p. 297).

II. The successor of Moses, though belonging to another tribe, did faithfully all that could be done to convert this idea into a reality. The submission of the Gibeonites, after they had obtained a promise that their lives should be spared, enabled him to relieve the tribe-divisions of Gershon and Merari of the most burdensome of their duties. The conquered Hivites became "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for the house of Jehovah and for the congregation (Josh. ix. 27).[d] As soon as the conquerors had advanced far enough to proceed to a partition of the country, the forty-eight cities were assigned to them. Whether they were to be the sole occupiers of the cities thus allotted, or whether — as the rule for the redemption of their houses in Lev. xxv. 32 might seem to indicate — others were allowed to reside when they had been provided for, must remain uncertain. The principle of a widely diffused influence was maintained by allotting, as a rule, four cities from the district of each tribe; but it is interesting to notice how, in the details of the distribution, the divisions of the Levites in the order of their precedence coincided with the relative importance of the tribes with which they were connected. The following table will help the reader to form a judgment on this point, and to trace the influence of the tribe in the subsequent events of Jewish history.[e]

I. Kohathites:		
A. Priests ..	Judah and Simeon	9
	Benjamin	4
B. Not Priests ..	Ephraim	4
	Dan	4
	Half Manasseh (West)	2
	Half Manasseh (East)	2
II. Gershonites ..	Issachar	4
	Asher	4
	Naphtali	3
III. Merarites ..	Zebulun	4
	Reuben	4
	Gad	4
		48

The scanty memorials that are left us in the book of Judges fail to show how far, for any length of time, the reality answered to the idea. The ravages of invasion, and the pressure of an alien rule, marred the working of the organization which seemed so perfect. Levitical cities, such as Aijalon (Josh. xxi. 24; Judg. i. 35) and Gezer (Josh. xxi. 21; 1 Chr. vi. 67), fall into the hands of their enemies. Sometimes, as in the case of Nob, others apparently took their place. The wandering, unsettled habits of the Levites who are mentioned in the later chapters of Judges, are probably to be traced to this loss of a fixed abode, and the consequent necessity of taking refuge in other cities, even though their tribe as such had no portion in them. The tendency of the people to fall into the idolatry of the neighboring nations, showed either that the Levites failed to bear their witness to the truth or had no power to enforce it. Even in the lifetime of Phinehas, when the high-priest was still consulted as an oracle, the reverence which the people felt for the tribe of Levi becomes the occasion of a rival worship (Judg. xvii.). The old household priesthood revives,[f] and there is the risk of the national worship breaking up into individualism. Micah first consecrates one of his own sons, and then tempts a homeless Levite to dwell with him as "a father and a priest" for little more

[a] This phraseology, characteristic of Deuteronomy and Joshua, appears to indicate that the functions spoken of belonged to them as the chief members of the sacred tribe, as a clerisy rather than as priests in the narrower sense of the word.

[b] To this there is one remarkable exception. Deut. viii. 6 provides for a permanent dedication as the result of personal zeal going beyond the fixed period of service that came in rotation, and entitled accordingly to its reward.

[c] Comp., as indicating their presence and functions at a later date, 1 Chr. xxv. 5, 6.

[d] The Nethinim (*Dedi dati*) of 1 Chr. ix. 2, Ezr. viii. were probably sprung from captives taken by David in later wars, who were assigned to the service of the Tabernacle, replacing possibly the Gibeonites who had been slain by Saul (2 Sam. xxi. 1).

[e] For the local position of the forty-eight Levitical cities, as distributed among the different tribes, see especially Plate iv. No. 9 (p. 27) in Clark's *Bible Atlas of Maps and Plans* (Lond. 1868). For convenience of reference small capitals are employed to distinguish the Priests' cities, the letter R to distinguish the cities of refuge, and an asterisk to denote those which are not identified. Twenty-one of the forty-eight belong to this third class. H

[f] Compare, on the extent of this relapse into an earlier system, Kalisch, *in Genesis*, xlix. 7.

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than his food and raiment. The Levite, though probably the grandson of Moses himself, repeats the sin of Korah. [JONATHAN.] First in the house of Micah, and then for the emigrants of Dan, he exercises the office of a priest with "an ephod, and a teraphim, and a graven image." With this exception the whole tribe appears to have fallen into a condition analogous to that of the clergy in the darkest period and in the most outlying districts of the Mediæval Church, going through a ritual routine, but exercising no influence for good, at once corrupted and corrupting. The shameless license of the sons of Eli may be looked upon as the result of a long period of decay, affecting the whole order. When the priests were such as Hophni and Phinehas, we may fairly assume that the Levites were not doing much to sustain the moral life of the people.

The work of Samuel was the starting-point of a better time. Himself a Levite, and, though not a priest, belonging to that section of the Levites which was nearest to the priesthood (1 Chr. vi. 28), adopted, as it were, by a special dedication, into the priestly line and trained for its offices (1 Sam. ii. 18), he appears as infusing a fresh life, the author of a new organization. There is no reason to think, indeed, that the companies or schools of the sons of the prophets which appear in his time (1 Sam. x. 5), and are traditionally said to have been founded by him, consisted exclusively of Levites; but there are many signs that the members of that tribe formed a large element in the new order, and received new strength from it. It exhibited, indeed, the ideal of the Levite life as one of praise, devotion, teaching, standing in the same relation to the priests and Levites generally as the monastic institutions of the fifth century, or the mendicant orders of the thirteenth, did to the secular clergy of Western Europe. The fact that the Levites were thus brought under the influence of a system which addressed itself to the mind and heart in a greater degree than the sacrificial functions of the priesthood, may possibly have led them on to apprehend the higher truths as to the nature of worship which begin to be asserted from this period, and which are nowhere proclaimed more clearly than in the great hymn that bears the name of Asaph (Ps. l. 7–15). The man who raises the name of prophet to a new significance is himself a Levite (1 Sam. ix. 9). It is among them that we find the first signs of the musical skill which is afterwards so conspicuous in the Levites (1 Sam. x. 5). The order in which the Temple services were arranged is ascribed to two of the prophets, Nathan and Gad (2 Chr. xxix. 25), who must have grown up under Samuel's superintendence, and in part to Samuel himself (1 Chr. ix. 22). Asaph and Heman, the Psalmists, bear the same title as Samuel the Seer (1 Chr. xxv. 5; 2 Chr. xxix. 30). The very word "prophesying" is applied not only to sudden bursts of song, but to the organized psalmody of the Temple (1 Chr. xxv. 2, 3). Even of those who bore the name of a prophet in a higher sense, a large number are traceably of this tribe.[a]

III. The capture of the Ark by the Philistines did not entirely interrupt the worship of the Israelites, and the ministrations of the Levites went on, first at Shiloh (1 Sam. xiv. 3), then for a time at Nob (1 Sam. xxii. 11), afterwards at Gibeon (1 K. iii. 4; 1 Chr. xvi. 39). The history of the return of the ark to Beth-shemesh after its capture by the Philistines, and its subsequent removal to Kirjath-jearim, points apparently to some strange complications, rising out of the anomalies of this period, and affecting, in some measure, the position of the tribe of Levi. Beth-shemesh was, by the original assignment of the conquered country, one of the cities of the priests (Josh. xxi. 16). They, however, do not appear in the narrative, unless we assume, against all probability, that the men of Beth-shemesh who were guilty of the act of profanation were themselves of the priestly order. Levites indeed are mentioned as doing their appointed work (1 Sam. vi. 15), but the sacrifices and burnt-offerings are offered by the men of the city, as though the special function of the priesthood had been usurped by others; and on this supposition it is easier to understand how those who had set aside the Law of Moses by one offense should defy it also by another. The singular reading of the LXX. in 1 Sam. vi. 19 (καὶ οὐκ ἠσμένισαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰεχονίου ἐν τοῖς ἀνδράσι Βαιθσαμὺς ὅτι εἶδον κιβωτὸν Κυρίου), indicates, if we assume that it rests upon some corresponding Hebrew text, a struggle between two opposed parties, one guilty of the profanation, the other — possibly the Levites who had been before mentioned — zealous in their remonstrances against it. Then comes, either as the result of this collision, or by direct supernatural infliction, the great slaughter of the Beth-shemites, and they shrink from retaining the ark any longer among them. The great Eben (stone) becomes, by a slight paronomastic change in its form, the "great Abel" (lamentation), and the name remains as a memorial of the sin and of its punishment. [BETH-SHEMESH.] We are left entirely in the dark as to the reasons which led them, after this, to send the ark of Jehovah, not to Hebron or some other priestly city, but to Kirjath-jearim, round which, so far as we know, there gathered legitimately no sacred associations. It has been commonly assumed indeed that Abinadab, under whose guardianship it remained for twenty years, must necessarily have been of the tribe of Levi. [ABINADAB.] Of this, however, there is not the slightest direct evidence, and against it there is the language of David in 1 Chr. xv. 2, "None ought to carry the ark of God but the Levites, for them hath Jehovah chosen," which would lose half its force if it were not meant as a protest against a recent innovation, and the ground of a return to the more ancient order. So far as one can see one's way through these perplexities of a dark period, the most probable explanation — already suggested under KIRJATH-JEARIM — seems to be the following. The old names of Baalah (Josh. xv. 9) and Kirjath-baal (Josh. xv. 60) suggest there had been of old some special sanctity attached to the place as the centre of a Canaanite local worship. The fact that the ark was taken to the house of Abinadab in the *hill* (1 Sam. vii. 1), the Gibeah of 2 Sam. vi. 3, connects itself with that old Canaanitish reverence for high places, which through the whole history of the

[a] It may be worth while to indicate the extent of this connection. As prophets, who are also priests, we have Jeremiah (Jer. i. 1), Ezekiel (Ez. i. 3), Amariah the son of Oded (2 Chr. xv. 1), Zechariah (2 Chr. xxiv. 20). Internal evidence tends to the same conclusion as to Joel, Micah, Habakkuk, Haggai, Zechariah, and even Isaiah himself. Jahaziel (2 Chr. xx 14) appears as at once a prophet and a Levite. There is a balance of probability on the same side as to Jehu Hanani, the second Oded, and Ahijah of Shiloh.

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Israelites, continued to have such strong attractions for them. These may have seemed to the panic-stricken inhabitants of that district, mingling old things and new, the worship of Jehovah with the lingering superstitions of the conquered people sufficient grounds to determine their choice of a locality. The consecration (the word used is the special sacerdotal term) of Eleazar as the guardian of the ark is, on this hypothesis, analogous in its way to the other irregular assumptions which characterize this period, though here the offense was less flagrant, and did not involve apparently the performance of any sacrificial acts. While, however, this aspect of the religious condition of the people brings the Levitical and priestly orders before us as having lost the position they had previously occupied, there were other influences at work tending to reinstate them.

The rule of Samuel and his sons, and the prophetical character now connected with the tribe, tended to give them the position of a ruling caste. In the strong desire of the people for a king, we may perhaps trace a protest against the assumption by the Levites of a higher position than that originally assigned. The reign of Saul, in its later period, was at any rate the assertion of a self-willed power against the priestly order. The assumption of the sacrificial office, the massacre of the priests at Nob, the slaughter of the Gibeonites who were attached to their service, were parts of the same policy, and the narrative of the condemnation of Saul for the two former sins, no less than of the expiation required for the latter (2 Sam. xxi.), shows by what strong measures the truth, of which that policy was a subversion, had to be impressed on the minds of the Israelites. The reign of David, however, brought the change from persecution to honor. The Levites were ready to welcome a king who, though not of their tribe, had been brought up under their training, was skilled in their arts, prepared to share even in some of their ministrations, and to array himself in their apparel (2 Sam. vi. 14), and 4,600 of their number with 3,700 priests waited upon David at Hebron — itself, it should be remembered, one of the priestly cities — to tender their allegiance (1 Chr. xii. 26) When his kingdom was established, there came a fuller organization of the whole tribe. Its position in relation to the priesthood was once again definitely recognized. When the ark was carried up to its new resting-place in Jerusalem, their claim to be the bearers of it was publicly acknowledged (1 Chr. xv. 2). When the sin of Uzzah stopped the procession, it was placed for a time under the care of Obed-Edom of Gath — probably Gath-rimmon — as one of the chiefs of the Kohathites (1 Chr. xiii. 13; Josh. xxi. 24; 1 Chr. xv. 18).

In the procession which attended the ultimate conveyance of the ark to its new resting-place, the Levites were conspicuous, wearing their linen ephods, and appearing in their new character as minstrels (1 Chr. xv. 27, 28). In the worship of the Tabernacle under David, as afterwards in that of the Temple, we may trace a development of the simpler arrangements of the wilderness and of Shiloh. The Levites were the gatekeepers, vergers, sacristans, choristers of the central sanctuary of the nation. They were, in the language of 1 Chr. xxiii. 24–32, to which we may refer as almost the *locus classicus* on this subject, "to wait on the sons of Aaron for the service of the house of Jehovah, in the courts, and the chambers, and the purifying of all holy things." This included the duty of providing "for the shew-bread, and the fine flour for meat-offering, and for the unleavened bread." They were, besides this, "to stand every morning to thank and praise Jehovah, and likewise at even." They were lastly "to offer" — *i. e.* to assist the priests in offering — "all burnt-sacrifices to Jehovah in the sabbaths and on the set feasts." They lived for the greater part of the year in their own cities, and came up at fixed periods to take their turn of work (1 Chr. xxv., xxvi.). How long it lasted we have no sufficient data for determining. The predominance of the number twelve as the basis of classification[a] might seem to indicate monthly periods, and the festivals of the new moon would naturally suggest such an arrangement. The analogous order in the civil and military administration (1 Chr. xxvii. 1) would tend to the same conclusion. It appears, indeed, that there was a change of some kind every week (1 Chr. ix. 25; 2 Chr. xxiii. 4, 8); but this is of course compatible with a system of rotation, which would give to each a longer period of residence, or with the permanent residence of the leader of each division within the precincts of the sanctuary. Whatever may have been the system, we must bear in mind that the duties now imposed upon the Levites were such as to require almost continuous practice. They would need, when their turn came, to be able to bear their parts in the great choral hymns of the Temple, and to take each his appointed share in the complex structure of a sacrificial liturgy, and for this a special study would be required. The education which the Levites received for their peculiar duties, no less than their connection, more or less intimate, with the schools of the prophets (see above), would tend to make them, so far as there was any education at all, the teachers of others,[b] the transcribers and interpreters of the Law, the chroniclers of the times in which they lived. We have some striking instances of their appearance in this new character. One of them, Ethan the Ezrahite,[c] takes his place among the old Hebrew sages who were worthy to be compared with Solomon, and (Ps. lxxxix. title) his name appears as the writer of the 89th Psalm (1 K. iv. 31; 1 Chr. xv. 17). One of the first to bear the title of "Scribe" is a Levite (1 Chr. xxiv. 6), and this is mentioned as one of their special offices under Josiah (2 Chr. xxxiv. 13). They are described as

[a] There are 24 courses of the priests, 24,000 Levites in the general business of the Temple (1 Chr. xxiii. 4). The number of singers is $288 = 12 \times 24$ (1 Chr. xxv 7).

[b] There is, however, a curious Jewish tradition that the schoolmasters of Israel were of the tribe of Simeon (Solom. Jarchi on Gen. xlix. 7, in Godwyn's *Moses and Aaron*).

[c] In 1 Chr. ii. 6 the four names of 1 K. iv. 31 appear as belonging to the tribe of Judah, and in the third generation after Jacob. On the other hand the names of Heman and Ethan are prominent among the Levites under Solomon (*infra*); and two psalms, one of which belongs manifestly to a later date, are ascribed to them, with this title of Ezrahite attached (Ps. lxxxviii. and lxxxix). The difficulty arises probably out of some confusion of the later and the earlier names. Ewald's conjecture, that conspicuous minstrels of other tribes were received into the choir of the Temple, and then reckoned as Levites, would give a new aspect to the influence of the tribe. (Comp *Poet. Bücher*, i. 213; De Wette, *Psalmen*, *Einleit* § 3).

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"officers and judges" under David (1 Chr. xxvi. 29), and as such are employed "in all the business of Jehovah, and in the service of the king." They are the agents of Jehoshaphat and Hezekiah in their work of reformation, and are sent forth to proclaim and enforce the law (2 Chr. xvii. 8, xxx. 22). Under Josiah the function has passed into a title, and they are "the Levites that taught all Israel" (2 Chr. xxxv. 3). The two books of Chronicles bear unmistakable marks of having been written by men whose interests were all gathered round the services of the Temple, and who were familiar with its records. The materials from which they compiled their narratives, and to which they refer as the works of seers and prophets, were written by men who were probably Levites themselves, or, if not, were associated with them.

The former subdivisions of the tribe were recognized in the assignment of the new duties, and the Kohathites retained their old preëminence. They have four "princes" (1 Chr. xv. 5–10), while Merari and Gershon have but one each. They supplied, from the families of the Izharites and Hebronites, the "officers and judges" of 1 Chr. xxvi. 30. To them belonged the sons of Korah, with Heman at their head (1 Chr. ix. 19), playing upon psalteries and harps. They were "over the work of the service, keepers of the gates of the tabernacle" (*l. c.*). It was their work to prepare the shew-bread every Sabbath (1 Chr. ix. 32). The Gershonites were represented in like manner in the Temple-choir by the sons of Asaph (1 Chr. vi. 39, xv. 17); Merari by the sons of Ethan or Jeduthun (1 Chr. vi. 44, xvi. 42, xxv. 1-7). Now that the heavier work of conveying the tabernacle and its equipments from place to place was no longer required of them, and that psalmody had become the most prominent of their duties, they were to enter on their work at the earlier age of twenty (1 Chr. xxiii. 24-27).[a]

As in the old days of the Exodus, so in the organization under David, the Levites were not included in the general census of the people (1 Chr. xxi. 6), and formed accordingly no portion of its military strength. A separate census, made apparently before the change of age just mentioned (1 Chr. xxiii. 3), gives —

24,000 over the work of the Temple.
- 6,000 officers and judges.
- 4,000 porters, *i. e.* gate-keepers,[b] and, as such, bearing arms (1 Chr. ix. 19; 2 Chr. xxxi. 2).
- 4,000 praising Jehovah with instruments.

The latter number, however, must have included the full choruses of the Temple. The more skilled musicians among the sons of Heman, Asaph, and Jeduthun are numbered at 288, in 24 sections of 12 each. Here again the Kohathites are prominent, having 14 out of the 24 sections; while Gershon has 4 and Merari 8 (1 Chr. xxv. 2-4). To these 288 were assigned apparently a more permanent residence in the Temple (1 Chr. ix. 33), and in the villages of the Netophathites near Bethlehem (1 Chr. ix. 16), mentioned long afterwards as inhabited by the "sons of the singers" (Neh. xii. 28).

The revolt of the ten tribes, and the policy pursued by Jeroboam, led to a great change in the position of the Levites. They were the witnesses of an appointed order and of a central worship. He wished to make the priests the creatures and instruments of the king, and to establish a provincial and divided worship. The natural result was, that they left the cities assigned to them in the territory of Israel, and gathered round the metropolis of Judah (2 Chr. xi. 13, 14). Their influence over the people at large was thus diminished, and the design of the Mosaic polity so far frustrated; but their power as a religious order was probably increased by this concentration within narrower limits. In the kingdom of Judah they were, from this time forward, a powerful body, politically as well as ecclesiastically. They brought with them the prophetic element of influence, in the wider as well as in the higher meaning of the word. We accordingly find them prominent in the war of Abijah against Jeroboam (2 Chr. xiii. 10-12). They are, as before noticed, sent out by Jehoshaphat to instruct and judge the people (2 Chr. xix. 8-10). Prophets of their order encourage the king in his war against Moab and Ammon, and go before his army with their loud Hallelujahs (2 Chr. xx. 21), and join afterwards in the triumph of his return. The apostasy that followed on the marriage of Jehoram and Athaliah exposed them for a time to the dominance of a hostile system; but the services of the Temple appear to have gone on, and the Levites were again conspicuous in the counter-revolution effected by Jehoiada (2 Chr. xxiii.), and in restoring the Temple to its former stateliness under Joash (2 Chr. xxiv. 5). They shared in the disasters of the reign of Amaziah (2 Chr. xxv. 24), and in the prosperity of Uzziah, and were ready, we may believe, to support the priests, who, as representing their order, opposed the sacrilegious usurpation of the latter king (2 Chr. xxvi. 17). The closing of the Temple under Ahaz involved the cessation at once of their work and of their privileges (2 Chr. xxviii. 24). Under Hezekiah they again became prominent, as consecrating themselves to the special work of cleansing and repairing the Temple (2 Chr. xxix. 12–15); and the hymns of David and of Asaph were again renewed. In this instance it was thought worthy of special record that those who were simply Levites were more "upright in heart" and zealous than the priests themselves (2 Chr. xxix. 34); and thus, in that great Passover, they took the place of the unwilling or unprepared members of the priesthood. Their old privileges were restored, they were put forward as teachers (2 Chr. xxx. 22), and the payment of tithes, which had probably been discontinued under Ahaz, was renewed (2 Chr. xxxi. 4). The genealogies of the tribe were revised (ver. 17), and the old classification kept its ground. The reign of Manasseh was for them, during the greater part of it, a period of depression. That of Josiah witnessed a fresh revival and reorganization (2 Chr. xxxiv. 8–13). In the great passover of his eighteenth year they took their place as teachers of the people, as well as leaders of their worship (2 Chr. xxxv. 3, 15). Then came the Egyptian and Chaldæan invasions and the rule of cowardly and apostate kings. The sacred tribe itself showed itself unfaithful. The

[a] The change is indicated in what are described as the "last words of David." The king feels, in his old age, that a time of rest has come for himself and for the people, and that the Levites have a right to share in it. They are now the ministers — not, as before the warrior-host — of the Unseen King.

[b] Ps. cxxxiv. acquires a fresh interest when we think of it as the song of the night-sentries of the Temple.

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repeated protests of the priest Ezekiel indicate that they had shared in the idolatry of the people. The prominence into which they had been brought in the reigns of the two reforming kings had apparently tempted them to think that they might encroach permanently on the special functions of the priesthood, and the sin of Korah was renewed (Ez. xliv. 10–14, xlviii. 11). They had, as the penalty of their sin, to witness the destruction of the Temple, and to taste the bitterness of exile.

IV. After the Captivity. The position taken by the Levites in the first movements of the return from Babylon indicates that they had cherished the traditions and maintained the practices of their tribe. They, we may believe, were those who were specially called on to sing to their conquerors one of the songs of Zion (De Wette, on Ps. cxxxvii.). It is noticeable, however, that in the first body of returning exiles they are present in a disproportionately small number (Ezr. ii. 36–42). Those who do come take their old parts at the foundation and dedication of the second Temple (Ezr. iii. 10, vi. 18). In the next movement under Ezra their reluctance (whatever may have been its origin[a]) was even more strongly marked. None of them presented themselves at the first great gathering (Ezr. viii. 15). The special efforts of Ezra did not succeed in bringing together more than 38, and their place had to be filled by 220 of the Nethinim (*ib.* 20).[b] Those who returned with him resumed their functions at the Feast of Tabernacles as teachers and interpreters (Neh. viii. 7), and those who were most active in that work were foremost also in chanting the hymn-like prayer which appears in Neh. ix. as the last great effort of Jewish psalmody. They are recognized in the great national covenant, and the offerings and tithes which were their due are once more solemnly secured to them (Neh. x. 37–39). They take their old places in the Temple and in the villages near Jerusalem (Neh. xii. 29), and are present in full array at the great feast of the Dedication of the Wall. The two prophets who were active at the time of the Return, Haggai and Zechariah, if they did not belong to the tribe, helped it forward in the work of restoration. The strongest measures are adopted by Nehemiah, as before by Ezra, to guard the purity of their blood from the contamination of mixed marriages (Ezr. x. 23); and they are made the special guardians of the holiness of the Sabbath (Neh. xiii. 22). The last prophet of the O. T. sees, as part of his vision of the latter days, the time when the Lord "shall purify the sons of Levi" (Mal. iii. 3).

The guidance of the O. T. fails us at this point, and the history of the Levites in relation to the national life becomes consequently a matter of inference and conjecture. The synagogue worship, then originated, or receiving a new development, was organized irrespectively of them [SYNAGOGUE], and thus throughout the whole of Palestine there were means of instruction in the Law with which they were not connected. This would tend naturally to diminish their peculiar claim on the reverence of the people; but where a priest or Levite was present in the synagogue they were still entitled to some kind of precedence, and special sections in the lessons for the day were assigned to them (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Matt. iv. 23). During the period that followed the Captivity they contributed to the formation of the so-called Great Synagogue. They, with the priests, theoretically constituted and practically formed the majority of the permanent Sanhedrim (Maimonides in Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Matt. xxvi. 3), and as such had a large share in the administration of justice even in capital cases. In the characteristic feature of this period, as an age of scribes succeeding to an age of prophets, they too were likely to be sharers. The training and previous history of the tribe would predispose them to attach themselves to the new system as they had done to the old. They accordingly may have been among the scribes and elders, who accumulated traditions. They may have attached themselves to the sects of Pharisees and Sadducees.[c] But in proportion as they thus acquired fame and reputation individually, their functions as Levites became subordinate, and they were known simply as the inferior ministers of the Temple. They take no prominent part in the Maccabean struggles, though they must have been present at the great purification of the Temple.

They appear but seldom in the history of the N. T. Where we meet with their names it is as the type of a formal heartless worship, without sympathy and without love (Luke x. 32).[d] The same parable indicates Jericho as having become — what it had not been originally (see Josh. xxi., 1 Chr. vi.) — one of the great stations at which they and the priests resided (Lightfoot, *Cent. Chorograph.* c. 47). In John i. 19 they appear as delegates of the Jews, that is of the Sanhedrim, coming to inquire into the credentials of the Baptist, and giving utterance to their own Messianic expectations. The mention of a Levite of Cyprus in Acts iv. 36 shows that the changes of the previous century had carried that tribe also into "the dispersed among the Gentiles." The conversion of Barnabas and Mark was probably no solitary instance of the reception by them of the new faith, which was the fulfillment of the old. If "a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith" (Acts vi. 7), it is not too bold to believe that their influence may have led Levites to follow their example; and thus the old psalms, and possibly also the old chants of the Temple-service, might be transmitted through the agency of those who had been specially trained in them, to be the inheritance of the Christian Church. Later on in the history of the first century, when the Temple had received its final completion under the younger Agrippa, we find one section of the tribe engaged in a new movement. With that strange unconsciousness of a coming doom which so often marks the last stage of a decaying system, the singers of the Temple thought it a fitting time to apply for the right of wearing the same linen garment as the priests, and persuaded the king that the concession of this privilege would be the glory of his reign (Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 8, § 6). The other Levites at the same time asked for and obtained the privilege of joining

[a] May we conjecture that the language of Ezekiel had led to some jealousy between the two orders?

[b] There is a Jewish tradition (Surenhusius, *Mishnah*, *Sota*, ix. 10) to the effect that, as a punishment for this backwardness, Ezra deprived them of their tithes, and transferred the right to the priests.

[c] The life of Josephus may be taken as an example of the education of the higher members of the order (Jos. *Vita*, c. i.).

[d] Levites, though not named, are referred to as a Temple-police in Luke xxii. 52, Acts iv. 1, and v. 26 [CAPTAIN.] H.

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in the Temple choruses, from which hitherto they had been excluded.[a] The destruction of the Temple so soon after they had attained the object of their desires came as with a grim irony to sweep away their occupation, and so to deprive them of every vestige of that which had distinguished them from other Israelites. They were merged in the crowd of captives that were scattered over the Roman world, and disappear from the stage of history. The Rabbinic schools, that rose out of the ruins of the Jewish polity, fostered a studied and habitual depreciation of the Levite order as compared with their own teachers (M'Caul, *Old Paths*, p. 435). Individual families, it may be, cherished the tradition that their fathers, as priests or Levites, had taken part in the services of the Temple.[b] If their claims were recognized, they received the old marks of reverence in the worship of the synagogue (comp. the Regulations of the Great Synagogue of London, in Margoliouth's *History of Jews in Great Britain*, iii. 270), took precedence in reading the lessons of the day (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Matt. iv. 23), and pronounced the blessing at the close (Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, vi. 790). Their existence was acknowledged in some of the laws of the Christian emperors (Basnage, *l. c.*). The tenacity with which the exiled race clung to these recollections is shown in the prevalence of the names (Cohen, and Levita or Levy) which imply that those who bear them are of the sons of Aaron or the tribe of Levi; and in the custom which exempts the first-born of priestly or Levite families from the payments which are still offered, in the case of others, as the redemption of the first-born (Leo of Modena, in Picart's *Cérémonies Religieuses*, i. 26; Allen's *Modern Judaism*, p. 297). In the mean time the old name had acquired a new signification. The early writers of the Christian Church applied to the later hierarchy the language of the earlier, and gave to the bishops and presbyters the title (ἱερεῖς) that had belonged to the sons of Aaron; while the deacons were habitually spoken of as Levites (Suicer, *Thes.* s. v. Λευίτης).[c]

The extinction or absorption of a tribe which had borne so prominent a part in the history of Israel, was, like other such changes, an instance of the order in which the shadow is succeeded by the substance — that which is decayed, is waxing old, and ready to vanish away, by a new and more living organization. It had done its work, and it had lost its life. It was bound up with a localized and exclusive worship, and had no place to occupy in that which was universal. In the Christian Church — supposing, by any effort of imagination, that it had had a recognized existence in it — it would have been simply an impediment. Looking at the long history of which the outline has been here traced, we find in it the light and darkness, the good and evil, which mingle in the character of most corporate or caste societies. On the one hand, the Levites, as a tribe, tended to fall into a formal worship, a narrow and exclusive exaltation of themselves and of their country. On the other hand, we must not forget that they were chosen, together with the priesthood, to bear witness of great truths which might otherwise have perished from remembrance, and that they bore it well through a long succession of centuries. To members of this tribe we owe many separate books of the O. T., and probably also in great measure the preservation of the whole. The hymns which they sung, in part probably the music of which they were the originators, have been perpetuated in the worship of the Christian Church. In the company of prophets who have left behind them no written records they appear conspicuous, united by common work and common interests with the prophetic order. They did their work as a national *clergy*, instruments in raising the people to a higher life, educating them in the knowledge on which all order and civilization rest. It is not often, in the history of the world, that a religious caste or order has passed away with more claims to the respect and gratitude of mankind than the tribe of Levi.

(On the subject generally may be consulted, in addition to the authorities already quoted, Carpzov, *Appar. Crit.* b. i. c. 5, and *Annotat.*; Saalschütz, *Archäol. der Hebr.* c. 78; Michaelis, *Comm. on Laws of Moses*, i. art. 52.) E. H. P.

LEVITICUS (וַיִּקְרָא), the first word in the book, giving it its name: Λευιτικόν: *Leviticus*: called also by the later Jews תּוֹרַת כֹּהֲנִים, "Law of the priests;" and תּוֹרַת חֲטָּאוֹת, "Law of offerings."

CONTENTS. — The book consists of the following principal sections:

I. The laws touching sacrifices (cc. i.–vii.).

II. An historical section containing, first, the consecration of Aaron and his sons (ch. viii.); next, his first offering for himself and the people (ch. ix.); and lastly, the destruction of Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, for their presumptuous offense (ch. x.).

III. The laws concerning purity and impurity, and the appropriate sacrifices and ordinances for putting away impurity (cc. xi.–xvi.).

IV. Laws chiefly intended to mark the separation between Israel and the heathen nations (cc. xvii.–xx.)

V. Laws concerning the priests (xxi., xxii.); and certain holy days and festivals (xxiii., xxv.), together with an episode (xxiv.). The section extends from ch. xxi. 1 to xxvi. 2.

VI. Promises and threats (xxvi. 2–46).

VII. An appendix containing the laws concerning vows (xxvii.)

I. The book of Exodus concludes with the account of the completion of the tabernacle. "So Moses finished the work," we read (xl. 33): and immediately there rests upon it a cloud, and it is

[a] The tone of Josephus is noticeable as being that of a man who looked on the change as a dangerous innovation. As a priest, he saw in this movement of the Levites an intrusion on the privileges of his order; and this was, in his judgment, one of the sins which brought on the destruction of the city and the Temple.

[b] Dr. Joseph Wolff, in his recent *Travels and Adventures* (p. 2), claims his descent from this tribe.

[c] In the literature of a later period the same name meets us applied to the same or nearly the same order no longer, however, as the language of reverence, but as that of a cynical contempt for the less worthy portion of the clergy of the English Church (Macaulay *Hist. of England*, iii. 327).

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filled with the glory of Jehovah. From the tabernacle, thus rendered glorious by the Divine Presence, issues the legislation contained in the book of Leviticus. At first God spake to the people out of the thunder and lightning of Sinai, and gave them his holy commandments by the hand of a mediator. But henceforth his Presence is to dwell not on the secret top of Sinai, but in the midst of his people, both in their wanderings through the wilderness, and afterwards in the Land of Promise. Hence the first directions which Moses receives after the work is finished have reference to the offerings which were to be brought to the door of the Tabernacle. As Jehovah draws near to the people in the Tabernacle, so the people draw near to Jehovah in the offering. Without offerings none may approach Him. The regulations respecting the sacrifices fall into three groups, and each of these groups again consists of a decalogue of instructions. Bertheau has observed that this principle runs through all the laws of Moses. They are all modeled after the pattern of the ten commandments, so that each distinct subject of legislation is always treated of under ten several enactments or provisions.

Baumgarten in his *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, has adopted the arrangement of Bertheau, as set forth in his *Sieben Gruppen des Mos. Rechts*. On the whole, his principle seems sound. We find Bunsen acknowledging it in part, in his division of the 19th chapter (see below). And though we cannot always agree with Bertheau, we have thought it worth while to give his arrangement as suggestive at least of the main structure of the book.

1. The first group of regulations (cc. i. – iii.) deals with three kinds of offerings: the burnt-offering (עוֹלָה), the meat-offering[a] (מִנְחָה), and the thank-offering (זֶבַח שְׁלָמִים).

i. The burnt-offering (ch. i.) in three sections. It might be either (1) a male without blemish from the *herds* (מִן הַבָּקָר), vv. 3–9; or (2) a male without blemish from the *flocks*, or lesser cattle (הַצֹּאן), vv. 10–13; or (3) it might be fowls, an offering of turtle-doves or young pigeons, vv. 14–17. The subdivisions are here marked clearly enough, not only by the three *kinds* of sacrifice, but also by the *form* in which the enactment is put. Each begins with אִם ... קָרְבָּנוֹ, "If his offering," etc., and each ends with עוֹלָה אִשֶּׁה רֵיחַ נִיחוֹחַ לַיהוָה, "an offering made by fire, of a sweet savor unto Jehovah."

The next group (ch. ii.) presents many more difficulties. Its parts are not so clearly marked either by prominent features in the subject-matter, or by the more technical boundaries of certain initial and final phrases. We have here—

ii. The meat-offering, or bloodless offering in four sections: (1) in its uncooked form, consisting of fine flour with oil and frankincense, vv. 1–3; (2) in its cooked form, of which three different kinds are specified — baked in the oven, fried, or boiled, vv. 4–10; (3) the prohibition of leaven, and the direction to use salt in all the meat-offerings, 11-13; (4) the oblation of first fruits, 14–16. This at least seems on the whole to be the best arrangement of the group, though we offer it with some hesitation.

(*a.*) Bertheau's arrangement is different. He divides (1) vv. 1–4, thus including the meat-offering baked in the oven with the uncooked offering; (2) vv. 5 and 6, the meat-offering when fried in the pan; (3) vv. 7–13, the meat-offering when boiled; (4) vv. 14–16, the offering of the first-fruits. But this is obviously open to many objections. For, first, it is exceedingly arbitrary to connect v. 4 with vv. 1–3, rather than with the verses which follow. Why should the meat-offering baked in the oven be classed with the uncooked meat-offering rather than with the other two which were in different ways supposed to be dressed with fire? Next, two of the divisions of the chapter are clearly marked by the recurrence of the formula, "It is a thing most holy of the offerings of Jehovah made by fire," vv. 3 and 10. Lastly, the directions in vv. 11–13 apply to every form of meat-offering, not only to that immediately preceding. The Masoretic arrangement is in five sections: vv. 1–3; 4; 5, 6; 7–13; 14–16.

iii. The *shelamim* — "peace-offering" (A. V.), or thank-offering" (Ewald), (ch. iii.) in three sections. Strictly speaking this falls under two heads: first, when it is of the *herd*; and secondly, when it is of the *flock*. But this last has again its subdivision; for the offering when of the flock may be either a lamb or a goat. Accordingly the three sections are, vv. 1–5; 7–11; 12–16. Ver. 6 is merely introductory to the second class of sacrifices, and ver. 17 a general conclusion, as in the case of other laws. This concludes the first decalogue of the book.

2. Ch. iv., v. The laws concerning the sin-offering and the trespass- (or guilt-) offering.

The sin-offering (chap. iv.) is treated of under four specified cases, after a short introduction to the whole in vv. 1, 2: (1) the sin-offering for the priest, 3–12; (2) for the whole congregation, 13–21; (3) for a ruler, 22–26; (4) for one of the common people, 27–35.

After these four cases in which the offering is to be made for four different classes, there follow provisions respecting three several kinds of transgression for which atonement must be made. It is not quite clear whether these should be ranked under the head of the sin-offering or of the trespass-offering (see Winer, *Rwb.*). We may, however, follow Bertheau, Baumgarten, and Knobel, in regarding them as special instances in which a *sin*-offering was to be brought. The three cases are: first, when any one hears a curse and conceals what he hears (v. 1); secondly, when any one touches without knowing or intending it, any unclean thing (vv. 2, 3); lastly, when any one takes an oath inconsiderately (ver. 4). For each of these cases the same trespass-offering, "a female from the flock, a lamb or kid of the goats," is appointed; but with that mercifulness which characterizes the Mosaic law, express provision is made for a less costly offering where the offerer is poor.

The decalogue is then completed by the three regulations respecting the guilt-offering (or trespass-offering): first, when any one sins "through ignorance in the holy things of Jehovah" (vv. 14–16); next, when a person without knowing it "commits any of these things which are forbidden to be done by the commandments of Jehovah" (17–19); lastly, when a man lies and swears falsely concerning that which was intrusted to him, etc

[a] "Meat" is used by our translators in the sense of food of any kind, whether flesh or farinaceous. Mean.]

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(vv. 20–26).[a] This decalogue, like the preceding one, has its characteristic words and expressions. The prominent word which introduces so many of the enactments, is נֶפֶשׁ, "soul" (see iv. 2, 27, vv. 1, 2, 4, 15, 17, vi. 2); and the phrase, "if a soul shall sin" (iv. 2), is, with occasional variations having an equivalent meaning, the distinctive phrase of the section.

As in the former decalogue, the nature of the offerings, so in this the person and the nature of the offense are the chief features in the several statutes.

3. Ch. vi., vii. Naturally upon the law of sacrifices follows the law of the priests' duties when they offer the sacrifices. Hence we find Moses directed to address himself immediately to Aaron and his sons (vi. 2, 18 = vi. 9, 25, A. V.).

In this group the different kinds of offerings are named in nearly the same order as in the two preceding decalogues, except that the offering at the consecration of a priest follows, instead of the thank-offering, immediately after the meat-offering, which it resembles; and the thank-offering now appears after the trespass-offering. There are therefore, in all, six kinds of offering; and in the case of each of these the priest has his distinct duties. Bertheau has very ingeniously so distributed the enactments in which these duties are prescribed as to arrange them all in five decalogues. We will briefly indicate his arrangement.

3. (*a.*) "This is the law of the burnt-offering" (vi. 9; A. V.),in five enactments, each verse (vv. 9–13) containing a separate enactment.

(*b.*) "And this is the law of the meat-offering" (ver. 14), again in five enactments, each of which is, as before, contained in a single verse (vv. 4–18).

4. The next decalogue is contained in vv. 19–30.

(*a.*) Verse 19 is merely introductory; then follow, in five verses, five distinct directions with regard to the offering at the time of the consecration of the priests, the first in ver. 20, the next two in ver. 21, the fourth in the former part of ver. 22, and the last in the latter part of ver. 22 and ver. 23.

(*b.*) "This is the law of the sin-offering" (ver. 25). Then the five enactments, each in one verse, except that two verses (27, 28) are given to the third.

5. The third decalogue is contained in ch. vii. 1–10, the laws of the trespass-offering. But it is impossible to avoid a misgiving as to the soundness of Bertheau's system when we find him making the words "It is most holy," in ver. 1, the first of the ten enactments. This he is obliged to do, as vv. 3 and 4 evidently form but one.

6. The fourth decalogue, after an introductory verse (ver. 11), is contained in ten verses (12–21)

7. The last decalogue consists of certain general laws about the fat, the blood, the wave-breast, etc., and is comprised again in ten verses (23–33), the verses as before marking the divisions.

The chapter closes with a brief historical notice of the fact that these several commands were given to Moses on Mount Sinai (vv. 35–38).

II. Ch. viii., ix., x. This section is entirely historical. In ch. viii. we have the account of the consecration of Aaron and his sons by Moses before the whole congregation. They are washed; he is arrayed in the priestly vestments and anointed with the holy oil; his sons also are arrayed in their garments, and the various offerings appointed are offered. In ch ix. Aaron offers, eight days after his consecration, his first offering for himself and the people: this comprises for himself a sin- and burnt-offering (1–14), for the people a sin-offering, a burnt-offering and a peace- (or thank-) offering. He blesses the people, and fire comes down from heaven and consumes the burnt-offering. Ch. x. tells how Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, eager to enjoy the privileges of their new office, and perhaps too much elated by its dignity, forgot or despised the restrictions by which it was fenced round (Ex. xxx., 7, etc.), and daring to "offer strange fire before Jehovah," perished because of their presumption.

With the house of Aaron began this wickedness in the sanctuary; with them therefore began also the divine punishment. Very touching is the story which follows. Aaron, though forbidden to mourn his loss (vv. 6, 7), will not eat the sin-offering in the holy place; and when rebuked by Moses, pleads in his defense, "Such things have befallen me; and if I had eaten the sin-offering to-day, should it have been accepted in the sight of Jehovah?" And Moses, the lawgiver and the judge, admits the plea, and honors the natural feeling of the father's heart, even when it leads to a violation of the letter of the divine commandment.

III. Cc. xi.–xvi. The first seven decalogues had reference to the putting away of *guilt*. By the appointed sacrifices the separation between man and God was healed. The next seven concern themselves with the putting away of *impurity*. That cc. xi.–xv. hang together so as to form one series of laws there can be no doubt. Besides that they treat of kindred subjects, they have their characteristic words, טָמֵא, טֻמְאָה, "unclean," "uncleanness," טָהוֹר, טָהֳרָה, "clean," which occur in almost every verse. The only question is about ch. xvi., which by its opening is connected immediately with the occurrence related in ch. x. Historically it would seem therefore that ch. xvi. ought to have followed ch. x. And as this order is neglected, it would lead us to suspect that some other principle of arrangement than that of historical sequence has been adopted. This we find in the solemn significance of the Great Day of Atonement. The high-priest on that day made atonement, "because of the *uncleanness* of the children of Israel, and because of their transgressions in all their sins" (xvi. 16), and he "reconciled the holy place and the tabernacle of the congregation, and the altar" (ver. 20). Delivered from their guilt and cleansed from their pollutions, from that day forward the children of Israel entered upon a new and holy life. This was typified both by the ordinance that the bullock and the goat for the sin-offering were burnt without the camp (ver. 27), and also by the sending away of the goat laden with the iniquities of the people into the wilderness. Hence ch. xvi. seems to stand most fitly at the end of this second group of seven decalogues.

It has reference, we believe, not only (as Bertheau supposes) to the putting away, as by one solemn act, of all those uncleannesses mentioned in cc. xi.–xv., and for which the various expiations

[a] In the English Version this is ch. vi. 1–7. This is only one of those instances in which the reader marvels at the perversity displayed in the division of chapters.

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and cleansings there appointed were temporary and insufficient; but also to the making atonement, in the sense of hiding sin or putting away its guilt. For not only do we find the idea of cleansing as from defilement, but far more prominently the idea of reconciliation. The often repeated word כִּפֶּר, "to cover, to atone," is the great word of the section.

1. The first decalogue in this group refers to clean and unclean flesh. Five classes of animals are pronounced unclean. The first four enactments declare what animals may and may not be eaten, whether (1) beasts of the earth (2–8), or (2) fishes (9–12), or (3) birds (13–20), or (4) creeping things with wings. The next four are intended to guard against pollution by contact with the carcase of any of these animals; (5) vv. 24–26; (6) vv. 27, 28; (7) vv. 29–38; (8) vv. 39, 40. The ninth and tenth specify the last class of animals which are unclean for food, (9) vv. 41, 42, and forbid any other kind of pollution by means of them, (10) vv. 43–45. Vv. 46 and 47 are merely a concluding summary.

2. Ch. xii. Women's purification in childbed. The whole of this chapter, according to Bertheau, constitutes the first law of this decalogue. The remaining nine are to be found in the next chapter, which treats of the signs of leprosy in man and in garments. (2) vv. 1–8; (3) vv. 9–17; (4) vv. 18–23; (5) vv. 24–28; (6) vv. 29–37; (7) vv. 38, 39; (8) vv. 40–41; (9) vv. 42–46; (10) vv. 47–59. This arrangement of the several sections is not altogether free from objection; but it is certainly supported by the characteristic mode in which each section opens. Thus, for instance, ch. xii. 2 begins with אִשָּׁה כִּי תַזְרִיעַ; ch. xiii. 2, with אָדָם כִּי יִהְיֶה, ver. 9, נֶגַע צָרַעַת כִּי תִהְיֶה, and so on, the same order being always observed, the subst. being placed first, then כִּי, and then the verb, except only in ver. 42, where the subst. is placed after the verb.

3. Ch. xiv. 1–32. "The law of the leper in the day of his cleansing," *i. e.* the law which the *priest* is to observe in purifying the leper. The priest is mentioned in ten verses, each of which begins one of the ten sections of this law: vv. 3, 4, 5, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20. In each instance the word הַכֹּהֵן is preceded by ו consecut. with the perfect. It is true that in ver. 3, and also in ver. 14, the word הַכֹּהֵן occurs twice; but in both verses there is MS. authority, as well as that of the Vulg. and Arab. versions for the absence of the second. Verses 21–32 may be regarded as a supplemental provision in cases where the leper is too poor to bring the required offering.

4. Ch. xiv. 33–57. The leprosy in a house. It is not so easy here to trace the arrangement noticed in so many other laws. There are no characteristic words or phrases to guide us. Bertheau's division is as follows: (1) vv. 34, 35; (2) vv. 36, 37; (3) ver. 38; (4) ver. 39; (5) ver. 40; (6) vv. 41, 42; (7) vv. 43–45. Then as usual follows a short summary which closes the statute concerning leprosy, vv. 54–57.

5. Ch. xv. 1–15. 6. Ch. xv. 16–31 The law of uncleanness by issue, etc., in two decalogues. The division is clearly marked, as Bertheau observes, by the form of cleansing, which is so exactly similar in the two principal cases, and which closes each series, (1) vv. 13–15; (2) vv. 28–30. We again give his arrangement, though we do not profess to regard it as in all respects satisfactory.

6. (1) vv. 2, 3; (2) ver. 4; (3) ver. 5; (4) ver. 6; (5) ver. 7; (6) ver. 8; (7) ver. 9; (8) ver. 10; (9) vv. 11, 12; — these Bertheau considers as one enactment, because it is another way of saying that either the *man* or *thing* which the unclean person touches is unclean; but on the same principle vv 4 and 5 might just as well form one enactment — (10) vv. 13–15.

7. (1) ver. 16; (2) ver. 17; (3) ver. 18; (4) ver. 19; (5) ver. 20; (6) ver. 21; (7) ver. 22; (8) ver. 23; (9) ver. 24; (10) vv. 28–30. In order to complete this arrangement, he considers verses 25–27 as a kind of supplementary enactment provided for an irregular uncleanness, leaving it as quite uncertain however whether this was a later addition or not. Verses 32 and 33 form merely the same general conclusion which we have had before in xiv. 54–57.

The last decalogue of the second group of seven decalogues is to be found in ch. xvi., which treats of the great Day of Atonement. The Law itself is contained in vv. 1–28. The remaining verses, 29–34, consist of an exhortation to its careful observance. In the act of atonement three persons are concerned. The high-priest — in this instance Aaron; the man who leads away the goat for Azazel into the wilderness; and he who burns the skin, flesh, and dung of the bullock and goat of the sin-offering without the camp. The two last have special purifications assigned them; the first because he has touched the goat laden with the guilt of Israel; the last because he has come in contact with the sin-offering. The 9th and 10th enactments prescribe what these purifications are, each of them concluding with the same formula: וְאַחֲרֵי כֵן יָבוֹא אֶל הַמַּחֲנֶה, and hence distinguished from each other. The duties of Aaron consequently ought, if the division into decads is correct, to be comprised in eight enactments. Now the name of Aaron is repeated eight times, and in six of these it is preceded by the perfect with ו consecut. as we observed was the case before when "the priest" was the prominent figure. According to this then the decalogue will stand thus: — (1) ver. 2, Aaron not to enter the Holy Place at all times; (2) vv. 3–5, With what sacrifices and in what dress Aaron is to enter the Holy Place; (3) vv. 6, 7, Aaron to offer the bullock for himself, and to set the two goats before Jehovah; (4) [ver. 8,] Aaron to cast lots on the two goats; (5) vv. 9, 10, Aaron to offer the goat on which the lot falls for Jehovah, and to send away the goat for Azazel into the wilderness; (6) vv. 11–19, Aaron to sprinkle the blood both of the bullock and of the goat to make atonement for himself, for his house, and for the whole congregation, as also to purify the altar of incense with the blood; (7) vv. 20–22, Aaron to lay his hands on the living goat, and confess over it all the sins of the children of Israel; (8) vv. 23–25, Aaron after this to take off his linen garments, bathe himself and put on his priestly garments, and then offer his burnt-offering and that of the congregation; (9) ver. 26, The man by whom the goat is sent into the wilderness to purify himself; (10) vv. 27, 28, What is to be done by him who burns the sin-offering without the camp.

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We have now reached the great central point of the book. All going before was but a preparation for this. Two great truths have been established: first, that God can only be approached by means of appointed sacrifices; next, that man in nature and life is full of pollution, which must be cleansed. And now a third is taught, namely, that not by several cleansings for several sins and pollutions can guilt be put away. The several acts of sin are but so many manifestations of the sinful nature. For this, therefore, also must atonement be made; one solemn act, which shall cover all transgressions, and turn away God's righteous displeasure from Israel.

IV. Cc. xvii.–xx. And now Israel is reminded that it is the holy nation. The great atonement offered, it is to enter upon a new life. It is a separate nation, sanctified and set apart for the service of God. It may not therefore do after the abominations of the heathen by whom it is surrounded. Here consequently we find those laws and ordinances which especially distinguish the nation of Israel from all other nations of the earth.

Here again we may trace, as before, a group of seven decalogues. But the several decalogues are not so clearly marked; nor are the characteristic phrases and the introductions and conclusions so common. In ch. xviii. there are twenty enactments, and in ch. xix. thirty. In ch. xvii., on the other hand, there are only six, and in ch. xx. there are fourteen. As it is quite manifest that the enactments in ch. xviii. are entirely separated by a fresh introduction from those in ch. xvii., Bertheau, in order to preserve the usual arrangement of the laws in decalogues, would transpose this chapter, and place it after ch. xix. He observes, that the laws in ch. xvii., and those in ch. xx. 1–9, are akin to one another, and may very well constitute a single decalogue; and, what is of more importance, that the words in xviii. 1–5 form the natural introduction to this whole group of laws: "And Jehovah spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, I am Jehovah your God. After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein ye dwelt, shall ye not do: and after the doings of the land of Canaan, whither I bring you, shall ye not do: neither shall ye walk in their ordinances," etc.

There is, however, a point of connection between cc. xvii. and xviii. which must not be overlooked, and which seems to indicate that their position in our present text is the right one. All the six enactments in ch. xvii. (vv. 3–5, vv. 6, 7, vv. 8, 9, vv. 10–12, vv. 13, 14, ver. 15) bear upon the nature and meaning of the sacrifice to Jehovah as compared with the sacrifices offered to false gods. It would seem too that it was necessary to guard against any license to idolatrous practices, which might possibly be drawn from the sending of the goat for Azazel into the wilderness [ATONEMENT, DAY OF], especially perhaps against the Egyptian custom of appeasing the Evil Spirit of the wilderness and averting his malice (Hengstenberg, *Mose u. Ægypten*, p. 178; Movers, *Phönizier*, i. 369). To this there may be an allusion in ver. 7. Perhaps however it is better and more simple to regard the enactments in these two chapters (with Bunsen, *Bibelwerk*, 2te Abth., 1te Th. p. 245) as directed against two prevalent heathen practices, the eating of blood and fornication. It is remarkable, as showing how intimately moral and ritual observances were blended together in the Jewish mind, that abstinence "from blood and things strangled, and fornication," was laid down by the Apostles as the only condition of communion to be required of Gentile converts to Christianity. Before we quit this chapter one observation may be made. The rendering of the A. V. in ver. 11, "for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul," should be "for it is the blood that maketh an atonement *by means of the life*." This is important. It is not blood merely as such, but blood as having in it the principle of life that God accepts in sacrifice. For by thus giving vicariously the life of the dumb animal, the sinner confesses that his own life is forfeit.

In ch. xviii., after the introduction to which we have already alluded, vv. 1–5, — and in which God claims obedience on the double ground that He is Israel's God, and that to keep his commandments is life (ver. 5), — there follow twenty enactments concerning unlawful marriages and unnatural lusts. The first ten are contained one in each verse, vv. 6–15. The next ten range themselves in like manner with the verses, except that vv. 17 and 23 contain each two.[a] Of the twenty the first fourteen are alike in form, as well as in the repeated עֶרְוָה לֹא תְגַלֵּה.

Ch. xix. Three decalogues, introduced by the words, "Ye shall be holy, for I Jehovah your God am holy," and ending with, "Ye shall observe all my statutes, and all my judgments, and do them. I am Jehovah." The laws here are of a very mixed character, and many of them a repetition merely of previous laws. Of the three decalogues, the first is comprised in vv. 3–13, and may be thus distributed: (1) ver. 3, to honor father and mother; (2) ver. 3, to keep the Sabbath; (3) ver. 4, not to turn to idols; (4) ver. 4, not to make molten gods (these two enactments being separated on the same principle as the first and second commandments of the Great Decalogue or Two Tables); (5) vv. 5–8 of thank-offerings; (6) vv. 9, 10, of gleaning; (7) ver. 11, not to steal or lie; (8) ver. 12, not to swear falsely; (9) ver. 13, not to defraud one's neighbor; (10) ver. 13, the wages of him that is hired, etc.[b]

[a] The interpretation of ver. 18 has of late been the subject of so much discussion, that we may perhaps be permitted to say a word upon it, even in a work which excludes all dogmatic controversy. The rendering of the English Version is supported by a whole catena of authorities of the first rank, as may be seen by reference to Dr. M'Caul's pamphlet, *The Ancient Interpretation of Leviticus XVIII.* 18, &c. We may further remark, that the whole controversy, so far as the Scriptural question is concerned, might have been avoided if the Church had but acted in the spirit of Luther's golden words: "Ad rem veniamus et dicamus Moseu esse mortuum, vivimus autem populo Judaico, nec obligari nos legibus illius. Idee quidquid ex Mose ut legislatore nisi idem ex legibus nostris, *e. g.* naturalibus et politicis probetur, non admittamus, nec confundamus totius orbis politias." — *Briefe*, De Wette's edit. iv. 305.

[b] It is not a little remarkable that six of these enactments should only be repetitions, for the most part in a shorter form, of commandments contained in the Two Tables. This can only be accounted for by remembering the great object of this section, which is to remind Israel that it is a separate nation, its laws being expressly framed to be a fence and a hedge about it, keeping it from profane contact with the

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The next decalogue, vv. 14–25, Bertheau arranges thus: ver. 14, ver. 15, ver. 15*a*, ver. 16*b*, ver. 17, ver. 18, ver. 19*a*, ver. 19*b*, vv. 20–22. vv. 23–25. We object, however, to making the words in 19*a*, "Ye shal. keep my statutes," a separate enactment. There is no reason for this. A much better plan would be to consider ver. 17 as consisting of two enactments, which is manifestly the case.

The third decalogue may be thus distributed: — ver. 26*a*, ver. 26*b*, ver. 27, ver. 28, ver. 29, ver. 30, ver. 31, ver. 32, ver. 33, ver. 34, vv. 35, 36.

We have thus found five decalogues in this group. Bertheau completes the number seven by transposing, as we have seen, ch. xvii., and placing it immediately before ch. xx. He also transfers ver. 27 of ch. xx. to what he considers its proper place, namely, after ver. 6. It must be confessed that the enactment in ver. 27 stands very awkwardly at the end of the chapter, completely isolated as it is from all other enactments; for vv. 22–26 are the natural conclusion to this whole section. But admitting this, another difficulty remains, that according to him the 7th decalogue begins at ver. 10. and another transposition is necessary, so that vv. 7, 8, may stand after ver. 9, and so conclude the preceding series of ten enactments. It is better perhaps to abandon the search for complete symmetry than to adopt a method so violent in order to obtain it.

It should be observed that ch. xviii. 6–23 and ch. xx. 10–21 stand in this relation to one another; that the latter declares the penalties attached to the transgression of many of the commandments given in the former. But though we may not be able to trace seven decalogues, in accordance with the theory of which we have been speaking, in cc. xvii.–xx. there can be no doubt that they form a distinct section of themselves, of which xx. 22–26 is the proper conclusion.

Like the other sections it has some characteristic expressions: (*a.*) "Ye shall keep my judgments and my statutes" (חֻקֹּתַי, מִשְׁפָּטַי), occurs xviii. 4, 5, 26, xix. 37, xx. 8, 22, but is not met with either in the preceding or the following chapters. (*b.*) The constantly recurring phrases, "I am Jehovah;" "I am Jehovah your God;" "Be ye holy, for I am holy;" "I am Jehovah which hallow you." In the earlier sections this phraseology is only found in Lev. xi. 44, 45, and Ex. xxxi. 13. In the section which follows (xxi.–xxv.) it is much more common, this section being in a great measure a continuation of the preceding.

V. We come now to the last group of decalogues — that contained in cc. xxi.–xxvi. 2. The subjects comprised in these enactments are — First, the personal purity of the priests. They may not defile themselves for the dead; their wives and daughters must be pure, and they themselves must be free from all personal blemish (ch. xxi.). Next, the eating of the holy things is permitted only to priests who are free from all uncleanness; they and their household only may eat them (xxii. 1–16). Thirdly, the offerings of Israel are to be pure and without blemish (xxii. 17–33). The fourth series provides for the due celebration of the great festivals when priests and people were to be gathered together before Jehovah in holy convocation.

Up to this point we trace system and purpose in the order of the legislation. Thus, for instance, cc. xi.–xvi. treats of external purity; cc. xvii.–xx., of moral purity; cc. xxi.–xxiii. of the holiness of the priests, and their duties with regard to holy things; the whole concluding with provisions for the solemn feasts on which all Israel appeared before Jehovah. We will again briefly indicate Bertheau's groups, and then append some general observations on the section.

1. Ch. xxi. Ten laws, as follows: (1) ver. 1–3; (2) ver. 4; (3) vv. 5, 6; (4) vv. 7, 8; (5) ver. 9; (6) vv. 10, 11; (7) ver. 12; (8) vv. 13, 14, (9) vv. 17–21; (10) vv. 22, 23. The first five laws concern all the priests, the sixth to the eighth the high-priest; the ninth and tenth the effects of bodily blemish in particular cases.

2. Ch. xxii. 1–16. (1) ver. 2; (2) ver. 3; (3) ver. 4; (4) vv. 4–7; (5) vv. 8, 9; (6) ver. 10; (7) ver. 11; (8) ver. 12; (9) ver. 13; (10) vv. 14–16.

3. Ch. xxii. 17–33. (1) vv. 18–20; (2) ver. 21; (3) ver. 22; (4) ver. 23; (5) ver. 24; (6) ver. 25; (7) ver. 27; (8) ver. 28; (9) ver. 29; (10) ver. 30; and a general conclusion in vv. 31–33.

4. Ch. xxiii. (1) ver. 3; (2) vv. 5–7; (3) ver. 8: (4) vv. 9–14; (5) vv. 15–21; (6) ver. 22; (7) vv. 24, 25; (8) vv. 27–32; (9) vv. 34, 35; (10) ver. 36: vv. 37, 38 contain the conclusion or general summing up of the decalogue. On the remainder of the chapter, as well as ch. xxiv., see below.

5. Ch. xxv. 1–22. (1) ver. 2; (2) vv. 3, 4; (3) ver. 5; (4) ver. 6; (5) vv. 8–10; (6) vv. 11. 12; (7) ver. 13; (8) ver. 14; (9) ver. 15; (10) ver. 16: with a concluding formula in vv. 18–22.

6. Ch. xxv. 23–38. (1) vv. 23, 24; (2) ver. 25; (3) vv. 26, 27; (4) ver. 28; (5) ver. 29; (6) ver. 30; (7) ver. 31; (8) vv. 32, 33; (9) ver. 34; (10) vv. 35–37: the conclusion to the whole in ver. 38.

7. Cc. xxv. 39–xxvi. 2. (1) ver. 39; (2) vv. 40–42; (3) ver. 43; (4) vv. 44, 45; (5) ver. 46; (6) vv. 47–49; (7) ver. 50; (8) vv. 51, 52; (9) ver. 53; (10) ver. 54.

It will be observed that the above arrangement is only completed by omitting the latter part of ch. xxiii. and the whole of ch. xxiv. But it is clear that ch. xxiii. 39–44 is a later addition, containing further instructions respecting the Feast of Tabernacles. Ver. 39, as compared with ver. 34, shows that the same feast is referred to; whilst vv. 37, 38, are no less manifestly the original conclusion of the laws respecting the feasts which are enumerated in the previous part of the chapter. Ch xxiv., again, has a peculiar character of its own. First, we have a command concerning the oil to be used in the lamps belonging to the Tabernacle, which is only a repetition of an enactment already given in Ex. xxvii. 20, 21, which seems to be its natural place. Then follow directions about the shew-bread. These do not occur previously. In Ex. the shew-bread is spoken of always as a matter of course, concerning which no regulations are necessary (comp. Ex. xxv. 30, xxxv. 13, xxxix. 36). Lastly, come certain enactments arising out of an historical occurrence. The son of an Egyptian father by an Israelitish woman blasphemes the name of Jehovah, and Moses is commanded to stone him in consequence: and this circumstance is the occasion of the following laws being given: (1.) That a blasphemer, whether Israelite or stranger, is to be stoned (comp. Ex. xxii. 28). (2.) That he

heathen. Bunsen divides chapter xix. into two tables of ten commandments each, and one of five (See his *Bibelwerk*.)

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that kills any man shall surely be put to death (comp. Ex. xxi. 12–27). (3.) That he that kills a beast shall make it good (not found where we might have expected it, in the series of laws Ex. xxi. 28–xxii. 16). (4.) That if a man cause a blemish in his neighbor he shall be requited in like manner (comp. Ex. xxi. 22–25). (5.) We have then a repetition in an inverse order of vv. 17, 18; and (6.) the injunction that there shall be one law for the stranger and the Israelite Finally, a brief notice of the infliction of the punishment in the case of the son of Shelomith, who blasphemed. Not another instance is to be found in the whole collection in which any historical circumstance is made the occasion of enacting a law. Then again the laws (2), (3), (4), (5), are mostly repetitions of existing laws, and seem here to have no connection with the event to which they are referred. Either therefore some other circumstances took place at the same time with which we are not acquainted, or these isolated laws, detached from their proper connection, were grouped together here, in obedience perhaps to some traditional association.

VI. The seven decalogues are now fitly closed by words of promise and threat — promise of largest, richest blessing to those that hearken unto and do these commandments; threats of utter destruction to those that break the covenant of their God. Thus the second great division of the Law closes like the first, except that the first part, or Book of the Covenant, ends (Ex. xxiii. 20–33) with promises of blessing only. *There* nothing is said of the judgments which are to follow trangression, because as yet the Covenant had not been made. But when once the nation had freely entered into that covenant, they bound themselves to accept its sanctions, its penalties, as well as its rewards. And we cannot wonder if in these sanctions the punishment of transgression holds a larger place than the rewards of obedience. For already was it but too plain that "Israel would not obey." From the first they were a stiffnecked and rebellious race, and from the first the doom of disobedience hung like some fiery sword above their heads.

VII. The legislation is evidently completed in the last words of the preceding chapter, "These are the statutes and judgments and laws which Jehovah made between Him and the children of Israel in Mount Sinai by the hand of Moses." Ch. xxvii. is a later appendix, again however closed by a similar formula, which at least shows that the transcriber considered it to be an integral part of the original Mosaic legislation, though he might be at a loss to assign it its place. Bertheau classes it with the other less regularly grouped laws at the beginning of the book of Numbers. He treats the section Lev. xxvii.–Num. x. 10 as a series of supplements to the Sinaitic legislation.

Integrity. — This is very generally admitted. Those critics even who are in favor of different documents in the Pentateuch assign nearly the whole of this book to one writer, the Elohist, or author of the original document. According to Knobel the only portions which are not to be referred to the Elohist are — Moses' rebuke of Aaron because the goat of the sin-offering had been burnt (x. 16–20); the group of laws in cc. xvii.–xx.; certain additional enactments respecting the Sabbath and the Feasts of Weeks and of Tabernacles (xxiii., part of ver. 2, from מוֹעֲדֵי יְהוָה, and ver. 3, vv. 18, 19, 22, 39–44); the punishments ordained for blasphemy, murder, etc. (xxiv. 10–23); the directions respecting the Sabbatical year (xxv. 18–22), and the promises and warnings contained in ch. xxvi.

With regard to the section cc. xvii.–xx., he does not consider the whole of it to have been borrowed from the same sources. Ch. xvii. he believes was introduced here by the Jehovist from some ancient document, whilst he admits nevertheless that it contains certain Elohistic forms of expression, as כָּל־הַיָּשָׂר, "all flesh," ver. 14; נֶפֶשׁ, "soul" (in the sense of "person"), vv. 10–12, 15; חַיָּה, "beast," ver. 13; קָרְבָּן, "offering," ver. 4; רֵיחַ נִיחוֹחַ, "a sweet savor," ver. 6; "a statute for ever," and "after your generations," ver. 7. But it cannot be from the Elohist, he argues, because (*a*) he would have placed it after ch. vii., or at least after ch. xv.; (*b*) he would not have repeated the prohibition of blood, etc., which he had already given; (*c*) he would have taken a more favorable view of his nation than that implied in ver. 7; and lastly (*d*) the phraseology has something of the coloring of cc. xviii.–xx. and xxvi., which are certainly not Elohistic. Such reasons are too transparently unsatisfactory to need serious discussion. He observes further, that the chapter is not altogether Mosaic. The first enactment (vv. 1–7) does indeed apply only to Israelites, and holds good therefore for the time of Moses. But the remaining three contemplate the case of strangers living amongst the people, and have a reference to all time.

Cc. xviii.–xx., though it has a Jehovistic coloring, cannot have been originally from the Jehovist. The following peculiarities of language, which are worthy of notice, according to Knobel (*Exod. und Leviticus erklärt*, in *Kurzg. exeg. Handb.* 1857) forbid such a supposition, the more so as they occur nowhere else in the O. T.: רָבַע, "lie down to" and "gender," xviii. 23, xix. 19, xx. 16; לֶכֶת, "confusion," xviii. 23, xx. 12; תֶּבֶל, "gather," xix. 9, xxiii. 22; פֶּרֶט, "grape," xix. 10; שְׁאֵרָה, "near kinswomen," xviii. 17; בְּקֹרֶת, "scourged," xix. 20; חָפְשִׁי, "free," *ibid.*; קַעֲקַע כְּתֹבֶת, "print marks," xix. 28; הַקִּיא, "vomit," in the metaphorical sense, xviii. 25, 28, xx. 22; עָרְלָה, "uncircumcised," as applied to fruit-trees, xix. 23; and מוֹלֶדֶת, "born," xviii. 9, 11, as well as the Egyptian word (for such it probably is) שַׁעַטְנֵז, "garment of divers sorts," which, however, does occur once beside in Deut. xxii. 11.

According to Bunsen, ch. xix. is a genuine part of the Mosaic legislation, given however in its original form not on Sinai, but on the east side of the Jordan; whilst the general arrangement of the Mosaic laws may perhaps be as late as the time of the judges. He regards it as a very ancient document, based on the Two Tables, of which, and especially of the first, it is in fact an extension, and consisting of two decalogues and one pentad of laws Certain expressions in it he considers imply that the people were already settled in the land (vv. 9 10, 13, 15), while on the other hand ver. 23 supposes a *future* occupation of the land. Hence he

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concludes that the revision of this document by the transcribers was incomplete: whereas all the passages may fairly be interpreted as looking forward to a future settlement in Canaan. The great simplicity and lofty moral character of this section compel us, says Bunsen, to refer it at least to the earlier time of the judges, if not to that of Joshua himself.

We must not quit this book without a word on what may be called its spiritual meaning. That so elaborate a ritual looked beyond itself we cannot doubt. It was a prophecy of things to come; a shadow whereof the substance was Christ and his kingdom. We may not always be able to say what the exact relation is between the type and the antitype. Of many things we may be sure that they belonged only to the nation to whom they were given, containing no prophetic significance, but serving as witnesses and signs to them of God's covenant of grace. We may hesitate to pronounce with Jerome that "every sacrifice, nay almost every syllable — the garments of Aaron and the whole Levitical system — breathe of heavenly mysteries." [a] But we cannot read the Epistle to the Hebrews and not acknowledge that the Levitical priests "served the pattern and type of heavenly things" — that the sacrifices of the Law pointed to and found their interpretation in the Lamb of God — that the ordinances of outward purification signified the true inner cleansing of the heart and conscience from dead works to serve the living God. One idea moreover penetrates the whole of this vast and burdensome ceremonial, and gives it a real glory even apart from any prophetic significance. Holiness is its end. Holiness is its character. The tabernacle is holy — the vessels are holy — the offerings [b] are most holy unto Jehovah — the garments of the priests are holy.[c] All who approach Him whose name is "Holy," whether priests [d] who minister unto Him, or people who worship Him, must themselves be holy.[e] It would seem as if, amid the camp and dwellings of Israel, was ever to be heard an echo of that solemn strain which fills the courts above, where the seraphim cry one unto another, Holy, Holy, Holy.[f]

Other questions connected with this book, such as its authorship, its probable age in its present form, and the relation of the laws contained in it to those, either supplementary or apparently contradictory, found in other parts of the Pentateuch, will best be discussed in another article, where opportunity will be given for a comprehensive view of the Mosaic legislation as a whole. [PENTATEUCH.]

J. J. S. P.

* Recent exegetical commentaries: Cahen, *La Bible, traduct. nouv.*, etc. (vols. i.–iii., *Gen.*, *Ex.*, *Lev.*, 1831–32); Baumgarten-Crusius, *Theol. Com. zum Pent.*, 1843; Bonar, *Com. on the Book of Lev.*, 1851; Bush, *Notes on Lev.*, New York, 1852; Knobel, *Ex. u. Lev. erklärt*, 1857 (*Exeget. Handb.* xii.); Bunsen, *Bibelwerk*, 1ter Theil, *das Gesetz*, 1858; Keil, *Lev., Num., u. Deut.*, 1862 (Keil u. Delitzsch, *Bibl. Com.* 2ter Band); Wogue, *Lévitique*, 1864 (*Le Pentateuque*, tom. iii.); Chr. Wordsworth, *Five Books of Moses*, 2d ed. 1865 (*Holy Bible with Notes*, vol. i.).

Special treatises on subjects of the book: Hottinger, *Juris Heb. leges*, 1655; Spencer, *De legibus Heb. rit.*, 1685; Bertheau, *Die sieben Gruppen Mos. Gesetze*, 1840. On Sacrifice: Outram, *De Sacrificiis*, 1677; Saubert, *De Sacrificiis Veterum*, 1699; Sykes, *Nature, Design, and Origin of Sacrifices*, 1748; Davison, *Inquiry into the Origin of Sacrifice*, 1825; Faber, *Origin of Sacrifices*, 1827; Bähr, *Symb. des Mos. Cultus*, 1837–39; Scholl, *Opferideen der Alten, insbes. der Juden* (in the *Stud. der evang. Geistl. Würtemb.* Bd. i., ii., iv., v.); Tholuck, *Opfer- u. Priesterbegriff im A. u. N. Test.* (App. to *Com. on Epist. to Heb.*); Kurtz, *Das Mos. Opfer*, 1842; Thalhofer, *Die unblut. Opfer des Mos. Cultus*, 1848; Hengstenberg, *Die Opfer der heiligen Schrift*, 1852; Neumann, *Sacra V. T. salutaria*, 1854; *Ueber Sündopfern u. Schuldopfern*, Riehm, *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1854, Rinck (*ibid.*), 1855; Oehler, *Opfercultus des A. T.* (Herzog's *Real-Encykl.*); Hofmann, *Das Opfer* (*Schriftbeweis*, ii. 1, p. 114), *Das gesetzliche Opfer* (*ibid.*, p. 270), Kurtz, *Alttest. Opfercultus*, 1862, Eng. trans., *Sacrificial Worship of the Old Test.*, Edin. 1863; Oehler, *Versöhnungstag* (Herzog's *Real-Encykl.* Suppl. Bd. iii.). On ceremonial purity: Lisco, *Das Ceremonialgesetz des A. T.*, 1842; Sommer, *Rein u. Unrein*, 1846 (*Bibl. Abhandl.* i.); Leyrer, arts. *Reinigungen* and *Speisegesetze* (Herzog's *Real-Encykl.*). On sacred seasons: Wolde, *De anno Hebr. jubilæo*, 1837; Hupfeld, *De primit. et vera temp. fest. et feriat. apud Heb. ratione*, 1852; *De anno Sab. et Jobelei ratione*, 1858; Bachmann, *Die Festgesetze des Pent.*, 1858; Oehler, *Sabbath u. Jobeljahr* (Herzog's *Real-Encykl.*). On the scape-goat: Hengstenberg, *Die Bücher Moses u. Egypten*, 1841 (translated by Robbins); Vaihinger, *Azazel* (Herzog's *Real-Encykl.*). On tithes: Selden, *De Decimis* (Works, 1726); Hottinger, *De Decimis Judæorum*, 1713; Leyrer, *Zehnten bei den Hebr.* (Herzog's *Real-Encykl.*). On the marriage relation: Selden, *Uxor Hebr.* 1646 (Works, 1726); Michaelis, *Von den Ehegesetzen Mosis*, 1755; Dwight, *The Hebrew Wife*, Boston, 1836; Rüetschi, *Ehe bei den Hebr* (Herzog's *Real-Encykl.*). On slavery: Mielziner, *Die Verhältnisse der Sklaven bei den alten Hebr.* 1859; Oehler, *Sklaverei bei den Hebr.* (Herzog's *Real-Encykl.*).

T. J. C.

* LEWD, as used in Acts xvii. 5, signifies "wicked," "unprincipled" (πονηροί). The word is of Anglo-Saxon origin (*leóde*, people), and was employed to denote the common people, the laity, in distinction from the clergy. Though meaning at first no more than "lay" or "unlearned" (comp. John vii. 49), it came at length to signify "sinful," "wicked." See Trench's *Glossary of English Words*, p. 110 f. (Amer. ed.). Its present restricted meaning is later than the date of the A. V. "Lewdness" (see Acts xviii. 14) has passed in like manner from a wider to a narrower sense.

H.

* LEWDNESS. [LEWD.]

[a] "In promptu est Leviticus liber in quo singula sacrificia, immo singulæ pene syllabæ et vestes Aaron et totus ordo Leviticus spirant cælestia sacramenta" (Hieron. *Ep. ad Paulin.*).

[b] ii. 3, 10; vi. 17, 25, 29; vii. 1, 6; x. 12, 17; xiv. 13.

[c] xvi. 4.

[d] xxi. 6–8, 15.

[e] vi. 18, 27; vii. 21; x. 3, 10; xi. 43, 45; xv. 31 (xviii.) 21; xix. 2; xx. 7, 26.

[f] In cc. xviii.–xxv. observe the phrase, "I am Jehovah," "I am Jehovah your God." Latter part of xxv. and xxvi. somewhat changed, but recurring in xxvi. The reason given for this holiness, "I am holy," xi. 44, &c., xix. 2, xx. 7, 26

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LIB'ANUS (ὁ Λίβανος), the Greek form of the name LEBANON (1 Esdr. iv. 48, v. 55; 2 Esdr. xv. 20; Jud. i. 7; Ecclus. xxiv. 13, l. 12). ANTILIBANUS (Ἀντιλίβανος) occurs only in Jud. i. 7.

G.

LIBERTINES (Λιβερτῖνοι: *Libertini*). This word occurs once only in the N. T. In Acts vi. 9, we find the opponents of Stephen's preaching described as τίνες τῶν ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῆς λεγομένης Λιβερτίνων, καὶ Κυρηναίων καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Κιλικίας καὶ Ἀσίας. The question is, who were these "Libertines," and in what relation did they stand to the others who are mentioned with them? The structure of the passage leaves it doubtful how many synagogues are implied in it. Some (Calvin, Beza, Bengel) have taken it as if there were but one synagogue, including men from all the different cities that are named. Winer (*N. T. Gramm.* p. 179), on grammatical grounds, takes the repetition of the article as indicating a fresh group, and finds accordingly two synagogues, one including Libertines, Cyrenians, Alexandrians; the other those of Cilicia and Asia. Meyer (*ad loc.*) thinks it unlikely that out of the 480 synagogues at Jerusalem (the number given by rabbinic writers, *Megill.* f. 73, 4; *Ketub.* f. 105, 1), there should have been one, or even two only, for natives of cities and districts in which the Jewish population was so numerous,[a] and on that ground assigns a separate synagogue to each of the proper names.

Of the name itself there have been several explanations.[b] (1.) The other name being local, this also has been referred to a town of Libertum in the proconsular province of Africa. This, it is said, would explain the close juxtaposition with Cyrene. Suidas recognizes Λιβερτῖνοι as ὄνομα ἔθνους, and in the Council of Carthage in 411 (Mansi, vol. iv. p. 365–274, quoted in Wiltsch, *Handbuch der kirchlich. Geogr.* § 96), we find an Episcopus Libertinensis (Simon. *Onomast. N. T.* p. 99; and Gerdes. *de Synag. Libert.* Groning. 1736, in Winer, *Realwb.*). Against this hypothesis it has been urged (1), that the existence of a *town* Libertum, in the first century, is not established; and (2) that if it existed, it can hardly have been important enough either to have a synagogue at Jerusalem for the Jews belonging to it, or to take precedence of Cyrene and Alexandria in a synagogue common to the three.[c]

(2.) Conjectural readings have been proposed. Λιβοστίνων (Œcumen., Beza, Clericus, Valckenaer), Λιβύων τῶν κατὰ Κυρήνην (Schultheus, *de Char. Sp. S.* p. 162, in Meyer, *ad loc.*). The difficulty is thus removed; but every rule of textual criticism is against the reception of a reading unsupported by a single MS. or version.

(3.) Taking the word in its received meaning as = freedmen, Lightfoot finds in it a description of natives of Palestine, who, having fallen into slavery, had been manumitted by Jewish masters (*Exc. on Acts* vi. 9). In this case, however, it is hardly likely that a body of men so circumstanced would have received a Roman name.

(4.) Grotius and Vitringa explain the word as describing Italian freedmen who had become converts to Judaism. In this case, however, the word "proselytes" would most probably have been used; and it is at least unlikely that a body of converts would have had a synagogue to themselves, or that proselytes from Italy would have been united with Jews from Cyrene and Alexandria.

(5.) The earliest explanation of the word (Chrysost.) is also that which has been adopted by the most recent authorities (Winer, *Realwb.* s. v.; Meyer, *Comm.* ad loc.). The *Libertini* are Jews who, having been taken prisoners by Pompey and other Roman generals in the Syrian wars, had been reduced to slavery, and had afterwards been emancipated, and returned, permanently or for a time, to the country of their fathers. Of the existence of a large body of Jews in this position at Rome we have abundant evidence. Under Tiberius, the *Senatus-Consultum* for the suppression of Egyptian and Jewish mysteries led to the banishment of 4,000 "libertini generis" to Sardinia, under the pretense of military or police duty, but really in the hope that the malaria of the island might be fatal to them. Others were to leave Italy unless they abandoned their religion (Tacit. *Annal.* ii. 85; comp. Suet. *Tiber.* c. 36). Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 3, § 5), narrating the same fact, speaks of the 4,000 who were sent to Sardinia as Jews, and thus identifies them with the "libertinum genus" of Tacitus. Philo (*Legat. ad Caium*, p. 1014, C) in like manner says, that the greater part of the Jews of Rome were in the position of freedmen (ἀπελευθερωθέντες), and had been allowed by Augustus to settle in the Trans-Tiberine part of the city, and to follow their own religious customs unmolested (comp. Horace, *Sat.* i. 4, 143, i. 9, 70). The expulsion from Rome took place A. D. 19; and it is an ingenious conjecture of Mr. Humphry's (*Comm. on Acts*, ad loc.) that those who were thus banished from Italy may have found their way to Jerusalem, and that, as having suffered for the sake of their religion, they were likely to be foremost in the opposition to a teacher like Stephen, whom they looked on as impugning the sacredness of all that they most revered.

E. H. P.

LIB'NAH (לִבְנָה [*whiteness, splendor*]: [Rom.] Λεβνά, Λεμνά, Λομνά, [Λοβνά, Λοβνάν; Vat. also] Λημνα, Ξεννα; Alex. [also] Λεβμνα, [Λαβμνα,] Λοβενα, Δοβενα; [Sin. in Is. xxxvii. 8,] Λομνα: *Libna, Labana, Lebna, Lobna*), a city which lay in the southwest part of the Holy Land. It was taken by Joshua immediately after the rout of Beth-horon. That eventful day was ended by the capture and destruction of MAKKEDAH (Josh.

[a] In Cyrene one fourth, in Alexandria two fifths of the whole (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7, § 2, xiv. 10, § 1, xix. 5, § 2, *B. J.* ii. 18, § 7; *c. Ap.* 2, § 4).

[b] Wieseler regards καὶ before Κυρηναίων as explicative ("namely, to wit"), and hence makes all those enumerated Libertines (*libertini*) and members of one and the same synagogue. He thus finds evidence here that Paul was a *libertinus*, or the descendant of one, and acquired his Roman citizenship in that way. (See his *Chronologie des Apost. Zeitalters*, p. 63.) This construction is forced and untenable. The distribution of the several nationalities (as suggested above) has its analogy in modern Jewish customs in the East. At Jerusalem, for example, the Jews, who are mostly of foreign origin, are divided into communities more or less distinct according to the countries from which they come and they assemble for worship in different congregations or synagogues. At *Safed* also, in Galilee, where the Jews are somewhat numerous, they appropriate four of their synagogues to the Spanish and Arabian Jews, and four to the German and Polish Jews. H.

[c] Wiltsch gives no information beyond the fact just mentioned.

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a. 38); and then the host — "Joshua, and all Israel with him" — moved on to Libnah, which was also totally destroyed, its king and all its inhabitants (Josh. x. 29, 30, 32, 39, xii. 15). The next place taken was Lachish.

Libnah belonged to the district of the *Shefelah*, the maritime lowland of Judah, among the cities of which district it is enumerated (Josh. xv. 42), not in close connection with either Makkedah or Lachish, but in an independent group of nine towns, among which are Keilah, Mareshah, and Nezib.[a] Libnah was appropriated with its "suburbs" to the priests (Josh. xxi. 13; 1 Chr. vi. 57). In the reign of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat it "revolted" from Judah at the same time with Edom (2 K. viii. 22; 2 Chr. xxi. 10); but, beyond the fact of their simultaneous occurrence, there is no apparent connection between the two events. On completing or relinquishing the siege of Lachish — which of the two is not quite certain — Sennacherib laid siege to Libnah (2 K. xix. 8; Is. xxxvii. 8). While there he was joined by Rabshakeh and the part of the army which had visited Jerusalem (2 K. xix. 8; Is. xxxvii. 8), and received the intelligence of Tirhakah's approach; and it would appear that at Libnah the destruction of the Assyrian army took place, though the statements of Herodotus (ii. 141) and of Josephus (*Ant.* x. 1, § 4) place it at Pelusium.[b] (See Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. 480.)

It was the native place of Hamutal, or Hamital, the queen of Josiah, and mother of Jehoahaz (2 K. xxiii. 31) and Zedekiah (xxiv. 18; Jer. lii. 1). It is in this connection that its name appears for the last time in the Bible.

Libnah is described by Eusebius and Jerome in the *Onomasticon* (s. v. Λέεννα and "Lebna") merely as a village of the district of Eleutheropolis. Its site has hitherto escaped not only discovery, but, until lately, even conjecture. Professor Stanley (*S. & P.* 207 *note*, 258 *note*), on the ground of the accordance of the name Libnah (white) with the "Blanchegarde" of the Crusaders, and of both with the appearance of the place, would locate it at *Tell es-Safieh*, "a white-faced hill . . . which forms a conspicuous object in the eastern part of the plain," and is situated 5 miles N.W. of *Beit-Jibrin*. But *Tell es-Safieh* has claims to be identified with GATH, which are considered under that head in this work. Van de Velde places it with confidence at *Arâk el-Menshiyeh*, a hill about 4 miles W. of *Beit-Jibrin*, on the ground of its being "the only site between *Sumeil* (Makkedah) and *Um Lakhis* (Lachish) showing an ancient fortified position" (*Memoir*, 330; in his *Syria and Palestine* it is not named). But as neither *Um Lakhis* nor *Sumeil*, especially the latter, are identified with certainty, the conjecture must be left for further exploration. One thing must not be overlooked, that although Libnah is in the lists of Josh. xv. specified as being in the lowland, yet 3 of the 8 towns which form its group have been actually identified as situated among the mountains to the immediate S. and E. of *Beit-Jibrin*. — The name is also found in SHIHOR-LIBNATH. G.

LIB'NAH (לִבְנָה: Sam. לבנה: and as the LXX. [Vat.] Λεμνα; [Rom.] Alex. Λεβνα: *Lebna*), one of the stations at which the Israelites encamped, on their journey between the wilderness of Sinai and Kadesh. It was the fifth in the series, and lay between Rimmon-parez and Rissah (Num. xxxiii. 20, 21.) If *el-Hâdherah* be Hazeroth, then Libnah would be situated somewhere on the western border of the Ælanitic arm of the Red Sea. But no trace of the name has yet been discovered; and the only conjecture which appears to have been made concerning it is that it was identical with Laban, mentioned in Deut. i. 1. The word in Hebrew signifies "white," and in that case may point either to the color of the spot or to the presence of white poplar (Stanley, *S. & P.* App. § 77). Count Bertou in his recent *Étude, le Mont Hor*, etc., 1860, endeavors to identify Libnah with the city of Judah noticed in the foregoing article. But there is little in his arguments to support this theory, while the position assigned to Libnah of Judah — in the *Shefelah* or maritime district, not amongst the towns of "the South," which latter form a distinct division of the territory of the tribe, in proximity to Edom — seems of itself to be fatal to it.

The reading of the Samaritan Codex and Version, Lebonah, is supported by the LXX., but not apparently by any other authority. The Targum Pseudojonathan on the passage plays with the name, according to the custom of the later Jewish writings: "Libnah, a place, the boundary of which is a building of brickwork," as if the name were לְבֵנָה, *Lebenah*, a brick. G.

LIB'NI (לִבְנִי [*white*]: Λοβενι; [Vat. M. -νει, exc. Ex. vi. 17:] *Lobni*, and once, Num. iii. 18, *Lebni*). 1. The eldest son of Gershom, the son of Levi (Ex. vi. 17; Num. iii. 18; 1 Chr. vi. 17, 20), and ancestor of the family of the LIBNITES.

2. [Vat. Λοβενει.] The son of Mahli, or Mahali, son of Merari (1 Chr. vi. 29), as the text at present stands. It is probable, however, that he is the same with the preceding, and that something has been omitted (comp. vv. 29 with 20, 42) [MAHLI, 1.]

LIB'NITES, THE (הַלִּבְנִי [patr. see above]: ὁ Λοβενι; [Vat. Λοβενει:] *Lobni, Lebnitica*, sc. *familia*), the descendants of Libni, eldest son of Gershom, who formed one of the chief branches of the great Levitical family of Gershonites (Num. iii. 21, xxvi. 58).

LIB'YA (Λιβύη, Λιβύα: [*Libya*]) occurs only in Acts ii. 10,[c] in the periphrasis "the parts of Libya about Cyrene" (τὰ μέρη τῆς Λιβύης τῆς κατὰ Κυρήνην), which obviously means the Cyrenaica. Similar expressions are used by Dion Cassius (Λιβύη ἡ περὶ Κυρήνην, liii. 12) and Josephus

[a] The cities of these have all been discovered, *not in the lowland*, as they are specified, but in the mountains immediately to the south and east of *Beit-Jibrin*.

[b] The account of Berosus, quoted by Josephus (*Ant.* x. 1, § 5), is that the destruction took place when Sennacherib had reached Jerusalem, after his Egyptian expedition, on the first night of the siege. His words are, Τυφσταρήψας εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα κατὰ τὴν πρώτην τῆς πολιορκίας νύκτα διαφθείρονται, etc. Professor Stanley on the other hand, inclines to agree with the Jewish tradition, which places the event in the pass of Beth-horon, and therefore on the road between Libnah and Jerusalem (*S. & P.* 207 *note*).

[c] The A. V. has "Libya" for פוּט in Jer. xxx. 5, and xxxviii. 5. M.

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(ἡ πρὸς Κυρήνην Λιβύη, *Ant.* xvi. 6, § 1), as noticed in the article CYRENE. The name Libya is applied by the Greek and Roman writers to the African continent, generally however excluding Egypt. The consideration of this and its more restricted uses has no place in this work. The Hebrews, whose geography deals with nations rather than countries, and, in accordance with the genius of Shemites, never generalizes, had no names for continents or other large tracts comprising several countries ethnologically or otherwise distinct: the single mention is therefore of Greek origin. Some account of the Lubim, or primitive Libyans, as well as of the Jews in the Cyrenaica, is given in other articles. [LUBIM; CYRENE.] R. S. P.

• LIBYANS (לִבִּיִם: Λίβυες: *Lybia*), A. V. Dan. xi. 43, should be LUBIM. In Jer. xlvi. 9 it should be PUT (פּוּט: Λίβυες: *Libyes*). H.

LICE (כִּנִּים, כִּנִּם, כִּנָּם, כִּנִּם, *chinnîm, chinnâm*: σκνίφες, σκνίπες: *sciniphes, cinifes*). This word occurs in the A. V. only in Ex. viii. 16, 17, 18, and in Ps. cv. 31; both of which passages have reference to the third great plague of Egypt. In Exodus the miracle is recorded, while in the Psalm grateful remembrance of it is made. The Hebrew word [a] — which, with some slight variation, occurs only in Ex. viii. 16, 17, 18, and in Ps. cv. 31 — has given occasion to whole pages of discussion; some commentators — amongst whom may be cited Michaelis (*Suppl.* s. v.), Oedmann (in *Vermisch. Samm.* i. vi. p. 80), Rosenmüller (*Schol.* in Ex. viii. 12), Harenberg (*Obs. Crit. de* כִּנִּים, in *Miscell. Lips. Nov.* vol. ii. pt. iv. p. 617), Dr. Geddes (*Crit. Rem.* Ex. viii. 17), Dr. Harris (*Nat. Hist. of Bible*), to which is to be added the authority of Philo (*De Vit. Mos.* ii. 97, ed. Mangey) and Origen (*Hom. Tert. in Exod.*), and indeed modern writers generally — suppose that gnats are the animals intended by the original word; while, on the other hand, the Jewish Rabbis, Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 14, § 3), Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. 457, ed. Rosenm.), Montanus, Münster (*Crit. Sac.* in Ex. viii. 12), Bryant (*Plagues of Egypt*, p. 56), and Dr. Adam Clarke are in favor of the translation of the A. V. The old versions, the Chaldee paraphrase, the Targums of Jonathan and Onkelos, the Syriac, the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Arabic, are claimed by Bochart as supporting the opinion that *lice* are here intended. Another writer believes he can identify the *chinnîm* with some worm-like creatures (perhaps some kind of *Scolopendridæ*) called *tarrentes*, mentioned in Vinisauf's account of the expedition of Richard I. into the Holy Land, and which by their bites during the night-time occasioned extreme pain (Harmer's *Observat.* Clarke's ed. iii. 549). With regard to this last theory it may fairly be said that, as it has not a word of proof or authority to support it, it may at once be rejected as fanciful. Those who believe that the plague was one of *gnats* or *mosquitoes* appear to ground their opinion solely on the authority of the LXX., or rather on the interpretation of the Greek word σκνίφες, as given by Philo (*De Vit. Mos.* ii. 97) and Origen (*Hom. III. in Exodum*). The advocates of the other theory, that *lice* are the animals meant by *chinnîm*, and not *gnats*, base their arguments upon these facts: (1) because the *chinnîm* sprang from the dust, whereas gnats come from the waters; (2) because *gnats*, though they may greatly irritate men and beasts, cannot properly be said to be "in" them; (3) because their name is derived from a root [b] which signifies "to establish," or "to fix," which cannot be said of *gnats*; (4) because if *gnats* are intended, then the fourth plague of flies would be unduly anticipated; (5) because the Talmudists use the word *chinnah* in the singular number to mean a *louse*; as it is said in the *Treatise on the Sabbath*, "As is the man who slays a camel on the Sabbath, so is he who slays a *louse* on the Sabbath." [c]

Let us examine these arguments as briefly as possible. First, the LXX. has been quoted as a direct proof that *chinnîm* means *gnats*; and certainly in such a matter as the one before us it is almost impossible to exaggerate the authority of the translators, who dwelt in Egypt, and therefore must be considered good authorities on this subject. But is it quite clear that the Greek word they made use of has so limited a signification? Does the Greek σκνίψ or κνίψ mean a *gnat*? [d] Let the reader, however, read carefully the passages quoted in the foot-notes, and he will see at once that at any rate there is very considerable doubt whether *any one* particular animal is denoted by the Greek word. In the few passages where it occurs in Greek authors the word seems to point in some instances clearly enough to the well-known pests of field and garden, the *plant-lice* or *aphides*. By the σκνὶψ ἐν χάρᾳ, the proverb referred to in the note, is very likely meant one of those small active jumping insects, common under leaves and under the bark of trees, known to entomologists by the name of spring-tails (*Podurida*). The Greek lexicographers, having the derivation of the word in view, generally define it to be some small worm-like creature that eats away wood; if they used the

[a] Considerable doubt has been entertained by some scholars as to the origin of the word. See the remarks of Gesenius and Fürst.

[b] כָּנַן. But see Ges. *Thes.* s. v. כָּנָן.

[c] *De Sabb.* cap. 14, fol. 107, *b*.

[d] σκνίψ. ζῶον χλωρόν τε καὶ τετράπτερον· and κνίξ (κνίψ). ζῶον πτηνόν, ὅμοιον κώνωπι. (Hesych. *Lex.* s. v.)
κνίψ, ζωύφιον, ἡ γενικὴ τοῦ κνιπός.
κνίπες, δύματα τὰ περιβεβρώμενα, καὶ ζωύφια τῶν ξυλοφάγων.
σκνὶψ, ζῶον χλωρόν τε καὶ τετράπτερον· ζῶον κωνωπώδες· ζῶον μικρὸν ξυλόφαγον. (Phavorin. s. v.)
ἢ σκνὶψ ἐν χάρᾳ.
Phryn. (Lob.) p. 400. Plut. ii. 686, D.

Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* ii. cap. ult.) speaks of σκνίπες, and calls them *worms*. Dioscorides (iii. *de Ulmo*) speaks of the well-known viscid secretion on the leaves of plants and trees, and says that when this moisture is dried up, animalcules like gnats appear (θηρίδια κωνωπώδη). In another place (v. 181) he calls them σκώληκες. No doubt plant-lice are meant. Aëtius (ii. 9) speaks of κνίφες, by which word he clearly means plant-lice, or *aphides*. Aristophanes associates the κνίπες (aphides) with ψῆνες (gall-flies), and speaks of them as injuring the young shoots of the vines (*Aves*, p. 427). Aristotle (*Hist. An.* viii. 8, § 9) speaks of a bird, *woodpecker*, which he terms σκνιπολόγος. Gnats are for the most part taken on the wing; but the κνίπες here alluded to are doubtless the various kinds of *ants*, *larvæ*, *aphides*, *lepismidæ*, *coccinæ*, *oniscidæ*, etc. etc., which are found on the leaves and under the bark of trees

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term winged the winged aphis is most likely intended, and perhaps *vermiculus* may sometimes refer to the wingless individual. Because however, the lexicons occasionally say that the σκνίψ is like a *gnat* (the "green and four-winged insect" of Hesychius), many commentators have come to the hasty conclusion that some species of *gnat* is denoted by the Greek term; but resemblance by no means constitutes identity, and it will be seen that this insect, the aphis, even though it be winged, is far more closely allied to the wingless louse (*pediculus*) than it is to the *gnat*, or to any species of the family *Culicidæ*; for the term *lice*, as applied to the various kinds of *aphides* (*Phytophthiria*, as is their appropriate scientific name), is by no means merely one of analogy. The wingless aphis is in appearance somewhat similar to the *pediculus*; and indeed a great authority, Burmeister, arranges the *Anoplura*, the order to which the *pediculus* belongs, with the *Rhyncota*, which contains the sub-order *Homoptera*, to which the aphides belong. Hence, by an appropriate transfer, the same word which in Arabic means *pediculus* is applied in one of its significations to the "thistle black with plant-lice." Every one who has observed the thistles of this country black with the peculiar species that infests them can see the force of the meaning assigned to it in the Arabic language.[a]

Again, almost all the passages where the Greek word occurs speak of the animal, be it what it may, as being injurious to plants or trees; it cannot therefore be applied in a restricted sense to any *gnat* (*culex* or *simulium*), for the *Culicidæ* are eminently blood-suckers, not vegetable-feeders.[b]

Oedmann (*Vermisch. Sammlung.* i. ch. vi.) is of opinion that the species of mosquito denoted by the *chinnîm* is probably some minute kind allied to the *Culex reptans*, *s. pulicaris* of Linnæus. That such an insect might have been the instrument God made use of in the third plague with which He visited the Egyptians is readily granted, so far as the irritating powers of the creature are concerned, for the members of the genus *Simulium* (sand-fly) are a terrible pest in those localities where they abound. But no proof at all can be brought forward in support of this theory.

Bryant, in illustrating the propriety of the plague being one of lice, has the following very just remarks: "The Egyptians affected great external purity, and were very nice both in their persons and clothing. . . . Uncommon care was taken not to harbor any vermin. They were particularly solicitous on this head; thinking it would be a great profanation of the temple which they entered if any animalcule of this sort were concealed in their garments." And we learn from Herodotus that so scrupulous were the priests on this point that they used to shave the hair off their heads and bodies every third day for fear of harboring any *louse* while occupied in their sacred duties (Herod. ii. 37). "We may hence see what an abhorrence the Egyptians showed towards this sort of vermin, and that the judgments inflicted by the hand of Moses were adapted to their prejudices" (Bryant's *Observations*, etc., p. 56).

The evidence of the old versions, adduced by Bochart in support of his opinion, has been called in question by Rosenmüller and Geddes, who will not allow that the words used by the Syriac, the Chaldee, and the Arabic versions, as the representatives of the Hebrew word *chinnîm*, can properly be translated *lice*; but the interpretations which they themselves allow to these words apply better to *lice* than to *gnats*; and it is almost certain that the normal meaning of the words in all these three versions, and indisputably in the Arabic, applies to *lice*. It is readily granted that some of the arguments brought forward by Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. 457, ed. Rosenm.) and his consentients are unsatisfactory. As the plague was certainly miraculous, nothing can be deduced from the assertion made that the *chinnîm* sprang from the dust; neither is Bochart's derivation of the Hebrew word accepted by scholars generally. Much force however is contained in the Talmudical use of the word *chinnah*, to express a *louse*, though Gesenius asserts that nothing can be adduced thence.

On the whole, therefore, this much appears certain, that those commentators who assert that *chinnîm* means *gnats* have arrived at this conclusion without sufficient authority; they have based their arguments solely on the evidence of the LXX., though it is by no means proved that the Greek word used by these translators has any reference to *gnats*;[c] the Greek word, which probably originally denoted any small irritating creature, being derived from a root which means to *bite*, to *gnaw*, was used in this general sense, and selected by the LXX. translators to express the original word, which has an origin kindred to that of the Greek word, but the precise meaning of which they did not know. They had in view the derivation of the Hebrew term *chinnâh*, from *châṇâh*, "to gnaw," and most appropriately rendered it by the Greek word κνίψ, from κνάω, "to gnaw." It appears therefore that there is not sufficient authority for departing from the translation of the A. V., which renders the Hebrew word by *lice*; and as it is supported by the evidence of many of the old versions, it is best to rest contented with it. At any rate the point is still open, and no hasty conclusion can be adopted concerning it. W. H.

LIEUTENANTS (אַחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנִים). The

[a] قَمَل. "Nigricans et quasi pediculis obsitus apparuit cardnus" (Gol. *Arab. Lex.* s. v.).

[b] The mosquito and gnat belong to the family of *Culicidæ*. The *Simulium*, to which genus the *Culex reptans* (Lin.) belongs, is comprised under the family *Tipulidæ*. This is a northern species, and probably not found in Egypt. The *Simulia*, or sand-flies, are most inveterate blood-suckers, whose bites often give rise to very painful swellings.

Although Origen and Philo both understand by the Greek σκνίψ some minute winged insect that stings, yet their testimony by no means proves that a similar use of the term was restricted to it by the LXX. translators. It has been shown, from the quotations given above, that the Greek word has a wide signification: it is an *aphis*, a *worm*, a *flea*, or a *spring-tail*—in fact any small insect-like animal that *bites*; and all therefore that should legitimately be deduced from the words of these two writers is that they applied in this instance to some irritating winged insect a term which, from its derivation, so appropriately describes its irritating properties. Their insect seems to refer to some species of *midge* (*Ceratopogon*).

[c] If the LXX. understood *gnats* by the Hebrew term, why did not these translators use some well-known Greek name for *gnat*, as κώνωψ or ἀσπίς?

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Hebrew *achashdrapan* was the official title of the satraps[a] or viceroys who governed the provinces of the Persian empire; it is rendered "lieutenant" in Esth. iii. 12, viii. 9, ix. 3; Ezr. viii. 36, and "prince" in Dan. iii. 2, vi. 1, &c. W. L. B.

LIGN ALOES. [ALOES.]

LIGURE (לֶשֶׁם, *leshem*: λιγύριον; Ald. λυγύριον; Alex. ὑάκινθος: *ligurius*). A precious stone mentioned in Ex. xxviii. 19, xxxix. 12, as the first in the third row of the high-priest's breastplate. "And the third row, a ligure, an agate, and an amethyst." It is impossible to say, with any certainty, what stone is denoted by the Hebrew term. The LXX. version generally, the Vulgate and Josephus (*B. J.* v. 5, § 7), understand the *lyncurium* or *ligurium*; but it is a matter of considerable difficulty to identify the *ligurium* of the ancients with any known precious stone. Dr. Woodward and some old commentators have supposed that it was some kind of *belemnite*, because, as these fossils contain bituminous particles, they have thought that they have been able to detect, upon heating or rubbing pieces of them, the absurd origin which Theophrastus (*Frag.* ii. 28, 31, xv. 2, ed. Schneider) and Pliny (*H. N.* xxxvii. iii.) ascribe to the *lyncurium*. Others have imagined that *amber* is denoted by this word; but Theophrastus, in the passage cited above, has given a detailed description of the stone, and clearly distinguishes it from *electron*, or amber. Amber, moreover, is too soft for engraving upon; while the *lyncurium* was a hard stone, out of which seals were made. Another interpretation seeks the origin of the word in the country of Liguria (Genoa), where the stone was found, but makes no attempt at identification. Others again, without reason, suppose the *opal* to be meant (Rosenmüll. *Sch. in Ex.* xxviii. 19). Dr. Watson (*Phil. Trans.* vol. li. p. 394) identifies it with the *tourmaline*. Beckmann (*Hist. Invent.* i. 87, Bohn) believes, with Braun, Epiphanius, and J. de Laet, that the description of the *lyncurium* agrees well with the *hyacinth stone* of modern mineralogists.[b] With this supposition Hill (*Notes on Theophrastus on Stones*, § 50, p. 166) and Rosenmüller (*Mineral. of Bible*, p. 36, *Bib. Cab.*) agree. It must be confessed, however, that this opinion is far from satisfactory, for there is the following difficulty in the identification of the *lyncurium* with the *hyacinth*. Theophrastus, speaking of the properties of the *lyncurium*, says that it attracts not only light particles of wood, but fragments of iron and brass. Now there is no peculiar attractive power in the hyacinth; nor is Beckmann's explanation of this point sufficient. He says: "If we consider its (the *lyncurium's*) attracting of small bodies in the same light which our hyacinth has in common with all stones of the glassy species, I cannot see anything to controvert this opinion, and to induce us to believe the *lyncurium* and the *tourmaline* to be the same." But surely the *lyncurium*, whatever it be, had in a marked manner *magnetic properties*; indeed, the term was applied to the stone on this very account, for the Greek name *ligurion* appears to be derived from λείχειν, "to lick," "to attract;" and doubtless was selected by the LXX. translators for this reason to express the Hebrew word, which has a similar derivation.[c] More probable, though still inconclusive, appears the opinion of those who identify the *lyncurium* with the *tourmaline*, or more definitely with the red variety known as *rubellite*, which is a hard stone and used as a gem, and sometimes sold for *red sapphire*. *Tourmaline* becomes, as is well known, electrically polar when heated. Beckmann's objection, that "had Theophrastus been acquainted with the *tourmaline*, he would have remarked that it did not acquire its attractive power till it was heated," is answered by his own admission on the passage, quoted from the *Histoire de l'Académie* for 1717, p. 7 (see Beckmann, i. 91).

Tourmaline is a mineral found in many parts of the world. The Duke de Noya purchased two of these stones in Holland, which are there called *aschentrikker*. Linnæus, in his preface to the *Flora Zeylandica*, mentions the stone under the name of *lapis electricus* from Ceylon. The natives call it *tournamal* (vid. *Phil. Trans.* in loc. cit.). Many of the precious stones which were in the possession of the Israelites during their wanderings were no doubt obtained from the Egyptians, who might have procured from the Tyrian merchants specimens from even India and Ceylon, etc. The fine specimen of *rubellite* now in the British Museum belonged formerly to the King of Ava.

The word *ligure* is unknown in modern mineralogy. Phillips (*Mineral.* 87) mentions *ligurite*, the fragments of which are uneven and transparent, with a vitreous lustre. It occurs in a sort of talcose rock in the banks of a river in the Apennines.

The claim of *rubellite* to be the *leshem* of Scripture is very uncertain, but it is perhaps better than that of the other minerals which writers have from time to time endeavored to identify with it.

W. H.

LIK'HI (לִקְחִי, [*learned*]: Λακμί; [Vat. Λακεεμμί;] Alex. Λακεια: *Leci*), a Manassite, son of Shemida, the son of Manasseh (1 Chr. vii. 19).

* **LIKING** (A. V.), as a noun, means "condition," Job xxxix. 14: "Their young ones are in good *liking*;" and as a participle (זֹעֲפִים), "conditioned" (Dan. i. 10): "Why should he see your faces worse *liking* than the children which are of your sort?" H.

LILY (שׁוֹשַׁנָּה, *shûshân*, שׁוֹשַׁנָּה, *shóshan*: κρίνον, Matt. vi. 28, 29). The Hebrew word is rendered "rose" in the Chaldee Targum, and by Maimonides and other rabbinical writers, with the exception of Kimchi and Ben Melech, who in 1 K. vii. 19 translated it by "violet." In the Judæo

[a] The LXX. gives σατράπης, στρατηγός, and ὕπαρχος; the Vulgate *satrapes* and *princeps*. Both the Hebrew and the Greek words are modifications of the same Sanskrit root: but philologists are not agreed as to the form or meaning of the word. Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 74) adopts the opinion of Von Bohlen that it comes from *ashatriya-pati*, meaning "warrior of the host." Pott (*Etym. Forsch.* Pref. p. 68) suggests other derivations more in consonance with the position of the satraps as civil rather than military rulers.

[b] Büsching, p. 342, from Dutens, *Des Pierres précieuses*, p. 61, says, "the *hyacinth* is not found in the East." This is incorrect, for it occurs in Egypt, Ceylon, and the East Indies (v. Mineral. and Crystall. Orr's *Circle of Sciences*, p. 515).

[c] *Thes.* s. v. לֶשֶׁם. First says of לֶשֶׁם, "cujus nos fugit origo. Targ. vertit, לַקְנִכִירִי, h. e. Gr. λύγκος, de quo *Smiris* (*Shamir*) genere v. Plin. xxxiv. 4."

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Spanish version of the Canticles, *shúshán* and *shóshannáh* are always translated by *rosa*; but in Hos. xiv. 5 the latter is rendered *lirio*. But κρίνον, or "lily," is the uniform rendering of the LXX., and is in all probability the true one, as it is supported by the analogy of the Arabic and Persian *susan*, which has the same meaning to this day, and by the existence of the same word in Syriac and Coptic. The Spanish *azucena*, a "white lily," is merely a modification of the Arabic.

But although there is little doubt that the word denotes some plant of the lily species, it is by no means certain what individual of this class it especially designates. Father Souciet (*Recueil de diss. crit.* 1715) labored to prove that the lily of Scripture is the "crown-imperial," the Persian *tusaï*, the κρίνον βασιλικόν of the Greeks, and the *Fritillaria imperialis* of Linnæus. So common was this plant in Persia, that it is supposed to have given its name to Susa, the capital (Athen. xii. 1; Bochart, *Phaleg*, ii. 14). But there is no proof that it was at any time common in Palestine, and "*the* lily" *par excellence* of Persia would not of necessity be "the lily" of the Holy Land. Dioscorides (i. 62) bears witness to the beauty of the lilies of Syria and Pisidia, from which the best perfume was made. He says (iii. 106 [116]) of the κρίνον βασιλικόν that the Syrians call it σασᾶ (=*shushan*), and the Africans ἀβίβλαβον, which Bochart renders in Hebrew characters אביב לבן, "white shoot." Kühn, in his note on the passage, identifies the plant in question with the *Lilium candidum* of Linnæus. It is probably the same as that called in the Mishna "king's lily" (*Kilaim*, v. 8). Pliny (xxi. 5) defines κρίνον as "rubens lilium;" and Dioscorides, in another passage, mentions the fact that there are lilies with purple flowers; but whether by this he intended the *Lilium Martagon* or *Chalcedonicum*, Kühn leaves undecided. Now in the passage of Athenæus above quoted it is said, Σοῦσον γὰρ εἶναι τῇ Ἑλλήνων φωνῇ τὸ κρίνον. But in the *Etymologicum Magnum* (s. v. Σοῦσα) we find τὰ γὰρ λείρια ὑπὸ τῶν Φοινίκων σοῦσα λέγεται. As the *shushan* is thus identified both with κρίνον, the red or purple lily, and with λείριον, the white lily, it is evidently impossible from the word itself to ascertain exactly the kind of lily which is referred to. If the *shushan* or *shoshannáh* of the O. T. and the κρίνον of the Sermon on the Mount be identical, which there seems no reason to doubt, the plant designated by these terms must have been a conspicuous object on the shores of the Lake of Gennesaret (Matt. vi. 28; Luke xii. 27); it must have flourished in the deep broad valleys of Palestine (Cant. ii. 1), among the thorny shrubs (*ibid.* ii. 2), and pastures of the desert (*ib.* ii. 16, iv. 5, vi. 3), and must have been remarkable for its rapid and luxuriant growth (Hos. xiv. 5; Ecclus. xxxix. 14). That its flowers were brilliant in color would seem to be indicated in Matt. vi. 28, where it is compared with the gorgeous robes of Solomon; and that this color was scarlet or purple is implied in Cant. v. 13.[a] There appears to be no species of lily which so completely answers all these requirements as the *Lilium Chalcedonicum*, or Scarlet Martagon, which grows in profusion in the Levant. But direct evidence on the point is still to be desired from the observation of travellers. We have, however, a letter from Dr. Bowring, referred to (*Hierd. Chron.* ii. 854), in which, under the name of *Lilia Syriaca*, Lindley identifies with the *L. Chalcedonicum* a flower which is "abundant in the district of Galilee" in the months of April and May. Sprengel (*Ant. Bot. Spec.* i. p. 9) identifies the Greek κρίνον with the *L. Martagon*.



Lilium Chalcedonicum.

With regard to the other plants which have been identified with the *shushan*, the difficulties are many and great. Gesenius derives the word from a root signifying "to be white," and it has hence been inferred that the *shushan* is the white lily. But it is by no means certain that the *Lilium candidum* grows wild in Palestine, though a specimen was found by Forskål at Zambak in Arabia Felix.[b] Dr. Royle (Kitto's *Cyclop.* art. "Shushan") identified the "lily" of the Canticles with the *lotus* of Egypt, in spite of the many allusions to "feeding among the lilies." The purple flowers of the *khoh*, or wild artichoke, which abounds in the plain north of Tabor and in the Valley of Esdraëlon, have been thought by some to be the "lilies of the field" alluded to in Matt. vi. 28 (Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. 110). A recent traveller mentions a plant, with lilac flowers like the hyacinth, and called by the Arabs *usceih*, which he considered to be of the species denominated lily in Scripture (Bonar, *Desert of Sinai*, p. 329). Lynch enumerates the "lily" as among the plants seen by him on the shores of the Dead Sea, but gives no details which could lead to its identification (*Exped. to Jordan*, p. 286). He had previously observed the water-lily on the Jordan (p. 173), but omits to mention whether it was the yellow (*Nuphar lutea*) or the especial mention of the *L. candidum* growing in Palestine, and in connection with the habitat given by Strabo, it is worth observing that the lily is mentioned Cant. ii. 1) with the rose of *Sharon*. Now let this be compared with Jerome's *Comment. ad Is.* xxxiii. 9: "Saron omnis juxta *Joppen* Lyddamque appellatur regio in qua latissimi campi fertilesque tenduntur"

W. H

[a] According to another opinion, the allusion in this verse is to the fragrance and not the color of the lily and, if so, the passage is favorable to the claims of the *L. candidum*, which is highly fragrant, while the *L. Chalcedonicum* is almost destitute of odor. The lily of the N. T. may still be the latter.

[b] But Strand (*Flor. Palaest.*) mentions it as growing near Joppa, and Kitto (*Phys. Hist. of Pal.* 219) makes

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white (*Nymphæa alba*). "The only 'lilies' which I saw in Palestine," says Prof. Stanley, "in the months of March and April, were large yellow water-lilies, in the clear spring of 'Ain Mellahah, near the Lake of Merom" (*S. & P.* p. 429). He suggests that the name "lily" "may include the numerous flowers of the tulip or amaryllis kind, which appear in the early summer, or the autumn of Palestine." The following description of the Hûleh-lily by Dr. Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, i. 394), were it more precise, would perhaps have enabled botanists to identify it: "This Hûleh-lily is very large, and the three inner petals meet above and form a gorgeous canopy, such as art never approached, and king never sat under, even in his utmost glory. We call it Hûleh-lily, because it was here that it was first discovered.



Lilium candidum.

Its botanical name, if it have one, I am unacquainted with. Our flower delights most in the valleys, but is also found on the mountains. It grows among thorns, and I have sadly lacerated my hands in extricating it from them. Nothing can be in higher contrast than the luxuriant velvety softness of this lily, and the crabbed tangled hedge of thorns about it. Gazelles still delight to feed among them; and you can scarcely ride through the woods north of Tabor, where these lilies abound, without frightening them from their flowery pasture." If some future traveller would give a description of the Hûleh-lily somewhat less vague than the above, the question might be at once resolved. [PALESTINE — *Botany.*]

The Phœnician architects of Solomon's temple decorated the capitals of the columns with "lily-work," that is, with leaves and flowers of the lily (1 K. vii.), corresponding to the lotus-headed capitals of Egyptian architecture. The rim of the "brazen sea" was possibly wrought in the form of the recurved margin of a lily flower (1 K. vii. 26). Whether the *shôshannîm* and *shushan* mentioned in the titles of Ps. xlv., lx., lxix., and lxxx. were musical instruments in the form of lilies, or whether the word denote a musical air, will be discussed under the article SHOSHANNIM. W. A. W.

* The description in Matt. vi. 28–30 implies that this plant was familiar to Christ's hearers. This consideration would at once exclude *Lilium candidum*, which, if found at all in Syria and Palestine must be extremely rare, and probably only as escaped from cultivation.

It is impossible also that any of the water-lilies could be intended, as the lilies mentioned grew in the field.

The requirements of the text are the following

(1.) A plant of the order *Liliaceæ* or one of the allied orders of *Iridaceæ*, or *Amaryllidaceæ*. Any plant which would be vulgarly called a lily would suit the case, inasmuch as we are not to imagine language used here in the accurate style of a botanist.

(2.) It must be a plant growing in the fields, with a stem of sufficient size and solidity to be an element of the fuel of the *tannoor* or oriental oven. It is customary in the East to gather out the tares and various flowering plants from among the wheat, before the time of harvest, and to bind them in bundles, and either to feed them to the cattle, or burn them in the oven. The lily mentioned must be of this character, in order to suit the narrative.

(3.) It must be a plant of rich colored flowers, probably purple, inasmuch as this color would better suit the comparison with the colors of royal garments.

There are several plants which have been supposed to represent the lily, which we can eliminate by the above tests. *Lilium candidum* has been already excluded. *Anemone coronaria*, with its two varieties of red and purple flowers, has been described as the plant in question. But in the first place it is the most distant possible from the lilies, being of the family of the *Ranunculaceæ*. In the second place it is a low herbaceous plant, not occurring so much among wheat as in open grassy places, by roadsides. It has no stem, and is not gathered for the ovens. It is common enough, but for the two reasons mentioned is quite inadmissible.

The remaining hypotheses may all be grouped into one class. They consist in assuming one of the plants of the above-named orders to be the plant here designated. Some have supposed the *Lilium Chalcedonicum*. Others have supposed the great Iris of the Hûleh, which Dr. Thomson calls the Hûleh lily. Others still have endeavored to prove the claims of others of these natural orders.

My own opinion is, that the term 'lily' here is general, and that it does not refer to any species exclusively. There are several fine plants of these orders which are found more or less diffused through Palestine, as *Tulipa oculis-solis*, *Lilium Chalcedonicum*, *Iris reticulosa*, and others of that genus, and last, but not least likely to have been before the eyes and in the minds of the hearers of the sermon on the Mount, *Gladiolus Illyricus*. Indeed, if any one species more than another be designated, I incline to think that this is the one.

This plant is a showy species, growing to a height of two or three feet, among the wheat and barley. It has a reedy stem, and a large raceme of purple flowers, an inch and a half broad when open, and it is a sufficiently striking and showy flower to have been the subject of the comparison. Moreover, it is one of those wild plants which are constantly plucked up with the other weeds, and fed to cattle, or burned in the fire.

Still I incline to think that the Saviour, in speaking of the lilies, used the term in the same general way that an inhabitant of the Middle States would

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peak of wild lilies, in allusion to their bright colors, not particularly designating, or perhaps not being aware of the specific differences of the individuals of the genus. He might have seen a lily, and been struck with its beauty, and used that quality to illustrate his speech, without knowing whether he had seen *Lilium Philadelphicum*, or *L. Canadense*, *or L. superbum*. Nay, he might have seen an *Erythronium*, or a *Gladiolus*, and called them lilies. Or he might have drawn his illustration from the combined impression produced on his mind by all the species and general names. I conceive the latter to have been the case in the Sermon on the Mount.

G. E. P.

LIME (שִׂיד: κονία: *calx*). This substance is noticed only three times in the Bible, namely, in Deut. xxvii. 2, 4, where it is ordered to be laid on the great stones whereon the law was to be written (A. V. "thou shalt plaister them with plaister"); in Is. xxxiii. 12, where the "burnings of lime" are figuratively used to express *complete destruction*; and in Am. ii. 1, where the prophet describes the outrage committed on the memory of the king of Edom by the Moabites, when they took his bones and burned them *into lime*, i. e. calcined them — an indignity of which we have another instance in 2 K. xxiii. 16. That the Jews were acquainted with the use of the lime-kiln, has been already noticed. [FURNACE.] W. L. B.

LINE. Several Hebrew words are so rendered, which in some passages admit of a closer discrimination. In addition to the ordinary applications it often denotes a line or cord used for measuring purposes, as קָו and קָוָה, 1 K. vii. 23; 2 K. xxi. 13, &c.; חֶבֶל, Ps. lxxviii. 55 (56); Am. vii. 17; Is. xliv. 13, where the A. V. has "rule"; but in this last passage שֶׂרֶד is probably "graver," "stylus" (not "line" as in A. V.). A peculiar use of the measuring line occurs in 2 Sam. viii. 2 (where the word is חֶבֶל). David, after a signal victory over the Moabites, who appear to have given him special provocation, put to death two thirds of his captives and spared one third. He required them to lie down on the ground, and then with a line measured them off after that proportion. The line as employed for measuring, by a frequent metonomy stands often for lot, possession, or inheritance (as חֶבֶל in Jos. xvii. 14, xix. 9; Ps. xvi. 5 (6); Ezek. xlvii. 13 ff.). The sense of "their line" (קַוָּם), i. e. of the heavens in Ps. xix. 4 (5), is uncertain. In this highly poetic passage it may well enough denote the expanse or circuit which the heavens measure off as they bend over all the earth, throughout which is to be heard the proclamation which they make of God's existence and attributes. So Hupfeld (*Die Psalmen*, i. 410), who agrees here with Hengstenberg (*Die Psalmen*, i. 440 f.). Paul's citation of the passage (Rom. x. 18) follows the LXX. which has φθόγγος, "a sound" (A. V.), as from the strings of a lyre. By "plumb-line" (אֲנָךְ, only Am. vii. 7, twice) is usually understood a line with lead attached to it for determining the perpendicularity of objects. Jehovah, as represented there by the prophet, stands on a straight-built wall with a line in his hand, as a symbol of the strict justice with which He will call his people to account for their sins (see Baur, *Der Prophet Amos*, p. 407, and Keil, *Die 12 kleinen Propheten*, p. 221). The proper rendering of פְּתִיל, Gen. xxxviii. 18, is line or cord (in the A. V. "bracelets"), by which the signet-ring was attached to the neck. See Conant, *Genesis*, etc. p. 160. The literal and metaphorical senses blend themselves in Paul's expression (ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ κανόνι), 2 Cor. x. 16, *i. e.* another's line or sphere of labor allotted to him by God's providence. H.

LINEN. Five different Hebrew words are thus rendered, and it is difficult to assign to each its precise significance. With regard to the Greek words so translated in the N. T. there is less ambiguity.

1. As Egypt was the great centre of the linen manufacture of antiquity, it is in connection with that country that we find the first allusion to it in the Bible. Joseph, when promoted to the dignity of ruler of the land of Egypt, was arrayed "in vestures of *fine linen*" (*shésh*,[a] marg. "silk," Gen. xli. 42), and among the offerings for the tabernacle of the things which the Israelites had brought out of Egypt were "blue, and purple, and scarlet, and *fine linen*" (Ex. xxv. 4, xxxv. 6). Of twisted threads of this material were composed the ten embroidered hangings of the tabernacle (Ex. xxvi. 1), the vail which separated the holy place from the holy of holies (Ex. xxvi. 31), and the curtain for the entrance (ver. 36), wrought with needlework. The ephod of the high-priest, with its "curious," or embroidered girdle, and the breastplate of judgment, were of "*fine* twined *linen*" (Ex. xxviii. 6, 8, 15). Of fine linen woven in checker-work were made the high-priest's tunic and mitre (Ex. xxviii. 39). The tunics, turbans, and drawers of the inferior priests (Ex. xxxix. 27, 28) are simply described as of woven work of fine linen.

2. But in Ex. xxviii. 42, and Lev. vi. 10, the drawers of the priests and their flowing robes are said to be of *linen* (*bad*[b]), and the tunic of the high-priest, his girdle, and mitre, which he wore on the day of atonement, were made of the same material (Lev. xvi. 4). Cunæus (*De Rep. Hebr.* ii. c. i.) maintained that the robes worn by the high-priest throughout the year, which are called by the Talmudists "the golden vestments," were thus named because they were made of a more valuable kind of linen (*shésh*) than that of which "the white vestments," worn only on the day of atonement, were composed (*bad*). But in the Mishna (*Cod. Joma*, iii. 7) it is said that the dress worn by the high-priest on the morning of the day of atonement was of linen of Peluzium, that is, of the finest description. In the evening of the same day he wore garments of Indian linen, which was less costly than the Egyptian. From a comparison of Ex. xxviii. 42 with xxxix. 28, it seems clear that *bad* and *shésh* were synonymous, or, if there be any difference between them, the latter probably denotes the spun threads, while the former is the linen woven from them. Maimonides (*Cele hammikdash*, c. 8) considered them as identical with regard to the material of which they were composed, for he says, "wherever in the Law *bad* or *shésh* are mentioned, they signify flax, that is, *byssus*." And Abarbanel (on Ex. xxv.) defines *shésh* to be Egyptian flax, and distinguishes it as

[a] שֵׁשׁ, or שֵׁשִׁי, as in Ex. xvi. 18. [b] בַּד.

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composed of *six* (Heb. *shêsh*, "six") threads twisted together, from *bad*, which was single. But in opposition to this may be quoted Ex. xxxix. 28, where the drawers of the priests are said to be *linen* (*bad*) or *fine* twined *linen* (*shêsh*). The wise-hearted among the women of the congregation spun the flax which was used by Bezaleel and Aholiab for the hangings of the tabernacle (Ex. xxxv. 25), and the making of linen was one of the occupations of women, of whose dress it formed a conspicuous part (Prov. xxxi. 22, A. V. "silk;" Ex. xvi. 10, 13; comp. Rev. xviii. 16). In Ex. xxvii. 7 *shêsh* is enumerated among the products of Egypt, which the Tyrians imported and used for the sails of their ships; and the vessel constructed for Ptolemy Philopator is said by Athenæus to have had a sail of *byssus* (*βύσσινον ἱστίον*, *Deipn.* i. 27 F). Hermippus (quoted by Athenæus) describes Egypt as the great emporium for sails: —

> Ἐκ δ' Αἰγύπτου τὰ κρεμαστὰ
> Ἱστία καὶ βύβλους.

Cleopatra's galley at the battle of Actium had a sail of purple canvas (Plin. xix. 5). The ephods worn by the priests (1 Sam. xxii. 18), by Samuel, though he was a Levite (1 Sam. ii. 18), and by David when he danced before the ark (2 Sam. vi. 14; 1 Chr. xv. 27), were all of linen (*bad*). The man whom Daniel saw in vision by the river Hiddekel was clothed in linen (*bad*, Dan. x. 5, xii. 6, 7; comp. Matt. xxviii. 3). In no case is *bad* used for other than a dress worn in religious ceremonies, though the other terms rendered "linen" are applied to the ordinary dress of women and persons in high rank.

3. *Bûts*,[a] always translated "fine linen" except 2 Chr. v. 12, is apparently a late word, and probably the same with the Greek *βύσσος*, by which it is represented by the LXX. It was used for the dresses of the Levite choir in the temple (2 Chr. v. 12), for the loose upper garment worn by kings over the close-fitting tunic (1 Chr. xv. 27), and for the vail of the Temple, embroidered by the skill of the Tyrian artificers (2 Chr. iii. 14). Mordecai was arrayed in robes of *fine linen* (*bûts*) and purple (Esth. viii. 15) when honored by the Persian king, and the dress of the rich man in the parable was purple and *fine linen* (*βύσσος*, Luke xvi. 19). The Tyrians were celebrated for their skill in linen-embroidery (2 Chr. ii. 14), and the house of Ashbea, a family of the descendants of Shelah the son of Judah, were workers in fine linen, probably in the lowland country (1 Chr. iv. 21). Tradition adds that they wove the robes of the kings and priests (Targ. Joseph), and, according to Jarchi, the hangings of the sanctuary. The cords of the canopy over the garden-court of the palace at Shushan were of fine linen (*bûts*, Esth. i. 6). "Purple and broidered work and fine linen" were brought by the Syrians to the market of Tyre (Ez. xxvii. 16), the *bûts* of Syria being distinguished from the *shêsh* of Egypt, mentioned in ver. 7, as being in all probability an Aramaic word, while *shêsh* is referred to an Egyptian original.[b] "Fine linen" (*βύσσος*), with purple and silk are enumerated in Rev. xviii. 12 as among the merchandise of the mystical Babylon; and to the Lamb's wife (xix. 8) it "was granted that she should be arrayed in *fine linen* (*βύσσινον*) clean and white:" the symbolical significance of this vesture being immediately explained, "for the fine linen is the righteousness of saints." And probably with the same intent the armies in heaven, who rode upon white horses and followed the "Faithful and True," were clad in "*fine linen*, white and clean," as they went forth to battle with the beast and his army (Rev. xix. 14).

4. *Etûn*[c] occurs but once (Prov. vii. 16), and there in connection with Egypt. Schultens connects it with the Greek *ὀθόνη*, *ὀθόνιον*, which he supposes were derived from it. The Talmudists translate it by חֶבֶל, *chebel*, a cord or rope, in consequence of its identity in form with *ôtûn*,[d] which occurs in the Targ. on Josh. ii. 15, and Esth. i. 6. R. Parchon interprets it "a girdle of Egyptian work." But in what way these cords were applied to the decoration of beds is not clear. Probably *êtûn* was a kind of thread made of fine Egyptian flax, and used for ornamenting the coverings of beds with tapestry-work. In support of this may be quoted the *ἀμφιτάπητες* of the LXX., and the *pictæ tapetes* of the Vulgate, which represent the חֻמְבָרוֹת אֵטוּן of the Hebrew. But Celsius renders the word "linen," and appeals to the Greek *ὀθόνιον*, *ὀθόνη*, as decisive upon the point. See Jablonski, *Opusc.* i. 72, 73.

Schultens (Prov. vii. 16) suggests that the Greek *σινδών* is derived from the Hebrew *sâdîn*,[e] which is used of the thirty linen garments which Samson promised to his companions (Judg. xiv. 12, 13) at his wedding, and which he stripped from the bodies of the Philistines whom he slew at Ashkelon (ver. 19). It was made by women (Prov. xxxi. 24), and used for girdles and under-garments (*Is.* iii. 23; comp. Mark xiv. 51). The LXX. in Judg. and Prov. render it *σινδών*, but in Judg. xiv. 13 *ὀθόνια* is used synonymously; just as *σινδών* in Matt. xxvii. 59, Mark xv. 46, and Luke xxiii. 53, is the same as *ὀθόνια* in Luke xxiv. 12; John xx. 5, 6, xix. 40. In these passages it is seen that linen was used for the winding-sheets of the dead by the Hebrews as well as by the Greeks (Hom. *Il.* xviii. 353, xxiii. 254; comp. Eur. *Bacch.* 819). Towels were made of it (*λέντιον*, John xiii. 4. 5), and napkins (*σουδάρια*, John xi. 44), like the coarse linen of the Egyptians. The dress of the poor (Ecclus. xl. 4) was probably unbleached flax (*ὀμόλινον*), such as was used for barbers' towels (Plut. *De Garrul.*).

The general term which included all those already mentioned was *pishteh*,[f] corresponding to the Greek *λίνον*, which was employed — like our "cotton" — to denote not only the flax (Judg. xv. 14) or raw material from which the linen was made, but also the plant itself (Josh. ii. 6), and the manufacture from it. It is generally opposed to wool, as a vegetable product to an animal (Lev. xiii. 47, 48, 52,

[a] בּוּץ, *βύσσος*, *byssus*.

[b] In Gen. xli. 42, the Targum of Onkelos gives שֵׁשׁ as the equivalent of שֵׁשׁ. See also Ex. xxv. 4, xxxv. 35.

[c] אֵטוּן. [d] אֶטוּן, Veneto-Gr. *σχοῖνος*.

[e] סָדִין. Jablonski (*Opusc.* i. 297, &c.) claims as the word an Egyptian origin. The Coptic *shenso* the representative of *σινδών* in the N. T.

[f] פִּשְׁתָּה.

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30; Deut. xxii. 11; Prov. xxxi. 13; Hos. ii. 5, 9), and was used for nets (Is. xix. 9), girdles (Jer. xiii. 1), and measuring-lines (Ez. xl. 3), as well as for the dress of the priests (Ez. xliv. 17, 18). From a comparison of the last-quoted passages with Ex. xxviii. 42, and Lev. vi. 10 (3), xvi. 4, 23, it is evident that *bad* and *pishteh* denote the same material, the latter being the more general term. It is equally apparent, from a comparison of Rev. xv. 6 with xix. 8, 14, that λίνον and βύσσινον are essentially the same. Mr. Yates (*Textrinum Antiquorum*, p. 276) contends that λίνον denotes the common flax, and βύσσος the finer variety, and that in this sense the terms are used by Pausanias (vi. 26, § 4). Till the time of Dr. Forster it was never doubted that *byssus* was a kind of flax, but it was maintained by him to be cotton. That the mummy-cloths used by the Egyptians were cotton and not linen was first asserted by Rouelle (*Mém. de l'Acad. Roy. des Scien.* 1750), and he was supported in his opinion by Dr. Forster and Dr. Solander, after an examination of the mummies in the British Museum. But a more careful scrutiny by Mr. Bauer of about 400 specimens of mummy-cloth has shown that they were, universally, linen. Dr. Ure arrived independently at the same conclusion (Yates, *Textr. Ant.* b. ii.).

One word remains to be noticed, which our A. V. has translated "linen yarn" (1 K. x. 28; 2 Chr. i. 16), brought out of Egypt by Solomon's merchants. The Hebrew *mikveh*,[a] or *mikvé*,[b] is variously explained. In the LXX. of 1 Kings it appears as a proper name, Θεκουέ, and in the Vulgate *Coa*, a place in Arabia Felix. By the Syriac (2 Chr.) and Arabic translators it was also regarded as the name of a place. Bochart once referred it to Troglodyte Egypt, anciently called *Michoe*, according to Pliny (vi. 34), but afterwards decided that it signified "a tax" (*Hieroz.* pt. 1, b. 2, c. 9). To these Michaelis adds a conjecture of his own, that *Ku* in the interior of Africa, S. W. of Egypt, might be the place referred to, as the country whence Egypt procured its horses (*Laws of Moses*, trans. Smith, ii. 493). In translating the word "*linen* yarn" the A. V. followed Junius and Tremellius, who are supported by Sebastian Schmid, De Dieu, and Clericus. Gesenius has recourse to a very unnatural construction, and rendering the word "troop," refers it in the first clause to the king's merchants, and in the second to the horses which they brought.

From time immemorial Egypt was celebrated for its linen (Ez. xxvii. 7). It was the dress of the Egyptian priests (Her. ii. 37, 81), and was worn by them, according to Plutarch (*Is. et Osir.* 4), because the color of the flax-blossom resembled that of the circumambient ether (comp. Juv. vi. 533, of the priests of Isis). Panopolis or Chemmis (the modern *Akhmim*) was anciently inhabited by linen-weavers (Strabo, xvii. 41, p. 813). According to Herodotus (ii. 86) the mummy-cloths were of *byssus*; and Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 6, § 1) mentions among the contributions of the Israelites for the tabernacle, "*byssus* of flax;" the hangings of the tabernacle were "sindon of *byssus*" (§ 2), of which material the tunics of the priests were also made (*Ant.* iii. 7, § 2), the drawers being of *byssus* (§ 1). Philo also says that the high-priest wore a garment of the finest *byssus*. Combining the testimony of Herodotus as to the mummy-cloths with the results of microscopic examination, it seems clear that *byssus* was linen, and not cotton; and moreover, that the dresses of the Jewish priests were made of the same, the purest of all materials. For further information see Dr. Kalisch's *Comm. on Exodus*, pp. 487–489; also article WOOLEN.

W. A. W.

LINTEL. The beam which forms the upper part of the framework of a door. In the A. V. "lintel" is the rendering of three Hebrew words.

1. אַיִל, *ayil* (1 K. vi. 31); translated "post" throughout Ez. xl., xli. The true meaning of this word is extremely doubtful. In the LXX. it is left untranslated (αἰλ, αἰλεῦ, αἰλάμ); and in the Chaldee version it is represented by a modification of itself. Throughout the passages of Ezekiel in which it occurs the Vulg. uniformly renders it by *frons*; which Gesenius quotes as favorable to his own view, provided that by *frons* be understood the projections in front of the building. The A. V. of 1 K. vi. 31, "lintel," is supported by the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion of Ez. xl. 21; while Kimchi explains it generally by "post." The Peshito-Syriac uniformly renders the word by a modification of the Greek παραστάδες, "pillars." Jarchi understands by *ayil* a round column like a large tree; Aquila (Ez. xl. 14) having in view the meaning "ram," which the word elsewhere bears, renders it κρίομα, apparently intending thereby to denote the volutes of columns, curved like rams' horns. J. D. Michaelis (*Supp. ad Lex.* s. v.) considers it to be the tympanum or triangular area of the pediment above a gate, supported by columns. Gesenius himself, after reviewing the passages in which the word occurs, arrives at the conclusion that in the singular it denotes the whole projecting framework of a door or gateway, including the jambs on either side, the threshold, and the lintel or architrave, with frieze and cornice. In the plural it is applied to denote the projections along the front of an edifice ornamented with columns or palm-trees, and with recesses or intercolumniations between them sometimes filled up by windows. Under the former head he places 1 K. vi. 31; Ez. xl. 9, 21, 24, 26, 29, 31, 33, 34, 36–38, 48, 49, xli. 3; while to the latter he refers xl. 10, 14, 16, xli. 1. Another explanation still is that of Boettcher (quoted by Winer, *Realw.* ii. 575), who says that *ayil* is the projecting entrance and passage-wall — which might appropriately be divided into compartments by paneling; and this view is adopted by Fürst (*Handw.* s. v.).

2. כַּפְתֹּר, *caphtôr* (Amos ix. 1; Zeph. ii 14). The marginal rendering, "chapiter or knop," of both these passages is undoubtedly the more correct, and in all other cases where the word occurs it is translated "knop." [KNOP.]

3. מַשְׁקוֹף, *mashkôph* (Ex. xii. 22, 23); also rendered "upper door-post" in Ex. xii. 7. That this is the true rendering is admitted by all modern philologists, who connect it with a root which in Arabic and the cognate dialects signifies "to overlay with beams." The LXX. and Vulgate coincide in assigning to it the same meaning. Rabbi Sol. Jarchi derives it from a Chaldee root signifying "to beat," because the door in being shut beats against it. The signification "to look" or "peep," which was acquired by the Hebrew root, induced

[a] מִקְוֵה, 1 Kings [b] מִקְוֶה, 2 Chron.

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Aben Ezra to translate *mashkîph* by "window," such as the Arabs have over the doors of their houses; and in assenting to this rendering, Bochart observes "that it was so called on account of the grates and railings over the tops of the doors, through which those who desire entrance into the house could be seen before they were admitted" (Kalisch, *Exodus*). An illustration of one of these windows is given in the art. HOUSE, vol. ii. p. 1103. W. A. W.

LINUS (Λῖνος [*linen, linen-cloth*]), a Christian at Rome, known to St. Paul and to Timothy (2 Tim. iv. 21). That the first bishop of Rome after the Apostles was named Linus is a statement in which all ancient writers agree (*e. g.* Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* c. 15; August. *Ep.* liii. 2). The early and unequivocal assertion of Irenæus (iii. 3, § 3), corroborated by Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 2) and Theodoret, (*in* 2 Tim. iv. 21), is sufficient to prove the identity of the bishop with St. Paul's friend.

The date of his appointment, the duration of his episcopate, and the limits to which his episcopal authority extended, are points which cannot be regarded as absolutely settled, although they have been discussed at great length. Eusebius and Theodoret, followed by Baronius and Tillemont (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 165 and 591), state that he became bishop of Rome after the death of St. Peter. On the other hand, the words of Irenæus — "[Peter and Paul] when they founded and built up the church [of Rome] committed the office of its episcopate to Linus" — certainly admit, or rather imply the meaning, that he held that office before the death of St. Peter: as if the two great Apostles, having, in the discharge of their own peculiar office, completed the organization of the church at Rome, left it under the government of Linus, and passed on to preach and teach in some new region. This proceeding would be in accordance with the practice of the Apostles in other places. And the earlier appointment of Linus is asserted as a fact by Ruffinus (*Præf. in Clem. Recogn.*), and by the author of ch. xlvi. bk. vii. of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. It is accepted as the true statement of the case by Bishop Pearson (*De Serie et Successione Priorum Romæ Episcoporum*, ii. 5, § 1) and by Fleury (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 26). Some persons have objected that the undistinguished mention of the name of Linus between the names of two other Roman Christians in 2 Tim. iv. 21 is a proof that he was not at that time bishop of Rome. But even Tillemont admits that such a way of introducing the bishop's name is in accordance with the simplicity of that early age. No lofty preëminence was attributed to the episcopal office in the apostolic times.

The arguments by which the exact years of his episcopate are laid down are too long and minute to be recited here. Its duration is given by Eusebius (whose *H. E.* iii. 16 and *Chronicon* give inconsistent evidence) as A. D. 68–80; by Tillemont, who however reproaches Pearson with departing from the chronology of Eusebius, as 66–78; by Baronius as 67–78; and by Pearson as 55–67 Pearson, in the treatise already quoted (i. 10), gives weighty reasons for distrusting the chronology of Eusebius as regards the years of the early bishops of Rome; and he derives his own opinion from certain very ancient (but interpolated) lists of those bishops (see i. 13 and ii. 5). This point has been subsequently considered by Baraterius (*De Successione Antiquissimâ Episc. Rom.* 1740), who gives A. D. 56–67 as the date of the episcopate of Linus.

The statement of Ruffinus, that Linus and Cletus were bishops in Rome whilst St. Peter was alive,[a] has been quoted in support of a theory which sprang up in the 17th century, received the sanction even of Hammond in his controversy with Blondel (*Works*, ed. 1684, iv. 825; *Episcopatûs Jura*, v. 1, § 11), was held with some slight modification by Baraterius, and has been recently revived. It is supposed that Linus was bishop in Rome only of the Christians of Gentile origin, while at the same time another bishop exercised the same authority over the Jewish Christians there. Tertullian's assertion (*De Præscr. Hæret.* § 32) that Clement [the third bishop] of Rome was consecrated by St. Peter, has been quoted also as corroborating this theory. But it does not follow from the words of Tertullian that Clement's consecration took place immediately before he became bishop of Rome: and the statement of Ruffinus, so far as it lends any support to the above-named theory, is shown to be without foundation by Pearson (ii. 3, 4). Tillemont's observations (p. 590) in reply to Pearson only show that the establishment of two contemporary bishops in one city was contemplated in ancient times as a possible provisional arrangement to meet certain temporary difficulties. The actual limitation of the authority of Linus to a section of the church in Rome remains to be proved.

Linus is reckoned by Pseudo-Hippolytus, and in the Greek *Menæa*, among the seventy disciples. Various days are stated by different authorities in the Western Church, and by the Eastern Church, as the day of his death. A narrative of the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul, printed in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, and certain pontifical decrees, are incorrectly ascribed to Linus. He is said to have written an account of the dispute between St. Peter and Simon Magus. W. T. B.

LION. Rabbinical writers discover in the O. T. seven names of the lion, which they assign to the animal at seven periods of its life. 1. גּוּר, *gûr*, or גּוֹר, *gôr*, a cub (Gen. xlix. 9; Deut. xxxiii. 22; Jer. li. 38; Nah. ii. 12). 2. כְּפִיר, *cephîr*, a young lion (Judg. xiv. 5; Job iv. 10; Ez. xix. 2, &c.).

[a] Ruffinus's statement ought, doubtless, to be interpreted in accordance with that of his contemporary Epiphanius (*Adv. Hær.* xxvii. 6, p. 107), to the effect that Linus and Cletus were bishops of Rome in succession, not contemporaneously. The facts were, however, differently viewed: (1) by an interpolater of the *Gesta Pontificum Damasi*, quoted by J. Voss in his second epistle to A. Rivet (App. to Pearson's *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*); (2) by Bede (*Vita S. Benedicti* § 7, p. 168, ed. Stevenson) when he was seeking a precedent for two contemporaneous abbots presiding in one monastery; and (3) by Rabanus Maurus (*de Chorepiscopis:* Opp. ed. Migne, tom. iv. col. 1197), who ingeniously claims primitive authority for the institution of chorepiscopi on the supposition that Linus and Cletus were never bishops with full powers, but were contemporaneous chorepiscopi employed by St. Peter in his absence from Rome, and at his request, to ordain clergymen for the church at Rome.

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3. אַרְיֵה *ârî*, or אֲרִיֵה, *aryêh*, a full-grown lion (Gen. xlix. 9; Judg. xiv. 5, 8, &c.). 4. שַׁחַל, *shachal*, a lion more advanced in age and strength (Job iv. 10; Ps. xci. 13, &c.). 5. שָׁחַץ, *shachats*, a lion in full vigor (Job xxviii. 8). 6. לָבִיא, *lâbi*, or לָבָא, *lebiyyâ*, an old lion (Gen. xlix. 9; Job iv. 11, &c.). 7. לַיִשׁ, *laish*, a lion decrepit with age (Job iv. 11; Is. xxx. 6, &c.). Well might Bochart (*Hieros.* pt. i. b. iii. 1) say, "Hic grammatici videntur mire sibi indulgere." He differs from this arrangement in every point but the second. In the first place, *gûr* is applied to the young of other animals besides the lion; for instance, the sea-monsters in Lam. iv. 3. Secondly, *cephîr* differs from *gûr*, as *juvencus* from *vitulus*. *Arî* or *aryêh* is a generic term, applied to all lions without regard to age. In Judg. xiv. the "young lion" (*cephîr* אַרְיוֹת) of ver. 5 is in ver. 8 called the "lion" (*aryêh*). Bochart is palpably wrong in rendering *shachal* "a black lion" of the kind which, according to Pliny (viii. 17), was found in Syria. The word is only used in the poetical books, and most probably expresses some attribute of the lion. It is connected with an Arabic root, which signifies "to bray" like an ass, and is therefore simply "the brayer." *Shachats* does not denote a lion at all. *Labî* is properly a "lioness," and is connected with the Coptic *labai*, which has the same signification. *Laish* (comp. λῖς, Hom. *Il.* xv. 275) is another poetic name. So far from being applied to a lion weak with age, it denotes one in full vigor (Job iv. 11; Prov. xxx. 30). It has been derived from an Arabic root, which signifies "to be strong," and, if this etymology be true, the word would be an epithet of the lion, "the strong one."

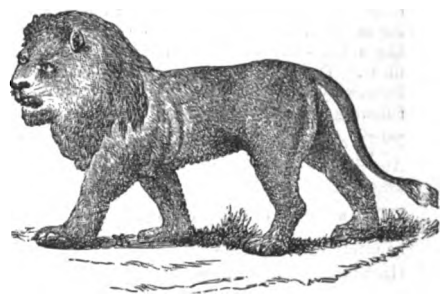
At present lions do not exist in Palestine, though they are said to be found in the desert on the road to Egypt (Schwarz, *Desc. of Pal.*: see Is. xxx. 6). They abound on the banks of the Euphrates between Bussorah and Bagdad (Russell,



Barbary Lion. (From specimen in Zoological Gardens.)

Aleppo, p. 61), and in the marshes and jungles near the rivers of Babylonia (Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* p. 566). This species, according to Layard, is without the dark and shaggy mane of the African lion (*id.* p 487), though he adds in a note that he had seen lions on the river Karoon with a long black mane.

But, though lions have now disappeared from Palestine, they must in ancient times have been numerous. The names Lebaoth (Josh. xv. 32), Beth-Lebaoth (Josh. xix. 6), Arieh (2 K. xv. 25), and Laish (Judg. xviii. 7; 1 Sam. xxv. 44) were probably derived from the presence of or connection with lions, and point to the fact that they were at one time common. They had their lairs in the forests which have vanished with them (Jer. v. 6, xii. 8; Am. iii. 4), in the tangled brushwood (Jer. iv. 7, xxv. 38; Job xxxviii. 40), and in the caves of the mountains (Cant. iv. 8; Ez. xix. 9; Nah. ii. 12). The cane-brake on the banks of the Jordan, the "pride" of the river, was their favorite haunt (Jer. xlix. 19, l. 44; Zech. xi. 3), and in this reedy covert (Lam. iii. 10) they were to be found at a comparatively recent period; as we learn from a passage of Johannes Phocas, who travelled in Palestine towards the end of the 12th century (Reland, *Pal.* i. 274). They abounded in the jungles which skirt the rivers of Mesopotamia (Ammian. Marc. xviii. 7, § 5), and in the time of Xenophon (*de Venat.* xi.) were found in Nysa.

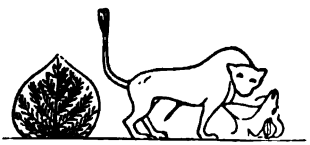


Persian Lion. (From specimen in Zoological Gardens.)

The lion of Palestine was in all probability the Asiatic variety, described by Aristotle (*H. A.* ix. 44) and Pliny (viii. 18) as distinguished by its short curly mane, and by being shorter and rounder in shape, like the sculptured lion found at Arban (Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* p. 278). It was less daring than the longer maned species, but when driven by hunger it not only ventured to attack the flocks in the desert in presence of the shepherd (Is. xxxi. 4; 1 Sam. xvii. 34), but laid waste towns and villages (2 K. xvii. 25, 26; Prov. xxii. 13, xxvi. 13), and devoured men (1 K. xiii. 24, xx. 36; 2 K. xvii. 25, Ez. xix. 3, 6). The shepherds sometimes ventured to encounter the lion single handed (1 Sam. xvii. 34), and the vivid figure employed by Amos (iii. 12), the herdsman of Tekoa, was but the transcript of a scene which he must have often witnessed. At other times they pursued the animal in large bands, raising loud shouts to intimidate him (Is. xxxi. 4), and drive him into the net or pit they had prepared to catch him (Ez. xix. 4, 8). This method of capturing wild beasts is described by Xenophon (*de Ven.* xi. 4) and by Shaw, who says, "The Arabs dig a pit where they are observed to enter; and, covering it over lightly with reeds or small branches of trees, they frequently decoy and catch them" (*Travels*, 2d ed. p. 172). Benaiah, one of David's heroic body-guard, had distinguished him-

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self by slaying a lion in his den (2 Sam. xxiii. 20). The kings of Persia had a menagerie of lions (גֻּב, *gôb*, Dan. vi. 7, &c.). When captured alive they were put in a cage (Ez. xix. 9), but it does not appear that they were tamed. In the hunting scenes at Beni-Hasaan tame lions are represented as used in hunting (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* iii. 17). On the bas-reliefs at Kouyunjik a lion led by a chain is among the presents brought by the conquered to their victors (Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* p. 139).



Hunting with a lion, which has seized an Ibex. (From Wilkinson's *Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 221.)

The strength (Judg. xiv. 18; Prov. xxx. 30; 2 Sam. i. 23), courage (2 Sam. xvii. 10; Prov. xxviii. 1; Is. xxxi. 4; Nah. ii. 11), and ferocity (Gen. xlix. 9; Num. xxiv. 9) of the lion were proverbial. The "lion-faced" warriors of Gad were among David's most valiant troops (1 Chr. xii. 8); and the hero Judas Maccabæus is described as "like a lion, and like a lion's whelp roaring for his prey" (1 Macc. iii. 4). The terrible roar of the lion is expressed in Hebrew by four different words, between which the following distinction appears to be maintained:—

שְׁאַג, *shâag* (Judg. xiv. 5; Ps. xxii. 13, civ. 21; Am. iii. 4), also used of the thunder (Job xxxvii. 4), denotes the roar of the lion while seeking his prey; נָהַם, *nâham* (Is. v. 29), expresses the cry which he utters when he seizes his victim; הָגָה, הֲגִגָה, *hâgâh* (Is. xxxi. 4), the growl with which he defies any attempt to snatch the prey from his teeth; while נָעַר, *nâ'ar* (Jer. li. 38), which in Syriac is applied to the braying of the ass and camel, is descriptive of the cry of the young lions. If this distinction be correct, the meaning attached to *nâham* will give force to Prov. xix. 12. The terms which describe the movements of the animal are equally distinct:—

רָבַץ, *râbats* (Gen. xlix. 9; Ez. xix. 2), is applied to the crouching of the lion, as well as of any wild beast, in his lair; שָׁכַב, שָׁחַח, יָשַׁב, *yâshab* (Job xxxviii. 40), and אָרַב, *ârab* (Ps. x. 9), to his lying in wait in his den, the two former denoting the position of the animal, and the latter the secrecy of the act; רָמַשׂ, *râmas* (Ps. civ. 20), is used of the stealthy creeping of the lion after his prey; and זָנַק, *zinnâk* (Deut. xxxiii. 22) of the leap with which he hurls himself upon it.

The lion was the symbol of strength and sovereignty, as in the human-headed figures of the Nimroud gateway, the symbols of Nergal, the Assyrian Mars, and tutelary god of Babylon. In Egypt it was worshipped at the city of Leontopolis, as typical of Dom, the Egyptian Hercules (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* v. 169). Plutarch (*de Isid.* § 38) says that the Egyptians ornamented their temples with gaping lions' mouths, because the Nile began to rise when the sun was in the constellation Leo. Among the Hebrews, and throughout the O. T., the lion was the achievement of the princely tribe of Judah, while in the closing book of the canon it received a deeper significance as the emblem of him who "prevailed to open the book and loose the seven seals thereof" (Rev. v. 5). On the other hand its fierceness and cruelty rendered it an appropriate metaphor for a fierce and malignant enemy (Ps. vii. 2, xxii. 21, lvii. 4; 2 Tim. iv. 17), and hence for the arch-fiend himself (1 Pet. v. 8).

The figure of the lion was employed as an ornament both in architecture and sculpture. On each of the six steps leading up to the great ivory throne of Solomon stood two lions on either side, carved by the workmen of Hiram, and two others were beside the arms of the throne (1 K. x. 19, 20). The great brazen laver was in like manner adorned with cherubim, lions, and palm-trees in graven work (1 K. vii. 29, 36). W. A. W.

* **LIQUOR or LIQUORS.** This word occurs three times in the A. V. and in every instance answers to a different Hebrew word. (1.) דִּמְעָה, *lit. tear*, collect. singular in Ex. xxii. 29: "Thou shalt not delay *to offer* the first of thy ripe fruits, and of thy liquors." It is a semipoetic expression for that which flows from the press, namely, wine and oil (as correctly given in the LXX.: ἀπαρχὰς ἅλωνος καὶ ληνοῦ σου). (2.) מֶזֶג, properly wine that is mixed or spiced: "A round goblet which wanteth not liquor" (Cant. vii. 2). The marginal rendering (A. V.) is "mixture." It is probably = מֶסֶךְ, Ps. lxxv. 8 (where see Hupfeld, *Die Psalmen*, iii. 325). The Hebrews mixed spices with their wine for the purpose of giving it strength and flavor (see De Wette, *Archæologie*, § 135). (3.) מִשְׁרַת, only Num. vi. 3: "Neither shall he (the Nazarite) drink any liquor of grapes." Some suppose the word to denote "maceration" or "steeping," and hence a species of strong wine obtained from grapes by that particular process. Others make the word = "a crushing," "dissolving," hence applicable, in itself considered, to wine of any sort, but here on account of the other connected specifications in the passage, the juice of grapes recently broken or crushed, *i. e.* new wine. See Knobel, *Die Bücher Numeri*, etc. p. 26. On the terms relating to wine see Rödiger in Ges. *Thesaur.* p. 1410. [WINE.] H.

* **LITTERS**, Is. lxvi. 20. [WAGON, Amer. ed.]

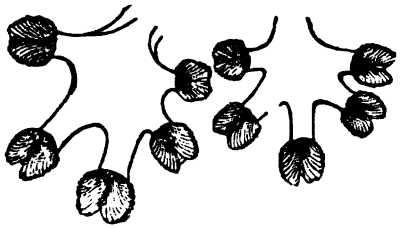
* **LIVELY**, employed for "living" in 1 Pet. ii. 5: "Ye also as *lively* stones (λίθοι ζῶντες) are built up a spiritual house." By the same figure Christ himself is said in the previous verse to be "a *living* stone," *i. e.* in the spiritual edifice of the church or gospel. His place is that of the corner-stone (comp. Eph. ii. 20), and believers are built on him and into him. As the Greek is the same it should be rendered alike in both cases. "Lively" in Ex. i. 19 (for the adj. חָיוּת, said of the Hebrew women) comes nearer to the present usage, namely, "full of life," "vigorous" (comp. Acts vii. 38). H.

LIZ'ARD (לְטָאָה, *letâ'âh*: Vat. and Alex. χαλαβώτης; Compl. [with 18 MSS.] ἀσχαλαβώτης; Ald. καλαβώτης: *stellio*). The Hebrew word, which with its English rendering occurs only

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Lev. xi. 30, appears to be correctly translated by the A. V. Some species of *lizard* is mentioned amongst those "creeping things that creep upon the earth" which were to be considered unclean by the Israelites.

Lizards of various kinds abound in Egypt, Palestine, and Arabia; some of these are mentioned in



Feet of Gecko.

the Bible under various Hebrew names, notices of which will be found under other articles. [FERRET; SNAIL.] All the old versions agree in identifying the *letââh* with some *saurian*, and some concur as to the particular genus indicated. The LXX., the Vulg., the Targ. of Jonathan,[a] with the Arabic versions, understand a lizard by the Hebrew word. The Syriac has a word which is generally translated *salamander*, but probably this name was applied also to the *lizard*. The Greek word, with its slight variations, which the LXX. use to express the *letââh*, appears from what may be gathered from Aristotle,[b] and perhaps also from its derivation,[c] to point to some lizard belonging to the *Geckotidæ*. Many members of this family of *Saura* are characterized by a peculiar lamellated structure on the under surface of the toes, by means of which they are enabled to run over the smoothest surfaces, and even in an inverted position, like



The Fan-Foot. (*Ptyodactylus Gecko.*)

house-flies on a ceiling. Mr. Broderip observes that they can remain suspended beneath the large leaves of the tropical vegetation, and remain for hours in positions as extraordinary as the insects for which they watch; the wonderful apparatus with which their feet are furnished enabling them to overcome gravity. Now the Hebrew *letââh* appears to be derived from a root which, though not extant in that language, is found in its sister-tongue the Arabic: this root means to *adhere to the ground*,[d] an expression which well agrees with the peculiar sucker-like properties of the feet of the geckos. Bochart has successfully argued that the lizard denoted by the Hebrew word is that kind which the Arabs call *vachara*, the translation of which term is thus given by Golius: "An animal like a lizard, of a red color, and adhering to the ground, *cibo potuive venenum inspirat quemcunque contigerit*. This description will be found to agree with the character of the Fan-Foot Lizard (*Ptyodactylus Gecko*), which is common in Egypt and in parts of Arabia, and perhaps is also found in Palestine. It is reddish brown, spotted with white.[e] Hasselquist thus speaks of it: "The poison of this animal is very singular, as it exhales from the *tubuli* of the toes. At Cairo I had an opportunity of observing how acrid the exhalations of the toes of this animal are. As it ran over the hand of a man who was endeavoring to catch it, there immediately rose little red pustules over all those parts which the animal had touched" (*Voyages*, p. 220). Forskâl (*Descr. Anim.* p. 13) says that the Egyptians call this lizard *Abu burs*, "father of leprosy," in allusion to the leprous sores which contact with it produces; and to this day the same term is used by the Arabs to denote a lizard, probably of this same species.[f] The geckos live on insects and worms, which they swallow whole. They derive their name from the peculiar sound which some of the species utter. This sound has been described as being similar to the double click often used in riding; they make it by some movement of the tongue against the palate. The *Geckotidæ* are nocturnal in their habits, and frequent houses, cracks in rocks, etc. They move very rapidly, and without making the slightest sound; hence probably the derivation of the Greek word for this lizard. They are found in all parts of the world: in the greatest abundance in warm climates. It is no doubt owing to their repulsive appearance that they have the character of being highly venomous, just as the unscientific in England attach similar properties to *toads*, *newts*, *blind worms*, etc. etc., although these creatures are perfectly harmless. At the same time it must be admitted that there may be species of lizards which do secrete a venomous fluid, the effects of which are no doubt aggravated by the heat of the climate, the unhealthy condition of the subject, or other causes. The geckos belong to the sub-order *Pachyglossæ*

[a] שְׁמָמִירָא, "stellio, reptile immundum."

[b] The following are the references to the Greek word ἀσκαλαβώτης in Aristot. *de Anim. Hist.* (ed. Schneider): v. 11, § 2; viii. 17, § 1; viii. 19, § 2; viii. 28 § 2; ix. 2, § 5; ix. 10, § 2. That Aristotle understands some species of gecko by the Greek word is clear; for he says of the woodpecker, τορεύεται ἐπὶ τοῖς ξύλοις τοὺς ἀσκαλαβώτας καθάπερ οἱ ἀσκαλαβῶται (ix. 10, § 2). He alludes also to a species in Italy, perhaps the *Hemidactylus verrucatus*, whose bite, he says, is fatal (?).

[c] Ἀσκαλαβώτης, ζωύφιον ὅουβι σαύρᾳ ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις ὑφ' ὧν εἰσπνέεται. This seems to identify it with one of the *Geckotidæ*: perhaps the *Tarentola* was best known to the Greeks. The *noiseless* (ἡσύχως) and, at times, *fixed* habits of this lizard are referred to below (See Gaisf. *Etym. Mag.*)

[d] See Ges. (*Thes* s. v.). A similar root has the force of "hiding;" in which case the word will refer to the gecko's habit of frequenting holes in walls, etc.

[e] The Gr. ἀσκαλαβώτης, and perhaps Lat. *stellio*, indicate the genus, the red color the species.

[f] ابو بريص, *abu buraya*, Lizard (Catafago *Arab. Dict.*).

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order *Saura*. They are oviparous, producing a round egg with a hard calcareous shell. W. H.

LO-AM'MI (לֹא עַמִּי: *οὐ λαός μου*: *non populus meus*), *i. e.* "not my people," the figurative name given by the prophet Hosea to his second son by Gomer, the daughter of Diblaim (Hos. i. 9), to denote the rejection of the kingdom of Israel by Jehovah. Its significance is explained in vv. 9, 10.

LOAN. The law of Moses did not contemplate any raising of loans for the purpose of obtaining capital, a condition perhaps alluded to in the parables of the "pearl" and "hidden treasure" (Matt. xiii. 44, 45; Michaelis, *Comm. on Laws of Moses*, art. 147, ii. 297, ed. Smith). [COMMERCE.] Such persons as bankers and sureties, in the commercial sense (Prov. xxii. 26; Neh. v. 3), were unknown to the earlier ages of the Hebrew commonwealth. The Law strictly forbade any interest to be taken for a loan to any poor person, either in the shape of money or of produce, and at first, as it seems, even in the case of a foreigner; but this prohibition was afterwards limited to Hebrews only, from whom, of whatever rank, not only was no usury on any pretense to be exacted, but relief to the poor by way of loan was enjoined, and excuses for evading this duty were forbidden (Ex. xxii. 25; Lev. xxv. 35, 37; Deut. xv. 3, 7–10, xxiii. 19, 20). The instances of extortionate conduct mentioned with disapprobation in the book of Job probably represent a state of things previous to the Law, and such as the Law was intended to remedy (Job xxii. 6, xxiv. 3, 7). As commerce increased, the practice of usury, and so also of suretiship, grew up; but the exaction of it from a Hebrew appears to have been regarded to a late period as discreditable (Prov. vi. 1, 4, xi. 15, xvii. 18, xx. 16, xxii. 26; Ps. xv. 5; Jer. xv. 10; Ez. xviii. 13, xxii. 12). Systematic breach of the Law in this respect was corrected by Nehemiah after the return from Captivity (see No. 6) (Neh. v. 1, 13; Michaelis, *ib.* arts. 148, 151). In later times the practice of borrowing money appears to have prevailed without limitation of race, and to have been carried on on systematic principles, though the original spirit of the Law was approved by our Lord (Matt. v. 42, xxv. 27; Luke vi. 35, xix. 23). The money-changers (*κερματισταί*, and (*κολλυβισταί*), who had seats and tables in the Temple, were traders whose profits arose chiefly from the exchange of money with those who came to pay their annual half-shekel (Pollux, iii. 84, vii. 170; Schleusner, *Lex. N. T.* s. v.; Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.*; Matt. xxi. 12). The documents relating to loans of money appear to have been deposited in public offices in Jerusalem (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 17, § 6).

In making loans no prohibition is pronounced in the Law against taking a pledge of the borrower, but certain limitations are prescribed in favor of the poor.

1. The outer garment, which formed the poor man's principal covering by night as well as by day, if taken in pledge, was to be returned before sunset. A bedstead, however, might be taken (Ex. xxii. 26, 27; Deut. xxiv. 12, 13; comp. Job xxii. 6; Prov. xxii. 27; Shaw, *Trav.* 224; Burckhardt, *Notes on Bed.* i. 47, 231; Niebuhr, *Desc. de l'Ar.* 56; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 57, 58; Ges. *Thes.* 403; Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, arts. 143 and 150).

2. The prohibition was absolute in the case of (*a*) the widow's garment (Deut. xxiv. 17), and (*b*) a millstone of either kind (Deut. xxiv. 6). Michaelis (art. 150, ii. 321) supposes also all indispensable animals and utensils of agriculture; see also Mishna, *Maaser Sheni*, i.

3. A creditor was forbidden to enter a house to reclaim a pledge, but was to stand outside till the borrower should come forth to return it (Deut. xxiv 10, 11).

4. The original Roman law of debt permitted the debtor to be enslaved by his creditor until the debt was discharged; and he might even be put to death by him, though this extremity does not appear to have been ever practiced (Gell. xx. 1, 45, 52; *Dict. of Antiq.* "Bonorum Cessio," "Nexum"). The Jewish law, as it did not forbid temporary bondage in the case of debtors, so it forbade a Hebrew debtor to be detained as a bondsman longer than the 7th year, or at farthest the year of Jubilee (Ex. xxi. 2; Lev. xxv. 39, 42; Deut. xv. 9). If a Hebrew was sold in this way to a foreign sojourner, he might be redeemed at a valuation at any time previous to the Jubilee year, and in that year was, under any circumstances, to be released. Foreign sojourners, however, were not entitled to release at that time (Lev. xxv. 44, 46, 47, 54; 2 K. iv. 2; Is. l. 1, lii. 3). Land sold on account of debt was redeemable either by the seller himself, or by a kinsman in case of his inability to repurchase. Houses in walled towns, except such as belonged to Levites, if not redeemed within one year after sale, were alienated for ever. Michaelis doubts whether all debt was extinguished by the Jubilee; but Josephus's account is very precise (*Ant.* iii. 12, § 3; Lev. xxv. 23, 34; Ruth, iv. 4, 10; Michaelis, § 158, ii. 360). In later times the sabbatical or Jubilee release was superseded by a law, probably introduced by the Romans, by which the debtor was liable to be detained in prison until the full discharge of his debt (Matt. v. 26). Michaelis thinks this doubtful. The case imagined in the parable of the Unmerciful Servant belongs rather to despotic oriental than Jewish manners (Matt. xviii. 34; Michaelis, *ibid.* art. 149; Trench, *Parables*, p. 141). Subsequent Jewish opinions on loans and usury may be seen in the Mishna, *Baba Metziah*, c. iii. x. [JUBILEE.]

H. W. P.

LOAVES. [BREAD.]

LOCK.[a] Where European locks have not been introduced, the locks of eastern houses are usually of wood, and consist of a partly hollow bolt from 14 inches to 2 feet long for external doors or gates, or from 7 to 9 inches for interior doors. The bolt passes through a groove in a piece attached to the door into a socket in the door-post. In the groove-piece are from 4 to 9 small iron or wooden sliding-pins or wires, which drop into corresponding holes in the bolt, and fix it in its place. The key is a piece of wood furnished with a like number of pins which, when the key is introduced sideways, raise the sliding-pins in the lock, and allow the bolt to be drawn back. Ancient Egyptian doors were fastened with central bolts, and sometimes with bars passing from one door-post to the other. They were also sometimes sealed with clay. [CLAY.] Keys were made of bronze or iron, of a simple construction. The gates of Jerusalem set up under Nehemiah's direction had both bolts and locks. (Judg iii. 23, 25; Cant. v. 5; Neh. iii. 3, &c.; Rauwolff *Trav.* in Ray, ii. 17; Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 22; Volney, *Travels*, ii. 438; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 42; Char

[a] מַנְעוּל, *κλεῖθρον*, *sera*; Ges. *Thes.* p. 882.

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Bin, *Voy.* iv. 123: Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.*, abridgm. i. 15, 16). [KEY, Amer. ed.] H. W. P.

LOCUST,[a] a well-known insect, which commits terrible devastation to vegetation in the countries which it visits. In the Bible there are frequent allusions to locusts; and there are nine or ten Hebrew words which are supposed to denote different varieties or species of this destructive family. They belong to that order of insects known by the term *Orthoptera*.[b] This order is divided into two large groups or divisions, namely, *Cursoria* and *Saltatoria*. The first, as the name imports, includes only those families of *Orthoptera* which have legs formed for *creeping*, and which were considered unclean by the Jewish law. Under the second are comprised those whose two posterior legs, by their peculiar structure, enable them to move on the ground by *leaps*. This group contains, according to Serville's arrangement, three families, the *Gryllides*, *Locustariæ*, and the *Acrydites*, distinguished one from the other by some peculiar modifications of structure. The common house-cricket (*Gryllus domesticus*, Oliv.) may be taken as an illustration of the *Gryllides;* the green grasshopper (*Locusta viridissima*, Fabr.), which the French call *Sauterelle verte*, will represent the family *Locustariæ;* and the *Acridites* may be typified by the common migratory locust (*Œdipoda migratoria*, Aud. Serv.), which is an occasional visitor to this country.



Œdipoda migratoria.

Of the *Gryllides*, *G. cerisyi* has been found in Egypt, and *G. domesticus*, on the authority of Dr. Kitto, in Palestine; but doubtless other species also occur in these countries. Of the *Locustariæ*, *Phaneroptera falcata*, Serv. (*G. falc.* Scopoli) has also, according to Kitto, been found in Palestine, *Bradyporus dasypus* in Asia Minor, Turkey, etc., *Saga Natolica* near Smyrna. Of the locusts proper, or *Acridites*, four species of the genus *Truxalis* are recorded as having been seen in Egypt, Syria, or Arabia: namely, *T. nasuta*, *T. variabilis*, *T. procera*, and *T. minuta*. The following kinds also occur: *Opsomala pisciformis*, in Egypt and the oasis of Harrat; *Pachyloceros hieroglyphicus*, *P. bufonius*, *P. punctiventris*, *P. vulcanus*, in the deserts of Cairo; *Dericorys albidula* in Egypt and Mount Lebanon. Of the genus *Acridium*, *A. mastum*, the most formidable perhaps of all the *Acridites*, *A. lineola* (= *G. Ægypt.* Linn.), which is a species commonly sold for food in the markets of Bagdad (Serv. *Orthop.* 657), *A. semifasciatum*, *A. peregrinum*, one of the most destructive of the species, and *A. morbosum*, occur either in Egypt or Arabia. *Calliptamus serapis* and *Chrotogonus lugubris* are found in Egypt, and in the cultivated lands about Cairo; *Eremobia carinata*, in the rocky places about Sinai. *E. cisti*, *E. pulchripennis*, *Œdipoda*



Acridium lineola.

octofasciata, and *Œ. migratoria* (= *G. migrat.* Linn.), complete the list of the *Saltatorial Orthoptera* of the Bible lands. From the above catalogue it will be seen how perfectly unavailing, for the most part, must be any attempt to identify the Hebrew names with ascertained species, especially when it is remembered that some of these names occur but seldom, others (Lev. xi. 22) only once in the Bible — that the only clew is in many instances the mere etymology of the Hebrew word — that such etymology has of necessity, from the fact of there being but a *single word*, a very wide meaning — and that the etymology is frequently very uncertain. The LXX. and Vulg. do not contribute much help, for the words used there are themselves of a very uncertain signification, and moreover employed in a most promiscuous manner. Still, though the possibility of identifying with certainty any one of the Hebrew names is a hopeless task, yet in one or two instances a fair approximation to identification may be arrived at.

From Lev. xi. 21, 22, we learn the Hebrew names of four different kinds of *Saltatorial Orthoptera*. "These may ye eat of every flying creeping thing that goeth upon all four,[d] which have legs above their feet[e] to leap withal upon the earth; even those of them ye may eat, the *arbeh* after his kind,

[a] From the Latin *locusta*, derived by the old etymologists from *locus* and *ustus*, "quod tactu multa urit, morsu vero omnia erodat."

[b] From ὀρθόν and πτερόν: an order of insects characterised by their anterior wings being semi-coriaceous and overlapping at the tips. The posterior wings are large and membranous, and *longitudinally folded* when at rest.

[c] In the year 1748 locusts (the *Œdipoda migratoria* doubtless) invaded Europe in immense multitudes. Charles XII. and his army, then in Bessarabia, were stopped in their course. It is said that the swarms were four hours passing over Breslau. Nor did England escape, for a swarm fell near Bristol, and ravaged the country in the month of July of the same year. They did great damage in Shropshire and Staffordshire, by eating the blossoms of the apple-trees, and especially the leaves of oaks, which looked as bare as at Christmas. The rooks did a good service in this case at least. See *Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1748, pp. 321 and 414; also *The Times*, Oct. 4, 1845.

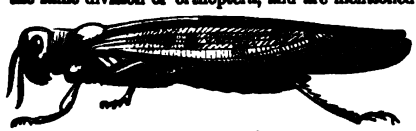
[d] It is well known that all *insects*, properly so called, have *six* feet. But the Jews considered the two anterior pair only as true legs in the locust family, regarding them as additional instruments for leaping.

[e] אֲשֶׁר לוֹ כְרָעַיִם מִמַּעַל לְרַגְלָיו. The rendering of the A. V., "which have legs above their

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and the *sâlâm* after his kind, and the *chargôl* (wrongly translated *beetle* by the A. V., an insect which would be included amongst the flying *creeping* things forbidden as food in vv. 23 and 42) after his kind, and the *châgâb* after his kind." Besides the names mentioned in this passage, there occur five others in the Bible, all of which Bochart (iii. 251, &c.) considers to represent so many distinct species of locusts, namely, *gôb*, *gâzâm*, *châsîl*, *yelek*, and *tselâtsâl*.

(1.) *Arbeh* (אַרְבֶּה: ἀκρίς, βροῦχος, ἀττέλεβος, ἀττέλαβος; in Joel ii. 25, ἐρυσίβη: *locusta*, *bruchus*: "locust," "grasshopper") is the most common name for locust, the word occurring about twenty times in the Hebrew Bible, namely, in Ex. x. 4, 12, 13, 14, 19; Judg. vi. 5, vii. 12; Lev. xi. 22; Deut. xxviii. 38; 1 K. viii. 37; 2 Chr. vi. 28; Job xxxix. 20; Ps. cv. 34, cix. 23, lxxviii. 46; Prov. xxx. 27; Jer. xlvi. 23; Joel i. 4, ii. 25; Nah. iii. 15, 17. The LXX. generally render *arbeh* by ἀκρίς, the general Greek name for *locust:* in two passages, however, namely, Lev. xi. 22, and 1 K. viii. 37, they use βροῦχος as the representative of the original word. In Nah. iii. 17, *arbeh* is rendered by ἀττέλεβος; while the Aldine version, in Joel ii. 25, has ἐρυσίβη, *mildew*. The Vulg. has *locusta* in every instance except in Lev. xi. 22, where it has *bruchus*. The A. V. in the four following passages has *grasshopper*, Judg. vi. 5, vii. 12; Job xxxix. 20; and Jer. xlvi. 23: in all the other places it has *locust*. The word *arbeh*,[a] which is derived from a root signifying "to be numerous," is probably sometimes used in a wide sense to express any of the larger devastating species. It is the locust of the Egyptian plague. In almost every passage where *arbeh* occurs reference is made to its terribly destructive powers. It is one of the flying creeping creatures that were allowed as food by the law of Moses (Lev. xi. 21). In this passage it is clearly the representative of some species of winged *saltatorial orthoptera*, which must have possessed indications of form sufficient to distinguish the insect from the three other names which belong to the same division of orthoptera, and are mentioned



Acridium peregrinum.

in the same context. The opinion of Michaelis (*Suppl.* 667, 910), that the four words mentioned in Lev. xi. 22 denote the same insect in four different ages or stages of its growth, is quite untenable, for, whatever particular species are intended by these words, it is quite clear from ver. 21 that they must all be *winged orthoptera*. From the fact that almost in every instance where the word *arbeh* occurs, reference is made either to the devouring and devastating nature of this insect, or else to its multiplying powers (Judg. vi. 5, vii. 12 wrongly translated "grasshopper" by the A. V. Nah. iii. 15, Jer. xlvi. 23), it is probable that either the *Acridium peregrinum*,[b] or the *Œdipoda migratoria* is the insect denoted by the Hebrew word *arbeh*, for these two species are the most destructive of the family. Of the former species M. Olivier (*Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman*, ii. 494) thus writes: "With the burning south winds (of Syria) there come from the interior of Arabia and from the most southern parts of Persia clouds of locusts (*Acridium peregrinum*), whose ravages to these countries are as grievous and nearly as sudden as those of the heaviest hail in Europe. We witnessed them twice. It is difficult to express the effect produced on us by the sight of the whole atmosphere filled on all sides and to a great height by an innumerable quantity of these insects, whose flight was slow and uniform, and whose noise resembled that of rain: the sky was darkened, and the light of the sun considerably weakened. In a moment the terraces of the houses, the streets, and all the fields were covered by these insects, and in two days they had nearly devoured all the leaves of the plants. Happily they lived but a short time, and seemed to have migrated only to reproduce themselves and die; in fact, nearly all those we saw the next day had paired, and the day following the fields were covered with their dead bodies." This species is found in Arabia, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Persia. Or perhaps *arbeh* may denote the *Œdipoda migratoria*, the *Sauterelle de passage*, concerning which Michaelis inquired of Carsten Niebuhr, and received the following reply: "Sauterelle de passage est la même que les Arabes mangent et la même qu'on a vû en Allemagne" (*Recueil*, quest. 32 in Niebuhr's *Desc. de l'Arabie*). This species appears to be as destructive as the *Acridium peregrinum*.

(2.) *Châgâb* (חָגָב: ἀκρίς: *locusta*: "grasshopper," "locust"), occurs in Lev. xi. 22, Num. xiii. 33, 2 Chr. vii. 13, Eccl. xii. 5, Is. xl. 22; in all of which passages it is rendered ἀκρίς by the LXX., and *locusta* by the Vulg. In 2 Chr. vii. 13 the A. V. reads "locust," in the other passages "grasshopper." From the use of the word in Chron., "If I command the locusts to devour the land," compared with Lev. xi. 22, it would appear that some species of devastating locust is intended. In the passage of Numbers, "There we saw the giants the sons of Anak and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers" (*châgâb*), as well as in Ecclesiastes and Isaiah, reference seems to be made to some small species of locusts; and with

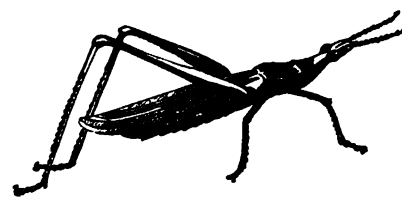
feet," is certainly awkward. כְּרָעַיִם, which occurs only in the dual number, properly denotes "that part of the leg between the knee and ankle" which is bent in bowing down, *i. e.* the *tibiæ*. The passage may be thus translated, "which have their *tibiæ* so placed above their feet [*tarsi*] as to enable them to leap upon the earth." Dr. Harris, adopting the explanation of the author of *Scripture Illustrated*, understands כְּרָעַיִם to mean "joints," and רַגְלַיִם "hind legs;" which rendering Niebuhr (*Quæst.* xxx.) gives. But there is no reason for a departure from the literal and general significations of the Hebrew terms.

[a] אַרְבֶּה, locust, so called from its multitude, רִבּוּי. See Gesen. *Thes.* s. v., who adopts the explanation of Michaelis that the four names in Lev. xi. 22 are not the representatives of four distinct genera or species, but denote the different stages of growth.

[b] The *Gryllus gregarius* of Forskâl (*Descr. Anim.* 18 is perhaps identical with the *Acrid peregr.* Forskâ says, "Arabes ubique vocant *Djerad* (جراد) e Judæi in Yemen habitantes Illum esse אַרְבֶּה as asseverabant."

this view Oedmann (*Verm. Samm.* ii. 90) agrees. Tychsen (*Comment. de Locust.* p. 76) supposes that *chârgôl* denotes the *Gryllus coronatus*, Linn.; but this is the *Acanthodis coron.* of Aud. Serv., a S. American species, and probably confined to that continent. Michaelis (*Supp.* 668), who derives the word from an Arabic root signifying "to veil," [a] conceives that *chârgôl* represents either a locust at the fourth stage of its growth, "ante quartas exuvias quod adhuc velata est," or else at the last stage of its growth, "post quartas exuvias, quod jam volans *solem calumque obvelat.*" To the first theory the passage in Lev. xi. is opposed. The second theory is more reasonable, but *chârgôl* is probably derived not from the Arabic but the Hebrew. From what has been stated above it will appear better to own our complete inability to say what species of locust *chârgôl* denotes, than to hazard conjectures which must be grounded on no solid foundation. In the Talmud [b] *chârgôl* is a collective name for many of the locust tribe, no less than eight hundred kinds of *chargôlim* being supposed by the Talmud to exist! (Lewysohn, *Zoölog. des Talm.* § 384). Some kinds of locusts are beautifully marked, and were sought after by young Jewish children as playthings, just as butterflies and cockchafers are now-a-days. M. Lewysohn says (§ 384), that a regular traffic used to be carried on with the *chargôlim*, which were caught in great numbers, and sold after wine had been sprinkled over them; he adds that the Israelites were only allowed to buy them before the dealer had thus prepared them.[c]

(3.) *Chargôl* (חַרְגֹּל: ἀφιομάχης: *aphiomachus*: "beetle"). The A. V. is clearly in error in translating this word "beetle;" it occurs only in Lev. xi. 22, but it is clear from the context that it denotes some species of winged *saltatorial orthopterous* insect which the Israelites were allowed to use as food. The Greek word used by the LXX. is one of most uncertain meaning, and the story about any kind of locust attacking a serpent is an absurdity which requires no Cuvier to refute it.[d] As to this word see Bochart, *Hieroz.* iii. 264; Rosenm. notes; the Lexicons of Suidas, Hesychius, etc.; Pliny xi. 29; *Adnotat. ad Arist. H. A.* tom. iv. 47, ed. Schneider. Some attempts have been made to identify the *chârgôl*, "mere conjecture!" as Rosenmüller truly remarks. The Rev. J. F. Denham, in *Cyclop. Bib. Lit.* (arts. *Chârgôl* and *Locust*), endeavors to show that the Greek word *aphiomaches* denotes some species of *Truxalis*, perhaps *T. nasutus*. "The word instantly suggests a reference to the *ichneumon*, the celebrated destroyer of serpents if then any species of locust can be adduced whose habits resemble those of the *ichneumon*, may not this resemblance account for the name, *quasi* the ichneumon (locust), just as the whole genus (?) (family) of insects called *Ichneumonida* were so denominated because of the *supposed* analogy between their services and those of the Egyptian ichneumon? and might not this name given to that species (?) of locust at a very early period have afterwards originated the erroneous notion referred to by Aristotle and Pliny?" But is it a fact that the genus *Truxalis* is an exception to the rest of the *Acridites*, and is preëminently *insectivorous*. Serville (*Orthopt.* 579) believes that in their manner of living the *Truxalides* resemble the rest of the *Acridites*, but seems to allow that further investigation is necessary. Fischer (*Orthop. Europ.* p. 292) says that the nutriment of this family is *plants* of various kinds. Mr. F. Smith, in a letter to the writer of this article, says he has no doubt that the *Truxalides* feed on *plants*. What is Mr. Denham's authority for asserting that they are insectivorous? It is granted that there is a *quasi* resemblance in external form between the *Truxalides* and some of the larger *Ichneumonidæ*, but the likeness is far from striking. Four species of the genus *Truxalis* are inhabitants of the Bible lands (see above).



Truxalis nasuta.

The Jews, however, interpret *chârgôl* to mean a species of *grasshopper*, German *Heuschrecke*, which M. Lewysohn identifies with *Locusta viridissima*, adopting the etymology of Bochart and Gesenius, who refer the name to an Arabic origin.[e] The Jewish women used to carry the eggs of the *chargôl* in their ears to preserve them from the ear-ache, (Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald. et Rabbin.* s. v. *chargôl*).

(4.) *Sâlâm* (סָלְעָם: ἀττάκης, Comp. ἀτταλός: *attacus*: "bald locust") occurs only in Lev. xi. 32, as one of the four edible kinds of leaping insects. All that can possibly be known of it is that it is some kind of *saltatorial orthopterous* insect, winged, and good for food. Tychsen, however, arguing from what is said of the *sâlâm* in the Talmud (Tract, *Cholin*), namely, that "this insect has a smooth head,[f] and that the female is without the sword-shaped tail," conjectures that the species here

[a] Cf. حَاجِبٌ (*hadjib*), *qui velum obtendit*, from حَجَبَ, *intercessit, occlusit.*

[b] Fürst derives חָגַב from v. inus. חָגַב *se ingerere, coire*, a radice *geb*, גב, to which root he refers גּוֹב, אַרְבֶּה and גֹּבַי.

[c] The Talmudists have the following law: "He that voweth to abstain from flesh (מן הבשר) is forbidden the flesh of fish and of locusts" (בשר דגים וחגבים). *Hieroz. Nedar.* fol. 40, 2.

[d] See Pliny, *H. N.*, Paris, 1828, ed. Grandsagne, p 45.. note.

[e] חַרְגֹּל, *locusta species alata, a saltando.* Gesenius refers the word to the Arabic حَرْجَلَ (*hardjala*), *coëgit*, comparing the Germ. *Heuschrecke* from *schrecken, saltare.*

[f] Hence perhaps the epithet *bald*, applied to *sâlâm* in the text of the A. V.

intended is *Gryllus eversor* (Asso), a synonym that it is difficult to identify with any recorded species.

(5.) *Gâzâm* (גָּזָם). See PALMER-WORM.

(6.) *Gôb* (גֹּב:[a] ἀκρίς, ἐπιγονὴ ἀκρίδων: Aq. in Am. vii. 1, βαρδῶν: *locusta; locustæ locustarum*) — גֹּבַי גֹּבָי in Nah. iii. 17: "great grasshoppers;" "grasshoppers" margin "green worms," in Amos). This word is found only in Is. xxxiii. 4, and in the two places cited above. There is nothing in any of these passages that will help to point out the species denoted. That some kind of locust is intended seems probable from the passage in Nahum, "thy captains are as the great *gôbai* which camp in the hedges in the cool of the day, but when the sun ariseth they flee away, and their place is not known where they are." Some writers, led by this passage, have believed that the *gôbai* represent the larva state of some of the large locusts; the habit of halting at night, however, and encamping under the hedges, as described by the prophet, in all probability belongs to the *winged* locust as well as to the *larva*, see Ex. x. 13, "the Lord brought an east wind upon the land all that day, and all that night; and when it was *morning*, the east wind brought the locusts." Mr. Barrow (i. pp. 257–58), speaking of some species of S. African locusts, says, that when the larvæ, which are still more voracious than the parent insect, are on the march, it is impossible to make them turn out of the way, which is usually that of the wind. At sunset the troop halts and divides into separate groups, each occupying in bee-like clusters the neighboring eminences for the night. It is quite



Locust flying.

possible that the *gôb* may represent the *larva* or *nympha* state of the insect; nor is the passage from Nahum, "when the sun ariseth they flee away," any objection to this supposition, for the last stages of the *larva* differ but slightly from the *nympha*, both which states may therefore be comprehended under one name; the *gôbai* of Nah. iii. 17 may easily have been the *nympha* (which in all the *Ametabola* continue to feed as in their larva condition), encamping at night under the hedges, and, obtaining their wings as the sun arose, are then represented as flying away.[b] It certainly is improbable that the Jews should have had no name for the locust in its larva or nympha state, for they must have been quite familiar with the sight of such devourers of every green thing, the larvæ being even more destructive than the imago; perhaps some of the other nine names, all of which Bochart considers to be the names of so many species, denote the insect in one or other of these conditions. The A. V. were evidently at a loss, for the translators read "green worms," in Am. vii. 1. Tychsen (p. 93) identifies the *gôb* with the *Gryllus migratorius*, Linn., "qua vero ratione motus," observes Rosenmüller, "non exponit."

(7.) *Chanâmâl* (חֲנָמָל: ἐν ψυχῇ πάχνης; Aq. ἐν κρύει: *in pruinâ*; "frost"). Some writers have supposed that this word, which occurs only in Ps. lxxviii. 46, denotes some kind of locust (see Bochart, *Hieroz.* iii. 255, ed. Rosenm.). Mr. J. F. Denham (in Kitto, s. v. *Locust*) is of a similar opinion; but surely the concurrent testimony of the old versions, which interpret the word *chanâmâl* to signify *hail* or *frost*, ought to forbid the conjecture. We have already more locusts than it is possible to identify; let *chanâmâl*, therefore, be understood to denote *hail* or *frost*, as it is rendered by the A. V., and all the important old versions.

(8.) *Yelek* (יֶלֶק:[c] ἀκρίς, βροῦχος: *bruchus; bruchus aculeatus*, in Jer. li. 27: "canker worm," "caterpillar") occurs in Ps. cv. 34; Nah. iii. 15, 16; Joel i. 4, ii. 25; Jer. li. 14, 27; it is rendered by the A. V. *canker worm* in four of these places, and *caterpillar* in the two remaining. From the epithet of "rough," which is applied to the word in Jeremiah, some have supposed the *yelek* to be the larva of some of the destructive *Lepidoptera*: the epithet *samar*, however (Jer. li. 27), more properly means *having spines*, which agrees with the Vulgate, *aculeatus*. Michaelis (*Suppl.* p. 1060) believes the *yelek* to be the cockchafer (Maykäfer). Oedmann (ii. vi. 126) having in view this *spiny* character, identifies the word with the *Gryllus cristatus*, Linn., a species, however, which is found only in S. America, though Linnæus has erroneously given Arabia as a locality. Tychsen, arguing from the epithet *rough*, believes that the *yelek* is represented by the *G. hæmatopus* Linn. (*Calliptamus hæmat.* Aud. Serv.), a species found in S. Africa.

How purely conjectural are all these attempts at identification! for the term *spined* may refer not to any particular species, but to the very spinous nature of the tibiæ in all the locust tribe, and *yelek*, the *cropping, licking off* insect (Num. xxii. 4), may be a synonym of some of the names already mentioned, or the word may denote the larvæ or pupæ of the locust, which, from Joel i. 4, seems not improbable, "that which the locust (*arbeh*) hath left, hath the cankerworm (*yelek*) eaten," after the winged *arbeh* had departed, the young larvæ of the same appeared and consumed the residue. The passage in Nah. iii. 16, "the *yelek* spreadeth him-

[a] גֹּב, according to Gesenius (*Thes.* s. v.), is from an unused root, גָּבָה, the Arab. جبا, to emerge from the ground. Fürst refers the word to a Hebrew origin. See note, ARBEH.

[b] Since the above was written it has been discovered that Dr. Kitto (*Pict. Bible*, note on Nah. iii. 17) is of a similar opinion, that the *gôb* probably denotes the *nympha*.

[c] יֶלֶק, s. v. inus. יָלַק, *i. q.* לָעַק, *insuit, inde lambendo depavit* (Ges. *Thes.* s. v.).

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self (margin) and fleeth away" is no objection to the opinion that the *yelek* may represent the larva or nympha, for the same reason as was given in a former part of this article (*Gôb*).

(9. *Châdâl* (חָדָל). See CATERPILLAR.

(10.) *Tseldtsâl* (צְלָצַל: ἐρυσίβη: *rubigo*: "locust"). The derivation of this word seems to imply that some kind of locust is indicated by it. It occurs only in this sense in Deut. xxviii. 42, "All thy trees and fruit of thy land shall the locust consume." In the other passages where the Hebrew word occurs, it represents some kind of tinkling musical instrument, and is generally translated *cymbals* by the A. V. The word is evidently onomatopoetic, and is here perhaps a synonym for some one of the other names for locust. Michaelis (*Suppl.* p. 2094) believes the word is identical with *châsîl*, which he says denotes perhaps the mole-cricket, *Gryllus talpiformis*, from the stridulous sound it produces. Tychsen (pp. 79, 80) identifies it with the *Gryllus stridulus*, Linn. (= *Œdipoda stridula*, Aud. Serv.). The notion conveyed by the Hebrew word will however apply to almost any kind of locust, and indeed to many kinds of insects; a similar word *tsalsalza*, was applied by the Ethiopians to a fly which the Arabs called *zimb*, which appears to be identical with the *tsetse* fly of Dr. Livingstone and other African travellers. All that can be positively known respecting the *tseldtsâl* is, that it is some kind of insect injurious to trees and crops. The LXX. and Vulg. understand *blight* or *mildew* by the word.

The most destructive of the locust tribe that occur in the Bible lands are the *Œdipoda migratoria*, and the *Acridium peregrinum*, and as both these species occur in Syria and Arabia, etc., it is most probable that one or other is denoted in those passages which speak of the dreadful devastations committed by these insects; nor is there any occasion to believe with Bochart, Tychsen, and others, that nine or ten distinct species are mentioned in the Bible. Some of the names may be synonyms; others may indicate the larva or nympha conditions of the two preëminent devourers already named.

Locusts occur in great numbers, and sometimes obscure the sun — Ex. x. 15; Jer. xlvi. 23; Judg. vi. 5, vii. 12; Joel ii. 10; Nah. iii. 15; Livy, xlii. 2; Ælian, *N. A.* iii. 12; Pliny, *N. H.* xi. 29; Shaw's *Travels*, p. 187 (fol. 2d ed.); Ludolf, *Hist. Æthiop.* i. 13, and *de Locustis*, i. 4; Volney's *Trav. in Syria*, i. 236.

Their voracity is alluded to in Ex. x. 12, 15; Joel i. 4, 7, 12, and ii. 3; Deut. xxviii. 38; Ps. lxxviii. 46, cv. 34; Is. xxxiii. 4; Shaw's *Trav.* 187, and travellers in the East, *passim*.

They are compared to horses — Joel ii. 4; Rev. ix. 7. The Italians call the locust "Cavaletta;" and Ray says, "Caput oblongum, equi instar prona spectans." Comp. also the Arab's description to Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Arabie*.

They make a fearful noise in their flight — Joel ii. 5; Rev. ix. 9.

Forskâl, *Descr.* 81, "transeuntes grylli super verticem nostrum sono magno cataractæ fervebant." Volney, *Trav.* i. 235.

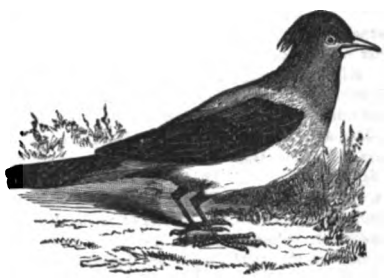
They have no king — Prov. xxx. 27; Kirby and Sp. *Int.* ii. 17.

Their irresistible progress is referred to in Joel ii. 8, 9; Shaw, *Trav.* p. 187.

They enter dwellings, and devour even the woodwork of houses — Ex. x. 6; Joel ii. 9, 10; Pliny, *N. H.* xi. 29.[a]

They do not fly in the night — Nah. iii. 17; Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Arabie*, p. 173.

Birds devour them — Russel, *Nat. Hist. of Aleppo*, 127; Volney, *Trav.* i. 237; Kitto's *Phys. Hist. Pal.* (p. 410).[b]



Smurmur. Rose-colored Starling. (*Pastor roseus.*)

The sea destroys the greater number — Ex. x. 19; Joel ii. 20; Pliny, xi. 35; Hasselq. *Trav.* p. 445 (Engl. transl. 1766); cf. also *Iliad*, xxi. 12.

Their dead bodies taint the air — Joel ii. 20; Hasselq. *Trav.* p. 445.

They are used as food — Lev. xi. 21, 22; Matt. iii. 4; Mark i. 6; Plin. *N. H.* vi. 35, xi. 35; Diod. Sic. iii. 29 (the *Acridophagi*); Aristoph. *Achar.* 1116; Ludolf, *Hist. Æthiop.* p. 67 (Gent's transl.); Jackson's *Marocco*, p. 52; Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Arabie*, p. 150; Sparman's *Trav.* i. 367, who says the Hottentots are glad when the locusts come, for they fatten upon them; Hasselq. *Trav.* pp. 232, 419; Kirby and Spence, *Entom.* i. 305.

There are different ways of preparing locusts for food; sometimes they are ground and pounded, and then mixed with flour and water and made into cakes, or they are salted and then eaten; sometimes smoked; boiled or roasted; stewed, or fried in butter. Dr. Kitto (*Pict. Bib.* note on Lev. xi. 21), who tasted locusts, says they are more like shrimps than anything else; and an English clergyman, some years ago, cooked some of the green grasshoppers, *Locusta viridissima*, boiling them in water half an hour, throwing away the head, wings, and legs, and then sprinkling them with pepper and salt,

[a] "Omnia vero morsu erodentes, et *fores quoque tectorum*."

[b] The locust-bird (see woodcut) referred to by travellers, and which the Arabs call *smurmur*, is no doubt, from Dr. Kitto's description, the "rose-colored starling," *Pastor roseus*. The Rev. H. B. Tristram saw one specimen in the orange groves at Jaffa in the spring of 1858; but makes no allusion to its devouring locusts. Dr. Kitto in one place (p. 410) says the locust-bird is about the size of a starling; in another place (p. 420), he compares it in size to a swallow. The bird is about eight inches and a half in length. Yarrell (*Brit. Birds*, ii. 51, 2d ed.) says, "it is held sacred at Aleppo because it feeds on the locust;" and Col. Sykes bears testimony to the immense flocks in which they fly. He says (*Catalogue of Birds of Dukhan*), "they darken the air by their numbers forty or fifty have been killed at a shot." But he says, "they prove a calamity to the husbandman, as they are as destructive as locusts, and not much less numerous."

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and adding *butter*; he found them excellent. How strange then, nay, "how idle," to quote the words of Kirby and Spence (*Entom.* i. 305), "was the controversy concerning the locusts which formed part of the sustenance of John the Baptist, ... and how apt even learned men are to perplex a plain question from ignorance of the customs of other countries!"[a]

The following are some of the works which treat of locusts: Ludolf, *Dissertatio de Locustis*, Francof. ad Moen. 1694. This author believes that the *quails* which fed the Israelites in the wilderness were locusts (vid. his *Diatriba qua sententia nova de Selavis, sivè Locustis, defenditur*). A more absurd opinion was that held by Norrelius, who maintained that the four names of Lev. xi. 22 were *birds* (see his *Schediasma de Avibus sacris, Arbeh, Chagab, Sulam, et Chargol*, in Bib. Brem. Cl. iii. p. 36). Faber, *de Locustis Biblicis, et sigillatim de Avibus Quadrupedibus, ex Lev.* xi. 20, Wittenb. 1710–11. Asso's *Abhandlung von den Heuschrecken*, Rostock, 1787; and Tychsen's *Comment. de Locustis*. Oedmann's *Vermischte Sammlungen*, ii. c. vii. Kirby and Spence's *Introd. to Entomology*, i. 305, etc. Bochart's *Hierozoicon*, iii. 251, etc. ed. Rosenmüll. Kitto's *Phys. History of Palestine*, pp. 419, 420. Kitto's *Pictorial Bible*, see Index, "Locust." Dr. Harris's *Natural History of the Bible*, art. "Locust," 1833. Kitto's *Cyclopædia*, arts. "Locust," "Chesil," etc. Harmer's *Observations*, London, 1797. The travels of Shaw, Russell, Hasselquist, Volney, etc., etc. For a systematic description of the *Orthoptera*, see Serville's *Monograph* in the *Suites à Buffon*, and Fischer's *Orthoptera Europæa*; and for an excellent summary, see Winer's *Realwörterbuch*, i. 574, art. "Heuschrecken." For the locusts of St. John, Mr. Denham refers to Suicer's *Thesaurus*, i. 169, 179, and Gutherr, *de Victu Johannis*, Franc. 1785; and for the symbolical locusts of Rev. ix., to Newton *On Prophecies*, and Woodhouse *On the Apocalypse*.[b]

W. H.

[a] On the subject of locusts the reader may see also Tristram, *Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, pp. 306–318 (Lond. 1867); the art. *Heuschrecke*, by Valhinger, in Herzog's *Real-Encyk.* vi. 68–71; and Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, iii. 68 f., 316, and iv. 79. This last writer's description of their ravages in Kurdistan and Southern Media at the present day reads almost as if translated from Joel (i. and ii.): "The destructive locust (the *Acridium peregrinum*, probably) comes suddenly . . . in clouds that obscure the air, moving with a slow and steady flight, and with a sound like that of heavy rain, and settling in myriads on the fields, the gardens, the trees, the terraces of the houses, and even the streets, which they sometimes cover completely. Where they fall, vegetation presently disappears, the leaves and even the stems of the plants are devoured; the labors of the husbandman through many a weary month perish in a day; and the curse of famine is brought upon the land which but now enjoyed the prospect of an abundant harvest. It is true that the devourers are themselves devoured to some extent by the poorer sort of people, but the compensation is slight and temporary; in a few days, when all verdure is gone, either the swarms move to fresh pastures, or they perish and cover the fields with their dead bodies, while the desolation which they have created continues" (vol. iii. p. 63 f.). For other sources of information see under JOEL. (Amer. ed.).

[b] For the judgment of locusts referred to in the prophet Joel, see Dr. Pusey's "Introduction" to that book. This writer maintains that the prophet, under the figure of the locust, foretold "a judgment far greater, an enemy far mightier than the locust" (p. 90), namely, the Assyrian invasion of Palestine, because Joel calls the scourge the "northern army," which Dr. Pusey says cannot be said of the locusts, because almost always by a sort of law of their being they make their inroads from their birthplace in the south. This one point, however, may be fairly questioned. The usual direction of the flight of this insect is from east to west, or from south to north; but the *Œdipoda migratoria* is believed to have its birthplace in Tartary (Serv. *Orthop.* p. 733), from whence it visits Africa, the Mauritius, and part of the South of Europe. If this species be considered to be the locust of Joel, the expression, *northern army*, is most applicable to it. [Joel, p. 1417, note a.]

LOD (לֹד [perh. *strife*, *quarrel*: Rom. Λόδ, Λοδαδί, Λοδαδίθ; Vat. Λοδαφεθ, Λοδαδεκ, both by inclusion of the following name; [in 1 Chr., omits;] Alex. [Λοδ, in Neh. vii. Λοδαδίθ,] in Ezra, Λωδδεν Λοδαδίθ; [in Neh. xi. 35, Rom. Vat. Alex. FA.[1] omit, FA.[2] Λωδδε:] *Lod*), a town of Benjamin, stated to have been founded by Shamed or Shamer (1 Chr. viii. 12). It is always mentioned in connection with ONO, and, with the exception of the passage just quoted, in the post-captivity records only. It would appear that after the boundaries of Benjamin, as given in the book of Joshua, were settled, that enterprising tribe extended itself further westward, into the rich plain of Sharon, between the central hills and the sea, and occupied or founded the towns of Lod, Ono, Hadid, and others named only in the later lists. The people belonging to the three places just mentioned returned from Babylon to the number of 725 (Ezr. ii. 33; Neh. vii. 37), and again took possession of their former habitations (Neh. xi. 35).

Lod has retained its name almost unaltered to the present day; it is now called *Lidd*; but is most familiar to us from its occurrence in its Greek garb, as LYDDA, in the Acts of the Apostles. G.

LO-DEBAR (לֹא דְבָר; but in xvii. 27 לֹא דְ: ἡ Λοδαβάρ [?], Λωδαβάρ: *Lodabar*), a place named with Mahanaim, Rogelim, and other trans-Jordanic towns (2 Sam. xvii. 27), and therefore no doubt on the eastern side of the Jordan. It was the native place of Machir ben-Ammiel, in whose house Mephibosheth found a home after the death of his father and the ruin of his grandfather's house (ix. 4, 5). Lo-debar receives a bare mention in the *Onomasticon*, nor has any trace of the name been encountered by any later traveller. Indeed it has probably never been sought for. Reland (*Pal.* 734) conjectures that it is intended in Josh. xiii. 26, where the word rendered in the A. V. "of Debir" (לִדְבִר), is the same in its consonants as

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Lo-debar, though with different vowel-points. In favor of this conjecture, which is adopted by J. D. Michaelis (*Bib. für Ungel.*), is the fact that such a use of the preposition לְ is exceedingly rare (see Keil, *Josua* ad loc.).

If taken as a Hebrew word, the root of the name is possibly "pasture," the driving out of flocks (Ges. *Thes.* p. 735 *b*; Stanley, *S. & P.* App. § 9); but this must be very uncertain. G.

* LODGE. [CUCUMBERS, vol. i. p. 518.]

LODGE, TO. This word in the A. V.—with one exception only, to be noticed below—is used to translate the Hebrew verb לוּן or לִין, which has, at least in the narrative portions of the Bible, almost invariably the force of "passing the night." This is worthy of remark, because the word lodge—probably only another form of the Saxon *liggan*, "to lie"—does not appear to have had exclusively that force in other English literature at the time the Authorized Version was made. A few examples of its occurrence, where the meaning of passing the night would not at first sight suggest itself to an English reader, may be of service: 1 K. xix. 9; 1 Chr. ix. 27; Is. x. 29 (where it marks the halt of the Assyrian army for bivouac); Neh. iv. 22, xiii. 20, 21; Cant. vii. 11; Job xxiv. 7, xxxi. 32, &c., &c. The same Hebrew word is otherwise translated in the A. V. by "lie all night" (2 Sam. xii. 16; Cant. i. 13; Job xxix. 19); "tarry the night" (Gen. xix. 2; Judg. xix. 10; Jer. xiv. 8); "remain," *i. e.* until the morning (Ex. xxiii. 18).

The force of passing the night is also present in the words מָלוֹן, "a sleeping-place," hence an INN [vol. ii. p. 1138], and מְלוּנָה, "a hut," erected in vineyards or fruit-gardens for the shelter of a man who watched all night to protect the fruit. This is rendered "lodge" in Is. i. 8, and "cottage" in xxiv. 20, the only two passages[a] in which it is found. [COTTAGE, Amer. ed.]

2. The one exception above named occurs in Josh. ii. 1, where the word in the original is שָׁכַב, a word elsewhere rendered "to lie," generally in allusion to sexual intercourse. G.

LOFT. [HOUSE, vol. ii. p. 1105.]

LOG. [WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.]

* LOG OF OIL. [OIL, 6, iii.]

* LOGOS. [WORD, Amer. ed.]

LOIS (Λωΐς), the grandmother (μάμμη) of TIMOTHY, and doubtless the mother of his mother EUNICE (2 Tim. i. 5). From the Greek form of these three names we should naturally infer that the family had been Hellenistic for three generations at least. It seems likely also that Lois had resided long at Lystra; and almost certain that from her, as well as from Eunice, Timothy obtained his intimate knowledge of the Jewish Scriptures (2 Tim. iii. 15). Whether she was surviving at either of St. Paul's visits to Lystra, we cannot say; she is not alluded to in the Acts: nor is it absolutely certain, though St. Paul speaks of her "faith," that she became a Christian. The phrase might be used of a pious Jewess, who was ready to believe in the Messiah. Calvin has a good note on this subject. J. S. H.

* LOOKED (προσδόκων), Acts xxviii. 6, where we should say at present "expected" or "looked for." This sense, if not obsolete, is now obsolescent. Earlier versions (Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva) have "wayted" in that passage. See also Eccius. xx. 14. H.

LOOKING-GLASSES. [MIRRORS.]

LORD, as applied to the Deity, is the almost uniform rendering in the A. V. of the O. T. of the Heb. יְהוָה, *Jehovah*, which would be more properly represented as a proper name. The reverence which the Jews entertained for the sacred name of God forbade them to pronounce it, and in reading they substituted for it either *Adônâi*, "Lord," or *Elôhîm*, "God," according to the vowel-points by which it was accompanied [JEHOVAH, vol. ii. p. 1238.] This custom is observed in the version of the LXX., where Jehovah is most commonly translated by κύριος, as in the N. T. (Heb. i. 10, &c.), and in the Vulgate, where *Dominus* is the usual equivalent. The title *Adônâi* is also rendered "Lord" in the A. V., though this, as applied to God, is of infrequent occurrence in the historical books. For instance, it is found in Genesis only in xv. 2, 8, xviii. 3 (where "my Lord" should be "O Lord"), 27, 30, 31, 32, xx. 4; once in Num. xiv. 17; twice in Deut. iii. 24, ix. 26; twice in Josh. vii. 7, 8; four times in Judges; and so on. In other passages of these books "Lord" is the translation of "Jehovah;" except Ex. xxiii. 17, xxxiv. 23; Deut. x. 17; Josh. iii. 11, 13, where *Adôn* is so rendered. But in the poetical and historical books it is more frequent, excepting Job, where it occurs only in xxviii. 28, and the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs, where it is not once found.

The difference between *Jehovah* and *Adonai* (or *Adon*) is generally marked in the A. V. by printing the word in small capitals (LORD) when it represents the former (Gen. xv. 4, &c.), and with an initial capital only when it is the translation of the latter (Ps. xcvii. 5, Is. i. 24, x. 16); except in Ex. xxiii. 17, xxxiv. 23, where "the LORD God" should be more consistently "the Lord Jehovah." A similar distinction prevails between יְהוִה (the letters of *Jehovah* with the vowel-points of *Elohim*) and אֱלֹהִים, *elôhîm*; the former being represented in the A. V. by "GOD" in small capitals (Gen. xv. 2, &c.), while *Elohim* is "God" with an initial capital only. And, generally, when the name of the Deity is printed in capitals, it indicates that the corresponding Hebrew is יהוה, which is translated LORD or GOD according to the vowel-points by which it is accompanied.

In some instances it is difficult, on account of the pause accent, to say whether *Adonai* is the title of the Deity, or merely one of respect addressed to men. These have been noticed by the Masorites, who distinguish the former in their notes as "holy," and the latter as "profane." (See Gen. xviii. 3, xix. 2, 18; and compare the Masoretic notes on Gen. xx. 13, Is. xix. 4.) W. A. W.

[a] What can have led the LXX. to translate the word עִיִּים "heaps," in Ps. lxxix. 1, by ὀπωροφυλάκιον, which they employ for מְלוּנוֹת in the above two passages, the writer is unable to conjecture.

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LORD'S DAY, THE (Ἡ *κυριακὴ ἡμέρα*; *ἡ μία σαββάτων*). It has been questioned, though not seriously until of late years, what is the meaning of the phrase ἡ Κυριακὴ Ἡμέρα, which occurs in one passage only of the Holy Scripture, Rev. i. 10, and is, in our English version, translated "the Lord's Day." The general consent both of Christian antiquity and of modern divines has referred it to the weekly festival of our Lord's resurrection, and identified it with "the first day of the week," on which He rose, with the patristical "eighth day," or "day which is both the first and the eighth," in fact, with the ἡ τοῦ Ἡλίου Ἡμέρα," "Solis Dies," or "Sunday," of every age of the Church.

But the views antagonistic to this general consent deserve at least a passing notice. (1.) Some have supposed St. John to be speaking, in the passage above referred to, of the Sabbath, because that institution is called in Isaiah lviii. 13, by the Almighty Himself, "My holy day."[a] To this it is replied — If St. John had intended to specify the Sabbath, he would surely have used that word which was by no means obsolete, or even obsolescent, at the time of his composing the book of the Revelation. And it is added, that if an Apostle had set the example of confounding the seventh and the first days of the week, it would have been strange indeed that every ecclesiastical writer for the first five centuries should have avoided any approach to such confusion. They *do* avoid it — for as Σάββατον is never used by them for the first day, so Κυριακή is never used by them for the seventh day. (2.) Another theory is, that by "the Lord's day" St. John intended "the day of judgment," to which a large portion of the book of Revelation may be conceived to refer. Thus "I was in the spirit on the Lord's day" (*ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι ἐν τῇ* Κυριακῇ Ἡμέρᾳ) would imply that he was rapt, in spiritual vision, to the *date* of that "great and terrible day," just as St. Paul represents himself as caught up *locally* into Paradise. Now, not to dispute the interpretation of the passage from which the illustration is drawn (2 Cor. xii. 4), the abettors of this view seem to have put out of sight the following considerations. In the preceding sentence, St. John had mentioned the place in which he was writing, Patmos, and the causes which had brought him thither. It is but natural that he should further particularize the circumstances under which his mysterious work was composed, by stating the exact day on which the Revelations were communicated to him, and the employment, spiritual musing, in which he was then engaged. To suppose a mixture of the metaphorical and the literal would be strangely out of keeping. And though it be conceded that the day of judgment is in the New Testament spoken of as Ἡ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἡμέρα, the employment of the adjectival form constitutes a remarkable difference, which was observed and maintained ever afterwards.[b] There is also a critical objection to this interpretation.[c] This second theory then, which is sanctioned by the name of Augusti, must be abandoned. (3.) A third opinion is, that St. John intended by the "Lord's Day" that on which the Lord's resurrection was *annually* celebrated, or, as we now term it, Easter-day. On this it need only be observed, that, though it was never questioned that the *weekly* celebration of that event should take place on the first day of the hebdomadal cycle, it was for a long time doubted on what day in the *annual* cycle it should be celebrated. Two schools at least existed on this point until considerably after the death of St. John. It therefore seems unlikely that, in a book intended for the whole Church, he would have employed a method of dating which was far from generally agreed upon. And it is to be added that no patristical authority can be quoted, either for the interpretation contended for in this opinion, or for the employment of ἡ Κυριακὴ Ἡμέρα to denote Easter-day.

All other conjectures upon this point may be permitted to confute themselves; but the following cavil is too curious to be omitted. In Scripture the first day of the week is called ἡ *μία σαββάτων*, in post-Scriptural writers it is called ἡ Κυριακὴ Ἡμέρα as well; *therefore*, the book of Revelation is not to be ascribed to an Apostle; or in other words, is not part of Scripture. The logic of this argument is only to be surpassed by its boldness. It says, in effect, because post-Scriptural writers have these two designations for the first day of the week; *therefore*, Scriptural writers must be confined to one of them. It were surely more reasonable to suppose that the adoption by post-Scriptural writers of a phrase so preëminently Christian as ἡ Κυριακὴ Ἡμέρα to denote the first day of the week, and a day so especially marked, can be traceable to nothing else than an Apostle's use of that phrase in the same meaning.

Supposing then that ἡ Κυριακὴ Ἡμέρα of St. John is the Lord's Day, — What do we gather from Holy Scripture concerning that institution? How is it spoken of by early writers up to the time of Constantine? What change, if any, was brought upon it by the celebrated edict of that emperor, whom some have declared to have been its originator?

1. Scripture says very little concerning it. But that little seems to indicate that the divinely inspired Apostles, by their practice and by their precepts, marked the first day of the week as a day for meeting together to break bread, for communicating and receiving instruction, for laying up offerings in store for charitable purposes, for occupation in holy thought and prayer. The first day of the week so devoted seems also to have been the day of the Lord's Resurrection, and therefore, to have been especially likely to be chosen for such purposes by those who "preached Jesus and the Resurrection."

The Lord rose on the first day of the week (*τῇ μιᾷ σαββάτων*), and appeared, on the very day of

[a] יוֹם קָדְשִׁי.

[b] Ἡ Ἡμέρα τοῦ Κυρίου occurs in 1 Cor. i. 8, and 2 Thess. ii. 2, with the words ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ attached; in 1 Cor. v. 5, and 2 Cor. i. 14, with the word Ἰησοῦ only attached; and in 1 Thess. v. 2, and 2 Pet. iii. 10, with the article τοῦ omitted. In one place, where both the day of judgment, and, as a foreshadowing of it, the day of vengeance upon Jerusalem, seem to be alluded to, the Lord himself says, οὗτοι ἐντε-

καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῦ, Luke xvii 24.

[c] Ἐγενόμην would necessarily have to be constructed with ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, "I was in the day of judgment," cf. a "I was passing the day of judgment spiritually." Nor γίνεσθαι ἐν ἡμέρᾳ is never used for *diem agere*. But on the other hand, the construction of ἐγενόμην with ἐν πνεύματι is justified by a parallel passage in Rev iv 2, καὶ εὐθέως ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι.

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his rising, to his followers on five distinct occasions — to Mary Magdalene, to the other women, to the two disciples on the road to Emmaus, to St. Peter separately, to ten Apostles collected together. After eight days (*μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀκτώ*), that is, according to the ordinary reckoning, on the first day of the next week, He appeared to the eleven. He does not seem to have appeared in the interval — it may be to render that day especially noticeable by the Apostles, or, it may be for other reasons. But, however this question be settled, on the day of Pentecost, which in that year fell on the first day of the week (see Bramhall, *Disc. of the Sabbath and Lord's Day*, in *Works*, vol. v. p. 51, Oxford edition), "they were all with one accord in one place," had spiritual gifts conferred on them, and in their turn began to communicate those gifts, as accompaniments of instruction, to others. At Troas (Acts xx. 7), many years after the occurrence at Pentecost, when Christianity had begun to assume something like a settled form, St. Luke records the following circumstances. St. Paul and his companions arrived there, and "abode seven days, and upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them." In 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2, that same St. Paul writes thus: "Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the churches in Galatia, even so do ye. Upon the first day of the week, let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come." In Heb. x. 25, the correspondents of the writer are desired "not to forsake the assembling of themselves together, as the manner of some is, but to exhort one another," an injunction which seems to imply that a regular day for such assembling existed, and was well known; for otherwise no rebuke would lie. And lastly, in the passage given above, St. John describes himself as being in the Spirit "on the Lord's day."

Taken separately, perhaps, and even all together, these passages seem scarcely adequate to prove that the dedication of the first day of the week to the purposes above mentioned was a matter of apostolic institution, or even of apostolic practice. But, it may be observed, that it is at any rate an extraordinary coincidence, that almost immediately we emerge from Scripture, we find the same day mentioned in a similar manner, and directly associated with the Lord's Resurrection; that it is an extraordinary fact that we never find its dedication questioned or argued about, but accepted as something equally apostolic with Confirmation, with *infant* Baptism, with Ordination, or at least spoken of in the same way. And as to direct support from Holy Scripture, it is noticeable that those other ordinances which are usually considered Scriptural, and in support of which Scripture is usually cited, are dependent, so far as mere quotation is concerned, upon fewer texts than the Lord's Day is. Stating the case at the very lowest, the Lord's Day has at least "probable insinuations in Scripture," [a] and so is superior to any other holy day, whether of hebdomadal celebration, as Friday in memory of the Crucifixion, or of annual celebration, as Easter-day in memory of the Resurrection itself. These other days may be, and are, defensible on other grounds; but they do not possess anything like a Scriptural authority for their observance. And if we are inclined still to press for more pertinent Scriptural proof, and more frequent mention of the institution, for such we suppose it to be, in the writings of the Apostles, we must recollect how little is said of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and how vast a difference is naturally to be expected to exist between a sketch of the manners and habits of their age, which the authors of the Holy Scriptures did *not* write, and hints as to life and conduct, and regulation of known practices, which they *did* write.

2. On quitting the canonical writings, we turn naturally to Clement of Rome. He does not, however, directly mention "the Lord's Day," but in 1 Cor. i. 40, he says, *πάντα τάξει ποιεῖν ὀφείλομεν*, and he speaks of *ὡρισμένοι καιροὶ καὶ ὧραι*, at which the Christian *προσφοραὶ καὶ λειτουργίαι* should be made.

Ignatius, the disciple of St. John (*ad Magn.* c. 9), contrasts Judaism and Christianity, and as an exemplification of the contrast, opposes *σαββατίζειν* to living according to the Lord's life (*κατὰ τὴν Κυριακὴν ζωὴν ζῶντες*).

The epistle ascribed to St. Barnabas, which, though certainly not written by that Apostle, was in existence in the earlier part of the 2d century, has (c. 15) the following words, "We celebrate the eighth day with joy, on which too Jesus rose from the dead." [b]

A pagan document now comes into view. It is the well-known letter of Pliny to Trajan, written while he presided over Pontus and Bithynia. "The Christians (says he), affirm the whole of their guilt or error to be, that they were accustomed to meet together on a stated day (*stato die*), before it was light, and to sing hymns to Christ as a God, and to bind themselves by a *Sacramentum*, not for any wicked purpose, but never to commit fraud, theft, or adultery; never to break their word, or to refuse, when called upon, to deliver up any trust; after which it was their custom to separate, and to assemble again to take a meal, but a general one, and without guilty purpose."

A thoroughly Christian authority, Justin Martyr, who flourished A. D. 140, stands next on the list. He writes thus: "On the day called Sunday (*τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ*), is an assembly of all who live either in the cities or in the rural districts, and the memoirs of the Apostles and the writings of the prophets are read." Then he goes on to describe the particulars of the religious acts which are entered upon at this assembly. They consist of prayer, of the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, and of collection of alms. He afterwards assigns the reasons which Christians had for meeting on Sunday. These are, "because it is the *First Day*, on which God dispelled the darkness (*τὸ σκότος*) and the original state of things (*τὴν ὕλην*), and formed the world, and because Jesus Christ our Saviour rose from the dead upon it" (*Apol.* I. c. 67.). In another work (*Dial. c. Tryph.*), he makes circumcision furnish a type of Sunday. "The command to circumcise infants on the eighth day was a type of the true circumcision by which we are circumcised from error and wickedness through our Lord Jesus Christ, who rose from the dead on the first day of the week (*τῇ μιᾷ σαββάτων*); therefore it remains the chief and first of days." As for *σαββατίζειν*, he uses that with exclusive

[a] This phrase is employed by Bishop Sanderson.

[b] "Ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὀγδόην εἰς εὐφροσύνην, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν.

reference to the Jewish law. He carefully distinguishes Saturday (ἡ κρονικὴ), the day after which our Lord was crucified, from Sunday (ἡ μετὰ τὴν κρονικὴν ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ Ἡλίου ἡμέρα), upon which He rose from the dead. (If any surprise is felt at Justin's employment of the heathen designations for the seventh and first days of the week, it may be accounted for thus. Before the death of Hadrian, A. D. 138, the hebdomadal division (which Dion Cassius, writing in the 3d century, derives, together with its nomenclature, from Egypt) had in matters of common life almost universally superseded in Greece, and even in Italy, the national divisions of the lunar month. Justin Martyr, writing to and for heathen, as well as to and for Jews, employs it, therefore, with a certainty of being understood.)

The strange heretic, Bardesanes, who however delighted to consider himself a sort of Christian, has the following words in his book on "Fate," or on "the Laws of the Countries," which he addressed to the Emperor M. Aurelius Antoninus: "What then shall we say respecting the new race of ourselves who are Christians, whom in every country and in every region the Messiah established at his coming; for, lo! wherever we be, all of us are called by the one name of the Messiah, Christians; and upon one day, which is the first of the week, we assemble ourselves together, and on the appointed days we abstain from food" (Cureton's *Translation*).

Two very short notices stand next on our list, but they are important from their casual and unstudied character. Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, A. D. 170, in a letter to the Church of Rome, a fragment of which is preserved by Eusebius, says, τὴν σήμερον οὖν κυριακὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν διηγάγομεν, ἐν ᾗ ἀνέγνωμεν ὑμῶν τὴν ἐπιστολήν. And Melito, bishop of Sardis, his contemporary, is stated to have composed, among other works, a treatise on the Lord's Day (ὁ περὶ τῆς Κυριακῆς λόγος).

The next writer who may be quoted is Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, A. D. 178. He asserts that the Sabbath is abolished; but his evidence to the existence of the Lord's Day is clear and distinct. It is spoken of in one of the best known of his Fragments (see Beaven's *Irenæus*, p. 202). But a record in Euseb. (v. 23, 2), of the part which he took in the Quartodeciman controversy, shows that in his time it was an institution beyond dispute. The point in question was this: Should Easter be celebrated in connection with the Jewish Passover, on whatever day of the week that might happen to fall, with the Churches of Asia Minor, Syria, and Mesopotamia; or on the Lord's Day, with the rest of the Christian world? The Churches of Gaul, then under the superintendence of Irenæus, agreed upon a synodical epistle to Victor, bishop of Rome, in which occurred words somewhat to this effect, "The mystery of the Lord's Resurrection may not be celebrated on any other day than the Lord's Day, and on this alone should we observe the breaking off of the Paschal Fast." [a] This confirms what was said above, that while, even towards the end of the 2d century, tradition varied as to the *yearly* celebration of Christ's Resurrection, the *weekly* celebration of it was one upon which no diversity existed or was even hinted at.

Clement of Alexandria, A. D. 194, comes next. One does not expect anything very definite from a writer of so mystical a tendency, but he has some things quite to our purpose. In his *Strom.* (iv. § 3), he speaks of τὴν ἀρχίγονον ἡμέραν, τὴν τῷ ὄντι ἀνάπαυσιν ἡμῶν, τὴν δὴ καὶ πρώτην τῷ ὄντι φαυτὸν γένεσιν, κ.τ.λ., words which Bishop Kaye interprets as contrasting the seventh day of the Law with the eighth day of the Gospel. And, as the same learned prelate observes, "When Clement says that the Gnostic, or transcendental Christian, does *not* pray in any fixed place, or on any stated days, but throughout his whole life, he gives us to understand that Christians in general did meet together in fixed places and at appointed times for the purposes of prayer." But we are not left to mere inference on this important point, for Clement speaks of the Lord's Day as a well-known and customary festival, and in one place gives a mystical interpretation of the name. [b]

Tertullian, whose date is assignable to the close of the 2d century, may, in spite of his conversion to Montanism, be quoted as a witness to facts. He terms the first day of the week sometimes Sunday (Dies Solis), sometimes Dies Dominicus. He speaks of it as a day of joy ("Diem Solis lætitiæ indulgemus," *Apol.* c. 16), and asserts that it is wrong to fast upon it, or to pray kneeling during its continuance ("Die Dominico jejunium nefas ducimus, vel de genuculis adorare," *De Cor.* c. 3). "Even business is to be put off, lest we give place to the devil" ("Differentes etiam negotia, ne quem Diabolo locum demus," *De Orat.* c. 13).

Origen contends that the Lord's Day had its superiority to the Sabbath indicated by manna having been given on it to the Israelites, while it was withheld on the Sabbath. It is one of the marks of the perfect Christian to keep the Lord's Day.

Minucius Felix, A. D. 210, makes the heathen interlocutor, in his dialogue called Octavius, assert that the Christians come together to a repast "on a solemn day" (solenni die).

Cyprian and his colleagues, in a synodical letter, A. D. 253, make the Jewish circumcision on the eighth day prefigure the newness of life of the Christian, to which Christ's resurrection introduces him, and point to the Lord's Day, which is at once the eighth and the first.

Commodian, circ. A. D. 270, mentions the Lord's Day.

Victorinus, A. D. 290, contrasts it, in a very remarkable passage, with the Parasceve and the Sabbath;

And Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, A. D. 300, says of it, "We keep the Lord's Day as a day of joy, because of Him who rose thereon." [c]

The results of our examination of the principal writers of the two centuries after the death of St. John are as follows: The Lord's Day (a name which has now come out more prominently, and is connected more explicitly with our Lord's resurrection than before) existed during these two cen-

[a] Ἦν δὲ μετ' ἐν ἄλλῃ τινὶ τῆς Κυριακῆς ἡμέρᾳ τὰ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως ἐνιστάμενα τοῦ Κυρίου μυστήρια, καὶ ὅτων ἐν τούτῃ μόνῃ τῶν κατὰ τὸ σάββατα νηστεύειν ἡμᾶς παρατηρεῖσθαι τὰς ἀπολύσεις.

[b] Οὗτος ἐντολὴν τὴν κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον διατηρεῖσαι, Κυριακὴν τὴν ἡμέραν τοιεῖ, ὅτ' ἂν ἀναβλύσῃ φαῦλον νόημα καὶ γνωστικὸν προσλάβῃ, τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀνάστασιν δοξάζων (*Strom.* v.).

[c] Τὴν γὰρ κυριακὴν χαρμοσύνης ἡμέραν ἄγομεν, διὰ τὸν ἀναστάντα ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐν ᾗ οὐδὲ γάνεται ἀλίοιο παρὰ λέβησιν.

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theries as a part and parcel of apostolical, and so of Scriptural Christianity. It was never defended, for it was never impugned, or at least only impugned as other things received from the Apostles were. It was never confounded with the Sabbath, but carefully distinguished from it (though we have not quoted nearly all the passages by which this point might be proved). It was not an institution of severe Sabbatical character, but a day of joy (χαρμοσύνη) and cheerfulness (εὐφροσύνη), rather encouraging than forbidding relaxation. Religiously regarded, it was a day of solemn meeting for the Holy Eucharist, for united prayer, for instruction, for almsgiving; and though, being an institution under the law of liberty, work does not appear to have been formally interdicted, or rest formally enjoined, Tertullian seems to indicate that the character of the day was opposed to worldly business. Finally, whatever analogy may be supposed to exist between the Lord's Day and the Sabbath, in no passage that has come down to us is the Fourth Commandment appealed to as the ground of the obligation to observe the Lord's Day. Ecclesiastical writers reiterate again and again, in the strictest sense of the words, "Let no man therefore judge you in respect of an holiday, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days" (Μὴ τις ὑμᾶς κρινέτω ἐν μέρει ἑορτῆς, ἢ νουμηνίας, ἢ σαββάτων, Col. ii. 16). Nor, again, is it referred to any Sabbatical foundation anterior to the promulgation of the Mosaic economy. On the contrary, those before the Mosaic era are constantly assumed to have had neither knowledge nor observance of the Sabbath. And as little is it anywhere asserted that the Lord's Day is merely an ecclesiastical institution, dependent on the post-apostolic Church for its origin, and by consequence capable of being done away, should a time ever arrive when it appears to be no longer needed.

Our design does not necessarily lead us to do more than state facts; but if the facts be allowed to speak for themselves, they indicate that the Lord's Day is a purely Christian institution, sanctioned by apostolic practice, mentioned in apostolic writings, and so possessed of whatever divine authority all apostolic ordinances and doctrines (which were not obviously temporary, or were not abrogated by the Apostles themselves) can be supposed to possess.

3. But on whatever grounds "the Lord's Day" may be supposed to rest, it is a great and indisputable fact that four years before the Œcumenical Council of Nicæa, it was recognised by Constantine in his celebrated edict, as "the venerable Day of the Sun." The terms of the document are these:—

"*Imperator Constantinus Aug. Helpidio.*

"Omnes judices urbanæque plebes et cunctarum artium officia venerabili Die Solis quiescant. Ruri tamen positi agrorum culturæ liberè licenterque inserviant, quoniam frequenter evenit ut non aptius alio die frumenta sulcis aut vineæ scrobibus mandentur, ne occasione momenti pereat commoditas cœlesti provisione concessa." — *Dat. Non. Mart. Crispo II. et Constantino II. Coss.*

Some have endeavored to explain away this document by alleging — 1st, that "Solis Dies" is not *the* Christian name of the Lord's Day, and that Constantine did not therefore intend to acknowledge it as a Christian institution.

2d. That, before his conversion, Constantine had professed himself to be especially under the guardianship of the sun, and that, at the very best, he intended to make a religious compromise between sun-worshippers, properly so-called, and the worshippers of the "Sun of Righteousness," i. e. Christians.

3d. That Constantine's edict was purely a kalendarial one, and intended to reduce the number of public holidays, "Dies Nefasti," or "Feriati," which had, so long ago as the date of the "Actiones Verrinæ," become a serious impediment to the transaction of business. And that this was to be effected by choosing a day which, while it would be accepted by the Paganism then in fashion, would of course be agreeable to the Christians.

4th. That Constantine then instituted Sunday for the first time as a religious day for Christians.

The fourth of these statements is absolutely refuted, both by the quotations made above from writers of the second and third centuries, and by the terms of the edict itself. It is evident that Constantine, accepting as facts the existence of the "Solis Dies," and the reverence paid to it by some one or other, does nothing more than make that reverence practically universal. It is "venerabilis" already. And it is probable that this most natural interpretation would never have been disturbed, had not Sozomen asserted, without warrant from either the Justinian or the Theodosian Code, that Constantine did for the sixth day of the week what the codes assert he did for the first.[a]

The three other statements concern themselves rather with what Constantine *meant* than with what he *did*. But with such considerations we have little or nothing to do. He may have purposely selected an ambiguous appellation. He may have been only half a Christian, wavering between allegiance to Christ and allegiance to Mithras. He may have affected a religious syncretism. He may have wished his people to adopt such syncretism. He may have feared to offend the Pagans. He may have hesitated to avow too openly his inward leanings to Christianity. He may have considered that community of religious days might lead by and by to community of religious thought and feeling. And he may have had in view the rectification of the calendar. But all this is nothing to the purpose. It is a fact, that in the year A. D. 321, in a public edict, which was to apply to Christians as well as to Pagans, he put especial honor upon a day already honored by the former — judiciously calling it by a name which Christians had long

[a] Τὴν κυριακὴν καλουμένην ἡμέραν, ἣν Ἕλληνες πρώτην τῆς ἑβδομάδος ἀνομάζουσιν, Ἕλληνες δὲ τοῦ Ἡλίου ἀνατιθέασιν, καὶ τὴν πρὸ τῆς ἑβδόμης, ἀναμφιβήτητον δικαστηρίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πραγμάτων σχολὴν ἄγειν σάντας, καὶ ἐν ταύταις καὶ λιταῖς τὰ Θείων θεραπευστήρια δὲ τὴν κυριακήν, ὡς ἐν ταύτῃ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναστάντος ἐκ νεκρῶν τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν, ὡς ἐν αὐτῇ σωτηρίου ἀρχὴν γενομένην (Soz. *Eccl. Hist.* i. c. 8). But on this passage Baster observes very truly, "Non dicit a Constantino appellatam κυριακήν sed jam ante ab vocatam feriatam esse decrevit." There is a passage also in Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* iv. 18), which appears to assert the same thing of Saturday. It is, however, manifestly corrupt, and can scarcely be translated at all, except by the employment of an emendation; while, if we do thus amend it, it will speak of Friday, as Sozomen does, and not of Saturday; and, what is more to our purpose, to whichever of those days it does refer, what is said in it concerning ἡ κυριακὴ will fall under Suicer's remark.

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employed without scruple, and to which, as it was in ordinary use, the Pagans could scarcely object What he did for it was to insist that worldly business, whether by the functionaries of the law or by private citizens, should be intermitted during its continuance. An exception indeed was made in favor of the rural districts, avowedly from the necessity of the case, covertly perhaps to prevent those districts, where Paganism (as the word Pagus would intimate) still prevailed extensively, from feeling aggrieved by a sudden and stringent change. It need only be added here, that the readiness with which Christians acquiesced in the interdiction of business on the Lord's Day affords no small presumption that they had long considered it to be a day of rest, and that, so far as circumstances admitted, they had made it so long before

Were any other testimony wanting to the existence of Sunday as a day of Christian worship at this period, it might be supplied by the Council of Nicæa, A. D. 325. The Fathers there and then assembled make no doubt of the obligation of that day — do not ordain it — do not defend it. They assume it as an existing fact, and only notice it incidentally in order to regulate an indifferent matter, the posture of Christian worshippers upon it.[a]

Richard Baxter has well summed up the history of the Lord's Day at this point, and his words may not unaptly be inserted here: "That the first Christian emperor, finding all Christians unanimous in the possession of the day, should make a law (as our kings do) for the due observing of it, and that the first Christian council should establish uniformity in the very gesture of worship on that day, are strong confirmations of the matter of fact, that the churches unanimously agreed in the holy use of it, as a *separated day even from and in the Apostles' days*" (Richard Baxter, *On the Divine Appointment of the Lord's Day*, p. 41, 1671).

Here we conclude our inquiry. If patristical or ecclesiastical ground has been touched upon, it has been only so far as appeared necessary for the elucidation of the Scripture phrase, ἡ Κυριακὴ Ἡμέρα. What became of the *Sabbath* after Christianity was fairly planted; what Christ said of it in the Gospels, and how his words are to be interpreted; what the Apostles said of that day, and how they treated it; what the early ecclesiastical writers held respecting it; and in what sense "There remaineth a *sabbatismus* (σαββατισμός, A. V. "rest") to the people of God" (Heb. iv. 9): these are questions which fall rather under the head of SABBATH than under that of "Lord's Day." And as no debate arose in apostolic or in primitive times respecting the relation, by descent, of the Lord's Day to the Mosaic Sabbath, or to any Sabbatical institution of assumed higher antiquity, none need be raised here. [See SABBATH.]

The whole subject of the Lord's Day, including its "origin, history, and present obligation," is treated of by the writer of this article in the Bampton Lecture for 1860. J. A. H.

LORD'S SUPPER (Κυριακὸν δεῖπνον: *Cœna Dominica*). The words which thus describe the great central act of the worship of the Christian Church occur but in one single passage of the N. T. (1 Cor. xi. 20).[b] Of the fact which lies under the name we have several notices, and from these, incidental and fragmentary as they are, it is possible to form a tolerably distinct picture. To examine these notices in their relation to the life of the Christian society in the first stages of its growth, and so to learn what "the Supper of the Lord" actually was, will be the object of this article. It would be foreign to its purpose to trace the history of the stately liturgies which grew up out of it in the 2d and 3d centuries, except so far as they supply or suggest evidence as to the customs of the earlier period, or to touch upon the many controversies which then, or at a later age, have clustered round the original institution.

I. The starting-point of this inquiry is found in the history of that night when Jesus and his disciples met together to eat the Passover (Matt. xxvi. 19; Mark xiv. 16; Luke xxii. 13). The manner in which the Paschal feast was kept by the Jews of that period differed in many details from that originally prescribed by the rules of Ex. xii. The multitudes that came up to Jerusalem, met, as they could find accommodation, family by family, or in groups of friends, with one of their number as the celebrant, or "proclaimer" of the feast. The ceremonies of the feast took place in the following order (Lightfoot, *Temple Service*, xiii.; Meyer, *Comm. in Matt.* xxvi. 26). (1.) The members of the company that were joined for this purpose met in the evening and reclined on couches, this position being now as much a matter of rule as standing had been originally (comp. Matt. xxvi. 20, ἀνέκειτο; Luke xxii. 14; and John xiii. 23, 25). The head of the household, or celebrant, began by a form of blessing "for the day and for the wine," pronounced over a cup, of which he and the others then drank. The wine was, according to rabbinic traditions, to be mixed with water; not for any mysterious reason, but because that was regarded as the best way of using the best wine (comp. 2 Macc. xv. 39). (2.) All who were present then washed their hands; this also having a special benediction. (3.) The table was then set out with the paschal lamb, unleavened bread, bitter herbs, and the dish known as Charoseth (חֲרוֹסֶת), a sauce made of dates, figs, raisins, and vinegar, and designed to commemorate the mortar of their bondage in Egypt (Buxtorf, *Lex. Rabb.* 831). (4.) The celebrant first, and then the others, dipped a portion of the bitter herbs into the Charoseth and ate them. (5.) The dishes were then removed, and a cup of wine again brought. Then followed an interval which was allowed theoretically for the

[a] Ἐνιοί τινές εἰσιν ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ γόνυ κλίνοντες καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς ἡμέραις, ὑπὲρ τοῦ πάντα ἐν τούτῳ παρομοίως ἡμᾶς φυλάττεσθαι, ἑαυτοὺς ἕδρᾳ τῇ σῇ συνιδὼν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀναπεδόναι τῷ Θεῷ (*Conc. Nic. Can.* 20).

[b] Maldonatus (*Comm. on Matt.* xxvi. 26) is bold enough to deny that the "Lord's Supper" of 1 Cor. xi. 20 is the same as the "Eucharistia" of the later Church, and identifies it with the meal that followed. The phraseology to which we are accustomed is to him only an example of the "ridicula Calvinistarum et Lutheranorum insitia," innovating on the received language of the Church. The keen detector of heresy, however, is in this instance at variance not only with the consensus of the chief fathers of the ancient Church (comp. Suicer, *Thes.* s. v. δεῖπνον), but with the authoritative teaching of his own (*Catechism Trident.* c. iv. qu. 5).

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questions that might be asked by children or proselytes, who were astonished at such a strange beginning of a feast, and the cup was passed round and drunk at the close of it. (6.) The dishes being brought on again, the celebrant repeated the commemorative words which opened what was strictly the paschal supper, and pronounced a solemn thanksgiving, followed by Ps. cxiii. and cxiv.[a] (7.) Then came a second washing of the hands, with a short form of blessing as before, and the celebrant broke one of the two loaves or cakes of unleavened bread, and gave thanks over it. All then took portions of the bread and dipped them, together with the bitter herbs, into the Charoseth, and so ate them. (8.) After this they ate the flesh of the paschal lamb, with bread, etc., as they liked; and after another blessing, a third cup, known especially as the "cup of blessing," was handed round. (9.) This was succeeded by a fourth cup, and the recital of Ps. cxv.–cxviii. followed by a prayer, and this was accordingly known as the cup of the Hallel, or of the Song. (10.) There might be, in conclusion, a fifth cup, provided that the "great Hallel" (possibly Psalms cxx.–cxxxvii.) was sung over it.

Comparing the ritual thus gathered from Rabbinic writers with the N. T., and assuming (1) that it represents substantially the common practice of our Lord's time; and (2) that the meal of which He and his disciples partook, was either the Passover itself, or an anticipation of it,[b] conducted according to the same rules, we are able to point, though not with absolute certainty, to the points of departure which the old practice presented for the institution of the new. To (1) or (3), or even to (8), we may refer the first words and the first distribution of the cup (Luke xxii. 17, 18); to (2) or (7), the dipping of the sop (ψωμίον) of John xiii. 26; to (7), or to an interval during or after (8), the distribution of the bread (Matt. xxvi. 26; Mark xiv. 22; Luke xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 23, 24); to (9) or (10) ("after supper," Luke xxii. 20), the thanksgiving, and distribution of the cup, and the hymn with which the whole was ended. It will be noticed that, according to this order of succession, the question whether Judas partook of what, in the language of a later age, would be called the consecrated elements, is most probably to be answered in the negative.

The narratives of the Gospels show how strongly the disciples were impressed with the words which had given a new meaning to the old familiar acts. They leave unnoticed all the ceremonies of the Passover, except those which had thus been transferred to the Christian Church and perpetuated in it. Old things were passing away, and all things becoming new. They had looked on the bread and the wine as memorials of the deliverance from Egypt. They were now told to partake of them "in remembrance" of their Master and Lord. The festival had been annual. No rule was given as to the time and frequency of the new feast that thus supervened on the old, but the command "Do this as oft as ye drink it" (1 Cor. xi. 25), suggested the more continual recurrence of that which was to be their memorial of one whom they would wish never to forget. The words, "This is my body," gave to the unleavened bread a new character. They had been prepared for language that would otherwise have been so startling, by the teaching of John (vi. 32–58), and they were thus taught to see in the bread that was broken the witness of the closest possible union and incorporation with their Lord. The cup which was "the new testament" (διαθήκη) "in His blood," would remind them, in like manner, of the wonderful prophecy in which that new covenant had been foretold (Jer. xxxi. 31–34) of which the crowning glory was in the promise, "I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more." His blood shed, as He told them, "for them and for many," for that remission of sins which He had been proclaiming throughout his whole ministry, was to be to the new covenant what the blood of sprinkling had been to that of Moses (Ex. xxiv. 8). It is possible that there may have been yet another thought connected with these symbolic acts. The funeral customs of the Jews involved, at or after the burial, the administration to the mourners of bread (comp. Jer. xvi. 7, "neither shall they break bread for them in mourning," in marginal reading of A. V.; Ewald and Hitzig, *ad loc.*; Ez. xxiv. 17; Hos. ix. 4; Tob. iv. 17), and of wine, known, when thus given, as "the cup of consolation." May not the bread and the wine of the Last Supper have had something of that character, preparing the minds of Christ's disciples for his departure by treating it as already accomplished? They were to think of his body as already anointed for the burial (Matt. xxvi. 12; Mark xiv. 8; John xii. 7), of his body as already given up to death, of his blood as already shed. The passover-meal was also, little as they might dream of it, a funeral-feast. The bread and the wine were to be pledges of consolation for their sorrow, analogous to the verbal promises of John xiv. 1, 27, xvi. 20. The word διαθήκη might even have the twofold meaning which is connected with it in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

May we not conjecture, without leaving the region of history for that of controversy, that the thoughts, desires, emotions, of that hour of divine sorrow and communion would be such as to lead the disciples to crave earnestly to renew them? Would it not be natural that they should seek that renewal in the way which their Master had pointed out to them? From this time, accordingly, the words "to break bread," appear to have had for

[a] It may be interesting to give the words, as showing what kind of forms may have served as types for the first worship of the Christian Church.

1. This is the passover, which we eat because the Lord passed over the houses of our fathers in Egypt.

2. These are the bitter herbs, which we eat in remembrance that the Egyptians made the lives of our fathers bitter in Egypt.

3. This is the unleavened bread, which we eat, because the dough of our fathers had not time to be leavened before the Lord revealed himself and redeemed them out of hand.

4. Therefore are we bound to give thanks, to praise, to laud, to glorify, to extol, to honor, to praise, to magnify him that hath done for our fathers, and for us, all these wonders; who hath brought us from bondage to freedom, from sorrow to rejoicing, from mourning to a good day, from darkness to a great light, from affliction to redemption; therefore must we say before him, Hallelujah, praise ye the Lord . . . followed by Ps. cxiii. (Lightfoot, *l. c.*).

[b] This reservation is made as being a possible alternative for explaining the differences between the three first Gospels and St. John.

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the disciples a new significance. It may not have assumed indeed, as yet, the character of a distinct liturgical act; but when they met to break bread, it was with new thoughts and hopes, and with the memories of that evening fresh on them. It would be natural that the Twelve should transmit the command to others who had not been present, and seek to lead them to the same obedience and the same blessings. The narrative of the two disciples to whom their Lord made himself known "in breaking of bread" at Emmaus (Luke xxiv. 30–35) would strengthen the belief that this was the way to an abiding fellowship with Him.[a]

II. In the account given by the writer of the Acts of the life of the first disciples at Jerusalem, a prominent place is given to this act, and to the phrase which indicated it. Writing, we must remember, with the definite associations that had gathered round the words during the thirty years that followed the events he records, he describes the baptized members of the Church as continuing steadfast in or to the teaching of the Apostles, in fellowship with them and with each other,[b] and in breaking of bread and in prayers (Acts ii. 42). A few verses further on, their daily life is described as ranging itself under two heads: (1) that of public devotion, which still belonged to them as Jews ("continuing daily with one accord in the Temple"); (2) that of their distinctive acts of fellowship "breaking bread from house to house (or "privately," Meyer), they did eat their meat in gladness and singleness of heart, praising God, and having favor with all the people." Taken in connection with the account given in the preceding verses of the love which made them live as having all things common, we can scarcely doubt that this implies that the chief actual meal of each day was one in which they met as brothers, and which was either preceded or followed by the more solemn commemorative acts of the breaking of the bread and the drinking of the cup. It will be convenient to anticipate the language and the thoughts of a somewhat later date, and to say that, apparently, they thus united every day the Agapè[c] or feast of Love with the celebration of the Eucharist. So far as the former was concerned, they were reproducing in the streets of Jerusalem the simple and brotherly life which the Essenes were leading in their seclusion on the shores of the Dead Sea.[d] It would be natural that in a society consisting of many thousand members there should be many places of meeting. These might be rooms hired for the purpose, or freely given by those members of the Church who had them to dispose of. The congregation assembling in each place would come to be known as "the Church" in this or that man's house (Rom. xvi. 5, 23; 1 Cor. xvi. 19; Col. iv. 15; Philem. ver. 2). When they met, the place of honor would naturally be taken by one of the Apostles, or some elder representing him. It would belong to him to pronounce the blessing (εὐλογία) and thanksgiving (εὐχαριστία), with which the meals of devout Jews always began and ended. The materials for the meal would be provided out of the common funds of the Church, or the liberality of individual members. The bread (unless the converted Jews were to think of themselves as keeping a perpetual passover) would be such as they habitually used. The wine (probably the common red wine of Palestine, Prov. xxiii. 31) would, according to their usual practice, be mixed with water. Special stress would probably be laid at first on the office of breaking and distributing the bread, as that which represented the fatherly relation of the pastor to his flock, and his work as ministering to men the word of life. But if this was to be more than a common meal after the pattern of the Essenes, it would be necessary to introduce words that would show that what was done was in remembrance of their Master. At some time, before or after[e] the meal of which they partook as such, the bread and the wine would be given with some special form of words or acts, to indicate its character. New converts would need some explanation of the meaning and origin of the observance. What would be so fitting and so much in harmony with the precedents of the Paschal feast as the narrative of what had passed on the night of its institution (1 Cor. xi. 23–27)? With this there would naturally be associated (as in Acts ii. 42) prayers for themselves and others. Their gladness would show itself in the psalms and hymns with which they praised God (Acts ii. 46, 47; James v. 13). The analogy of the Passover, the general

[a] The general consensus of patristic and Roman Catholic interpreters finds in this also a solemn celebration of the Eucharist. Here, they say, are the solemn benediction, and the technical words for the distribution of the elements as in the original institution, and as in the later notices of the Acts. It should be remembered, however, that the phrase "to break bread" had been a synonym for the act of any one presiding at a meal (comp. Jer. xvi. 7, Lam iv. 4), and that the rabbinic rule required a blessing whenever three persons sat down together at it. (Comp. Maldonatus and Meyer, *ad loc.*)

[b] The meaning of κοινωνία in this passage is probably explained by the εἶχον ἅπαντα κοινά that follows (comp. Meyer, *ad loc.*). The Vulg. rendering, "et communicatione fractionis panis," originated probably in a wish to give to the word its later liturgical sense.

[c] The *fact* is traceable to the earliest days of the Church. The origin of the name is obscure. It occurs in this sense only in two passages of the N. T., 2 Pet ii. 13, Jude ver. 12; and there the reading (though supported by B and other great MSS.) is not undisputed. The absence of any reference to it in St. Paul's memorable chapter on Ἀγάπη (1 Cor. xiii.) makes it improbable that it was then and there in use. In the age after the Apostles, however, it is a currently accepted word for the meal here described (Ignat. *Ep. ad Smyrn.* c. 8; Tertull. *Apol.* c. 39, *ad Marc.* c. 2; Cyprian, *Testim. ad Quiria.* iii. 3).

[d] The account given by Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 8, deserves to be studied, both as coming from an eye-witness (*Vita*, c. 2), and as showing a type of holiness which could hardly have been unknown to the first Christian disciples. The description of the meals of the Essenes might almost pass for that of an Agapè. "They wash themselves with pure water, and go to their refectory as to a holy place (τέμενος), and sit down calmly. The priest begins with a prayer over the food, and it is unlawful for any one to taste of it before the prayer." This is the early meal. The δεῖπνον is in the same order (comp. Pliny, *Ep. ad Traj.*).

[e] Examples of both are found in the history of the early Church; 1 Cor. xi. is an example of the Agapè coming before the Eucharist. The order of the two words in Ignat. *Epist. ad Smyrn.* c. 4 implies priority. The practice continued in some parts of Egypt even to the time of Sozomen (*Hist. Eccl.* vii. c, 19), and the rule of the Council of Carthage (can. xii.) forbidding it implies that it had been customary.

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baling of the Jews, and the practice of the Essenes may possibly have suggested ablutions, partial or entire, as a preparation for the feast (Heb. x. 22; John xiii. 1–15; comp. Tertull. *de Orat.* c. xi.; and for the later practice of the Church, August. *Serm.* cexliv.). At some point in the feast those who were present, men and women sitting apart, would rise to salute each other with the "holy kiss" (1 Cor. xvi. 20; 2 Cor. xiii. 12; Clem. Alex. *Paedagog.* iii. c. 11; Tertull. *de Orat.* c. 14; Just. M. *Apol.* ii.). Of the stages in the growth of the new worship we have, it is true, no direct evidence, but these conjectures from antecedent likelihood are confirmed by the fact that this order appears as the common element of all later liturgies.

The next traces that meet us are in 1 Cor., and the fact that we find them is in itself significant. The commemorative feast has not been confined to the personal disciples of Christ, or the Jewish converts whom they gathered round them at Jerusalem. It has been the law of the Church's expansion that this should form part of its life everywhere. Wherever the Apostles or their delegates have gone, they have taken this with them. The language of St. Paul, we must remember, is not that of a man who is setting forth a new truth, but of one who appeals to thoughts, words, phrases that are familiar to his readers, and we find accordingly evidence of a received liturgical terminology. The title of the "cup of blessing" (1 Cor. x. 16), Hebrew in its origin and form (see above), has been imported into the Greek Church. The synonym of "the cup of the Lord" (1 Cor. x. 21) distinguishes it from the other cups that belonged to the Agapè. The word "fellowship" (Κοινωνία) is passing by degrees into the special signification of "Communion." The Apostle refers to his own office as breaking the bread and blessing the cup (1 Cor. x. 16).[a] The table on which the bread was placed was the Lord's Table, and that title was to the Jew not, as later controversies have made it, the antithesis of altar (Θυσιαστήριον), but as nearly as possible a synonym (Mal. i. 7, 12; Ez. xli. 22). But the practice of the Agapè, as well as the observance of the commemorative feast, had been transferred to Corinth, and this called for a special notice. Evils had sprung up which had to be checked at once. The meeting of friends for a social meal, to which all contributed, was a sufficiently familiar practice in the common life of Greeks of this period; and these club-feasts were associated with plans of mutual relief or charity to the poor (comp. Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, s. v. Ἔρανοι). The Agapè of the new society would seem to them to be such a feast, and hence came a disorder that altogether frustrated the object of the Church in instituting it. Richer members came, bringing their supper with them, or appropriating what belonged to the common stock, and sat down to consume it without waiting till others were assembled and the presiding elder had taken his place. The poor were put to shame, and defrauded of their share in the feast. Each was thinking of his own supper, not of that to which we now find attached the distinguishing title of "the Lord's Supper."[b] And when the time for that came, one was hungry enough to be looking to it with physical not spiritual craving, another so overpowered with wine as to be incapable of receiving it with any reverence. It is quite conceivable that a life of excess and excitement, of overwrought emotion and unrestrained indulgence, such as this epistle brings before us, may have proved destructive to the physical as well as the moral health of those who were affected by it, and so the sicknesses and the deaths of which St. Paul speaks (1 Cor. xi. 30) as the consequences of this disorder may have been so, not by supernatural infliction, but by the working of those general laws of the divine government, which make the punishment the traceable consequence of the sin. In any case, what the Corinthians needed was, to be taught to come to the Lord's table with greater reverence, to distinguish (διακρίνειν) the Lord's body from their common food. Unless they did so, they would bring upon themselves condemnation. What was to be the remedy for this terrible and growing evil he does not state explicitly. He reserves formal regulations for a later personal visit. In the mean time he gives a rule which would make the union of the Agapè and the Lord's Supper possible without the risk of profanation. They were not to come even to the former with the keen edge of appetite. They were to wait till all were met, instead of scrambling tumultuously to help themselves (1 Cor. xi. 33, 34). In one point, however, the custom of the Church of Corinth differed apparently from that of Jerusalem. The meeting for the Lord's Supper was no longer daily (1 Cor. xi. 20, 33). The directions given in 1 Cor. xvi. 2, suggest the constitution of a celebration on the first day of the week (comp. Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 67; Pliny, *Ep. ad Traj.*). The meeting at Troas is on the same day (Acts xx. 7).

The tendency of this language, and therefore probably of the order subsequently established, was to separate what had hitherto been united.[c] We stand as it were at the dividing point of the history of the two institutions, and henceforth each takes its own course. One, as belonging to a transient phase of the Christian life, and varying in its effects with changes in national character or forms of civilization, passes through many stages[d] — becomes more and more a merely local custom — is found to be productive of evil rather than of good — is discouraged by bishops and forbidden by councils —

[a] The plural κλῶμεν has been understood as implying that the congregation took part in the act of breaking (Stanley, Corinthians; and Estius *ad loc.*). It may be questioned, however, whether this is sufficient ground for an interpretation for which there is no support either in the analogous custom of the Jews or in the traditions of the Church. The εὐλογοῦμεν, which stands parallel to κλῶμεν, can hardly be referred to the whole body of partakers. When the act is described historically, the singular is always used Acts xx. 11, xxvii. 35). Tertullian, in the passage to which Prof. Stanley refers, speaks of the other practice ("nec de allorum quam praesidentium manibus," *de Cor. Mil.* c. 3) as an old tradition, not as a change.

[b] The word κυριακός appears to have been coined for the purpose of expressing the new thought.

[c] It has been ingeniously contended that the change from evening to morning was the *direct* result of St. Paul's interposition (*Christian Remembrancer*, art. on "Evening Communions," July, 1860).

[d] That presented by the Council of Gangra (can. xi. is noticeable as an attempt to preserve the primitive custom of an Agapè in church against the assaults of a false asceticism

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and finally dies out.[a] Traces of it linger in some of the traditional practices of the Western Church.[b] There have been attempts to revive it among the Moravians and other religious communities. The other also has it changes. The morning celebration takes the place of the evening. New names — Eucharist, Sacrifice, Altar, Mass, Holy Mysteries — gather round it. New epithets and new ceremonies express the growing reverence of the people. The mode of celebration at the high altar of a basilica in the 4th century differs so widely from the circumstances of the original institution, that a careless eye would have found it hard to recognize their identity. Speculations, controversies, superstitions crystallize round this as their nucleus. Great disruptions and changes threaten to destroy the life and unity of the Church. Still, through all the changes, the Supper of the Lord vindicates its claim to universality, and bears a permanent witness of the truths with which it was associated.

In Acts xx. 11 we have an example of the way in which the transition may have been effected. The disciples at Troas meet together to break bread. The hour is not definitely stated, but the fact that St. Paul's discourse was protracted till past midnight, and the mention of the many lamps, indicate a later time than that commonly fixed for the Greek δεῖπνον. If we are not to suppose a scene at variance with St. Paul's rule in 1 Cor. xi. 34, they must have had each his own supper before they assembled. Then came the teaching and the prayers, and then, towards early dawn, the breaking of bread, which constituted the Lord's Supper, and for which they were gathered together. If this midnight meeting may be taken as indicating a common practice, originating in reverence for an ordinance which Christ had enjoined, we can easily understand how the next step would be (as circumstances rendered the midnight gatherings unnecessary or inexpedient) to transfer the celebration of the Eucharist permanently to the morning hour, to which it had gradually been approximating.[c] Here also in later times there were traces of the original custom. Even when a later celebration was looked on as at variance with the general custom of the Church (Sozomen, *supra*), it was recognized as legitimate to hold an evening communion, as a special commemoration of the original institution, on the Thursday before Easter (August. *Ep.* p. 118; *ad Jan.* c. 5-7); and again on Easter-eve, the celebration in the latter case probably taking place "very early in the morning while it was yet dark" (Tertull. *ad Uxor.* ii. c. 4).

The recurrence of the same liturgical words in Acts xxvii. 35 makes it probable, though not certain, that the food of which St. Paul thus partook was intended to have, for himself and his Christian companions, the character at once of the Agapè and the Eucharist. The heathen soldiers and sailors, it may be noticed, are said to have followed his example, not to have partaken of the bread which he had broken. If we adopt this explanation, we have in this narrative another example of a celebration in the early hours between midnight and dawn (comp. vv. 27, 39), at the same time, i. e., as we have met with in the meeting at Troas.

All the distinct references to the Lord's Supper which occur within the limits of the N. T. have, it is believed, been noticed. To find, as a recent writer has done (*Christian Remembrancer for April*, 1860), quotations from the Liturgy of the Eastern Church in the Pauline Epistles, involves (ingeniously as the hypothesis is supported) assumptions too many and too bold to justify our acceptance of it.[d] Extending the inquiry, however, to the times as well as the writings of the N. T., we find reason to believe that we can trace in the later worship of the Church some fragments of that which belonged to it from the beginning. The agreement of the four great families of liturgies implies the substratum of a common order. To that order may well have belonged the Hebrew words Hallelujah, Amen, Hosanna, Lord of Sabaoth; the salutations "Peace to all," "Peace to thee;" the Sursum Corda (*ἄνω σχῶμεν τὰς καρδίας*), the Trisagion, the Kyrie Eleison. We are justified in looking at these as having been portions of a liturgy that was really primitive; guarded from change with the tenacity with which the Christians of the second century clung to the traditions (the *παραδόσεις* of 2 Thess. ii. 15, iii. 6) of the first, forming part of the great deposit (*παρακαταθήκη*) of faith and worship which they had received from the Apostles and have transmitted to later ages (comp. Bingham, *Eccles. Antiq.* b. xv. c. 7; Augusti, *Christl. Archäol.* b. viii.; Stanley on 1 Cor. x. and xi.). E. H. P.

LO-RU'HAMAH (לֹא רֻחָמָה: οὐκ ἠλεημένη: *absque misericordia*), i. e. "the uncompassionated," the name of the daughter of Hosea the prophet, given to denote the utterly ruined and hopeless condition of the kingdom of Israel, on whom Jehovah would no more have mercy (Hos. i. 6, 8).

LOT (לוֹט [*a covering, veil*]: Λάτ; Joseph. Λῶτος, and so Veneto-Greek Vers.: *Lot*), the son of Haran, and therefore the nephew of Abraham (Gen. xi. 27, 31). His sisters were MILCAH the wife of Nahor, and ISCAH, by some identified with Sarah. The following genealogy exhibits the family relations: —

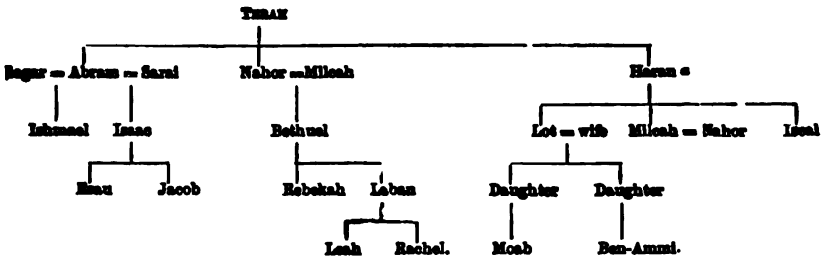
[a] The history of the Agapæ, in their connection with the life of the Church, is full of interest, but would be out of place here. An outline of it may be found in Augusti, *Christl. Archaol.* iii. 704-711.

[b] The practice of distributing bread, which has been blessed but not consecrated, to the congregation generally (children included), at the greater festivals of the Church, presents a vestige, or at least an analogue, of the old Agapè Liturgical writers refer it to the period (A. D. 158 385) when the earlier practice was falling into disuse, and this taking its place as the expression of the same feeling. The bread thus distributed is known in the Eastern Church as *εὐλογία*, in the Western as the *panis benedictus*, the "pain bénit" of the modern French Church The practice is still common in France and other parts of Europe. (Comp. Moroni, *Dizionar. Eccles.*; Pascal, *Liturg. Cathol.*, in Migne's *Encyc. Théol.*, s. v. "Eulogie.")

[c] Comp. the "antelucanis cœtibus" of Tertull. (*de Cor. Mil.* c. 3). The amalgamation in the ritual of the monastic orders, of the Nocturns, and Matin-Lauds, into the single office of Matins, presents an instance of an analogous transition (Palmer, *Orig. Liturg.* i. 202).

[d] 1 Cor. ii. 9, compared with the recurrence of the same words in the Liturgy with an antecedent to the relative which appears in the epistle without one, in the passage on which most stress is laid. 1 Pet. ii. 16 and Eph. v. 14, are adduced as further instances.

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Haran died before the emigration of Terah and his family from Ur of the Chaldees (ver. 28), and Lot was therefore born there. He removed with the rest of his kindred to Charan, and again subsequently with Abram and Sarai to Canaan (xii. 4, 5). With them he took refuge in Egypt from a famine, and with them returned, first to the "South" (xiii. 1), and then to their original settlement between Bethel and Ai (vv. 3, 4), where Abram had built his first altar (xiii. 4; comp. xii. 7), and invoked on it the name of Jehovah. But the pastures of the hills of Bethel, which had with ease contained the two strangers on their first arrival, were not able any longer to bear them, so much had their possessions of sheep, goats, and cattle increased since that time. It was not any disagreement between Abram and Lot — their relations continued good to the last; but between the slaves who tended their countless herds disputes arose, and a parting was necessary. The exact equality with which Abram treats Lot is very remarkable. It is as if they were really, according to the very ancient idiom of these records (Ewald on Gen. xxxi.), "brethren," instead of uncle and nephew. From some one of the round swelling hills which surround Bethel — from none more likely than that which stands immediately on its east [BETHEL, vol. i.] — the two Hebrews looked over the comparatively empty land, in the direction of Sodom, Gomorrah, and Zoar (xiii. 10). "The occasion was to the two lords of Palestine — then almost 'free before them where to choose' — what in Grecian legends is represented under the figure of the Choice of Hercules; in the fables of Islam under the story of the Prophet turning back from Damascus." And Lot lifted up his eyes towards the left, and beheld all the precinct of the Jordan that it was well watered everywhere; like a garden of Jehovah; like that unutterably green and fertile land of Egypt he had only lately quitted. Even from that distance, through the clear air of Palestine, can be distinctly discovered the long and thick masses of vegetation which fringe the numerous streams that descend from the hills on either side, to meet the central stream in its tropical depths. And what it now is immediately opposite Bethel, such it seems then to have been "even to Zoar," to the farthest extremity of the sea which now covers the "valley of the fields[b]" — the fields of Sodom and Gomorrah. "No crust of salt, no volcanic convulsions, had as yet blasted its verdure, or alarmed the secure civilization of the early Phœnician settlements which had struck root in its fertile depths." It was exactly the prospect to tempt a man who had no fixed purpose of his own, who had not like Abram obeyed a stern inward call of duty. So Lot left his uncle on the barren hills of Bethel, and he "chose all the precinct of the Jordan, and journeyed east," down the ravines which give access to the Jordan Valley; and then when he reached it turned again southward and advanced as far as Sodom (11, 12). Here he "pitched his tent," for he was still a nomad. But his nomad life was virtually at an end. He was now to relinquish the freedom and independence of the simple life of the tent — a mode of life destined to be one of the great methods of educating the descendants of Abram — and encounter the corruptions which seem always to have attended the life of cities in the East — "the men of Sodom were wicked, and sinners before Jehovah exceedingly."

2. The next occurrence in the life of Lot is his capture by the four kings of the East, and his rescue by Abram (Gen. xiv.). Whatever may be the age of this chapter in relation to those before and after it, there is no doubt that as far as the history of Lot is concerned, it is in its right position in the narrative. The events which it narrates must have occurred after those of ch. xiii., and before those of xviii. and xix. Abram has moved further south, and is living under the oaks of Mamre the Amorite, where he remained till the destruction of Sodom. There is little in it which calls for remark here. The term "brother" is once used (ver. 16) for Lot's relation to Abram (but comp. ver. 12, "brother's son"); and a word is employed for the possessions of Lot (ver. 11, A. V. "goods"), which, from its being elsewhere in these early records (xlvi. 6; Num. xxxv. 3) distinguished from "cattle," and employed specially for the spoil of Sodom and Gomorrah, may perhaps denote that Lot had exchanged the wealth of his pastoral condition for other possessions more peculiar to his new abode. Women are also named (ver. 16), though these may belong to the people of Sodom.

3. The last scene preserved to us in the history of Lot is too well known to need repetition. He is still living in Sodom (Gen. xix.). Some years have passed, for he is a well-known resident in the town, with wife, sons, and daughters, married and marriageable. But in the midst of the licentious corruption of Sodom — the eating and drinking, the buying and selling, the planting and building (Luke

[a] Terah's sons are given above in the order in which they occur in the record (Gen. xi. 27–32). But the facts that Nahor and Isaac (and if Iscah be Sarai, Abram also) married wives not of their own generation, but of the next below them, and the Abram and Lot travel together and behave as if exactly on equal terms, seem to show that Haran was the eldest of Terah's three descendants, and Abram the youngest. It would be a parallel to the case of Shem, Ham, and Japhet, where Japhet was really the eldest, though enumerated last. [ABRAHAM, vol. i. p. 18, note d.]

[b] "Valley of Siddim" — Siddim = fields

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xvii. 28), and of the darker evils exposed in the ancient narrative — he still preserves some of the delightful characteristics of his wandering life, his fervent and chivalrous hospitality (xix. 2, 3), the unleavened bread of the tent of the wilderness (ver. 3), the water for the feet of the wayfarers (ver. 2), affording his guests a reception identical with that which they had experienced that very morning in Abraham's tent on the heights of Hebron (comp. xviii. 3, 6). It is this hospitality which receives the commendation of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews in words which have passed into a familiar proverb, "be not forgetful to entertain strangers, for thereby some have entertained angels [a] unawares" (Heb. xiii. 2). On the other hand, it is his deliverance from the guilty and condemned city — the one just [b] man in that mob of sensual lawless wretches — which points the allusion of St. Peter, to "the godly delivered out of temptations, the unjust reserved unto the day of judgment to be punished, an ensample to those that after should live ungodly" (2 Pet. ii. 6–9). Where ZOAR was situated, in which he found a temporary refuge during the destruction of the other cities of the plain, we do not know with absolute certainty. If, as is most probable, it was at the mouth of *Wady Kerak* (Rob. ii. 188, 517), then by "the mountain" is meant the very elevated ground east of the Dead Sea. If with De Saulcy we place it in *es-Zoueira*, on the precipitous descent from Hebron, "the mountain" was the high ground of Judah. Either would afford caves for his subsequent dwelling. The former situation — on the eastern side of the Dead Sea, has in its favor the fact that it is in accordance with the position subsequently occupied by the Ammonites and Moabites. But this will be best examined under ZOAR.

The end of Lot's wife [c] is commonly treated as one of the "difficulties" of the Bible. But it surely need not be so. It cannot be necessary, as some have done, to create the details of the story where none are given — to describe "the unhappy woman struck dead" — "a blackened corpse — smothered and stiffened as she stood, and fixed for the time to the soil by saline or bituminous incrustations — like a pillar of salt." On these points the record is silent. Its words are simply these: "His wife looked back from behind him, [d] and became a pillar of salt;" — words which neither in themselves nor in their position in the narrative afford any warrant for such speculations. In fact, when taken with what has gone before, they contradict them, for it seems plain, from vv. 22, 23, that the work of destruction by fire did not commence till after Lot had entered Zoar. But this like the rest of her fate, is left in mystery. [e]

The value and the significance of the story to us are contained in the allusion of Christ (Luke xvii 32): "In that day he that is in the field let him not return back: remember Lot's wife," who did. "Whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it." It will be observed that there is no attempt in the narrative to invest the circumstance with permanence; no statement — as in the case of the pillar erected over Rachel's grave (xxxv. 20) — that it was to be seen at the time of the compilation of the history. And in this we surely have a remarkable instance of that sobriety which characterizes the statements of Scripture, even where the events narrated are most out of the ordinary course.

Later ages have not been satisfied so to leave the matter, but have insisted on identifying the "pillar" with some one of the fleeting forms which the perishable rock of the south end of the Dead Sea is constantly assuming in its process of decomposition and liquefaction (Anderson's *Off. Narr.* pp. 180, 181). The first allusion of this kind is perhaps that in Wisd. x. 7, where "a standing pillar of salt, the monument (*μνημεῖον*) of an unbelieving soul," is mentioned with the "waste land that smoketh," and the "plants bearing fruit that never come to ripeness," as remaining to that day, a testimony to the wickedness of Sodom. Josephus also (*Ant.* i. 11, § 4) says that he had seen it, and that it was then remaining. So too do Clemens Romanus and Irenæus (quoted by Kitto, *Cycl.* "Lot") [f] So does Benjamin of Tudela, whose account is more than usually circumstantial (ed. Asher, i. 78). [g] And so doubtless have travellers in every age — they certainly have in our own times. See Maundrell, March 30; Lynch, *Report*, p. 15; and Anderson's *Off. Narrative*, 181, where an account is given of a pillar or spur standing out detached from the general mass of the *Jebel Usdûm*, about 40 feet in height, and which was recognized by the sailors of the expedition as "Lot's wife."

The story of the origin of the nations of Moab and Ammon from the incestuous intercourse between Lot and his two daughters, with which his history abruptly concludes, has been often treated as if it were a Hebrew legend which owed its origin to the bitter hatred existing from the earliest to the latest times between the "Children of Lot" and the Children of Israel. [h] The horrible nature of the transaction — not the result of impulse or passion, but a plan calculated and carried out, and that not

[a] The story of Baucis and Philemon, who unwittingly entertained Jupiter and Mercury (see *Dict. of Biography*, etc.), has been often compared with this.

[b] *Δίκαιος*, possibly referring to Gen. xviii. 23–33, where the LXX. employ this word throughout. The rabbinical tradition is that he was actually "judge" of Sodom, and sate in the gate in that capacity. (See quotations in Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* "Loth," and "Sodomah.")

[c] In the Jewish traditions her name is Edith — עידית. One of the daughters was called Plutith — פלוטית. See Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudep. V. T.* i. 431.

[d] LXX., *εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω*; comp. Luke ix. 62, Phil. iii. 13

[e] "A very rational explanation may be that the wife of Lot, as she lingered on the way in her reluctance to leave Sodom, was overtaken by the storm, and, like the victims of many a similar catastrophe, was suffocated by the sulphurous smoke or killed by lightning. The body would lie where it fell, and in such a region would soon be incrusted with salt. Blocks of salt abound there at present and illustrate this fate of the unhappy woman. (See Rob. *Bibl. Res.* ii. 483, and Tristram, *Land of Israel*, p. 364, 2d ed.) "It is not said," as Dr. Conant remarks, "that she was changed into that substance, but, incrusted with it, she became 'a pillar of salt.'" (*Book of Genesis*, etc., p. 79.)
H.

[f] See the quotations from the Fathers and others in Hoffmann's *Lexicon* (s. v. "Lot"), and in Mislin, *Lieux Saints* (iii. 224).

[g] Rabbi Petachia, on the other hand, looked for it but "did not see it; it no longer exists" (Ed. Benisch, 61).

[h] See Tuch, *Genesis*, 369. Von Bohlen ascribes the legend to the latter part of the reign of Josiah.

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mace but twice, would prompt the wish that the legendary theory were true.[a] But even the most destructive critics (as, for instance, Tuch) allow that the narrative is a continuation without a break of that which precedes it, while they fail to point out any marks of later date in the language of this portion; and it cannot be questioned that the writer records it as an historical fact.

Even if the legendary theory were admissible, there is no doubt of the fact that Ammon and Moab sprang from Lot. It is affirmed in the statements of Deut. ii. 9 and 19, as well as in the later document of Ps. lxxxiii. 8, which Ewald ascribes to the time when Nehemiah and his newly-returned colony were suffering from the attacks and obstructions of Tobiah the Ammonite and Sanballat the Horonite (Ewald, *Dichter*, Ps. 83).

The Mohammedan traditions of Lot are contained in the Koran, chiefly in cc. vii. and xi.; others are given by D'Herbelot (*s. v.* "Loth"). According to these statements he was sent to the inhabitants of the five cities as a preacher, to warn them against the unnatural and horrible sins which they practised — sins which Mohammed is continually denouncing, but with less success than that of drunkenness, since the former is perhaps the most common, the latter the rarest vice, of Eastern cities. From Lot's connection with the inhabitants of Sodom, his name is now given not only to the vice in question (Freytag, *Lexicon*, iv. 136*a*), but also to the people of the five cities themselves — the *Lothi*, or *Kaûm Loth*. The local name of the Dead Sea is *Bahr Lût* — Sea of Lot. G.

LOT. The custom of deciding doubtful questions by lot is one of great extent and high antiquity, recommending itself as a sort of appeal to the Almighty, secure from all influence of passion or bias, and is a sort of divination employed even by the gods themselves (Hom. *Il.* xxii. 209; Cic. *de Div.* i. 34, ii. 41). The word *sors* is thus used for an oracular response (Cic. *de Div.* ii. 56). [DIVINATION.] Among heathen instances the following may be cited: 1. Choice of a champion or of priority in combat (*Il.* iii. 316, vii. 171; Her. iii. 108). 2. Decision of fate in battle (*Il.* xx. 209). 3. Appointment of magistrates, jurymen, or other functionaries (Arist. *Pol.* iv. 16; Schol. *On Aristoph.* Plut. 277; Her. vi. 109; Xen. *Cyr.* iv. 5, 55; Demosth. *c. Aristog.* i. 778, 1; *Dict. of Antiq.* "Dicastes"). 4. Priests (Æsch. *in Tim.* p. 188, Bekk.). 5. A German practice of deciding by marks on twigs, mentioned by Tacitus (*Germ.* 10). 6. Division of conquered or colonized land (Thuc. iii. 50; Plut. *Pericl.* 84; Boeckh, *Pub. Econ. of Ath.* ii. 170).

Among the Jews also the use of lots, with a religious intention, direct or indirect, prevailed extensively. The religious estimate of them may be gathered from Prov. xvi. 33. The following historical or ritual instances correspond in most respects to those of a heathen kind mentioned above: —

1. Choice of men for an invading force (Judg. 3, xx. 9).

2. Partition, (*a*) of the soil of Palestine among the tribes (Num. xxvi. 55; Josh. xviii. 10; Acts xiii. 19); (*b*) of Jerusalem; *i. e.* probably its spoil or captives among captors (Obad. 11); of the land itself in a similar way (1 Macc. iii 36). (*c.*) After the return from captivity, Jerusalem was populated by inhabitants drawn by lot in the proportion of $\frac{1}{10}$ of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin (Neh. xi 1, 2; see Ps. xvi. 5, 6, Ez. xxiv. 6). (*d.*) Apportionment of possessions, or spoil, or of prisoners, to foreigners or captors (Joel iii. 3; Nah. iii. 10, Matt. xxvii. 35).

3. (*a.*) Settlement of doubtful questions (Prov. xvi. 33, where "lap" is perhaps = urn; xviii. 18). (*b.*) A mode of divination among heathens by means of arrows, two inscribed, and one without mark, *βελομαντεία* (Hos. iv. 12; Ez. xxi. 21; Mauritius, *de Sortitione*, c. 14, § 4; see also Esth. iii. 7, ix. 24–32; Mishna, *Taanith*, ii. 10). [DIVINATION; PURIM.] (*c.*) Detection of a criminal, as in the case of Achan (Josh. vii. 14, 18). A notion prevailed among the Jews that this detection was performed by observing the shining of the stones in the high-priest's breastplate (Mauritius, c. 21, § 4). Jonathan was discovered by lot (1 Sam. xiv. 41, 42). (*d.*) Appointment of persons to offices or duties. Saul (1 Sam. x. 20, 21), said to have been chosen as above in Achan's case. St. Matthias, to replace Judas among the Twelve (Acts i. 24–26). Distribution of priestly offices in the Temple-service among the sixteen of the family of Eleazar, and the eight of that of Ithamar (1 Chr. xxiv. 3, 5, 19; Luke i. 9). Also of the Levites for similar purposes (1 Chr. xxiii. 28, xxiv. 20–31, xxv. 8, xxvi. 13; Mishna, *Tamid*, i. 2, iii. 1, v. 2; *Joma*, ii. 2, 3, 4; *Shabb.* xxiii. 2; Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* in Luke i. 8, 9, vol ii. p. 489).

Election by lot appears to have prevailed in the Christian Church as late as the 7th century (Bingham, *Eccles. Antiq.* iv. 1, 1, vol. i. p. 426; Bruns, *Conc.* ii. 66).

(*e.*) Selection of the scape-goat on the Day of Atonement (Lev. xvi. 8, 10). The two inscribed tablets of boxwood, afterwards of gold, were put into an urn, which was shaken, and the lots drawn out (*Joma*, iii. 9, iv. 1). [ATONEMENT, DAY OF.]

4. The use of words heard or passages chosen at random from Scripture. *Sortes Biblicæ*, like the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, prevailed among Jews, as they have also among Christians, though denounced by several Councils (*Dict. of Antiq.* "Sortes;" Johnson, "Life of Cowley," *Works*, ix. 8; Bingham, *Eccl. Ant.* xvi. 5, 3, id. vi. 53, &c.; Bruns, *Conc.* ii. 145–54, 166; Mauritius, ch. 15; Hofmann, *Lex.* "Sortes"). H. W. P.

* In Prov. xvi. 33 (see no. 3 (*a*) above), "lap" is the true rendering, and there is no reference to an "urn." In such a proverbial allusion or expression, we should expect to find, of course, the earliest and simplest, as well as the readiest, mode of using the lot. The "lap" (or bosom of the outer garment) was a convenient receptacle, always at hand, into which the lots could be cast, and thence drawn forth. "Cast into the lap" was, therefore, the most suitable form of expression for a proverbial saying, the idea of which originated in the earliest and rudest stage of society, and was acted on under all circumstances. In the more formal and official use of the lot (as in Lev. xvi. 8

[a] For the pretty legend of the repentance of Lot, and of the tree which he planted, which, being cut down for use in the building of the Temple, was afterwards employed for the Cross, see Fabricius *Cod. Pseudepigr. V. T.*, i. 833–851.

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Josh. xviii. 6) when every convenience was at hand, a vessel in the shape of an urn was likely to be used, though there is no allusion to this in the Scriptures.

The Heb. word חֵיק ("lap," or "bosom," of the garment), is used metaphorically of a similar receptacle in any other object only in connection with the name of the object itself; as in 1 Kings xxii. 35, "into the bosom (hollow) of the chariot" (A. V. "midst of"), and in Ezek. xliii. 13, 14, 17, in the ideal description of the altar.

"To cast lots" (Lev. xvi. 8; Josh. xviii. 6) means to employ them in the decision of any matter. This was done by casting them into some convenient receptacle, from which they were drawn forth. Hence the phrase, "the lot came forth" (or "out"), Josh. xix. 1, 17, 24, 32, 40, 1 Chron. xxiv. 7; and also, "the lot came up," Josh. xix. 10, the lot being drawn up from the bottom of the receptacle. In 1 Chron. xxvi. 14 is found the full expression, "they cast lots, and his lot came out," *etc.*

The phrase, "the lot fell upon" (Lev. xvi. 9, 10), or "fell to" (1 Chron. xxvi. 14), expresses the result of an appeal to the lot, as coming upon, or affecting, the person or object concerned. The full expression occurs in Jonah, i. 7, "they cast lots, and the lot fell upon Jonah."

The suggestion of *Leyrer* (Herzog's *Real-Encykl.* art. *Loos*, viii. 485), that the use of the word "fell" originated from the practice of casting the lots out of a vessel or the lap, is not consistent with Prov. xvi. 33, "the lot is cast into the lap."

T. J. C.

LOTAN (לוֹטָן [*covering*]: Λωτάν: *Lotan*), the eldest son of Seir the Horite, and a "duke" or chief of his tribe in the land of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 20, 22, 29; 1 Chr. i. 38, 39).

LOTHASU'BUS (Λωθάσουβος: *Abusthas, Sabus*), a corruption of HASHUM in Neh. viii. 4, for which it is not easy to account (1 Esdr. ix. 44). The Vulg. is a further corruption of the LXX.

LOTS, FEAST OF. [PURIM.]

LOVE-FEASTS (ἀγάπαι: *epulæ, convivia:* in this sense used only twice, Jude 12, and 2 Pet. ii. 13, in which latter place, however, ἀπάταις is also read), an entertainment in which the poorer members of the church partook, furnished from the contributions of Christians resorting to the Eucharistic celebration, but whether before or after it may be doubted. The true account of the matter is probably that given by Chrysostom, who says that after the early community of goods had ceased, the richer members brought to the church contributions of food and drink, of which, after the conclusion of the services and the celebration of the Eucharist, all partook together, by this means helping to promote the principle of love among Christians (*Hom. in* 1 *Cor.* xi. 19, vol. iii. p. 293, and *Hom.* xxvii. *in* 1 *Cor.* xi. vol. x. p. 281, ed. Gaume). The intimate connection, especially in early times, between the Eucharist itself and the love-feast, has led several writers to speak of them almost as identical. Of those who either take this view, or regard the feast as subsequent to the Eucharist, may be mentioned Pliny, who says the Christians met and exchanged sacramental pledges against all sorts of immorality; after which they separated, and met again to partake in an entertainment.[a] The same view is taken by Ignatius, *ad Smyrn.* ch. 8; Tertull. *Apol.* 39; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 322 (vol. ii. p. 892), iii. 185 (vol. i. 514), but in *Paed.* ii. 61 (vol. i. p. 165), he seems to regard them as distinct; *Apost. Const.* ii. 28. 1: and besides these, Jerome on 1 Cor. xi.; Theodoret and Œcumenius, quoted by Bingham, who considers that the Agapé was subsequent (*Orig. Eccl.* xv. 6, 7; vol. v. p. 284); Hofmann, *Lex.* "Agapæ." On the other side may be mentioned Grotius (on 2 Pet. ii. 13, in *Crit. Sacr.*), Suicer (*Thes. Eccl.* vol. i. *s. v.*), Hammond, Whitby, Corn. à Lapide, and authorities quoted by Bingham, *l. c.*[b] The almost universal custom to receive the Eucharist fasting proves that in later times the love-feasts must have followed, not preceded, the Eucharist (Sozomen, *H. E.* vii. 19; Aug. *c. Faust.* xx. 20; *Ep.* liv. (alias cxviii.); *ad Januar.* c. 6, vol. ii. p. 203, ed. Migne; Conc. Carth. iii. A. D. 397, ch. 29; Bruns, *Conc.* i. p. 127): but the exception of one day from the general rule (the day called Cœna Domini, or Maunday Thursday), seems to argue a previously different practice. The love-feasts were forbidden to be held in churches by the Council of Laodicea, A. D. 320 [363?], Conc. Quinisext., A. D. 692, ch. 74, Aix-la-Chapelle, A. D. 816; but in some form or other they continued to a much later period. Entertainments at births, deaths, and marriages were also in use under the names of *agapæ natalitiæ, nuptiales* and *funerales*. (Bede, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Angl.* i. 30; Ap. Const. viii. 44. 1; Theodoret, *Evang. Verit.* viii. pp. 923, 924, ed Schulz; Greg. Naz. *Ep.* i. 14, and *Carm.* x.; Hofmann, *Lex.* l. c.) H. W. P.

* **LOW COUNTRY** (שְׁפֵלָה), 2 Chron. xxvi. 10, &c. [JUDAH, p. 1490.] H.

LO'ZON (Λοζάν: *Dedon*), one of the sons of Solomon's servants" who returned with Zorobabel (1 Esdr. v. 33). The name corresponds with DARKON in the parallel lists of Ezr. ii. 56 and Neh. vii. 58, and the variation may be an error of the transcriber, which is easily traceable when the word is written in the uncial character.

LU'BIM (לוּבִים, 2 Chr. xii. 3, xvi. 8; Nah. iii. 9, לֻבִים, Dan. xi. 43 [perh. *thirsty*, thence *inhabitants of a dry land*, Ges.]: Λιβυες: *Libyes;* except Daniel. *Libyn* [*Lybia*, Van Ess]), a nation mentioned as contributing, together with Cushites and Sukkiim, to Shishak's army (2 Chr. xii. 3); and apparently as forming with Cushites the bulk of Zerah's army (xvi. 8), spoken of by Nahum (iii. 9) with Put or Phut, as helping No-Amon (Thebes), of which Cush and Egypt were the strength; and by Daniel (xi. 43) as paying court with the Cushites to a conqueror of Egypt or the Egyptians. These particulars indicate an African nation under tribute to Egypt, if not under Egyptian rule, contributing, in the 10th century B. C., valuable aid in mercenaries or auxiliaries to the Egyptian armies, and down to Nahum's time, and a period prophesied of by Daniel, probably the

[a] "Promiscuum et innoxium, quod ipsum" (*i. e.* the entertainment, surely not the *sacramentum*) "frenos dedisse post edictum meum" (*Ep.* x. 97).

[b] This subject is also discussed under LORD'S SUPPER.

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reign of Antiochus Epiphanes [ANTIOCHUS IV.], assisting, either politically or commercially, to sustain the Egyptian power, or, in the last case, dependent on it. These indications do not fix the geographical position of the Lubim, but they favor the supposition that their territory was near Egypt, either to the west or south.

For more precise information we look to the Egyptian monuments, upon which we find representations of a people called REBU, or LEBU (R and L having no distinction in hieroglyphics), who cannot be doubted to correspond to the Lubim. These Rebu were a warlike people, with whom Menptah (the son and successor of Rameses II.) and Rameses III., who both ruled in the 13th century B. C., waged successful wars. The latter king routed them with much slaughter. The sculptures of the great temple he raised at Thebes, now called that of Medeenet Haboo, give us representations of the Rebu, showing that they were fair, and of what is called a Semitic type, like the Berbers and Kabyles. They are distinguished as northern, that is, as parallel to, or north of, Lower Egypt. Of their being African there can be no reasonable doubt, and we may assign them to the coast of the Mediterranean, commencing not far to the westward of Egypt. We do not find them to have been mercenaries of Egypt from the monuments, but we know that the kindred Mashawasha-u were so employed by the Bubastite family, to which Shishak and probably Zerah also belonged; and it is not unlikely that the latter are intended by the Lubim, used in a more generic sense than Rebu, in the Biblical mention of the armies of these kings. (Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschr.* ii. 79 ff.) We have already shown that the Lubim are probably the Mizraite LEHABIM: if so, their so-called Semitic physical characteristics, as represented on the Egyptian monuments, afford evidence of great importance for the inquirer into primeval history. The mention in Manetho's Dynasties that, under Necherophes, or Necherochis, the first Memphite king, and head of the third dynasty (B. C. cir. 2600), the Libyans revolted from the Egyptians, but returned to their allegiance through fear, on a wonderful increase of the moon,[a] may refer to the Lubim, but may as probably relate to some other African people, perhaps the Naphtuhim, or Phut (Put).

The historical indications of the Egyptian monuments thus lead us to place the seat of the Lubim, or primitive Libyans, on the African coast to the westward of Egypt, perhaps extending far beyond the Cyrenaica. From the earliest ages of which we have any record, a stream of colonization has flowed from the east along the coast of Africa, north of the Great Desert, as far as the Pillars of Hercules. The oldest of these colonists of this region were doubtless the Lubim and kindred tribes, particularly the Mashawasha-u and Tahennu of the Egyptian monuments, all of which appear to have ultimately taken their common name of Libyans from the Lubim. They seem to have been first reduced by the Egyptians about 1250 B. C., and to have been afterwards driven inland by the Phœnician and Greek colonists. Now, they still remain on the northern confines of the Great Desert, and even within it, and in the mountains, while their later Shemite rivals pasture their flocks in the rich plains. Many as are the Arab tribes of Africa, one great tribe, that of the Benee 'Alee, extends from Egypt to Morocco, illustrating the probable extent of the territory of the Lubim and their cognates. It is possible that in Ezek. xxx. 5, Lub, לוּב, should be read for Chub, כּוּב; but there is no other instance of the use of this form: as, however, לוּד and לוּדִים are used for one people, apparently the Mizraite Ludim, most probably kindred to the Lubim, this objection is not conclusive [CHUB; LUDIM]. In Jer. xlvi. 9, the A. V. renders Phut "the Libyans;" and in Ezek. xxxviii. 5 "Libya." R. S. P.

LU'CAS (Λουκᾶς: *Lucas*), a friend and companion of St. Paul during his imprisonment at Rome (Philem. 24). He is the same as Luke, the beloved physician, who is associated with Demas in Col. iv. 14, and who remained faithful to the Apostle when others forsook him (2 Tim. iv. 11), on his first examination before the emperor. For the grounds of his identification with the evangelist St. Luke, see article LUKE.

LU'CIFER (הֵילֵל [see below]: Ἑωσφόρος: *Lucifer*). The name is found in Is. xiv. 12, coupled with the epithet "son of the morning," and (being derived from הָלַל, "to shine") clearly signifies a "bright star," and probably what we call the morning star.[b] In this passage it is a symbolical representation of the king of Babylon, in his splendor and in his fall; perhaps also it refers to his glory as paling before the unveiled presence of God. Its application (from St. Jerome downwards) to Satan in his fall from heaven arises probably from the fact that the Babylonian Empire is in Scripture represented as the type of tyrannical and self-idolizing power, and especially connected with the empire of the Evil One in the Apocalypse. The fall of its material power before the unseen working of the providence of God is therefore a type of the defeat of all manifestations of the tyranny of Satan. This application of the name "Lucifer" as a proper name of the Devil, is plainly ungrounded; but the magnificence of the imagery of the prophet, far transcending in grandeur the fall of Nebuchadnezzar to which it immediately refers, has naturally given a color to the symbolical interpretation of the passage, and fixed that application in our modern language. A. B.

LU'CIUS (Λεύκιος, Λούκιος: [*Lucius*]), a Roman consul (ὕπατος Ῥωμαίων), who is said to have written the letter to Ptolemy (Euergetes), which assured Simon I. of the protection of Rome (cir. B. C. 139–8; 1 Macc. xv. 10, 15–24). The whole form of the letter — the mention of one consul only, the description of the consul by the prænomen, the omission of the senate and of the date (comp. Wernsdorf, *De fide Macc.* § cxix.), — shows that it cannot be an accurate copy of the original

[a] Νεχερώφης . . . ἀφ' οὗ Λίβυες ἀνέστησαν Αἰγυπτίων . καὶ τὸν σελήνης παρὰ λόγον αὐξηθείσης διὰ δέος ἐκείνους παρέλυσαν (Afr. ap. Cory, *Anc. Frag.* 2d ed. p. 101, comp. 103)

[b] The other interpretation, which makes הֵילֵל an imperative of the verb יָלַל, in the sense of "wail" or "lament," injures the parallelism, and is generally regarded as untenable.

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document; but there is nothing in the substance of the letter which is open to just suspicion.

The imperfect transcription of the name has led to the identification of Lucius with three distinct persons — (1.) [Lucius] Furius Philus (the lists, Clinton, *Fasti Hell.* ii. 112, give P. Furius Philus), who was not consul till B. C. 136, and is therefore at once excluded. (2.) Lucius Cæcilius Metellus Calvus, who was consul in B. C. 142, immediately after Simon assumed the government. On this supposition it might seem not unlikely that the answer which Simon received to an application for protection, which he made to Rome directly on his assumption of power (comp. 1 Macc. xiv. 17, 18) in the consulship of Metellus, has been combined with the answer to the later embassy of Numenius (1 Macc. xiv. 24, xv. 18). (3.) But the third identification with Lucius Calpurnius Piso, who was consul B. C. 139, is most probably correct. The date exactly corresponds, and, though the prænomen of Calpurnius is not established beyond all question, the balance of evidence is decidedly against the common lists. The *Fasti Capitolini* are defective for this year, and only give a fragment of the name of Popillius, the fellow-consul of Calpurnius. Cassiodorus (*Chron.*) as edited, gives *Cn.* Calpurnius, but the eye of the scribe (if the reading is correct) was probably misled by the names in the years immediately before. On the other hand Valerius Maximus (i. 3) is wrongly quoted from the printed text as giving the same prænomen. The passage in which the name occurs is in reality no part of Valerius Maximus, but a piece of the abstract of Julius Paris inserted in the text. Of eleven MSS. of Valerius which the writer has examined, it occurs only in one (Mus. Brit. *Burn.* 209), and there the name is given *Lucius* Calpurnius, as it is given by Mai in his edition of Julius Paris (*Script. Vet. Nova Coll.* iii. 7). Sigonius says rightly (*Fasti Cons.* p. 207): "Cassiodorus prodit consules Cn. Pisonem epitoma L. Calpurnium" . . . The chance of an error of transcription in Julius Paris is obviously less than in the *Fasti* of Cassiodorus; and even if the evidence were equal, the authority of 1 Macc. might rightly be urged as decisive in such a case.

Josephus omits all mention of the letter of "Lucius" in his account of Simon, but gives one very similar in contents (*Ant.* xiv. 8, § 5), as written on the motion of *Lucius* Valerius in the ninth (nineteenth) year of Hyrcanus II.; and unless the two letters and the two missions which led to them were purposely assimilated, which is not wholly improbable, it must be supposed that he has been guilty of a strange oversight in removing the incident from its proper place. B. F. W.

LU'CIUS (Λούκιος: *Lucius*), a kinsman or fellow-tribesman of St. Paul (Rom. xv. 21), by whom he is said by tradition to have been ordained bishop of the church of Cenchreæ, from whence the Epistle to the Romans was written (*Apost. Const.* vii. 46). He is thought by some to be the same with Lucius of Cyrene. (See the following article.)

LU'CIUS OF CYRE'NE (Λούκιος ὁ Κυρηναῖος). Lucius, thus distinguished by the name of his city — the capital of a Greek colony in Northern Africa, and remarkable for the number of its Jewish inhabitants — is first mentioned in the N. T. in company with Barnabas, Simeon called Niger, Manaen, and Saul, who are described as prophets and teachers of the church at Antioch (Acts xiii. 1). These honored disciples having, while engaged in the office of common worship, received commandment from the Holy Ghost to set apart Barnabas and Saul for the special service of God, proceeded, after fasting and prayer, to lay their hands upon them. This is the first recorded instance of a formal ordination to the office of Evangelist, but it cannot be supposed that so solemn a commission would have been given to any but such as had themselves been ordained to the ministry of the Word, and we may therefore assume that Lucius and his companions were already of that number. Whether Lucius was one of the seventy disciples, as stated by Pseudo-Hippolytus, is quite a matter of conjecture, but it is highly probable that he formed one of the congregation to whom St. Peter preached on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 10); and there can hardly be a doubt that he was one of "the men of Cyrene" who, being "scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen," went to Antioch preaching the Lord Jesus (Acts xi. 19, 20).

It is commonly supposed that Lucius is the kinsman of St. Paul mentioned by that Apostle as joining with him in his salutation to the Roman brethren (Rom. xvi. 21). There is certainly no sufficient reason for regarding him as identical with St. Luke the Evangelist, though this opinion was apparently held by Origen (*in loco*), and is supported by Calmet, as well as by Wetstein, who adduces in confirmation of it the fact reported by Herodotus (iii. 121), that the Cyrenians had throughout Greece a high reputation as physicians. But it must be observed that the names are clearly distinct. The missionary companion of St. Paul was not Lucius, but Lucas, or Lucanus, "the beloved physician," who, though named in three different Epistles (Col. iv. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 11; Philem. 24), is never referred to as a relation. Again, it is hardly probable that St. Luke, who suppresses his own name as the companion of St. Paul, would have mentioned himself as one among the more distinguished prophets and teachers at Antioch. Olshausen, indeed, asserts confidently that the notion of St. Luke and Lucius being the same person has nothing whatever to support it (Clark's *Theol. Lib.* iv. 513). In the *Apostolical Constitutions*, vii. 46, it is stated that St. Paul consecrated Lucius bishop of Cenchreæ. Different traditions make Lucius the first bishop of Cyrene and of Laodicea in Syria. E. H—s.

LUD (לוּד: Λούδ; [Ezek. xxvii. 10, xxx. 5, Λυδοί:] *Lud* [*Lydia, Lydii, Lydi*]), the fourth name in the list of the children of Shem (Gen. x. 22; comp. 1 Chr. i. 17), that of a person or tribe, or both, descended from him. It has been supposed that Lud was the ancestor of the Lydians (Jos. *Ant.* i. 6, § 4), and thus represented by the Lydus of their mythical period (Herod. i. 7). The Shemite character of their manners, and the strong orientalism of the art of the Lydian kingdom during its latest period and after the Persian conquest, but before the predominance of Greek art in Asia Minor favor this idea; but, on the other hand, the Egyptian monuments show us in the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries B. C. a powerful people called RUTEN or LUDEN, probably seated near Mesopotamia, and apparently north of Palestine, whom some, however, make the Assyrians. We may perhaps conjecture that the Lydians first established them

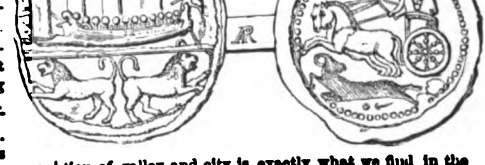
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selves near Palestine, and afterwards spread into Asia Minor; the occupiers of the old seat of the race being destroyed or removed by the Assyrians. For the question whether the Lud [Is. lxvi. 19, Ezek. xxvii. 10, xxx. 5] or Ludim mentioned by the prophets be of this stock or the Mizraite Ludim of Gen. x., see the next article. R. S. P.

LU'DIM (לוּדִים, Gen. x. 13, לוּדִיִּים, 1 Chr. i. 11 [perh. *shining white*, Fürst]: Λουδιείμ: *Ludim*), a Mizraite people or tribe. From their position at the head of the list of the Mizraites, it is probable that the Ludim were settled to the west of Egypt, perhaps further than any other Mizraite tribe. Lud and the Ludim are mentioned in four passages of the prophets. It is important to ascertain, if possible, whether the Mizraite Ludim or the Shemite Lud be referred to in each of these passages. Isaiah mentions "Tarshish, Pul, and Lud, that draw the bow (מֹשְׁכֵי קָשֶׁת), Tubal, and Javan, the isles afar off" (lxvi. 19). Here the expression in the plural, "that draw the bow" (*tendentes sagittam*, Vulg.), may refer only to Lud, and therefore not connect it with one or both of the names preceding. A comparison with the other three passages, in all which Phut is mentioned immediately before or after Lud or the Ludim, makes it almost certain that the LXX. reading, Phut, Φούδ, for Pul, a word not occurring in any other passage, is the true one, extraordinary as is the change from מֹשְׁכֵי to Μοσόχ. [PUL.] Jeremiah, in speaking of Pharaoh Necho's army, makes mention of "Cush and Phut that handle the buckler; and the Ludim that handle [and] bend the bow" [a] (xlvi. 9). Here the Ludim are associated with African nations, as mercenaries or auxiliaries of the king of Egypt, and therefore it would seem probable, *primâ facie*, that the Mizraite Ludim are intended. Ezekiel, in the description of Tyre,[b] speaks thus of Lud: "Persia and Lud and Phut were in thine army, thy men of war: buckler (מָגֵן) and helmet hung they up in thee; they set thine adorning" (xxvii. 10). In this place Lud might seem to mean the Shemite Lud, especially if the latter be connected with Lydia; but the association with Phut renders it as likely that the nation or country is that of the African Ludim. In the prophecy against Gog a similar passage occurs: "Persia, Cush, and Phut (A. V. "Libya") with them [the army of Gog]; all of them [with] buckler (מָגֵן) and helmet" (xxxviii. 5). It seems from this that there were Persian mercenaries at this time, the prophet perhaps, if speaking of a remote future period, using their name and that of other well-known mercenaries in a general sense. The association of Persia and Lud in the former passage loses therefore somewhat of its weight. In one of the prophecies against Egypt Lud is thus mentioned among the supports of that country: "And the sword shall come upon Mizraim, and great pain shall be in Cush, at the falling of the slain in Mizraim, and they shall take away her multitude (הֲמוֹנָהּ),[c] and her foundations shall be broken down. Cush, and Phut, and Lud, and all the mingled people (עֶרֶב), and Chub, and the children of the land of the covenant, shall fall by the sword with them" (xxx. 4, 5). Here Lud is associated with Cush and Phut, as though an African nation. The Ereb, whom we have called

[a] The manner in which these foreign troops in the Egyptian army are characterized is perfectly in accordance with the evidence of the monuments, which, although about six centuries earlier than the prophet's time, no doubt represent the same condition of military matters. The only people of Africa beyond Egypt, portrayed on the monuments, whom we can consider as most probably of the same stock as the Egyptians, are the ReBU, who are the Lubim of the Bible, almost certainly the same as the Mizraite Lehabim. [LEHABIM; LUBIM.] Therefore we may take the ReBU as probably illustrating the Ludim, supposing the latter to be Mizraites, in which case they may indeed be included under the same name as the Lubim, if the appellation ReBU be wider than the Lubim of the Bible, and also as illustrating Cush and Phut. The last two are spoken of as handling the buckler. The Egyptians are generally represented with small shields, frequently round; the ReBU with small round shields, for which the term here used, מָגֵן, the small shield, and the expression "that handle," are perfectly appropriate. That the Ludim should have been archers, and apparently armed with a long bow that was strung with the aid of the foot by treading (דֹּרְכֵי קָשֶׁת), is note-worthy, since the Africans were always famous for their archery. The ReBU, and one other of the foreign nations that served in the Egyptian army — the monuments show the former only as enemies — were bowmen, being armed with a bow of moderate length; the other mercenaries — of whom we can only identify the Philistine Cherethim, though they probably include certain of the mercenaries or auxiliaries mentioned in the Bible — carrying swords and javelins, but not bows. These points of agreement, founded on our examination of the monuments, are of no little weight, as showing the accuracy of the Bible.

[b] The description of Tyre in this prophecy of Ezekiel receives striking illustration from what we believe to be its earliest coins. These coins were held to be most probably of Tyre, or some other Phœnician city, or possibly of Babylon, on numismatic evidence alone, by the writer's lamented colleague at the British Museum, Mr. Burgon. They probably date during the 5th century B. C.; they may possibly be a little older; but it is most reasonable to consider them as of the time of, and issued by Darius Hystaspis. The chief coins are octodrachms of the earlier Phœnician weight [MONEY], bearing on the obverse a war-galley beneath the towered walls of a city, and, on the reverse, a king in a chariot, with an incuse goat beneath. This combination of galley and city is exactly what we find in the description of Tyre in Ezekiel, which mainly portrays a state-galley, but also refers to a port, and speaks of towers and walls.



[c] There may perhaps be here a reference by paronomasia to Ammon, the chief divinity of Thebes, the Hebrew name of which, אָמוֹן, contains his name [AMON.]

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"mingled people" rather than "strangers," appear to have been an Arab population of the Sinaitic peninsula, perhaps including Arab or half-Arab tribes of the Egyptian desert to the east of the Nile. Chub is a name nowhere else occurring, which perhaps should be read Lub, for the country or nation of the Lubim. [CHUB; LUBIM.] The "children of the land of the covenant" may be some league of tribes, as probably were the Nine Bows of the Egyptian inscriptions; or the expression may mean nations or tribes allied with Egypt, as though a general designation for the rest of its supporters besides those specified. It is noticeable that in this passage, although Lud is placed among the close allies or supporters of Egypt, yet it follows African nations, and is followed by a nation or tribe at least partly inhabiting Asia, although possibly also partly inhabiting Africa.

There can be no doubt that but one nation is intended in these passages, and it seems that thus far the preponderance of evidence is in favor of the Mizraite Ludim. There are no indications in the Bible known to be positive of mercenary or allied troops in the Egyptian armies, except of Africans, and perhaps of tribes bordering Egypt on the east. We have still to inquire how the evidence of the Egyptian monuments and of profane history may affect our supposition. From the former we learn that several foreign nations contributed allies or mercenaries to the Egyptian armies. Among them we identify the REBU with the Lubim, and the SHARYATANA with the Cherethim, who also served in David's army. The latter were probably from the coast of Palestine, although they may have been drawn in the case of the Egyptian army from an insular portion of the same people. The rest of these foreign troops seem to have been of African nations, but this is not certain. The evidence of the monuments reaches no lower than the time of the Bubastite line. There is a single foreign contemporary inscribed record on one of the colossi of the temple of Aboo-Simbel in Nubia, recording the passage of Greek mercenaries of a Psammetichus, probably the first (Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt and Thebes*, ii. 329).[a] From the Greek writers, who give us information from the time of Psammetichus I. downwards, we learn that Ionian, Carian, and other Greek mercenaries formed an important element in the Egyptian army in all times when the country was independent, from the time of that king until the final conquest by Ochus. These mercenaries were even settled in Egypt by Psammetichus. There does not seem to be any mention of them in the Bible, excepting they be intended by Lud and the Ludim in the passages that have been considered. It must be recollected that it is reasonable to connect the Shemite Lud with the Lydians, and that at the time of the prophets by whom Lud and the Ludim are mentioned, the Lydian kingdom generally or always included the more western part of Asia Minor, so that the terms Lud and Ludim might well apply to the Ionian and Carian mercenaries drawn from this territory.[b] We must therefore hesitate before absolutely concluding that this important portion of the Egyptian mercenaries is not mentioned in the Bible upon the *primâ facia* evidence that the only name which could stand for it would seem to be that of an African nation.

R. S. P.

LU'HITH, THE ASCENT OF (מַעֲלֵה הַלְּחִית, in Isaiah; and so also in the *Kri* or corrected text of Jeremiah, although there the original text has הלדות, *i. e.* hal-Luhôth: ἡ ἀνάβασις Λουείθ; in Jeremiah, Ἀλαθ,[c] Alex. Αλαεθ, [FA.[a] Αλεθ:] *ascensus Luith*), a place in Moab; apparently the ascent to a sanctuary or holy spot on an eminence. It occurs only in Is. xv. 5, and the parallel passage of Jeremiah (xlviii. 5). It is mentioned with ZOAR and HORONAIM, but whether because they were locally connected, or because they were all sanctuaries, is doubtful. In the days of Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomasticon*, "Luith") it was still known, and stood between Areopolis (Rabbath-Moab) and Zoar, the latter being probably at the mouth of the *Wady Kerak*. M. de Saulcy (*Voyage*, ii. 19, and *Map*, sheet 9) places it at "Kharbet-Nouâhin;" but this is north of Areopolis, and cannot be said to lie between it and Zoar, whether we take Zoar on the east or the west side of the sea. The writer is not aware that any one else has attempted to identify the place.

The signification of the name hal-Luhith must remain doubtful. As a Hebrew word it signifies "made of boards or posts" (Ges. *Thes.* p. 748); but why assume that a Moabite spot should have a Hebrew name? By the Syriac interpreters it is rendered "paved with flagstones" (Eichhorn, *Allg Bibliothek*, i. 845, 872). In the Targums (*Pseudojon.* and *Jerus.* on Num. xxi. 16, and *Jonathan* on Is. xv. 1) Lechaiath is given as the equivalent of Ar-Moab. This may contain an allusion to Luchith; or it may point to the use of a term meaning "jaw" for certain eminences, not only in the case of the Lehi of Samson, but also elsewhere. (See Michaelis, *Suppl.* No. 1307; but, on the other hand, Buxtorf, *Lex. Rabb.* 1134.) It is probably, like AKRABBIM, the name of the ascent, and not of any town at the summit, as in that case the word would appear as Luhithah, with the particle of motion added.

G.

LUKE. The name Luke (Λουκᾶς: [*Lucas*]), is an abbreviated form of Lucianus or of Lucilius (Meyer) It is not to be confounded with Lucius (Acts xiii. 1: Rom. xvi. 21), which belongs to a different person. The name Luke occurs three times in the New Testament (Col. iv. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 11; Philem. 24), and probably in all three, the third Evangelist is the person spoken of. To the Colossians he is described as "the beloved physician," probably because he had been known to them in that faculty. Timothy needs no additional mark for identification; to him the words are, "only Luke is with me." To Philemon Luke sends his salutation in common with other "fellow-laborers" of St Paul. As there is every reason to believe that the Luke of these passages is the author of the Acts of the Apostles as well as of the Gospel which bears his name, it is natural to seek in the former book for

[a] The leader of these mercenaries is called in the inscription "Psammatichus, son of Theocles;" which shows, in the adoption of an Egyptian name, the domestication of these Greeks in Egypt.

[b] Any indications of an alliance with Lydia under Amasis are insufficient to render it probable that even then Lydians fought in the Egyptian army, and throw no light on the earlier relations of the Egyptians and Lydians.

[c] The LXX. follow the *Orthôth* rather than the *Kri* as they frequently do elsewhere and also include the definite article of the Hebrew.

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some traces of that connection with St. Paul which these passages assume to exist; and although the name of St. Luke does not occur in the Acts, there is reason to believe that under the pronoun "we" several references to the Evangelist are to be added to the three places just quoted.

Combining the traditional element with the Scriptural, the uncertain with the certain, we are able to trace the following dim outline of the Evangelist's life. He was born at Antioch in Syria (Eusebius, *Hist.* iii. 4); in what condition of life is uncertain. That he was taught the science of medicine does not prove that he was of higher birth than the rest of the disciples; medicine in its earlier and ruder state was sometimes practiced even by a slave. The well-known tradition that Luke was also a painter, and of no mean skill, rests on the authority of Nicephorus (ii. 43), of the Menology of the Emperor Basil, drawn up in 980, and of other late writers; but none of them are of historical authority, and the Acts and Epistles are wholly silent upon a point so likely to be mentioned. He was not born a Jew, for he is not reckoned among them "of the circumcision" by St. Paul (comp. Col. iv. 11 with ver. 14). If this be not thought conclusive, nothing can be argued from the Greek idioms in his style, for he might be a Hellenist Jew, nor from the Gentile tendency of his Gospel, for this it would share with the inspired writings of St. Paul, a Pharisee brought up at the feet of Gamaliel. The date of his conversion is uncertain. He was not indeed "an eye-witness and minister of the word from the beginning" (Luke i. 2), or he would have rested his claim as an Evangelist upon that ground. Still he may have been converted by the Lord Himself, some time before his departure; and the statement of Epiphanius (*Cont. Hær.* li. 11) and others, that he was one of the seventy disciples, has nothing very improbable in it; whilst that which Theophylact adopts (on Luke xxiv.), that he was one of the two who journeyed to Emmaus with the risen Redeemer, has found modern defenders. Tertullian assumes that the conversion of Luke is to be ascribed to Paul — "Lucas non apostolus, sed apostolicus; non magister, sed discipulus, utique magistro minor, certe tanto posterior quanto posterioris Apostoli sectator, Pauli sine dubio" (*Adv. Marcion.* iv. 2); and the balance of probability is on this side.

The first ray of historical light falls on the Evangelist when he joins St. Paul at Troas, and shares his journey into Macedonia. The sudden transition to the first person plural in Acts xvi. 10 is most naturally explained, after all the objections that have been urged, by supposing that Luke, the writer of the Acts, formed one of St. Paul's company from this point. His conversion had taken place before, since he silently assumes his place among the great Apostle's followers without any hint that this was his first admission to the knowledge and ministry of Christ. He may have found his way to Troas to preach the Gospel, sent possibly by St. Paul himself. As far as Philippi the Evangelist journeyed with the Apostle. The resumption of the third person on Paul's departure from that place (xvii. 1) would show that Luke was now left behind. During the rest of St. Paul's second missionary journey we hear of Luke no more. But on the third journey the same indication reminds us that Luke is again of the company (Acts xx. 5), having joined it apparently at Philippi, where he had been left. With the Apostle he passed through Miletus, Tyre, and Cæsarea to Jerusalem (xx. 5, xxi. 18). Between the two visits of Paul to Philippi seven years had elapsed (A. D. 51 to A. D. 58), which the Evangelist may have spent in Philippi and its neighborhood, preaching the Gospel.

There remains one passage, which, if it refers to St. Luke, must belong to this period. "We have sent with him" (*i. e.* Titus) "the brother whose praise is in the gospel throughout all the churches" (2 Cor. viii. 18). The subscription of the epistle sets out that it was "written from Philippi, a city of Macedonia, by Titus *and Lucas*," and it is an old opinion that Luke was the companion of Titus, although he is not named in the body of the epistle. If this be so, we are to suppose that during the "three months" of Paul's sojourn at Philippi (Acts xx. 3) Luke was sent from that place to Corinth on this errand; and the words "whose praise is in the Gospel throughout all the churches" enable us to form an estimate of his activity during the interval in which he has not been otherwise mentioned. It is needless to add that the praise lay in the activity with which he preached the Gospel, and not, as Jerome understands the passage, in his being the author of a written gospel. "Lucas . . . scripsit Evangelium de quo idem Paulus 'Misimus, inquit, cum illo fratrem, cujus laus est in Evangelio per omnes ecclesias'" (*De Viris Ill.* c. 7).

He again appears in the company of Paul in the memorable journey to Rome (Acts xxvii. 1). He remained at his side during his first imprisonment (Col. iv. 14; Philem. 24); and if it is to be supposed that the Second Epistle to Timothy was written during the second imprisonment, then the testimony of that epistle (iv. 11) shows that he continued faithful to the Apostle to the end of his afflictions.

After the death of St. Paul, the acts of his faithful companion are hopelessly obscure to us. In the well-known passage of Epiphanius (*cont. Hær.* li. 11, vol. ii. 464, in Dindorf's recent edition), we find that "receiving the commission to preach the Gospel, [Luke] preaches first in Dalmatia and Gallia, in Italy and Macedonia, but first in Gallia, as Paul himself says of some of his companions, in his epistles, '*Crescens in Gallia*,' for we are not to read '*in Galatia*' as some mistakenly think, but '*in Gallia*.'" But there seems to be as little authority for this account of St. Luke's ministry as there is for the reading *Gallia* in 2 Tim. iv. 10. How scanty are the data, and how vague the results, the reader may find by referring to the *Acta Sanctorum*, October, vol. viii., in the recent Brussels edition. It is, as perhaps the Evangelist wishes it to be: we only know him whilst he stands by the side of his beloved Paul; when the master departs the history of the follower becomes confusion and fable. As to the age and death of the Evangelist there is the utmost uncertainty. It seems probable that he died in advanced life; but whether he suffered martyrdom or died a natural death; whether Bithynia or Achaia, or some other country, witnessed his end, it is impossible to determine amidst contradictory voices. That he died a martyr, between A. D. 75 and A. D. 100, would seem to have the balance of suffrages in its favor. It is enough for us, so far as regards the Gospel of St. Luke, to know that the writer was the tried and constant friend of the Apostle Paul, who shared his labors, and was not driven from his side by danger.

W. F.

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LUKE, GOSPEL OF. The third Gospel is ascribed, by the general consent of ancient Christendom, to "the beloved physician," Luke, the friend and companion of the Apostle Paul. In the well-known Muratorian fragment (see vol. ii. p. 942) we find "Tertio evangelii librum secundum Lucam. Lucas iste medicus post ascensum Christi cum eum Paulus, quasi ut juris studiosum secundum adsumsisset, nomine suo ex opinione conscripsit. Dominum tamen nec ipse vidit in carne. Et idem prout assequi potuit. Ita et ab nativitate Johannis incipit dicere." (Here Credner's restoration of the text is followed; see his *Geschichte des N. T. Kanon*, p. 153, § 76; comp. Routh's *Reliquiæ*, vol. iv.) The citations of Justin Martyr from the Gospel narrative show an acquaintance with and use of St. Luke's account (see Kirchhofer, *Quellensammlung*, p. 132, for the passages). Irenæus (*cont. Hær.* iii. 1) says that "Luke, the follower of Paul, preserved in a book the Gospel which that Apostle preached." The same writer affords (iii. 14) an account of the contents of the Gospel, which proves that in the book preserved to us we possess the same which he knew. Eusebius (iii. 4) speaks without doubting, of the two books, the Gospel and the Acts, as the work of St. Luke. Both he and Jerome (*Catal. Script. Eccl.* c. 7) mention the opinion that when St. Paul uses the words "according to my Gospel" it is to the work of St. Luke that he refers; both mention that St. Luke derived his knowledge of divine things, not from Paul only, but from the rest of the Apostles, with whom (says Eusebius) he had active intercourse. Although St. Paul's words refer in all probability to no written Gospel at all, but to the substance of his own inspired preaching, the error is important, as showing how strong was the opinion in ancient times that Paul was in some way connected with the writing of the third Gospel.

It has been shown already [GOSPELS, vol. ii. p. 942 f.] that the Gospels were in use as one collection, and were spoken of undoubtingly as the work of those whose names they bear, towards the end of the second century. But as regards the genuineness of St. Luke any discussion is entangled with a somewhat difficult question, namely, what is the relation of the Gospel we possess to that which was used by the heretic Marcion? The case may be briefly stated.

The religion of Jesus Christ announced salvation to Jew and Gentile, through Him who was born a Jew, of the seed of David. The two sides of this fact produced very early two opposite tendencies in the Church. One party thought of Christ as the Messiah of the Jews; the other as the Redeemer of the human race. The former viewed the Lord as the Messiah of Jewish prophecy and tradition; the other as the revealer of a doctrine wholly new, in which atonement and salvation and enlightenment were offered to men for the first time. Marcion of Sinope, who flourished in the first half of the second century, expressed strongly the tendency opposed to Judaism. The scheme of redemption, so full of divine compassion and love, was adopted by him, though in a perverted form, with his whole heart. The aspersions on his sincerity are thrown out in the loose rhetoric of controversy, and are to be received with something more than caution. The heathen world, into the discord of which the music of that message had never come, appeared to him as the kingdom of darkness and of Satan. So far Marcion and his opponents would go together. But how does Marcion deal with the O. T.? He views it, not as a preparation for the coming of the Lord, but as something hostile in spirit to the Gospel. In God, as revealed in the O. T., he saw only a being jealous and cruel. The heretic Cerdo taught that the just and severe God of the Law and the Prophets was not the same as the merciful Father of the Lord Jesus. This dualism Marcion carried further, and blasphemously argued that the God of the O. T. was represented as doing evil and delighting in strife, as repenting of his decrees and inconsistent with Himself.[a] This divorcement of the N. T. from the Old was at the root of Marcion's doctrine. In his strange system the God of the O. T. was a lower being, to whom he gave the name of Δημιουργός, engaged in a constant conflict with matter (Ὕλη), over which he did not gain a complete victory. But the holy and eternal God, perfect in goodness and love, comes not in contact with matter, and creates only what is like to and cognate with himself. In the O. T. we see the "Demiurgus;" the history of redemption is the history of the operation of the true God. Thus much it is necessary to state as bearing upon what follows: the life and doctrine of Marcion have received a much fuller elucidation from Neander, *Kirchengeschichte*, vol. ii.; *Antignostikus*, and *Dogmengeschichte;* and from Volkmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, p. 25. The data in older writers are found in the Apology of Justin Martyr, in Tertullian against Marcion i.–v.; in Irenæus, i. ch. 27; and Epiphanius, *Hær.* xlii.

For the present purpose it is to be noticed that a teacher, determined as Marcion was to sever the connection between the Old and New Testament, would approach the Gospel history with strong prejudices, and would be unable to accept as it stands the written narrative of any of the three Evangelists, so far as it admitted allusions to the Old Testament as the soil and root of the New. It is clear, in fact, that he regarded Paul as the only Apostle who had remained faithful to his calling. He admitted the Epistles of St. Paul, and a Gospel which he regarded as Pauline, and rejected the rest of the N. T., not from any idea that the books were not genuine, but because they were, as he alleged, the genuine works of men who were not faithful teachers of the Gospel they had received.

But what was the Gospel which Marcion used? The ancient testimony is very strong on this point; it was the Gospel of St. Luke, altered to suit his peculiar tenets. "Et super hæc," says Irenæus, "id quod est secundum Lucam Evangelium circumcidens, et omnia quæ sunt de generatione Domini conscripta auferens, et de doctrinâ sermonum Domini multa auferens, in quibus manifestissime conditorem hujus universitatis suum Patrem confitens Dominus conscriptus est; semetipsum esse verациorem quam sunt hi, qui Evangelium tradiderunt apostoli, suasit discipulis suis; non Evange-

[a] "Cerdon autem . docuit eum qui a lege et prophetis annuntiatus sit Deus, non esse patrem Domini nostri Christi Jesu. Hunc enim cognosci, illum autem ignorari; et alterum quidem justum, alterum autem iratum esse. Succedens autem ei Marcion Ponticus adamplavit doctrinam, impudorate blasphemans eum qui a lege et prophetis annuntiatus est Deus; majorem factorem et bellorum concupiscentem et inconstantem quoque sententia, et contrarium sibi ipsum dicens (Irenæus, i. 27, §§ 1 and 2, p. 256, Stieren's ed.).

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lium sed particulam Evangelii tradens eis. Similiter autem et apostoli Pauli Epistolas abscidit, auferens quæcumque manifeste dicta sunt ab apostolo de eo Deo, qui mundum fecit, quoniam hic Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et quæcumque ex propheticis memorans apostolus docuit, prænuntiantibus adventum Domini" (*cont. Hær.* i. xxvii. 2). "Lucam videtur Marcion elegisse," says Tertullian, "quem sederet" (*cont. Marc.* iv. 2; comp. Origen, *cont. Celsum*, ii. 27; Epiphanius, *Hær.* xlii. 11; Theodoret, *Hæret. Fab.* i. 24). Marcion, however, did not ascribe to Luke by name the Gospel thus corrupted (Tert. *cont. Marc.* iv. 6), calling it simply the Gospel of Christ.

From these passages the opinion that Marcion formed for himself a Gospel, on the principle of rejecting all that savored of Judaism in an existing narrative, and that he selected the Gospel of St. Luke as needing the least alteration, seems to have been held universally in the Church, until Semler started a doubt, the prolific seed of a large controversy; from the whole result of which, however, the cause of truth has little to regret. His opinion was that the Gospel of St. Luke and that used by Marcion were drawn from one and the same original source, neither being altered from the other. He thinks that Tertullian erred from want of historical knowledge. The charge of Epiphanius, of omissions in Marcion's Gospel, he meets by the fact of Tertullian's silence. Griesbach, about the same time, cast doubt upon the received opinion. Eichhorn applied his theory of an "original Gospel" [see article GOSPELS, vol. ii. p. 945 f.] to this question, and maintained that the Fathers had mistaken the short and unadulterated Gospel used by Marcion for an abridgment of St. Luke, whereas it was probably more near the "original Gospel" than St. Luke. Hahn has more recently shown, in an elaborate work, that there were sufficient motives, of a doctrinal kind, to induce Marcion to wish to get rid of parts of St. Luke's Gospel; and he refutes Eichhorn's reasoning on several passages which he had misunderstood from neglecting Tertullian's testimony. He has the merit, admitted on all hands, of being the first to collect the data for a restoration of Marcion's text in a satisfactory manner, and of tracing out in detail the bearing of his doctrines on particular portions of it. Many were disposed to regard Hahn's work as conclusive; and certainly most of its results are still undisturbed. Ritschl, however, took the other side, and held that Marcion only used the Gospel of St. Luke in an older and more primitive form, and that what are charged against the former as omissions are often interpolations in the latter. A controversy, in which Baur, Hilgenfeld, and Volkmar took part, has resulted in the confirmation, by an overpowering weight of argument, of the old opinion that Marcion corrupted the Gospel of Luke for his own purposes. Volkmar, whose work contains the best account of the whole controversy, sweeps away, it is to be hoped for ever, the opinion of Ritschl and Baur that Marcion quoted the "original Gospel of Luke," as well as the later view of Baur, for which there is really not a particle of evidence, that the Gospel had passed through the hands of two authors or editors, the former with strong inclinations against Judaism, a zealous follower of St. Paul, and the latter with leanings to Judaism and against the Gnostics! He considers the Gospel of St. Luke, as we now possess it, to be in all its general features that which Marcion found ready to his hand, and which for doctrinal reasons he abridged and altered. In certain passages, indeed, he considers that the Gospel used by Marcion, as cited by Tertullian and Epiphanius, may be employed to correct our present text. But this is only putting the copy used by Marcion on the footing of an older MS. The passages which he considers to have certainly suffered alteration since Marcion's time are only these: Luke x. 21 (*ἐξομολογοῦμαι*), 22 (*καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐγνω τίς ἐστιν ὁ πατὴρ εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς εἰ μὴ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ᾧ ἐὰν βούληται κ. τ. λ.*), xi. 2 (*ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἐλθέτω τὸ πνεῦμά σου*), xii. 38 (*τῇ δευτερινῇ φυλακῇ*), xvii. 2 (supply *εἰ μὴ ἐγεννήθη ἦ κ. τ. λ.*), xviii. 19 (*μή με λέγε ἀγαθόν· εἷς ἐστιν ἀγαθὸς ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*). In all these places the deviations are such as may be found to exist between different MSS. A new witness as to the last, which is of the greatest importance, appears in Hippolytus, *Refutatio Hæresium*, p. 254, Oxford edition, where the *τί με λέγετε ἀγαθόν* appears. See, on all these passages, Tischendorf's *Greek Testament*, ed. vii., and critical notes. Of four other places Volkmar speaks more doubtfully, as having been disturbed, but possibly before Marcion (vi. 17, xii. 32, xvii. 12, xxiii. 2).

From this controversy we gain the following result: Marcion was in the height of his activity about A. D. 138, soon after which Justin Martyr wrote his Apology; and he had probably given forth his Gospel some years before, *i. e.* about A. D. 130. At the time when he composed it he found the Gospel of St. Luke so far diffused and accepted that he based his own Gospel upon it, altering and omitting. Therefore we may assume that, about A. D. 120, the Gospel of St. Luke which we possess was in use, and was familiarly known. The theory that it was composed about the middle or end of the 2d century is thus overthrown; and there is no positive evidence of any kind to set against the harmonious assertion of all the ancient Church that this Gospel is the genuine production of St. Luke.

(On St. Luke's Gospel in its relation to Marcion, see, besides the fathers quoted above, Hahn, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, Königsberg, 1823; Olshausen, *Echtheit der vier kanon. Evangelien*, Königsberg, 1823; Ritschl, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, etc., Tübingen, 1846, with his retractation in *Theol. Jahrb.* 1851; Baur, *Krit. Untersuchungen über d. kanon. Evangelien*, Tübingen, 1847; Hilgenfeld, *Krit. Untersuchungen*, etc., Halle, 1850; Volkmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, Leipsig, 1852; Bishop Thirlwall's *Introduction to Schleiermacher on St. Luke;* De Wette, *Lehrbuch* [*d hist. krit. Einl. in*] *d. N. T.*, Berlin, 1848 [6te Ausg., von Messner u. Lünemann, 1860; see § 70 ff.]. These are but a part of the writers who have touched the subject. The work of Volkmar is the most comprehensive and thorough; and, though some of his views cannot be adopted, he has satisfactorily proved that our Gospel of St. Luke existed before the time of Marcion.[a])

[a] The history of this controversy is highly instructive. For a good account of it, see Bleek's *Einl. in das N. T.* § 82. It should be noted that Baur, unable to resist the arguments of Volkmar, in his *Markusevangelium* (1851), p. 191 ff., essentially modified his earlier view of the relation of Marcion's Gos-

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II. *Date of the Gospel of Luke.* — We have seen that this Gospel was in use before the year 190. From internal evidence the date can be more nearly fixed. From Acts i. 1, it is clear that it was written before the Acts of the Apostles. The latest time actually mentioned in the Acts is the term of two years during which Paul dwelt at Rome "in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him" (xxviii. 30, 31). The writer, who has tracked the footsteps of Paul hitherto with such exactness, leaves him here abruptly, without making known the result of his appeal to Cæsar, or the works in which he engaged afterwards. No other motive for this silence can be suggested than that the writer, at the time when he published the Acts, had no more to tell; and in that case the book of the Acts was completed about the end of the second year of St. Paul's imprisonment, that is, about A. D. 63 (Wieseler, Olshausen, Alford). How much earlier the Gospel, described as "the former treatise" (Acts i. 1), may have been written is uncertain. But Dean Alford (*Prolegomena*) remarks that the words imply some considerable interval between the two productions. The opinion of the younger Thiersch (*Christian Church*, p. 148, Carlyle's translation) thus becomes very probable, that it was written at Cæsarea during St. Paul's imprisonment there, A. D. 58–60. The Gospel of St. Matthew was probably written about the same time; and neither Evangelist appears to have used the other, although both made use of that form of oral teaching which the Apostles had gradually come to employ. [GOSPELS.] It is painful to remark how the opinions of many commentators, who refuse to fix the date of this Gospel earlier than the destruction of Jerusalem, have been influenced by the determination that nothing like prophecy shall be found in it. Believing that our Lord did really prophesy that event, we have no difficulty in believing that an Evangelist reported the prophecy before it was fulfilled (see Meyer's *Commentary*, Introduction).

III. *Place where the Gospel was written.* — If the time has been rightly indicated, the place would be Cæsarea. Other suppositions are — that it was composed in Achaia and the region of Bœotia (Jerome), in Alexandria (Syriac version), in Rome (Ewald, etc.), in Achaia and Macedonia (Hilgenfeld), and Asia Minor (Köstlin). It is impossible to verify these traditions and conjectures.

IV. *Origin of the Gospel.* — The preface, contained in the four first verses of the Gospel, describes the object of its writer. "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word; it seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest know the certainty of those things wherein thou hast been instructed." Here are several facts to be observed. There were many narratives of the life of our Lord current at the early time when Luke wrote his Gospel. The word "many" cannot apply to Matthew and Mark, because it must at any rate include more than two, and because it is implied that former laborers leave something still to do, and that the writer will supersede or supplement them either in whole or in part. The ground of fitness for the task St. Luke places in his having carefully followed out the whole course of events from the beginning. He does not claim the character of an eye-witness from the first; but possibly he may have been a witness of some part of our Lord's doings (see above LUKE, LIFE).

The ancient opinion, that Luke wrote his Gospel under the influence of Paul, rests on the authority of Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, and Eusebius. The two first assert that we have in Luke the Gospel preached by Paul (Iren. *cont. Hær.* iii. 1; Tert. *cont. Marc.* iv. 5); Origen calls it "the Gospel quoted by Paul," alluding to Rom. ii. 16 (Euseb. *E. Hist.* vi. 25); and Eusebius refers Paul's words, "according to my Gospel" (2 Tim. ii. 8), to that of Luke (*E. Hist.* iii. 4), in which Jerome concurs (*De Vir. Ill.* 7). The language of the preface is against the notion of any exclusive influence of St. Paul. The Evangelist, a man on whom the Spirit of God was, made the history of the Saviour's life the subject of research, and with materials so obtained wrote, under the guidance of the Spirit that was upon him, the history now before us. The four verses could not have been put at the head of a history composed under the exclusive guidance of Paul or of any one Apostle, and as little could they have introduced a gospel simply communicated by another. Yet if we compare St. Paul's account of the institution of the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. xi 23–25) with that in St. Luke's Gospel (xxii. 19, 20), none will think the verbal similarity could be accidental. A less obvious parallel between 1 Cor. xv. 3 and Luke xxiv. 26, 27, more of thought than of expression, tends the same way. The truth seems to be that St. Luke, seeking information from every quarter, sought it from the preaching of his beloved master, St. Paul; and the Apostle in his turn employed the knowledge acquired from other sources by his disciple. Thus the preaching of the Apostle, founded on the same body of facts, and the same arrangement of them as the rest of the Apostles used, became assimilated especially to that which St. Luke set forth in his narrative. This does not detract from the worth of either. The preaching and the Gospel proceeded each from an inspired man; for it is certain that Luke, employed as he was by Paul, could have been no exception in that plentiful effusion of the Holy Ghost to which Paul himself bears witness. That the teaching of two men so linked together (see LIFE) should have become more and more assimilated is just what would be expected. But the influence was mutual, and not one-sided; and Luke still claims with right the position of an independent inquirer into historic facts.

Upon the question whether Luke made use of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, no opinion given here could be conclusive. [GOSPELS, vol. ii. p. 944.] Each reader should examine it for himself, with the aid of a Greek Harmony. It is probable that Matthew and Luke wrote independently, and about the same time. Some of their coincidences arise from their both incorporating the oral teach-

pel to that of Luke. Zeller and Ritschl soon after completely surrendered their former positions (*Theol. Jahrb.* 1851, pp 337, 528 ff.). The whole question had however long before been really settled, and the astounding blindness of Eichhorn in respect to the subject exposed, by Mr. Norton, in his *Genuineness of the Gospels*, vol. iii. Addit. Note C, p. xlix. ff. (Boston 1844). A

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ing of the Apostles, and others, it may be, from their common use of written documents, such as are hinted at in Luke i. 1. As regards St. Mark, some regard his Gospel as the oldest New Testament writing, whilst others infer, from apparent abbreviations (Mark i. 12, xvi. 12), from insertions of matter from other places (Mark iv. 10–34, ix 33–48), and from the mode in which additional information is introduced — now with a seeming connection with Matthew and now with Luke — that Mark's Gospel is the last, and has been framed upon the other two (De Wette, *Einleitung*, § 94). The result of this controversy should be to inspire distrust of all such seeming proofs, which conduct different critics to exactly opposite results.

V. *Purpose for which the Gospel was written.* — The Evangelist professes to write that Theophilus "might know the certainty of those things wherein he had been instructed" (i. 4). Who was this Theophilus? Some have supposed that it is a significant name, applicable not to one man, but to any *amans Dei*; but the addition of κράτιστος, a term of honor which would be used towards a man of station, or sometimes (see passages in Kuinöl and Wetstein) towards a personal friend, seems against this. He was, then, an existing person. Conjecture has been wildly busy in endeavoring to identify him with some person known to history. Some indications are given in the Gospel about him, and beyond them we do not propose to go. He was not an inhabitant of Palestine, for the Evangelist minutely describes the position of places which to such a one would be well known. It is so with Capernaum (iv. 31), Nazareth (i. 26), Arimathea (xxiii. 51), the country of the Gadarenes (viii. 26), the distance of Mount Olivet and Emmaus from Jerusalem (Acts i. 12; Luke xxiv. 13). If places in England — say Bristol, and Oxford, and Hampstead — were mentioned in this careful minute way, it would be a fair inference that the writer meant his work for other than English readers.

By the same test he probably was not a Macedonian (Acts xvi. 12), nor an Athenian (Acts xvii. 21), nor a Cretan (Acts xxvii. 8, 12). But that he was a native of Italy, and perhaps an inhabitant of Rome, is probable from similar data. In tracing St. Paul's journey to Rome, places which an Italian might be supposed not to know are described minutely (Acts xxvii. 8, 12, 16); but when he comes to Sicily and Italy this is neglected. Syracuse and Rhegium, even the more obscure Puteoli, and Appii Forum and the Three Taverns, are mentioned as to one likely to know them. (For other theories see Marsh's *Michaelis*, vol. iii. part i. p. 236; Kuinöl's *Prolegomena*, and Winer's *Realwb.* art. *Theophilus*.) All that emerges from this argument is, that the person for whom Luke wrote in the first instance was a Gentile reader. We must admit, but with great caution, on account of the abuses to which the notion has led, that there are traces in the Gospel of a leaning towards Gentile rather than Jewish converts. The genealogy of Jesus is traced to Adam, not from Abraham; so as to connect Him with the whole human race, and not merely with the Jews. Luke describes the mission of the Seventy, which number has been usually supposed to be typical of all nations; as twelve, the number of the Apostles, represents the Jews and their twelve tribes. As each Gospel has within certain limits its own character and mode of treatment, we shall recognise with Olshausen that "St. Luke has the peculiar power of exhibiting with great clearness of conception and truth (especially in the long account of Christ's journey, from ix. 51 to xviii. 34), not so much the discourses of Jesus as his conversations, with all the incidents that gave rise to them, with the remarks of those who were present, and with the final results."

On the supposed "doctrinal tendency" of the Gospel, however, much has been written which it is painful to dwell on, but easy to refute. Some have endeavored to see in this divine book an attempt to engraft the teaching of St. Paul on the Jewish representations of the Messiah, and to elevate the doctrine of universal salvation, of which Paul was the most prominent preacher, over the Judaizing tendencies, and to put St. Paul higher than the twelve Apostles! (See Zeller, *Apost.*; Baur, *Kanon. Evang.*; and Hilgenfeld.) How two impartial historical narratives, the Gospel and the Acts, could have been taken for two tracts written for polemical and personal ends, is to an English mind hardly conceivable. Even its supporters found that the inspired author had carried out his purpose so badly, that they were forced to assume that a second author or editor had altered the work with a view to work up together Jewish and Pauline elements into harmony (Baur, *Kanon. Evang.* p. 502). Of this editing and re-editing there is no trace whatever; and the invention of the second editor is a gross device to cover the failure of the first hypothesis. By such a machinery, it will be possible to prove in after ages that Gibbon's History was originally a plea for Christianity, or any similar paradox.

The passages which are supposed to bear out this "Pauline tendency," are brought together by Hilgenfeld with great care (*Evangelien*, p. 220): but Reuss has shown, by passages from St. Matthew which have the same "tendency" against the Jews, how brittle such an argument is, and has left no room for doubt that the two Evangelists wrote facts and not theories, and dealt with those facts with pure historical candor (Reuss, *Histoire de la Théologie*, vol. ii. b. vi. ch. 6.). Writing to a Gentile convert, and through him addressing other Gentiles, St. Luke has adapted the form of his narrative to their needs; but not a trace of a subjective bias, not a vestige of a personal motive, has been suffered to sully the inspired page. Had the influence of Paul been the exclusive or principal source of this Gospel, we should have found in it more resemblance to the Epistle to the Ephesians, which contains (if to speak) the Gospel of St. Paul.

VI. *Language and style of the Gospel.* — It has never been doubted that the Evangelist wrote his Gospel in Greek. Whilst Hebraisms are frequent, classical idioms and Greek compound words abound. The number of words used by Luke only is unusually great, and many of them are compound words for which there is classical authority (see Dean Alford's valuable *Greek Test.*).

Some of the leading peculiarities of style are here noted: a more minute examination will be found in Prof. Davidson's *Introduction to N. T.* (Bagster, 1848), [and in his new work, *Introd. to the Study of the N. T.* (Lond. 1868), ii. 56 ff., comp. p. 12 ff.]

1. The very frequent use of ἐγένετο in introducing a new narrative or a transition, and of ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ with an infinitive, are traceable to the Hebrew.

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2. The same may be said of the frequent use of παρδία, answering to the Hebrew לֵב.

3. Νομικοί, used six times instead of the usual γραμματεῖς, and ἐπιστάτης used six times for ῥαββί, διδάσκαλος, are cases of a preference for words more intelligible to Greeks or Gentiles.

4. The neuter participle is used frequently for a substantive, both in the Gospel and the Acts.

5. The infinitive with the genitive of the article, to indicate design or result, as in i. 9, is frequent in both books.

6. The frequent use of δὲ καί, for the sake of emphasis, as in iii. 9.

7. The frequent use of καὶ αὐτός, as in i. 17.

8. The preposition σύν is used about seventy-five times in Gospel and Acts: in the other Gospels rarely.

9. Ἀτενίζειν is used eleven times in Gospel and Acts; elsewhere only twice, by St. Paul (2 Cor.).

10. Εἰ δὲ μή γε is used five times for the εἰ δὲ μή of Mark and John.

11. Εἰπεῖν πρός, which is frequent in St. Luke, is used elsewhere only by St. John: λαλεῖν πρός, also frequent, is only thrice used by other writers.

12. St. Luke very frequently uses the auxiliary verb with a participle for the verb, as in v. 17, i. 20.

13. He makes remarkable use of verbs compounded with διά and ἐπί.

14. Χάρις, very frequent in Luke, is only used thrice by John, and not at all by Matthew and Mark. Σωτήρ, σωτηρία, σωτήριον, are frequent with Luke; the two first are used once each by John, and not by the other Evangelists.

15. The same may be said of εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, once in Matthew, and not at all in Mark and John; ἐπιστρέφειν, once in Mark, not in other Gospels; ἐφίστάναι, not used in the other three Gospels; διέρχεσθαι, thirty-two times in Luke's Gospel and the Acts, and only twice each in Matthew, Mark, and John; παραχρῆμα frequent in Luke, and only twice elsewhere, in Matthew.

16. The words ὁμοθυμαδόν, εὐλαβής, ἀνήρ, as a form of address and before substantives, are also characteristic of Luke.

17. Some Latin words are used by Luke: λεγεών (viii. 30), δηνάριον (x. 35), σουδάριον (xix. 20), καλανδία (Acts xvi. 12).

On comparing the Gospel with the Acts it is found that the style of the latter is more pure and free from Hebrew idioms; and the style of the later portion of the Acts is more pure than that of the former. Where Luke used the materials he derived from others, oral or written, or both, his style reflects the Hebrew idioms of them; but when he comes to scenes of which he was an eye-witness and describes entirely in his own words, these disappear.

VII. *Quotations from the Old Testament.* — In the citations from the O. T., of the principal of which the following is a list, there are plain marks of the use of the Septuagint version: —

Luke i. 17.	Mal. iv. 4, 5.
" ii. 23.	Ex. xiii. 2.
" ii. 24.	Lev. xii. 8.
" iii. 4, 5, 6.	Is. xl. 3, 4, 5.
" iv. 4.	Deut. viii. 3.
" iv. 8.	Deut. vi. 13.
" iv. 10, 11.	Ps. xci. 11, 12.
" iv. 12.	Deut. vi. 16.
" iv. 18.	Is. lxi. 1, 2.
Luke vii. 27.	Mal. iii. 1.
" viii. 10.	Is. vi. 9.
" x. 27.	Deut. vi. 5; Lev. xix. 18
" xviii. 20.	Ex. xx. 12.
" xix. 46.	Is. lvi. 7; Jer. vii. 11.
" xx. 17.	Ps. cxviii. 22, 23.
" xx. 28.	Deut. xxv. 5.
" xx. 42, 43.	Ps. cx. 1.
" xxii. 37.	Is. liii. 12.
" xxiii. 46.	Ps. xxxi. 5.

VIII. *Integrity of the Gospel — the first two Chapters.* — The Gospel of Luke is quoted by Justin Martyr and by the author of the Clementine Homilies. The silence of the apostolic fathers only indicates that it was admitted into the Canon somewhat late, which was probably the case. The result of the Marcion controversy is, as we have seen, that our Gospel was in use before A. D. 120. A special question, however, has been raised about the two first chapters. The critical history of these is best drawn out perhaps in Meyer's note. The chief objection against them is founded on the garbled opening of Marcion's Gospel, who omits the two first chapters, and connects iii. 1 immediately with iv. 31. (So Tertullian, "Anno quintodecimo principatus Tiberiani proponit Deum descendisse in civitatem Galilææ Capharnaum," *cont. Marc.* iv. 7.) But any objection founded on this would apply to the third chapter as well; and the history of our Lord's childhood seems to have been known to and quoted by Justin Martyr (see *Apology*, i. § 33, and an allusion, *Dial. cum Tryph.* 100) about the time of Marcion. There is therefore no real ground for distinguishing between the two first chapters and the rest; and the arguments for the genuineness of St. Luke's Gospel apply to the whole inspired narrative as we now possess it (see Meyer's note; also Volkmar, p. 130).

IX. *Contents of the Gospel.* — This Gospel contains — 1. A preface, i. 1–4. 2. An account of the time preceding the ministry of Jesus, i. 5 to ii. 52. 3. Several accounts of discourses and acts of our Lord, common to Luke, Matthew, and Mark, related for the most part in their order, and belonging to Capernaum and the neighborhood, iii. 1 to ix. 50. 4. A collection of similar accounts, referring to a certain journey to Jerusalem, most of them peculiar to Luke, ix. 51 to xviii. 14. 5. An account of the sufferings, death, and resurrection of Jesus, common to Luke with the other Evangelists, except as to some of the accounts of what took place after the resurrection, xviii. 15 to the end.

Sources. — Works of Irenæus (ed. Stieren); Justin Martyr (ed. Otto); Tertullian, Origen, and Epiphanius (ed. Dindorf); Hippolytus (ed. Miller); and Eusebius (ed. Valesius); Marsh's *Michaelis*; De Wette, *Einleitung*; Meyer, *Kommentar*; the works of Hahn, Ritschl, Baur, and Volkmar, quoted above; Credner, *Kanon*; Dean Alford's *Commentary*; Dictionaries of Winer and Herzog; Commentaries of Kuinöl, Wetstein, and others; Thiersch, *Church History* (Eng. Trans.); Olshausen, *Echtheit*; Hug, *Einleitung*; Weisse, *Evangelienfrage*; Greek Testament, Tischendorf, ed. vii., and notes there. W. T.

* The most important works on the Gospel of Luke will be found referred to in the addition to the art. Gospels, p. 959 ff. Others worthy of notice are the following. Patristic: Origen, *Homilies* extant in Jerome's Latin translation, with a few Greek fragments (Migne's *Patrol. Græca*, vol. xiii

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soll. 1801–1910); Eusebius, *Comm.* (fragments), in Migne, *ibid.* xxiv. 529–606; Cyril of Alexandria, *Comm.*, in Migne, *ibid.* lxxii. 475–950, Syriac version of the same, more complete, edited by R. P. Smith, Oxford, 1858, 4to, and trans. by him into English, 2 vols. Oxf. 1859, 8vo; Euthymius Zigabenus, *Comm. in IV. Evangelia*, ed. C. F. Matthæi, 3 vols. Lips. 1792 (Migne, vol. cxxix.); Theophylact, *Opp.* i. 267–498, Venet. 1754 (Migne, vol. cxxiii.); Ambrose, *Opp.* i. 1261–1544, Par. 1686; Bede, *Works*, ed. Giles, vols. x., xi., Lond. 1843. See also Corderius, *Catena sexaginta quinque Græcorum Patrum in S. Lucam*, Antv. 1628, fol.; Nicetas, *Catena*, etc. in Mai's *Scriptt. Vet. Nova Coll.* ix. 626–720; Cramer, *Catena in S. Lucæ et S. Joannis Evv.*, Oxon. 1841.

Passing by the commentaries of the scholastic divines, and others, we further note: C. Segaar, *Obss. phil. et theol. in Evang. Lucæ Capp.* xi. [not ix. as in Winer and others] *priora*, Traj. ad Rhen. 1766; Morus, *Prælectt. in Lucæ Ev.*, Lips. 1795; Valckenaer, *Selecta e Scholiis Valckenarii in Libb. quosdam N. T. ed. E. Wassenbergh*, 2 tom. Amst. 1815–18 (vol. i. Luke and Acts); C. W. Stein, *Comm. zu dem Ev. d. Lucas*, Halle, 1830; F. A. Bornemann, *Scholia in Lucæ Ev.*, Lips. 1830, valuable philologically; James Smith of Jordanhill, *Diss. on the Life and Writings of St. Luke*, in his *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 2d ed. Lond. 1856, pp. 1–58; [N. N. Whiting,] *The Gospel according to Luke, trans. from the Greek, on the Basis of the Common English Version, with Notes.* New York (*Amer. Bible Union*), 1860, 4to: H. Jacoby, *Vier Beiträge zum Verständniss der Reden des Herrn im Ev. d. Lucas*, Nordhausen, 1863; J. J. van Oosterzee, *Das Ev. nach Lukas, theol.-homil. bearbeitet*, 3e Aufl. Bielefeld, 1867 (Theil iii. of Lange's *Bibelwerk*), trans. from 2d ed. by Dr. Philip Schaff and Rev. C. C. Starbuck, N. Y. 1866 (vol. ii. of Lange's *Comm.*).

More popular commentaries are those of James Thompson, *Expos. Lectures on the Gospel of St. Luke*, 3 vols. Lond. 1849–51; James Ford, *The Gospel of St. Luke illustrated from Ancient and Modern Authors*, Lond. 1851; James Foote, *Lectures on the Gospel according to St. Luke*, 3d ed. 2 vols. Glasg. 1857; James Stark, *Comm. on the Gospel according to Luke*, 2 vols. Lond. 1866 (doctrinal); and Van Doren, *Suggestive Comm. on St. Luke*, Amer. reprint, 2 vols. N. Y. 1868.

For the older literature relating to this Gospel, one may consult the well-known bibliographical works of Lilienthal, Walch, Winer, Danz, and Darling. A.

* **LUMP OF FIGS**, 2 K. xx. 7. [FIG-TREE, c.]

LUNATICS (σεληνιαζόμενοι). This word is used twice in the N. T. In the enumeration of Matt. iv. 24, the "lunatics" are distinguished from the demoniacs; in Matt. xvii. 15, the name is applied to a boy who is expressly declared to have been possessed. It is evident, therefore, that the word itself refers to some disease, affecting both the body and the mind, which might, or might not, be a sign of possession (see on this subject DEMONIACS). By the description of Mark ix. 17–26, it is concluded that this disease was epilepsy (see Winer, *Realw.* "Besessene;" Trench, *On the Miracles*, p. 363). The origin of the name (as of σεληνιακός and σεληνόβλητος in earlier Greek, "lunaticus" in Latin, and equivalent words in modern languages) is to be found in the belief that diseases of a paroxysmal character were affected by the light, or by the changes of the moon. A. B.

* **LUST**, not restricted formerly to one passion, but any strong desire or inclination. It occurs in the A. V. in the narrower and the wider sense. It is employed to translate תַּאֲוָה, שְׁרִירוּת, נֶפֶשׁ and ἐπιθυμία, ἡδονή, ὄρεξις, πάθος. In Ex. xv. 9 נֶפֶשׁ (in the A. V. "lust") denotes strictly the *soul* as the seat of the desires. The meaning of "lust" as a verb (found six times in the A. V.) fluctuates in like manner. H.

* **LUSTY**, Judg. iii. 29, archaic for "stout," "vigorous"; but in the marg., "fat," as the A. V. renders שָׁמֵן elsewhere, except Is. xxx. 23, where it is "plenteous." H.

LUZ (לוּז, and perhaps לוּזָה,[a] *i. e.* Luzah [*almond-tree*, Gen.: see below], which is also the reading of the Samar. Codex and of its two versions: of the LXX. and Eusebius, Λουζά and Λουζᾶ;[b] [Vat. once in Josh. xviii. 13 Κουζα:] and the Vulgate *Luza*). The uncertainty which attends the name attaches in a greater degree to the place itself. It seems impossible to discover with precision whether Luz and Bethel represent one and the same town — the former the Canaanite, the latter the Hebrew name — or whether they were distinct places, though in close proximity. The latter is the natural inference from two of the passages in which Luz is spoken of. Jacob "called the name of the *place* Bethel, but the name of the *city* was called Luz in the beginning" (Gen. xxviii. 19); as if the spot — the "certain place" — on which he had "lighted," where he saw his vision and erected his pillar, were outside the walls of the Canaanite town. And with this agree the terms of the specification of the common boundary of Ephraim and Benjamin. It ran "from Bethel to Luz" (Josh. xvi. 2), or "from the wilderness of Bethaven . . . to Luz, to the shoulder of Luzah southward, that is Bethel" (xviii. 13); as if Bethel were on the south side of the hill on which the other city stood.

Other passages, however, seem to speak of the

[a] The ground for this suggestion, besides the remarkable agreement of the ancient versions as given above, is Josh. xviii. 13, where the words אֶל־כֶּתֶף לוּזָה should, according to ordinary usage, be rendered "to the shoulder of Luzah;" the *ah*, which is the particle of motion in Hebrew, not being required here, as it is in the former part of the same verse. Other names are found both with and without a similar termination, as Jotbah, Jotbathah; Timnath, Timnathah; Riblah, Riblathah. Laish and Laishah are probably distinct places.

[b] In one case only do the LXX. omit the termination, namely, in Gen. xxviii. 19, and here they give the name as Oulammaous, Οὐλαμμαοὺς [so in many MSS., but Rom. Οὐλαμλούζ, Alex. Ουλαμμανς], incorporating with it the preceding Hebrew word *Ulâm*, אוּלָם, as they have also done in the case of Laish (see p. 1581, note *c*.). The eagerness with which Jerome attacks this monstrous name at every possible opportunity is very curious and characteristic.

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two as identical — "Luz in the land of Canaan, that is Bethel" (Gen. xxxv. 6); and in the account of the capture of Bethel, after the conquest of the country, it is said that "the name of the city before was Luz" (Judg. i. 23). Nor should it be overlooked that, in the very first notice of Abram's arrival in Canaan, Bethel is mentioned without Luz (Gen. xii. 8, xiii. 3), just as Luz is mentioned by Jacob without Bethel (xlviii. 3).

Perhaps there never was a point on which the evidence was so curiously contradictory. In the passages just quoted we find Bethel mentioned in the most express manner two generations before the occurrence of the event which gave it its name; while the patriarch to whom that event occurred, and who made there the most solemn vow of his life, in recurring to that very circumstance, calls the place by its heathen name. We further find the Israelite name attached, before the conquest of the country by the Israelites, to a city of the building of which we have no record, and which city is then in the possession of the Canaanites.

The conclusion of the writer is that the two places were, during the times preceding the conquest, distinct, Luz being the city and Bethel the pillar and altar of Jacob: that after the destruction of Luz by the tribe of Ephraim the town of Bethel arose: that the close proximity of the two was sufficient to account for their being taken as identical in cases where there was no special reason for discriminating them, and that the great subsequent reputation of Bethel will account for the occurrence of its name in Abram's history in reference to a date prior to its existence, as well as in the records of the conquest.

2. When the original Luz was destroyed, through the treachery of one of its inhabitants, the man who had introduced the Israelites into the town went into the "land of the Hittites" and built a city, which he named after the former one. This city was standing at the date of the record (Judg. i. 26). But its situation, as well as that of the "land of the Hittites," has never been discovered since, and is one of the favorite puzzles of Scripture geographers. Eusebius (*Onom.* Λουζά) mentions a place of the name as standing near Shechem, nine (Jerome, three) miles from Neapolis (*Nablus*). The objection to this is the difficulty of placing in central Palestine, and at that period, a district exclusively Hittite. Some have imagined it to be in Cyprus, as if Chittim were the country of the Hittites; others in Arabia, as at Lysa, a Roman town in the desert south of Palestine, on the road to Akabah (Rob. i. 187).

The signification of the name is quite uncertain. It is usually taken as meaning "hazel," and denoting the presence of such trees; but the latest lexicographer (Fürst, *Handwb.* 666) has returned to the opinion of an earlier scholar (Hiller, *Onom.* 70), that the notion at the root of the word is rather "bending" or "sinking," as of a valley. G.

* The difficulties suggested in this article and in that on BETHEL as to the use of the two names, are removed by careful attention to the narrative. There seems to have been no town in the locality in the time of Abraham; but he pitched his tent and built his altar in a place which Moses can only describe by means of the names of the places nearest thereto at the time of his writing (Gen. xii. 8 xiii. 3). Nor had any town yet been built at the time of Jacob's first (Gen. xxviii. 11–19), nor of his second (xxxv. 6) visit, the narrative implying that it was a solitary place. At his first visit Jacob named the place Bethel; but he remained there only a single night, and there was no one with him to hear or give currency to the designation. At his second visit therefore, with his numerous household ("he and all the people that were with him") when he apparently sojourned there for some time, he repeated it, and it became thenceforward to his descendants the rightful name of the locality. When he removed thence, it again became an uninhabited place, and the Canaanites built a town which they called by their own name of Luz, and which continued quite down to the conquest. During the interval between the building of the town and the conquest there were therefore to the Israelites two names, that *de facto* of the town, Luz; and that *de jure*, of the locality (there was yet no such town), Bethel. Either name is used to describe the place. (Gen. xxxv. 6; Judg. i. 23, etc.) The Canaanite town was built in the interval between Jacob's second visit and the time of his death — probably before his going down to Egypt. This second visit having been before the birth of Benjamin (xxxv. 6, 16), there was ample time for the building. When Jacob speaks of the place at a later time (xlviii. 3), he naturally calls it by its existing name; while in Judges i. 23, after it had been destroyed and replaced by an Israelite town, it is as naturally called by the latter, with parenthetical mention of the former name. The suggestion in the above article, that the later town did not precisely cover the site of the earlier, in explanation of Josh. xvi. 2, seems altogether probable. F. G.

LYCAO'NIA (Λυκαονία). This is one of those districts of Asia Minor, which, as mentioned in the N. T., are to be understood rather in an ethnological than a strictly political sense. From what is said in Acts xiv. 11 of "the speech of Lycaonia," it is evident that the inhabitants of the district, in St. Paul's day, spoke something very different from ordinary Greek. Whether this language was some Syrian dialect [CAPPADOCIA], or a corrupt form of Greek, has been much debated (Jablonsky, *Opusc.* iii. 3; Gukling, *De Ling. Lycaon.* 1726).[a] The fact that the Lycaonians were familiar with the Greek mythology is consistent with either supposition. It is deeply interesting to see these rude country people, when Paul and Barnabas worked miracles among them, rushing to the conclusion that the strangers were Mercury and Jupiter, whose visit to this very neighborhood forms the subject of one of Ovid's most charming stories (Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 626). Nor can we fail to notice how admirably St. Paul's address on the occasion was adapted to a simple and imperfectly civilized race (xiv. 15–17). This was at LYSTRA, in the heart of the country. Further to the east was DERBE (ver. 6), not far from the chief pass which leads up through Taurus, from CILICIA and the coast, to the central table-land. At the western limit of Lycaonia was ICONIUM (ver. 1), in the direc-

[a] * Luke mentions that the Lystrians spoke in their native tongue (Acts xiv. 11), because it explains why Paul and Barnabas did not at once rebuke the cry of the multitude. "The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men." They were ignorant of the language in which this was spoken. It does not appear that the Apostles possessed any permanent gift of tongues to aid them in preaching the Gospel. H.

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tion of ANTIOCH IN PISIDIA. A good Roman road intersected the district along the line thus indicated. On St. Paul's first missionary journey he traversed Lycaonia from west to east, and then returned on his steps (v. 21; see 2 Tim. iii. 11). On the second and third journeys he entered it from the east; and after leaving it, travelled in the one case to Troas (Acts xvi. 1-8), in the other to Ephesus (Acts xviii. 23, xix. 1). Lycaonia is for the most part a dreary plain, bare of trees, destitute of fresh water, and with several salt lakes. It is, however, very favorable to sheep-farming. In the first notices of this district, which occur in connection with Roman history, we find it under the rule of robber-chieftains. After the provincial system had embraced the whole of Asia Minor, the boundaries of the provinces were variable; and Lycaonia was, politically, sometimes in Cappadocia, sometimes in Galatia. A question has been raised, in connection with this point, concerning the chronology of parts of St. Paul's life. This subject is noticed in the article on GALATIA. J. S. H.

LYCIA (Λυκία: [*Lycia*]), [Acts xxvii. 5,] is the name of that southwestern region of the peninsula of Asia Minor which is immediately opposite the island of Rhodes. It is a remarkable district both physically and historically. The last eminences of the range of Taurus come down here in majestic masses to the sea, forming the heights of Cragus and Anticragus, with the river Xanthus winding between them, and ending in the long series of promontories called by modern sailors the "seven capes," among which are deep inlets favorable to seafaring and piracy. In this district are those curious and very ancient architectural remains, which have been so fully illustrated by our English travellers, Sir C. Fellows, and Messrs. Spratt and Forbes, and many specimens of which are in the British Museum. Whatever may have been the political history of the earliest Lycians, their country was incorporated in the Persian empire, and their ships were conspicuous in the great war against the Greeks (Herod. vii. 91, 92). After the death of Alexander the Great, Lycia was included in the Greek Seleucid kingdom, and was a part of the territory which the Romans forced Antiochus to cede (Liv. xxxvii. 55). It was made in the first place one of the continental possessions of Rhodes [CARIA]: but before long it was politically separated from that island, and allowed to be an independent state. This has been called the golden period of the history of Lycia. It is in this period that we find it mentioned (1 Macc. xv. 23) as one of the countries to which the Romans sent despatches in favor of the Jews under Simon Maccabæus. It was not till the reign of Claudius that Lycia became part of the Roman provincial system. At first it was combined with Pamphylia, and the governor bore the title of "Proconsul Lyciæ et Pamphyliæ" (Gruter, *Thes.* p. 458). Such seems to have been the condition of the district when St. Paul visited the Lycian towns of PATARA (Acts xxi. 1) and MYRA (Acts xxvii. 5). At a later period of the Roman empire it was a separate province, with Myra for its capital.

J. S. H.

LYDDA (Λύδδα: *Lydda*), the Greek form of the name which originally appears in the Hebrew version as LOD. It is familiar to us as the scene of one of St. Peter's acts of healing, on the paralytic Æneas, one of "the saints who dwelt at Lydda" (Acts ix. 32), the consequence of which was the conversion of a very large number of the inhabitants of the town and of the neighboring plain of Sharon (ver. 35). Here Peter was residing when the disciples of Joppa fetched him to that city in their distress at the death of Tabitha (ver. 38).

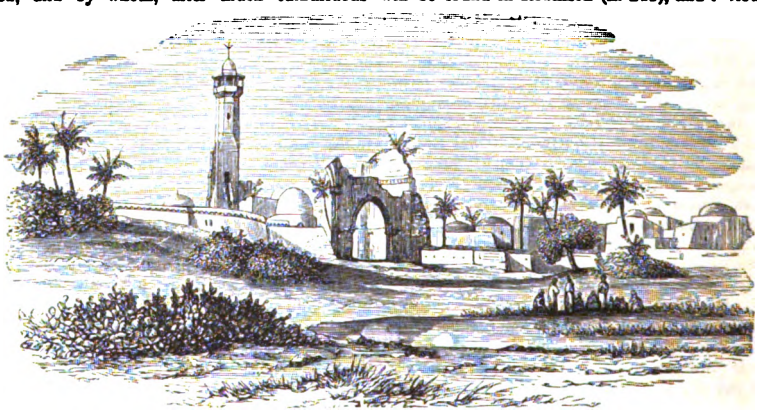
Quite in accordance with these and the other scattered indications of Scripture is the situation of the modern town, which exactly retains its name, and probably its position. *Lidd* (Tobler, *3te Wand.* pp. 69, 456), or *Lûdd* (Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* ii. 244), stands in the *Merj*, or meadow, of *Ibn Omeir*, part of the great maritime plain which anciently bore the name of SHARON, and which, when covered with its crops of corn, reminds the traveller of the rich wheat-fields of our own Lincolnshire (Rob. iii. 145; and see Thomson, *Land and Book*, ch. xxxiv.). It is 9 miles from Joppa,[a] and is the first town on the northernmost of the two roads between that place and Jerusalem. Within a circle of 4 miles still stand Ono (*Kefr Auna*), Hadid (*el-Hadîtheh*), and Neballat (*Beit-Neballah*), three places constantly associated with Lod in the ancient records. The watercourse outside the town is said still to bear the name of *Abi Butrus* (Peter), in memory of the Apostle (Rob. ii. 248; Tobler, 471). Lying so conspicuously in this fertile plain, and upon the main road from the sea to the interior, Lydda could hardly escape an eventful history. It was in the time of Josephus a place of considerable size, which gave its name to one of the three (or four, xi. 57) "governments" or toparchies (see Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 3, § 5) which Demetrius Soter (B. C. cir. 152), at the request of Jonathan Maccabæus, released from tribute, and transferred from Samaria to the estate of the Temple at Jerusalem (1 Macc. xi. 34; comp. x. 30, 38; xi. 28, 57); though by whom these districts were originally defined does not appear (see Michaelis, *Bib. für Ungel.*). A century later (B. C. cir. 45) Lydda, with Gophna, Emmaus, and Thamna, became the prey of the insatiable Cassius, by whom the whole of the inhabitants were sold into slavery to raise the exorbitant taxes imposed (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 11, § 2). From this they were, it is true, soon released by Antony; but a few years only elapsed before their city (A. D 66) was burnt by Cestius Gallus on his way from Cæsarea to Jerusalem. He entered it when all the people of the place but fifty were absent at the feast of Tabernacles in Jerusalem (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 19, § 1). He must have passed the hardly cold ruins not more than a fortnight after, when flying for his life before the infuriated Jews of Jerusalem. Some repair appears to have been immediately made, for in less than two years, early in A. D. 68, it was in a condition to be again taken by Vespasian, then on his way to his campaign in the south of Judæa. Vespasian introduced fresh inhabitants from the prisoners lately taken in Galilee (Joseph. *B. J.* iv. 8, § 1). But the substantial rebuilding of the town — lying as it did in the road of every invader and every countermarch — can hardly have been effected till the disorders of this unhappy country were somewhat composed. Hadrian's reign, after the suppression of the revolt of Bar-Cocheba (A. D. cir. 136), when Paganism was triumphant, and Jerusalem rebuilding as Ælia

[a] Lydda (as ascertained by leveling) is somewhat over 11 miles from Joppa (*Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, p. 21). H.

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Capitolina, would not be an improbable time for this, and for the bestowal on Lydda of the new name of Diospolis[a] — City of Zeus — which is stated by Jerome to have accompanied the rebuilding. (See Quaresmius, *Peregr.* i., lib. 4, cap. 3.) We have already seen that this new name, as is so often the case in Palestine, has disappeared in favor of the ancient one. [ACCHO; KENATH, etc.]

When Eusebius wrote (A. D. 320–330) Diospolis was a well-known and much-frequented town, to which he often refers, though the names of neither it nor Lydda occur in the actual catalogue of his *Onomasticon*. In Jerome's time (*Epitaph. Paulæ*, § 8),[b] A. D. 404, it was an episcopal see. Tradition reports that the first bishop was "Zenas the lawyer" (Tit. iii. 13), originally one of the seventy disciples (Dorotheus, in Reland, 879); but the first historical mention of the see is the signature of "Aëtius Lyddensis" to the acts of the Council of Nicæa (A. D. 325; Reland, 878). After this the name is found, now Diospolis, now Lydda, amongst the lists of the Councils down to A. D. 518 (Rob. ii. 245; Mislin, ii. 149). The bishop of Lydda, originally subject to Cæsarea, became at a later date suffragan to Jerusalem (see the two lists in Von Raumer, 401); and this is still the case. In the latter end of 415 a Council of 14 bishops was held here, before which Pelagius appeared, and by whom, after much tumultuous debate, and in the absence of his two accusers, he was acquitted of heresy, and received as a Christian brother[c] (Milner, *Hist. of Ch. of Christ*, Cent. V. ch. iii.). St. George, the patron saint of England, was a native of Lydda. After his martyrdom his remains were buried there (see quotations by Robinson, ii. 245), and over them a church was afterwards built and dedicated to his honor. The erection of this church is commonly ascribed to Justinian, but there seems to be no real ground for the assertion,[d] and at present it is quite uncertain by whom it was built. When the country was taken possession of by the Saracens in the early part of the 8th century, the church was destroyed; and in this ruined condition it was found by the Crusaders in A. D. 1099, who reinstituted the see, and added to its endowment the neighboring city and lands of *Ramleh*. Apparently at the same time the church was rebuilt and strongly fortified (Rob. ii. 247). It appears at that time to have been outside the city. Again destroyed by Saladin after the battle of Hattin in 1191, it was again rebuilt, if we are to believe the tradition, which, however, is not so consistent or trustworthy as one would desire, by Richard Cœur-de-lion (Will. Tyr.; but see Rob. ii. 245, 246). The remains of the church still form the most remarkable object in the modern village. A minute and picturesque account of them will be found in Robinson (ii. 244), and a view in



Lydda — Ruins of the Church of St. George. — Van de Velde.

Van de Velde's *Pays d'Israel* (plate 55). The town is, for a Mohammedan place, busy and prosperous (see Thomson, *Land and Book*; Van de Velde, *S. & P.* i. 244). Buried in palms, and with a large well close to the entrance, it looks from a distance inviting enough, but its interior is very repulsive on account of the extraordinary number of persons, old and young, whom one encounters at every step, either totally blind or afflicted with loathsome diseases of the eyes. Indeed it is proverbial for this; and the writer was told on the spot in 1858, as a common saying, that in *Lydd* every man has either but one eye or none at all.

Lydda was, for some time previous to the destruction of Jerusalem, the seat of a very famous Jewish school, scarcely second to that of Jabneh. About the time of the siege it was presided over by Rabbi Gamaliel, second of the name (Lightfoot, *Chor. Cent.* xvi.). Some curious anecdotes and short notices from the Talmuds concerning it are

a Was this the Diospolis mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 5, § 1, and *B. J.* i. § 6)? But it is difficult to discover if two places are not intended, possibly neither of them identical with Lydda.

Can there be any connection, etymological or other, between the two names? In the *Dict. of Geogr.* i. 778, a modern Egyptian village is mentioned named *Lydda*, of which the ancient name was also Diospolis.

b Jerome is wrong here in placing the raising of Dorcas at Lydda. So also Ritter (*Palästina*, p. 551) ascribes the miracle to *St. Paul*.

c "Illa miserabilis Synodus Diospolitanus" (Jerome, *Ep. ad Alyp. et Aug.* § 2).

d The church which Justinian built to St. George was in Bizana (ἐν Βιζανοῖς), somewhere in Armenia (Procopius, *de Ed. Just.* 3. 4; in Rob. p. 246). See the remarks of Robinson against the possibility of Constantine having built the church at Lydda. But were there not probably two churches at Lydda, one dedicated to St. George, and one to the Virgin? See Reland, p. 878.

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preserved by Lightfoot. One of these states that "Queen Helena celebrated the Feast of Tabernacles there"!

As the city of St. George, who is one with the famous personage *el-Khudr*, Lydda is held in much honor by the Muslims. In their traditions the gate of the city will be the scene of the final combat between Christ and Antichrist (Sale's *Koran*, note to ch. 43, and *Prel. Disc.* iv. § 4; also Jalal ad-Din, *Temple of Jerusalem*, p. 434). G.

LYDIA (Λυδία: [*Lydia*]), a maritime province in the west of Asia Minor, bounded by Mysia on the N., Phrygia on the E., and Caria on the S. The name occurs only in 1 Macc. viii. 8 (the rendering of the A. V. in Ez. xxx. 5 being incorrect for Ludim); it is there enumerated among the districts which the Romans took away from Antiochus the Great after the battle of Magnesia in B. C. 190, and transferred to Eumenes II., king of Pergamus. Some difficulty arises in the passage referred to from the names "India and Media" found in connection with it: but if we regard these as incorrectly given either by the writer or by a copyist for "Ionia and Mysia," the agreement with Livy's account of the same transaction (xxxvii. 56) will be sufficiently established, the notice of the *maritime* provinces alone in the book of Maccabees being explicable on the ground of their being best known to the inhabitants of Palestine. For the connection between Lydia and the Lud and Ludim of the O. T., see LUDIM. Lydia is included in the "Asia" of the N. T. W. L. B.

LYDIA (Λυδία: [*Lydia*]), the first European convert of St. Paul, and afterwards his hostess during his first stay at Philippi (Acts xvi. 14, 15, also 40). She was a Jewish proselyte (σεβομένη τὸν Θεόν) at the time of the Apostle's coming; and it was at the Jewish Sabbath-worship by the side of a stream (ver. 13) that the preaching of the Gospel reached her heart. She was probably only a temporary resident at Philippi. Her native place was THYATIRA, in the province of Asia (ver. 14; Rev. ii. 18), and it is interesting to notice that through her, indirectly, the Gospel may have come into that very district, where St. Paul himself had recently been forbidden directly to preach it (Acts xvi. 6). Thyatira was famous for its dyeing-works; and Lydia was connected with this trade (πορφυρόπωλις), either as a seller of dye, or of dyed goods. We infer that she was a person of considerable wealth, partly from the fact that she gave a home to St. Paul and his companions, partly from the mention of the conversion of her "household," under which term, whether children are included or not, slaves are no doubt comprehended. Of Lydia's character we are led to form a high estimate, from her candid reception of the Gospel, her urgent hospitality, and her continued friendship to Paul and Silas when they were persecuted. Whether she was one of "those women who labored with Paul in the Gospel" at Philippi, as mentioned afterwards in the Epistle to that place (Phil. iv. 3), it is impossible to say. As regards her name, though it is certainly curious that Thyatira was in the district anciently called "Lydia," there seems no reason for doubting that it was simply a proper name, or for supposing with Grotius that she was ita dicta a solo natali." J. S. H.

LYSANIAS (Λυσανίας: [*Lysanias*]), mentioned by St. Luke in one of his chronological passages (iii. 1) as being tetrarch of ABILENE (*i. e.* the district round Abila) in the 15th year of Tiberius, at the time when Herod Antipas was tetrarch of Galilee, and Herod Philip tetrarch of Iturœa and Trachonitis. It happens that Josephus speaks of a prince named Lysanias who ruled over a territory in the neighborhood of Lebanon in the time of Antony and Cleopatra, and that he also mentions Abilene as associated with the name of a tetrarch Lysanias, while recounting events of the reigns of Caligula and Claudius. These circumstances have given to Strauss and others an opportunity for accusing the Evangelist of confusion and error: but we shall see that this accusation rests on a groundless assumption.

What Josephus says of the Lysanias who was contemporary with Antony and Cleopatra (*i. e.* who lived 60 years before the time referred to by St. Luke) is, that he succeeded his father Ptolemy, the son of Mennæus, in the government of Chalcis, under Mount Lebanon (*B. J.* i. 13, § 1; *Ant.* xiv. 7, § 4); and that he was put to death at the instance of Cleopatra (*Ant.* xv. 4, § 1), who seems to have received a good part of his territory. It is to be observed that Abila is not specified here at all, and that Lysanias is not called tetrarch.

What Josephus says of Abila and the tetrarchy in the reigns of Caligula and Claudius (*i. e.* about 20 years after the time mentioned in St. Luke's Gospel) is, that the former emperor promised the "tetrarchy of Lysanias" to Agrippa (*Ant.* xviii. 6, § 10), and that the latter actually gave to him "Abila of Lysanias" and the territory near Lebanon (*Ant.* xix. 5, § 1, with *B. J.* ii. 12, § 8).

Now, assuming Abilene to be included in both cases, and the former Lysanias and the latter to be identical, there is nothing to hinder a prince of the same name and family from having reigned as tetrarch over the territory in the intermediate period. But it is probable that the Lysanias mentioned by Josephus in the second instance is actually the prince referred to by St. Luke. Thus, instead of a contradiction, we obtain from the Jewish historian a confirmation of the Evangelist; and the argument becomes very decisive if, as some think, Abilene is to be excluded from the territory mentioned in the story which has reference to Cleopatra.

Fuller details are given in Davidson's *Introduction to the N. T.* i. 214–220; and there is a good brief notice of the subject in Rawlinson's *Bampton Lectures for* 1859, p. 203 [p. 200, Amer. ed.], and note 113. J. S. H.

LYSIAS (Λυσίας), a nobleman of the blood-royal (1 Macc. iii. 32; 2 Macc. xi. 1), who was entrusted by Antiochus Epiphanes (cir. B. C. 166) with the government of southern Syria, and the guardianship of his son Antiochus Eupator (1 Macc. iii. 32; 2 Macc. x. 11). In the execution of his office Lysias armed a very considerable force against Judas Maccabæus. Two detachments of this army under Nicanor (2 Macc. viii.) and Gorgias were defeated by the Jews near Emmaus (1 Macc. iv.), and in the following year Lysias himself met with a much more serious reverse at Bethsura (B. C. 165), which was followed by the purification of the Temple. Shortly after this, Antiochus Epiphanes died B. C. 164, and Lysias assumed the government as guardian of his son, who was yet a child (App. *Syr.* 46, ἐναιτὸς παιδίον; 1 Macc. vi. 17). The war against the Jews was renewed, and, after a severe struggle, Lysias, who took the young king

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with him, captured Bethsura, and was besieging Jerusalem, when he received tidings of the approach of Philip, to whom Antiochus had transferred the guardianship of the prince (1 Macc. vi. 18 ff.; 2 Macc. xiii.). He defeated Philip (B. C. 163), and was supported at Rome; but in the next year, together with his ward, fell into the hands of Demetrius Soter [DEMETRIUS I.], who put them both to death (1 Macc. vii. 2–4; 2 Macc. xiv. 2; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 12, §§ 15, 16; App. *Syr.* cc. 45–47; Polyb. xxxi. 15, 19).

There are considerable differences between the first and second books of Maccabees with regard to the campaigns of Gorgias and the subsequent one of Lysias: the former places the defeat of Lysias in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes before the purification of the Temple (1 Macc. iv. 26–35), the latter in the reign of Antiochus Eupator after the purification (2 Macc. x. 10, xi. 1, &c.). There is no sufficient ground for believing that the events recorded are different (Patricius, *De Consensu Macc.* §§ xxvii. xxxvii.), for the mistake of date in 2 Maccabees is one which might easily arise (comp. Wernsdorf, *De fide Macc.* § lxvi.; Grimm, *ad* 2 *Macc.* xi. 1). The idea of Grotius that 2 Macc. xi. and 2 Macc. xiii. are duplicate records of the same event, in spite of Ewald's support (*Geschichte*, iv. 365 *note*), is scarcely tenable, and leaves half the difficulty unexplained. B. F. W.

* LYSIAS (Λυσίας) surnamed CLAUDIUS (Κλαύδιος) was the Roman chiliarch ("chief captain," A. V.) who commanded the garrison at Jerusalem in the procuratorship of Felix (A. D. 50). See Wieseler's *Chronologie*, p. 88. It was he who rescued Paul from the Jewish mob when they were about to kill him for alleged profanation of the Temple (Acts xxi. 32 ff.). Of his two names, Lysias reminds us of his Greek origin, and Claudius of his assumption of the rights of a Roman citizen, which (see Acts xxii. 28) he had acquired by purchase. [CITIZENSHIP.] We have no knowledge of this Lysias out of the Acts; but what we learn there is not, on the whole, unfavorable to him. He arrested the scourging of Paul as soon as he knew that he was a Roman citizen. He allowed him to speak to his countrymen in self-defense, and rescued him from their rage on hearing his declaration that God had sent him to preach the Messiah to the heathen. He lodged him for safety in the castle, took him out of the hands of the Jewish Council when they were about to tear him in pieces, and on being informed of a conspiracy to kill him, sent him by night, under an escort of Roman soldiers, to Felix at Cæsarea.

Luke has preserved to us the letter which Lysias wrote to Felix on that occasion (Acts xxiii. 26–30). The letter contains, on one point, a palpable misstatement, proceeding of course not from Luke who copied the letter, but from Lysias by whom it was written. Lysias states as his reason for rescuing Paul with such promptness from the Jews that he learned (*μαθὼν ὅτι*, etc.) that he was a Roman citizen; whereas, in fact, he knew nothing of Paul's rank till after he had taken him into custody,[a] and was even on the point of putting him to torture. Meyer very properly points out this deceit as a mark of the genuineness of the letter (*Apostelgeschichte*, p. 450). It was natural that the subaltern should wish to gain as much credit as possible with his superior. It might be presumed that the minute circumstances would be unknown to Felix. We detect the inconsistency because we have in our hands Luke's narrative as well as the letter.

It is impossible to say how Luke obtained a copy of this document. It pertained to a judicial process concerning which Felix might have to give account. It would therefore be preserved. Luke no doubt was at Cæsarea during the two years that Paul was confined there. He would naturally wish to know how the Apostle's case had been represented to the procurator, and may even at that time have formed his purpose to write the Acts. Considering his inquisitive habits (mentioned at the beginning of his Gospel) we can easily believe that he would find means, in some way, to see the letter, or at all events to learn its purport (Acts xxiii. 25). Luke's expression (*ἐπιστ. περιέχουσαν τὸν τύπον τοῦτον*) intimates that it is the substance rather than the full words of the letter, that he reports to us. An incidental value of the document is that it transmits to us an official Roman testimony to the integrity of Paul's character. H.

LYSIM'ACHUS (Λυσίμαχος, [*ender of strife, peace-maker: Lysimachus*]). 1. "A son of Ptolemæus of Jerusalem" (Λ. Πτολεμαίου ὁ ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ), the Greek translator of the book of Esther (ἐπιστολή. Comp. Esth. ix. 20), according to the subscription of the LXX. There is, however, no reason to suppose that the translator was also the author of the additions made to the Hebrew text. [ESTHER.]

2. A brother of the high-priest Menelaus, who was left by him as his deputy (διάδοχος) during his absence at the court of Antiochus. His tyranny and sacrilege excited an insurrection, during which he fell a victim to the fury of the people cir. B. C. 170 (2 Macc. iv. 29–42). The Vulgate, by a mistranslation ("Menelaus amotus est a sacerdotio, succedente Lysimacho fratre suo" 2 Macc. iv. 29) makes Lysimachus the successor instead of the deputy of Menelaus. B. F. W.

LYS'TRA (Λύστρα [neuter pl. Acts xiv. 8 and 2 Tim. iii. 11, but fem. sing., Acts xiv. 6, 21, and xvi. 1: *Lystra*, also sing. and pl.]) has two points of extreme interest in connection respectively with St. Paul's first and second missionary journeys — (1) as the place where divine honors were offered to him, and where he was presently stoned; (2) as the home of his chosen companion and fellow-missionary TIMOTHEUS.

We are told in the 14th chapter of the Acts, that Paul and Barnabas, driven by persecution from ICONIUM (ver. 2), proceeded to Lystra and its neighborhood, and there preached the Gospel. In the course of this service a remarkable miracle was worked in the healing of a lame man (ver. 8). This occurrence produced such an effect on the minds of the ignorant and superstitious people of the place, that they supposed that the two gods, MERCURY and JUPITER, who were said by the poets to have formerly visited this district in human form [LYCAONIA] had again bestowed on it the same favor, and consequently were proceeding to offer sacrifice to the strangers (ver. 13). The Apostles

[a] To evade this conclusion some resolve *μαθὼν ὅτι* into *καὶ ἔμαθον*, as if the chiliarch learned the fact of the citizenship after the arrest. But there is no example of such a use of the participle in the N. T. (See Winer, *N. T. Gram.* § 46, 2.)

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rejected this worship with horror (ver. 14), and St. Paul addressed a speech to them, turning their minds to the true Source of all the blessings of nature. The distinct proclamation of Christian doctrine is not mentioned, but it is implied, inasmuch as a church was founded at Lystra. The adoration of the Lystrians was rapidly followed by a change of feeling. The persecuting Jews arrived from Antioch in Pisidia and Iconium, and had such influence that Paul was stoned and left for dead (ver. 19). On his recovery he withdrew, with Barnabas, to DERBE (ver. 20), but before long retraced his steps through Lystra (ver. 21), encouraging the new disciples to be steadfast.

It is evident from 2 Tim. iii. 10, 11, that Timotheus was one of those who witnessed St. Paul's sufferings and courage on this occasion: and it can hardly be doubted that his conversion to Christianity resulted partly from these circumstances, combined with the teaching of his Jewish mother and grandmother, EUNICE and LOIS (2 Tim. i. 5). Thus, when the Apostle, accompanied by Silas, came, on his second missionary journey, to this place again (and here we should notice how accurately Derbe and Lystra are here mentioned in the inverse order), Timotheus was already a Christian (Acts xvi. 1). Here he received circumcision, "because of the Jews in those parts" (ver. 3); and from this point began his connection with St. Paul's travels. We are doubly reminded here of Jewish residents in and near Lystra. Their first settlement, and the ancestors of Timotheus among them, may very probably be traced to the establishment of Babylonian Jews in Phrygia by Antiochus three centuries before (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3, § 4). Still it is evident that there was no influential Jewish population at Lystra: no mention is made of any synagogue; and the whole aspect of the scene described by St. Luke (Acts xiv.) is thoroughly heathen. With regard to St. Paul, it is not absolutely stated that he was ever in Lystra again, but from the general description of the route of the third missionary journey (Acts xviii. 23) it is almost certain that he was.

Lystra was undoubtedly in the eastern part of the great plain of Lycaonia; and there are very strong reasons for identifying its site with the ruins called *Bin-bir-Kilisseh*, at the base of a conical mountain of volcanic structure, named the *Karadagh* (Hamilton, *Res. in A. M.* ii. 313). Here are the remains of a great number of churches: and it should be noticed that Lystra has its post-apostolic Christian history, the names of its bishops appearing in the records of early councils.

Pliny (v. 42) places this town in Galatia, and Ptolemy (v. 4, 12) in Isauria: but these statements are quite consistent with its being placed in Lycaonia by St. Luke, as it is by Hierocles (*Synecd.* p. 675). As to its condition in heathen times, it is worth while to notice that the words in Acts xiv 13 (τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ὄντος πρὸ τῆς πόλεως) would lead us to conclude that it was under the tutelage of Jupiter. Walch, in his *Spicilegium Antiquitatum Lystrensium* (*Diss. in Acta Apostolorum*, Jena 1766, vol. iii.), thinks that in this passage a statue not a temple, of the god is intended. J. S. H.

* The Apostle in his speech to the Lystrians addressed heathen and idolaters. It is interesting to compare the line of thought hinted here in regard to the means of knowledge furnished by the light of nature concerning the existence of God and his attributes with the fuller reasoning on this subject in Rom. i. 19 ff. The similarity (see also Acts xvii. 24 ff.) is precisely such as we should expect on the supposition that he who wrote the epistle delivered the speech. There is also some diversity, but of the kind which arises from applying the same system of truth to different occasions. Luke assigns the speech to its proper place in the history. Among the Lycaonians whose local traditions were so peculiar, it is less surprising that the gross anthropomorphism should show itself, which called forth the Apostle's remonstrance and led him to correct the error. The reader will find a good analysis of the argument, with exegetical remarks, in Stier's *Reden der Apostel*, ii. 1–29. H.

M.

MA'ACAH (מַעֲכָה [perh. *depression*, Fürst]: Μααχά; Alex. Μααχαθ: *Maacha*). 1. The mother of Absalom = MAACHAH 5 (2 Sam. iii. 3).

2. MAACAH, and (in Chron.) MAACHAH: in Samuel Ἀμαλήκ,[a] and so Josephus; in Chron. [Vat. FA.] Μοοχα and Μωχα; Alex. in both [rather, in 2 Sam.] Μααχα, [in Chron. Μαχα. Μωχα:] *Machati, Maacha*. A small kingdom in close proximity to Palestine, which appears to have lain outside Argob (Deut. iii. 14) and Bashan (Josh. xii. 5). These districts, probably answering to the *Lejah* and *Jaulân* of modern Syria, occupied the space from the Jordan on the west to Salcah (*Sulkhad*) on the east and Mount Hermon on the north. There is therefore no alternative but to place Maacah somewhere to the east of the *Lejah*, in the country that lies between that remarkable district and the *Sufâ*, namely the stony desert of *el-Krâ*[b] (see Kiepert's *map* to Wetzstein's *Hauràn*, etc., 1860), and which is to this day thickly studded with villages. In these remote eastern regions was also probably situated Tibchath, Tebach, or Betach, which occurs more than once in connection with Maacah[c] (1 Chr. xviii. 8; Gen. xxii. 24; 2 Sam.

[a] Gesenius (*Thes.* 811 *a*) suggests that the name may have been originally מַלְכָּה, the ל having changed into ע, in accordance with Phœnician custom. (See also Fürst, *Hdwb.* 766 *b*; though he derives the name itself from a root signifying depression — lowland.) It is perhaps some support to this idea, that Eusebius in the *Onomasticon* gives the name Μαλαχά, and that the LXX. read in one passage "Amalek," as above. Is it not also possible that in 2 Sam. viii. 12 "Amalek" may more accurately be Maacah? At least no campaign against Amalek is recorded in these wars — none since that before the death of Saul (1 Sam. xxx.), which can hardly be referred to in this catalogue.

* The reading Μαχά instead of Μαλαχά is adopted by Larsow and Parthey in their edition of the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius (Berlin, 1862) on the authority of the Codex Leidensis. A.

[b] This is probably the origin of the name *Crau* attached to the great stony plain north of Marseilles.

[c] The ancient versions do not assist us much in the position of Maacah. The Syriac Peshito in 1 Chr. xix has *Choron*, ܚܘܪܘܢ. If this could be identified with *el-Charra*, the district east of *Sulkhad*

viii. 8). Maacah is sometimes assumed to have been situated about ABEL-BETH-MAACAH; but, if *Abil* be the modern representative of that town, this is hardly probable, as it would bring the kingdom of Maacah west of the Jordan, and within the actual limits of Israel. It is possible that the town was a colony of the nation, though even this is rendered questionable by the conduct of Joab towards it (2 Sam. xx. 22). That implacable soldier would hardly have left it standing and unharmed had it been the city of those who took so prominent a part against him in the Ammonite war.

That war was the only occasion on which the Maacathites came into contact with Israel, when their king assisted the Bene-Ammon [sons of A.] against Joab with a force which he led himself (2 Sam. x. 6, 8; 1 Chr. xix. 7. In the first of these passages "of" is inaccurately omitted in the A. V.). The small extent of the country may be inferred from a comparison of the number of this force with that of the people of Zobah, Ishtob, and Rehob (2 Sam. x. 6), combined with the expression "his people" in 1 Chr. xix. 7, which perhaps imply that a thousand men were the whole strength of his army. [MAACHATHI.]

To the connection which is always implied between Maacah and Geshur we have no clew. It is perhaps illustrated by the fact of the daughter of the king of Geshur — wife of David and mother of Absalom — being named Maacah. G.

MA'ACHAH (מַעֲכָה [as above]: Μαχά; Alex. Μαχα: *Maacha*). 1. The daughter of Nahor by his concubine Reumah (Gen. xxii. 24). Ewald connects her name with the district of Maachah in the Hermon range (*Gesch.* i. 414, *note* 1).

2. (Μααχά; [Vat. Αμησα.]) The father of Achish, who was king of Gath at the beginning of Solomon's reign (1 K. ii. 39). [MAOCH.]

3. [Vat. in 1 Chr. xi. 21, Μααχαν.] The daughter, or more probably grand-daughter, of Absalom, named after his mother; the third and favorite wife of Rehoboam, and mother of Abijah (1 K. xv. 2; 2 Chr. xi. 20–22). According to Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 10, § 1) her mother was Tamar, Absalom's daughter. But the mother of Abijah is elsewhere called "Michaiah, the daughter of Uriel of Gibeah" (2 Chr. xiii. 2). The LXX. and Syriac, in the latter passage, have Maachah, as in xi. 20. If Michaiah were a mere variation of Maachah, as has been asserted (the resemblance in English characters being much more close than in Hebrew), it would be easy to understand that Uriel of Gibeah married Tamar the daughter of Absalom, whose grand-daughter therefore Maachah was. But it is more probable that "Michaiah" is the error of a transcriber, and that "Maachah" is the true reading in all cases (Capelli *Crit. Sacr.* vi. 7, § 3). Houbigant proposed to alter the text, and to read "Maachah, the daughter of Abishalom (or Absalom), the son of Uriel." During the reign of her grandson Asa she occupied at the court of Judah the high position of "King's Mother" (comp. 1 K. ii. 19), which has been compared with that of the *Sultana Valide* in Turkey. It may be that at Abijah's death, after a short reign of three years, Asa was left a minor, and Maachah acted as regent, like Athaliah under similar circumstances. If this conjecture be correct, it would serve to explain the influence by which she promoted the practice of idolatrous worship. The idol or "horror" which she had made for Asherah (1 K. xv. 13; 2 Chr. xv. 16) is supposed to have been the emblem of Priapus, and was so understood by the Vulgate. [IDOL, vol. ii. p. 1118 *b.*] It was swept away in Asa's reformation, and Maachah was removed from her dignity. Josephus calls Maachah Μαχάρη, perhaps a corruption of Μαχά, and makes Asa the son of Μαχαία. See Burrington's *Genealogies*, i. 222–228, where the two Maachahs are considered distinct.

4. (Μααχά.) The concubine of Caleb the son of Hezron (1 Chr. ii. 48).

5. (Μααχά.) The daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur, and mother of Absalom (1 Chr. iii. 2): also called MAACAH in A. V. of 2 Sam. iii. 3. Josephus gives her name Μαχάμη (*Ant.* vii. 1, § 4). She is said, according to a Hebrew tradition recorded by Jerome (*Qu. Hebr. in Reg.*), to have been taken by David in battle and added to the number of his wives.

6. (Μααχά; Alex. Μοοχα.) The wife of Machir the Manassite, the father or founder of Gilead, and sister of Huppim and Shuppim (1 Chr. vii. 15, 16), who were of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Chr. vii. 12). In the Peshito Syriac Maachah is made the mother of Machir.

7. (Μοαχά, [Μοαχά;] Alex. [in 1 Chr. viii.] Μααχα.) The wife of Jehiel, father or founder of Gibeon, from whom was descended the family of Saul (1 Chr. viii. 29, ix. 35).

8. (Μοαχά; Alex. Μαχα.) The father of Hanan, one of the heroes of David's body-guard (1 Chr. xi. 43), who is classed among the warriors selected from the eastern side of the Jordan. It is not impossible that Maachah in this instance may be the same as Syria-Maachah in 1 Chr. xix. 6, 7.

9. (Μααχά; [Vat. Μαχα.]) A Simeonite, father of Shephatiah, prince of his tribe in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxvii. 16). W. A. W.

* **MA'ACHATH** (מַעֲכָת: Μαχαθί (Vat. -θει); Alex. Μαχαθι: *Machathi*), Josh. xiii. 13, probably a variation of MAACAH (which see), though Fürst suggests that it may be abbreviated from מַעֲכָתִי. It occurs only as above, and there as patronymic (in the A. V., "Maachathites"). H.

MAACH'ATHI, and MAACH'ATHITES, THE (הַמַּעֲכָתִי [patronymic]: [Rom. Μαχαθί, Μαχί, Μαχαρί, etc.; Vat.]

and south of the *Safâ* (see Wetzstein, and Cyril Graham), it would support the view taken in the text, and would also fall in with the suggestion of Ewald *Gesch.* iii. 197), that the *Safâ* is connected with Zobah.

In Josh. xiii. the Peshito has *Kuros*, ܩܘܪܘܣ, if which the writer can make nothing. The Targums of Onkelos, Jonathan, and Jerusalem have Aphikeros, אַפִּיקָרוֹס (with some slight variations in spelling). This is probably intended for the Ἐπίκαιρος of Ptolemy, which he mentions in company with Livias, Callirrhoë, and Jasor (?) (See Reland, *Pal.* p. 462; and compare the expression of Josephus with regard to Machaerus, *B. J.* vii. 6, § 2.) But this would surely be too far south for Maacah. The Targum Pseudojon has *Antikeros*, אַנְטִיקָרוֹס, which remains obscure It will be observed, however, that every one of them names contains *Kr* or *Chr.*

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Ομαχαθει, η Μαχει, ο Μαχαρει, [etc.] Alex. Μαχαθι, [Μαχατι, etc.:] *Machathi, Machati, [Maachati]*), two words — the former taking the form of the Hebrew — which denote the inhabitants of the small kingdom of MAACHAH (Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xii. 5, xiii. 11, 13). Individual Maachathites were not unknown among the warriors of Israel. One, recorded simply as "son of the Maachathite," or possibly "Eliphelet, son of Ahasbai the Maachathite" (see Kennicott, *Dissertation*, 205, 206), was a member of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 34). Another, Jezaniah, was one of the chiefs who rallied round Gedaliah the superintendent, after the first destruction of Jerusalem (Jer. xl. 8; 2 K. xxv. 23). Eshtemoa the Maachathite (1 Chr. iv. 19) more probably derives that title from the concubine of Caleb (ii. 48) than from the Syrian kingdom. [MAACAH, 2.] G.

MA'ADAI [3 syl.] (מַעֲדַי) [*ornament of Jehovah*, see Ges.]: Μοοδία; [Vat. Μοδεδει;] Alex. Μοοδεια; FA. Δεδια: *Maaddi*), one of the sons of Bani who returned with Ezra and had intermarried with the people of the land (Ezr. x. 34). He is called MOMDIS in 1 Esdr. ix. 34.

MAADI'AH (מַעַדְיָה) [as above]: om. in Vat. MS. [and so in Rom. Alex. FA.[1]]; Alex. [rather FA.[3]] Μααδιας: *Madia*), one of the priests, or families of priests, who returned with Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Neh. xii. 5); elsewhere (ver. 17) called MOADIAH.

MA'AI [2 syl.] (מַעַי) [perh. *compassionate*, Ges.]: [Vat. Alex. FA.[1] omit; Rom.] Ἀζα; [FA.[2] Μααΐ:] *Maai*), one of the Bene-Asaph [sons of A.] who took part in the solemn musical service by which the wall of Jerusalem was dedicated after it had been rebuilt by Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 36).

MA'ALEH-ACRAB'BIM (מַעֲלֵה עַקְרַבִּים) [*ascent of scorpions*]: ἡ προσανάβασις Ἀκραβελν [Rom. -βλν; Alex. Ακραββειμ]: *ascensus Scorpionis*). The full form of the name which in its other occurrences (in the original identical with the above) is given in the A. V. as "the ascent of" [Num. xxxiv. 4], or "the going up to [Judg. i. 36], Akrabbim." It is found only in Josh. xv. 3. For the probable situation of the pass, see AKRABBIM. G.

* In Judg. i. 36 the marginal reading (A. V.) is Maale-Akrabbim, with "the going up to Akrabbim" in the text. The same place is always meant, and the expression is as much a proper name in one passage as another. H.

MA'ANI (Βααν [Vat. -νει; Ald. Μααν:] *Banni*), 1 Esdr. ix. 34 identical with BANI, 4.

MA'ARATH (מַעֲרָה) [*naked place*, i. e. without trees, etc.]: Μαγαρθ[a]; [Alex. Ald. Μαρθ; Comp. Μααρθ:] *Mareth*), one of the towns of Judah, in the district of the mountains, and in the same group which contains HALHUL, BETHZUR, and GEDOR (Josh. xv. 59). The places which occur in company with it have been identified at a few miles to the north of Hebron, but Maarath has hitherto eluded observation. It does not seem to have been known to Eusebius or Jerome, although its name is mentioned by them (*Onomasticon* "Maroth").

By Gesenius (*Thes.* 1069 *a*) the name is derived from a root signifying openness or bareness, but may it not with equal accuracy and greater plausibility be derived from that which has produced the similar word, *meurah*, a cave? It would thus point to a characteristic feature of the mountainous districts of Palestine, one of which, the Mearath-Adullam, or cave of Adullam, was probably at no great distance from this very locality. G.

* **MA'ASAI** (3 syl.) is the correct form of the word which appears in the A. V. (1 Chr. ix. 12) as Maasiai or Maasia. See addition to MAASIAI. A.

MAASEIAH [4 syl.] (מַעֲשֵׂיָה) [*work of Jehovah*]: Μααεία: *Maasia*). 1. ([Vat. Μεεσηλ;] Alex. Μααση; FA. Μααση.) A descendant of Jeshua the priest, who in the time of Ezra had married a foreign wife, and was divorced from her (Ezr. x. 18). He is called MATTHELAS in 1 Esdr. ix. 19, but in the margin, MAASIAS.

2. (Μασαήλ; Alex. Μασείας; [Comp. Μαασία.]) A priest, of the sons of Harim, who put away his foreign wife at Ezra's command (Ezr. x. 21). MAASIAH in margin of 1 Esdr. ix. 19.

3. ([Vat.] FA. Μαασαια.) A priest of the sons of Pashur, who had married a foreign wife in the time of Ezra (Ezr. x. 22). He is called MASSIAS in 1 Esdr. ix. 22.

4. (Alex. Μαασηα; [Vat.] FA. Μασηι; [Comp. Μαασίας:] *Maasias.*) One of the laymen, a descendant of Pahath-Moab, who put away his foreign wife in the time of Ezra (Ezr. x. 30). Apparently the same as MOOSIAS in 1 Esdr. ix. 31.

5. (Μαασίας; [Vat.] FA. Μαδασηλ: *Maasias.*) The father of Azariah, one of the priests from the oasis of the Jordan, who assisted Nehemiah in rebuilding the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii 23).

6. ([Vat. M. Μαασσεια;] FA. Μαασαια.) One of those who stood on the right hand of Ezra when he read the law to the people (Neh. viii. 4). He was probably a priest, but whether one of those mentioned in ch. xii. 41, 42, is uncertain. The corresponding name in 1 Esdr. ix. 43 is BALBAMUS.

7. (Om. in LXX.; [but Comp. Μαασίας.]) A Levite who assisted on the same occasion in expounding the Law to the people (Neh. viii. 7). He is called MAIANEAS in 1 Esdr. ix. 48.

8. (Alex. Μαλσια; FA. Μαασεια.) One of the heads of the people whose descendants signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 25).

9. ([Vat. Μαασεια: F\[1]. Μεσεια;] Alex. Μαλσια.) Son of Baruch and descendant of Pharez, the son of Judah. His family dwelt in Jerusalem after the return from Babylon (Neh. xi. 5). In the corresponding narrative of 1 Chr. ix. 5 he is called ASAIAH.

10. (Μαασίας; [FA. Ματαηλ:] *Masia.*) A Benjamite, ancestor of Sallu, who dwelt at Jerusalem after the Captivity (Neh. xi. 7).

11. (Om. in Vat. MS.; [also Rom. Alex. FA.[1]] Alex. [rather FA.[3]] Μαασιας.) Two priests of this name are mentioned (Neh. xii. 41, 42) as taking part in the musical service which accompanied the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem under Ezra One of them is probably the same as 8.

[a] The LXX. here represent the Hebrew *Ain* by γ; compare Gomorrah

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12. (Βασαΐας; [Vat. Μαναασσα.ας, Alex. Μασσαιας, Comp. Μαασαιας,] FA. Μασεας in Jer. xxi. 1; Μααναΐας, Alex. Μασαιας, Jer. xxxvii. 3; [Μαασαιας, Alex. Μασσαιας, FA. Μασεας, Jer. xxix. 25.]) Father of Zephaniah, who was a priest in the reign of Zedekiah (Jer. xxix. 25).

13. (Om. in LXX.) The father of Zedekiah the false prophet, in the reign of Zedekiah king of Judah (Jer. xxix. 21).

14. (מַעֲשִׂיָהוּ: Μααναΐα, [Μααναΐας; Vat. Μαασσια, Μασσαιας;] Alex. Μααναια, [Μααναιας; FA. in ver. 20, Μασαιας:] *Maasias*), one of the Levites of the second rank, appointed by David to sound "with psalteries on Alamoth," when the ark was brought from the house of Obed-edom. He was also one of the "porters" or gate-keepers for the ark (1 Chr. xv. 18, 20).

15. ([Rom. Μααναια; Vat. Μασσαια;] Alex. Μασια.) The son of Adaiah, and one of the captains of hundreds in the reign of Joash king of Judah. He assisted Jehoiada in the revolution by which Joash was placed on the throne (2 Chr. xxiii. 1).

16. (Μααναΐας; [Vat. Αμασσαιας;] Alex. Μασσαιας.) An officer of high rank (*shôtêr*) in the reign of Uzziah (2 Chr. xxvi. 11). He was probably a Levite (comp. 1 Chr. xxiii. 4), and engaged in a semi-military capacity, corresponding to the civic functions of the judges, with whom the *shôterim* are frequently coupled.

17. (Μααναΐας; [Vat. Μαασσαιας;] Alex. Μασιας.) The "king's son," killed by Zichri the Ephraimitish hero in the invasion of Judah by Pekah king of Israel, during the reign of Ahaz (2 Chr. xxviii. 7). The personage thus designated is twice mentioned in connection with the "governor of the city" (1 K. xxii. 26; 2 Chr. xviii. 25), and appears to have held an office of importance at the Jewish court (perhaps acting as viceroy during the absence of the king), just as the queen dowager was honored with the title of "king's mother" (comp. 2 K. xxiv. 12 with Jer. xxix. 2), or *gebîrâh*, i. e. "mistress," or "powerful lady." [MALCHIAH, 3.] For the conjecture of Geiger, see JOASH, 4.

18. (Μααρά; [Alex. Μασσιας.]) The governor of Jerusalem in the reign of Josiah, appointed by the king, in conjunction with Shaphan and Joah, to superintend the restoration of the Temple (2 Chr. xxxiv. 8).

19. (Μααναΐας; Alex. Μασαιας; [FA. Μασεας.]) The son of Shallum, a Levite of high rank, and one of the gate-keepers of the Temple in the reign of Jehoiakim (Jer. xxxv. 4; comp. 1 Chr. ix. 19).

20. (מַחְסֵיָהוּ [*refuge of Jehovah*, i. e. which he affords]: Μααναΐας; Alex. Μασσαιας: *Mansias*, Jer. xxxii. 12; Alex. Μαασσαιας: *Masias*, Jer. li. 59.) A priest; ancestor of Baruch and Seraiah, the sons of Neriah. W. A. W.

MAASI'AI [*properly* MA'ASAI, 3 syl.] (מַעֲשַׂי [*Jehovah's work*]: Μααναΐα; Alex. Μασαι: *Maasai*), a priest who after the return from Babylon dwelt in Jerusalem (1 Chr. ix. 12). He is apparently the same as AMASHAI in Neh. xi. 13.

* The forms Maasiai and Maasia (the latter being the reading of the A. V. in the original edition of 1611 and other early editions) are doubtless both misprints for Maasai. This is the reading of the Genevan version, and corresponds with the Hebrew מַעֲשַׂי, the word being thus pointed in four MSS. collated by Michaelis (see his *Bibl Hebr. in loc.*), and also by Gesenius and Fürst. A.

MAASI'AS (Μααναΐας: *Maasias*). The same as MASSEIAH, 20, the ancestor of Baruch (Bar. i. 1).

* **MA'ATH** (Μαάθ: *Mahath*), an ancestor of Jesus, according to the genealogy in Luke (iv. 26). A.

MA'AZ (מָעַץ [*anger*]: Μαάς: *Moos*), son of Ram, the firstborn of Jerahmeel (1 Chr. ii. 27).

MAAZI'AH (מַעַזְיָה [*Jehovah's consolation*]: Μααζία; [Vat. Ναδεια;] FA. Αζια: *Maazia*). 1. One of the priests who signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 8). From the coincidence between many of the names of the priests in the lists of the twenty-four courses established by David, of those who signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x.), and those who returned with Zerubbabel (Neh. xii.), it would seem either that these names were hereditary in families, or that they were applied to the families themselves. This is evidently the case with the names of the "heads of the people" enumerated in Neh. x. 14–27.

2. (מַעַזְיָהוּ [see above]: Μαασαί; Alex. Μοσζαλ: *Mauziah*.) A priest in the reign of David, head of the twenty-fourth course (1 Chr. xxiv. 18). See the preceding.

MAB'DAI [2 syl.] (Μαββαΐ; [Vat. Ιουναμαμβαι, by union with the preceding word;] Alex. Μαναβαι: *Baneas*). The same as BENAIAH (1 Esdr. ix. 34; see Ezr. x. 35).

MAC'ALON (Μακαλών, in both MSS.: *Bastavo*), 1 Esdr. v. 21. This name is the equivalent of MICHMASH in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah. G.

MAC'CABEES, THE (*οἱ* Μακκαβαῖοι: [*Maccabæi*]). This title, which was originally the surname of Judas, one of the sons of Mattathias (*infr.* § 2), was afterwards extended to the heroic family of which he was one of the noblest representatives, and in a still wider sense to the Palestinian martyrs in the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes [4 MACCABEES], and even to the Alexandrine Jews who suffered for their faith at an earlier time [3 MACCABEES]. The original term *Maccabi* (*ὁ* Μακκαβαῖος) has been variously derived. Some have maintained that it was formed from the combination of the initial letters of the Hebrew sentence, "Who among the gods is like unto thee, Jehovah?" (Ex. xv. 11, Hebr. י, ב, כ, מ), which is supposed to have been inscribed upon the banner of the patriots; or, again, of the initials of the simply descriptive title, "Mattathias, a priest, the son of Johanan." But even if the custom of forming such words was in use among the Jews at this early time, it is obvious that such a title would not be an individual title in the first instance, as Maccabee undoubtedly was (1 Macc. ii. 4), and still remains among the Jews (Raphall, *Hist. of Jews* i. 249). Moreover the orthography of the word in Greek and Syriac (Ewald, *Geschichte*, iv. 352, *note* points to the form מכבי, and not מכבי Another derivation has been proposed, which although direct evidence is wanting, seems satisfactory. According to this, the word is formed from

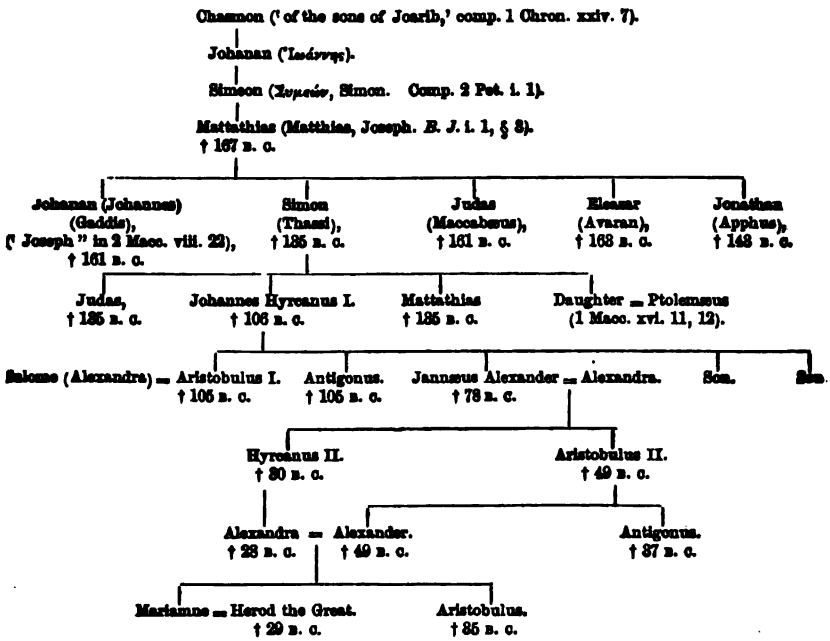
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מַכָּבִי, "a hammer" (like *Malachi*, Ewald, 353, *note*), giving a sense not altogether unlike that in which Charles *Martel* derived a surname from his favorite weapon, and still more like the *Malleus Scotorum* and *Malleus Hæreticorum* of the Middle Ages.

Although the name *Maccabees* has gained the widest currency, that of *Asmonæans*, or *Hasmonæans*, is the proper name of the family. The origin of this name also has been disputed, but the obvious derivation from Chashmon (חַשְׁמוֹן, Ἀσαμωναῖος, comp. Ges. *Thes.* 534 *b*), great grandfather of Mattathias, seems certainly correct How it came to pass that a man, otherwise obscure, gave his name to the family, cannot now be discovered; but no stress can be laid upon this difficulty, nor upon the fact that in Jewish prayers (Herzfeld, *Gesch. d. Jud.* i. 264) Mattathias himself is called *Hashmonai*.[a]

The connection of the various members of the Maccabean family will be seen from the accompanying table: —

THE ASMONÆAN FAMILY.



The original authorities for the history of the Maccabees are extremely scanty; but for the course of the war itself the first book of Maccabees is a most trustworthy, if an incomplete witness. [MACCABEES, BOOKS OF.] The second book adds some important details to the history of the earlier part of the struggle, and of the events which immediately preceded it; but all the statements which it contains require close examination, and must be received with caution. Josephus follows 1 Macc., for the period which it embraces, very closely, but slight additions of names and minute particulars indicate that he was in possession of other materials, probably oral traditions, which have not been elsewhere preserved. On the other hand there are cases, in which, from haste or carelessness, he has misinterpreted his authority. From other sources little can be gleaned. Hebrew and classical literature furnishes nothing more than a few trifling fragments which illustrate Maccabean history. So long an interval elapsed before the Hebrew traditions were committed to writing, that facts, when not embodied in rites or precepts, became wholly distorted. Classical writers, again, were little likely to chronicle a conflict which probably they could not have understood. Of the great work of Polybius — who alone might have been expected to appreciate the importance of the Jewish war — only fragments remain which refer to this period; but the omission of all mention of the Maccabean campaign in the corresponding sections of Livy, who follows very closely in the track of the Greek historian, seems to prove that Polybius also omitted them. The account of the Syrian kings in Appian is too meagre to make his silence remarkable; but indifference or contempt must be the explanation of a general silence which is too wide-spread to be accidental. Even when the fall of Jerusalem had directed unusual attention to the past fortunes of its defenders, Tacitus was able to dismiss the Maccabean conflict in a sentence remarkable for scornful carelessness. "During the dominion of the Assyrians, the Medes, and the Persians, the Jews," he says, "were the most abject of their dependent subjects. After the Macedonians obtained the supremacy of the East, King Antiochus endeavored

[a] Herzfeld derives the name from מָחַק, "to temper steel;" so that it becomes in sense a synonym of "Maccabee."

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to do away with their superstition, and introduce Greek habits, but was hindered by a Parthian war from reforming a most repulsive people" (*teterrimam gentem* Tac. *Hist.* v. 8).[a]

1. The essential causes of the Maccabæan War have been already pointed out [ANTIOCHUS IV. vol. i. p. 116 *a*]. The annals of the Maccabæan family, "by whose hand deliverance was given unto Israel" (1 Macc. v. 62), present the record of its progress. The standard of independence was first raised by MATTATHIAS, a priest[b] of the course of Joarib, which was the first of the twenty-four courses (1 Chr. xxiv. 7), and consequently of the noblest blood (comp. Jos. *Vit.* i.; Grimm, *on* 1 *Macc.* ii. 1). The persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes had already roused his indignation, when emissaries of the king, headed by Apelles (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 6, § 2), came to MODIN, where he dwelt, and required the people to offer idolatrous sacrifice (1 Macc. ii. 15, etc.). Mattathias rejected the overtures which were made to him first, and when a Jew came to the altar to renounce his faith, slew him, and afterwards Apelles, "as Phinees — from whom he was descended — did unto Zambri." After this he fled with his sons to the mountains (B. C. 168), whither he was followed by numerous bands of fugitives. Some of them, not in close connection with Mattathias, being attacked on the Sabbath, offered no resistance, and fell to the number of a thousand. When Mattathias heard of the disaster he asserted the duty of self-defense, and continued the war with signal success, destroying the idolatrous altars, and restoring the observance of the Law. He seems, however, to have been already advanced in years when the rising was made, and he did not long survive the fatigues of active service. He died B. C. 166, and "was buried in the sepulchre of his fathers at Modin." The speech which he is said to have addressed to his sons before his death is remarkable as containing the first distinct allusion to the contents of Daniel, a book which seems to have exercised the most powerful influence on the Maccabæan conflict (1 Macc. ii. 60; comp. Jos. *Ant.* xii. 6, § 3).

2. Mattathias himself named JUDAS — apparently his third son — as his successor in directing the war of independence (1 Macc. ii. 66). The energy and skill of "THE MACCABEE" (ὁ Μακκαβαῖος), as Judas is often called in 2 Macc., fully justified his father's preference. It appears that he had already taken a prominent part in the first secession to the mountains (2 Macc. v. 27, where Mattathias is not mentioned); and on receiving the chief command he devoted himself to the task of combining for common action those who were still faithful to the religion of their fathers (2 Macc. viii. 1). His first enterprises were night attacks and sudden surprises, which were best suited to the troops at his disposal (2 Macc. viii. 6, 7); and when his men were encouraged by these means, he ventured on more important operations, and defeated Apollonius (1 Macc. iii. 10-12) and Seron (1 Macc. iii. 13-24), who hearing of his success came against him with very superior forces at Beth-horon, the scene of the most glorious victories of the Jews in earlier and later times. [BETH-HORON.] Shortly afterwards Antiochus Epiphanes, whose resources has been impoverished by the war (1 Macc. iii. 27-31) left the government of the Palestinian provinces to Lysias, while he himself undertook an expedition against Persia in the hope of recruiting his treasury. Lysias organized an expedition against Judas; but his army, a part of which had been separated from the main body to effect a surprise, was defeated by Judas at Emmaus with great loss (B. C. 166), after the Jews had kept a solemn fast at Mizpeh (1 Macc iii. 46-53), and in the next year Lysias himself was routed at Bethsura. After this success Judas was able to occupy Jerusalem except the "tower" (1 Macc. vi. 18, 19), and he purified the Temple (1 Macc. iv. 36, 41-53) on the 25th of Cisleu, exactly three years after its profanation (1 Macc. i. 59 [DEDICATION]; Grimm, *on* 1 *Macc.* iv. 59). The next year was spent in wars with frontier nations (1 Macc. v.); but in spite of continued triumphs the position of Judas was still precarious. In B. C. 163 Lysias, with the young king Antiochus Eupator, took Bethsura, which had been fortified by Judas as the key of the Idumæan border (1 Macc. iv. 61), after having defeated the patriots who came to its relief; and next laid siege to Jerusalem. The city was on the point of surrendering, when the approach of Philip, who claimed the guardianship of the king, induced Lysias to guarantee to the Jews complete liberty of religion. The compact thus made was soon broken, but shortly afterwards Lysias fell into the hands of Demetrius, a new claimant of the throne, and was put to death. The accession of Demetrius brought with it fresh troubles to the patriot Jews. A large party of their countrymen, with ALCIMUS at their head, gained the ear of the king, and he sent Nicanor against Judas. Nicanor was defeated, first at Capharsalama, and again in a decisive battle at Adasa, near to the glorious field of Beth-horon (B. C. 161, on the 13th Adar; 1 Macc. vii. 49; 2 Macc. xv. 36), where he was slain. This victory was the greatest of Judas's successes, and practically decided the question of Jewish independence, but it was followed by an unexpected reverse. Judas employed the short interval of peace which followed in negotiating a favorable league with the Romans. But in the same year, before the answer of the senate was returned, a new invasion under Bacchides took place. The Roman alliance seems to have alienated many of the extreme Jewish party from Judas (*Midr. Hhamuba*, quoted by Raphall, *Hist. of Jews*, i. 325), and he was able only to gather a small force to meet the sudden danger. Of this a large part deserted him on the eve of the battle: but the courage of Judas was unshaken and he fell at Elesa, the Jewish Thermopylæ, fighting at desperate odds against the invaders. His body was recovered by his brothers, and buried at Modin "in the sepulchre of his fathers" (B. C. 161).[c]

[a] The short notice of the Jews in Diodorus Siculus (*Lib.* xl., *Ecl.* 1) is singularly free from popular misrepresentations, many of which, however, he quotes as used by the counsellors of Antiochus to urge the king to extirpate the nation (*Lib.* xxxiv., *Ecl.* 1).

[b] The later tradition, by a natural exaggeration, made him high-priest. Comp. Herzfeld, *Gesch.* i. 264, 279.

[c] Judas (like Mattathias) is represented in later times as high-priest. Even Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 11, § 2) speaks of the high-priesthood of Judas, and also says that he was elected by "the people" on the death of Alcimus (xii. 10, § 6). But it is evident from 1 Macc. ix. 18, 56, that Judas died some time before Alcimus and elsewhere (*Ant.* xx. 10, § 3) Josephus himself says that the high-priesthood was vacant for seven years

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3. After the death of Judas the patriotic party seems to have been for a short time wholly disorganized, and it was only by the pressure of unparalleled sufferings that they were driven to renew the conflict. For this purpose they offered the command to JONATHAN, surnamed Apphus (אַפְפוּס, *the wary*), the youngest son of Mattathias. The policy of Jonathan shows the greatness of the loss involved in his brother's death. He made no attempt to maintain himself in the open country, but retired to the lowlands of the Jordan (1 Macc. ix. 42), where he gained some advantage over Bacchides (B. C. 161), who made an attempt to hem in and destroy his whole force. Not long afterwards Alcimus died (B. C. 160), and Bacchides losing, as it appears, the active support of the Grecizing party, retired from Palestine. Meanwhile Jonathan made such use of the interval of rest as to excite the fears of his Jewish enemies; and after two years Bacchides, at their request, again took the field against Jonathan (B. C. 158). This time he seems to have been but feebly supported, and after an unsuccessful campaign he accepted terms which Jonathan proposed; and after his departure Jonathan "judged the people at Michmash" (1 Macc. ix. 73), and gradually extended his power. The claim of Alexander Balas to the Syrian crown gave a new importance to Jonathan and his adherents. Demetrius I. empowered him to raise an army, a permission which was followed by the evacuation of all the outposts occupied by the Syrians except Bethsura, but Jonathan espoused the cause of Alexander, and refused the liberal offers which Demetrius made, when he heard that the Jews had resolved to join his rival (B. C. 153). The success of Alexander led to the elevation of Jonathan, who assumed the high-priestly office after the royal nomination [a] at the Feast of Tabernacles (1 Macc. x. 21), "the greatest and holiest feast" (Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 4, § 1); and not long after he placed the king under fresh obligations by the defeat of Apollonius, a general of the younger Demetrius (1 Macc. x.). [APOLLONIUS.] On the death of Alexander, Demetrius II., in spite of the reverse which he had experienced, sought to gain the support of the Jews (B. C. 145); but after receiving important assistance from them he failed to fulfill his promises, and on the appearance of Antiochus VI., Jonathan attached himself to his party, and though he fell into a position of great peril gained an important victory over the generals of Demetrius. He then strengthened his position by alliances with Rome and "the Lacedæmonians" [SPARTANS], and gained several additional successes in the field (B. C. 144); but at last fell a victim to the treachery of Tryphon (B. C. 144), who feared that he would prove an obstacle to the design which he had formed of usurping the crown after the murder of the young Antiochus (1 Macc. xi. 8–xii. 4).

4. As soon as SIMON,[b] the last remaining brother of the Maccabæan family, heard of the detention of Jonathan in Ptolemais by Tryphon, he placed himself at the head of the patriot party, who were already beginning to despond, and effectually opposed the progress of the Syrians. His skill in war had been proved in the lifetime of Judas (1 Macc. v. 17-23), and he had taken an active share in the campaigns of Jonathan, when he was intrusted with a distinct command (1 Macc. xi. 59). He was soon enabled to consummate the object for which his family had fought gloriously, but in vain. Tryphon, after carrying Jonathan about as a prisoner for some little time, put him to death, and then, having murdered Antiochus, seized the throne. On this Simon made overtures to Demetrius II. (B. C. 143), which were favorably received, and the independence of the Jews was at length formally recognized. The long struggle was now triumphantly ended, and it remained only to reap the fruits of victory. This Simon hastened to do. In the NEXT year he reduced "the tower" at Jerusalem, which up to this time had always been occupied by the Syrian faction; and during the remainder of his command extended and confirmed the power of his countrymen on all sides, in spite of the hostility of Antiochus Sidetes, who after a time abandoned the policy of Demetrius. [CENDEBÆUS.] The prudence and wisdom for which he was already distinguished at the time of his father's death (1 Macc. ii. 65) gained for the Jews the active support of Rome (1 Macc. xv. 16-21), in addition to the confirmation of earlier treaties. After settling the external relations of the new state upon a sure basis, Simon regulated its internal administration. He encouraged trade and agriculture, and secured all the blessings of peace (1 Macc. xiv. 4-15). But in the midst of successes abroad and prosperity at home, he fell a victim to domestic treachery. Ptolemæus, the governor of Jericho, his son-in-law, aspired to usurp the supreme power, and having invited Simon and two of his sons to a banquet in his castle at Dôk, he murdered them there (B. C. 135, 1 Macc. xvi. 11–16).

5. The treason of Ptolemæus failed in its object. JOHANNES HYRCANUS, one of the sons of Simon, escaped from the plot by which his life was threatened, and at once assumed the government (B. C. 135). At first he was hard pressed by Antiochus Sidetes, and only able to preserve Jerusalem on condition of dismantling the fortifications and submitting to a tribute, B. C. 133. The foreign and civil wars of the Seleucidæ gave him afterwards abundant opportunities to retrieve his losses. He reduced Idumæa (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 9, § 1), confirmed the alliance with Rome, and at length succeeded in destroying Samaria, the hated rival of Jerusalem, B. C. 109. The external splendor of his government was marred by the growth of internal divisions (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 10, §§ 5, 6); but John escaped the fate of all the older members of his family, and died in peace B. C. 106–5. His eldest son Aristobulus I., who succeeded, was the first who assumed the kingly title, though Simon had enjoyed the fullness of the kingly power.

6. Two of the first generation of the Maccabæan family still remain to be mentioned. These, though they did not attain to the leadership of

after the death of Alcimus, and that Jonathan was the first of the Asmonæan family who held the office.

[a] It does not appear that any direct claimant to the high-priesthood remained. Onias the younger who inherited the claim of his father Onias, the last legitimate high-priest, had retired to Egypt

[b] He was surnamed "Thassi" (Θασσί, Θασσίς); but the meaning of the title is uncertain. Michaelis (Grimm, *on* 1 *Macc.* ii.) thinks that it represents the Chaldee תַּקִּישׁ.

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their countrymen like their brothers, shared their fate — Eleazer [ELEAZAR, 8] by a noble act of self-devotion, John [JOHN, 2], apparently the eldest brother, by treachery. The sacrifice of the family was complete, and probably history offers no parallel to the undaunted courage with which such a band dared to face death, one by one, in the maintenance of a holy cause. The result was worthy of the sacrifice. The Maccabees inspired a subject-people with independence; they found a few personal followers, and they left a nation.

7. The great outlines of the Maccabean contest, which are somewhat hidden in the annals thus briefly epitomized, admit of being traced with fair distinctness, though many points must always remain obscure from our ignorance of the numbers and distribution of the Jewish population, and of the general condition of the people at the time. The disputed succession to the Syrian throne (B. C. 153) was the political turning-point of the struggle, which may thus be divided into two great periods. During the first period (B. C. 168–153) the patriots maintained their cause with varying success against the whole strength of Syria: during the second (B. C. 153–139), they were courted by rival factions, and their independence was acknowledged from time to time, though pledges given in times of danger were often broken when the danger was over. The paramount importance of Jerusalem is conspicuous throughout the whole war. The loss of the Holy City reduced the patriotic party at once to the condition of mere guerilla bands, issuing from "the mountains" or "the wilderness," to make sudden forays on the neighboring towns. This was the first aspect of the war (2 Macc. viii. 1–7; comp. 1 Macc. ii. 45); and the scene of the early exploits of Judas was the hill-country to the N. E. of Jerusalem, from which he drove the invading armies at the famous battle-fields of BETH-HORON and EMMAUS (Nicopolis). The occupation of Jerusalem closed the first act of the war (B. C. 165); and after this Judas made rapid attacks on every side — in Idumæa, Ammon, Gilead, Galilee — but he made no permanent settlement in the countries which he ravaged. Bethsura was fortified as a defense of Jerusalem on the S.; but the authority of Judas seems to have been limited to the immediate neighborhood of Jerusalem, though the influence of his name extended more widely (1 Macc. vii. 50, ἡ γῆ Ἰούδα). On the death of Judas the patriots were reduced to as great distress as at their first rising; and as Bacchides held the keys of the "mountains of Ephraim" (ix. 50) they were forced to find a refuge in the lowlands near Jericho, and after some slight successes Jonathan was allowed to settle at Michmash undisturbed, though the whole country remained absolutely under the sovereignty of Syria. So far it seemed that little had been gained, when the contest between Alexander Balas and Demetrius I. opened a new period (B. C. 153). Jonathan was empowered to raise troops: the Jewish hostages were restored; many of the fortresses were abandoned; and apparently a definite district was assigned to the government of the high-priest. The former unfruitful conflicts at length produced their full harvest. The defeat at Eleasa, like the Swiss St. Jacob, had shown the worth of men who could face all odds, and no price seemed too great to secure their aid. When the Jewish leaders had once obtained legitimate power they proved able to maintain it, though their general success was checkered by some reverses. The solid power of the national party was seen by the slight effect which was produced by the treacherous murder of Jonathan. Simon was able at once to occupy his place, and carry out his plans. The Syrian garrison was withdrawn from Jerusalem; Joppa was occupied as a seaport; and "four governments" (τέσσαρες νομοί, xi. 57, xiii. 37) — probably the central parts of the old kingdom of Judah, with three districts taken from Samaria (x. 38, 39) — were subjected to the sovereign authority of the high-priest.

8. The war, thus brought to a noble issue, if less famous is not less glorious than any of those in which a few brave men have successfully maintained the cause of freedom or religion against overpowering might. The answer of Judas to those who counseled retreat (1 Macc. ix. 10) was as true-hearted as that of Leonidas; and the exploits of his followers will bear favorable comparison with those of the Swiss, or the Dutch, or the Americans. It would be easy to point out parallels in Maccabean history to the noblest traits of patriots and martyrs in other countries; but it may be enough here to claim for the contest the attention which it rarely receives. It seems, indeed, as if the indifference of classical writers were perpetuated in our own days, though there is no struggle — not even the wars of Joshua or David — which is more profoundly interesting to the Christian student. For it is not only in their victory over external difficulties that the heroism of the Maccabees is conspicuous: their real success was as much imperilled by internal divisions as by foreign force. They had to contend on the one hand against open and subtle attempts to introduce Greek customs, and on the other against an extreme Pharisaic party, which is seen from time to time opposing their counsels (1 Macc. vii. 12–18; comp. § 2, end). And it was from Judas and those whom he inspired that the old faith received its last development and final impress before the coming of our Lord.

9. For that view of the Maccabean war which regards it only as a civil and not as a religious conflict, is essentially one-sided. If there were no other evidence than the book of Daniel — whatever opinion be held as to the date of it — that alone would show how deeply the noblest hopes of the theocracy were centred in the success of the struggle. When the feelings of the nation were thus again turned with fresh power to their ancient faith, we might expect that there would be a new creative epoch in the national literature; or, if the form of Hebrew composition was already fixed by sacred types, a prophet or psalmist would express the thoughts of the new age after the models of old time. Yet in part at least the leaders of Maccabean times felt that they were separated by a real chasm from the times of the kingdom or of the exile. If they looked for a prophet in the future they acknowledged that the spirit of prophecy was not among them. The volume of the prophetic writings was completed, and, as far as appears, no one ventured to imitate its contents. But the Hagiographa, though they were already long fixed as a definite collection [CANON], were not equally far removed from imitation. The apocalyptic visions of Daniel [DANIEL, § 1] served as a pattern for the visions incorporated in the book of Enoch [ENOCH, BOOK OF]; and it has been commonly supposed that the Psalter contains compositions of the Maccabean date. This supposition, which is

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at variance with the best evidence which can be obtained on the history of the Canon, can only be received upon the clearest internal[a] proof; and it may well be questioned whether the hypothesis is not as much at variance with sound interpretation as with the history of the Canon. The extreme forms of the hypothesis, as that of Hitzig, who represents Ps. 1, 2, 44, 60, and all the last three books of the Psalms (Ps. 73–150) as Maccabæan (Grimm, 1 *Macc. Einl.* § 9, 3), or of Just. Olshausen (quoted by Ewald, *Jahrb.* 1853, p. 250 ff.), who is inclined to bring the whole Psalter, with very few exceptions, to that date, need only be mentioned as indicating the kind of conjecture which finds currency on such a subject. The real controversy is confined to a much narrower field; and the psalms which have been referred with the greatest show of reason to the Maccabæan age are Ps. 44, 60, 74, 79, 80, 83. It has been argued that all these speak of the dangers to which the house and people of God were exposed from heathen enemies, at a period later than the Captivity; and the one ground for referring them to the time of the Maccabees is the general coincidence which they present with some features of the Greek oppression. But if it be admitted that the psalms in question are of a later date than the Captivity, it by no means follows that they are Maccabæan. On the contrary they do not contain the slightest trace of those internal divisions of the people which were the most marked features of the Maccabæan struggle. The dangers then were as much from within as from without; and party jealousies brought the divine cause to the greatest peril (Ewald, *Psalmen*, p. 355). It is incredible that a series of Maccabæan psalms should contain no allusion to a system of enforced idolatry, or to a temporizing priesthood, or to a faithless multitude. And while the obscurity which hangs over the history of the Persian supremacy from the time of Nehemiah to the invasion of Alexander makes it impossible to fix with any precision a date to which the psalms can be referred, the one glimpse which is given of the state of Jerusalem in the interval (Joseph, *Ant.* xi. 7) is such as to show that they may well have found some sufficient occasion in the wars and disorders which attended the decline of the Persian power (comp. Ewald). It may, however, be doubted whether the arguments for a post-Babylonian date are conclusive. There is nothing in the psalms themselves which may not apply to the circumstances which attended the overthrow of the kingdom; and it seems incredible that the desolation of the Temple should have given occasion to no hymns of pious[b] sorrow.

10. The collection of the so-called *Psalms of Solomon* furnishes a strong confirmation of the belief that all the canonical psalms are earlier than the Maccabæan era. This collection, which bears the clearest traces of unity of authorship, is, almost beyond question, a true Maccabæan work. There is every reason to believe (Ewald, *Geschichte*, iv. 343) that the book was originally composed in Hebrew; and it presents exactly those characteristics which are wanting in the other (conjectural) Maccabæan Psalms. "The holy ones" (*οἱ ὅσιοι*, חסידים [ASSIDÆANS]; *οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον*) appear throughout as a distinct class, struggling against hypocrites and men-pleasers, who make the observance of the Law subservient to their own interests (Ps. Sol. iv., xiii.–xv.). The sanctuary is polluted by the abominations of professing servants of God before it is polluted by the heathen (Ps. Sol. i. 8, ii. 1 ff., viii. 8 ff., xvii. 15 ff.). National unfaithfulness is the cause of national punishment; and the end of trial is the "justification" of God (Ps. Sol. ii. 16, iii. 3, iv. 9, viii. 7 ff., ix.). On the other hand there is a holiness of works set up in some passages which violates the divine mean of Scripture (Ps. Sol. i. 2, 3, iii. 9); and, while the language is full of echoes of the Old Testament, it is impossible not to *feel* that it wants something which we find in all the canonical writings. The historical allusions in the Psalms of Solomon are as unequivocal as the description which they give of the state of the Jewish nation. An enemy "threw down the strong walls" of Jerusalem, and "Gentiles went up to the altar" (Ps. Sol. ii. 1–3; comp. 1 Macc. i. 31). In his pride "he wrought all things in Jerusalem, as the Gentiles in their cities do for their gods" (Ps. Sol. xvii. 16). "Those who loved the assemblies of the saints (*συναγωγὰς ὁσίων*) wandered (lege *ἐπλανῶντο*) in deserts" (Ps. Sol. xvii. 19; comp. 1 Macc. i. 54, ii. 28); and there "was no one in the midst of Jerusalem who did mercy and truth" (Ps. Sol. xvii. 17; comp. 1 Macc. i. 38). One psalm (viii.) appears to refer to a somewhat later period. The people wrought wickedly, and God sent upon them a spirit of error. He brought one "from the extremity of the earth" (viii. 16; comp. 1 Macc. vii. 1, — "Demetrius from Rome"). "The princes of the land met him with joy" (1 Macc. vii. 5–8); and he entered the land in safety (1 Macc. vii. 9–12, — Bacchides his general), "as a father in peace" (1 Macc. vii. 15). Then "he slew the princes and every one wise in counsel" (1 Macc. vii. 16) and "poured out the blood of those who dwelt in Jerusalem" (1 Macc. vii. 17).[c] The purport of these evils, as a retributive and purifying judgment, leads to the most remarkable feature of the Psalms, the distinct expression of Messianic hopes. In this respect they offer a direct contrast to the books of Maccabees (1 Macc. xiv. 41). The sorrow and the triumph are seen together in their spiritual aspect, and the expectation of "an anointed Lord" (*χριστὸς Κύριος*, Ps. Sol. xvii. 36 (xviii. 8); comp. Luke ii. 11) follows directly after the description of the impious assaults of Gentile enemies (Ps. Sol. xvii.; comp. Dan. xi. 45, xii.). "Blessed," it is said, "are they

[a] The historical argument for the completion of the present collection of the Psalms before the compilation of Chronicles is very well given by Ewald (*Jahrb.* 1853, 4, pp. 20–32). In 1 Chr. xvi. 7–36 passages occur which are derived from Ps. cv., cvi., xcvi., of which the first two are among the latest hymns in the Psalter

[b] It must, however, be noticed that the formula of quotation prefixed to the words from Ps. lxxix. in 1 Macc. vii. 17 is not that in which Scripture is quoted in later books, as is commonly said. It is not *ὡς γέγραπται*, or *κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον*, but *κατὰ τὸν λόγον ὃν ἔγραψε*, which is variously altered by different authorities.

[c] The prominence given to the slaughter of the Assideans both in 1 Macc. and in the psalm, and the share which the Jews had directly in the second pollution of Jerusalem, seem to fix the events of the psalm to the time of Demetrius; but the close similarity (with this exception) between the invasions of Apollonius and Bacchides may leave some doubt as to the identification. (Compare 1 Macc. i. 29–38, with Ps. Sol. viii. 16–24.)

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who are born in those days, to see the good things which the Lord shall do for the generation to come. [When men are brought] beneath the rod of correction of an anointed Lord (*or* the Lord's anointed, ὑπὸ ῥάβδον παιδείας χριστοῦ Κυρίου) in the fear of his God, in wisdom of spirit and of righteousness and of might" . . . then there shall be a "good generation in the fear of God, in the days of mercy" (Ps. Sol. xviii. 6–10).[a]

11. Elsewhere there is little which marks the distinguishing religious character of the era. The notice of the Maccabean heroes in the book of Daniel is much more general and brief than the corresponding notice of their great adversary; but it is not on that account less important as illustrating the relation of the famous chapter to the simple history of the period which it embraces. Nowhere is it more evident that facts are shadowed forth by the prophet only in their typical bearing on the development of God's kingdom. In this aspect the passage itself (Dan. xi. 29–35) will supersede in a great measure the necessity of a detailed comment. "*At the time appointed* [in the spring of 168 B. C.] *he* [Antiochus Epiph.] *shall return and come towards the south* [Egypt]; *but it shall not be as the first time, so also the last time* [though his first attempts shall be successful, in the end he shall fail]. *For the ships of Chittim* [the Romans] *shall come against him, and he shall be cast down, and return, and be very wroth against the holy covenant; and he shall do* [his will]; *yea he shall return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant* (comp. Dan. viii. 24, 25). *And forces from him* [at his bidding] *shall stand* [remain in Judæa as garrisons; comp. 1 Macc. i. 33, 34]; *and they shall pollute the sanctuary, the stronghold, and shall take away the daily* [sacrifice]; *and they shall set up the abomination that maketh desolate* [1 Macc. i. 45–47]. *And such as do wickedly against* (or rather *such as condemn*) *the covenant shall he corrupt* [to apostasy] *by smooth words; but the people that know their God shall be strong and do* [exploits]. *And they that understand* [know God and his law] *among the people, shall instruct many: yet they shall fall by the sword and by flame, by captivity and by spoil* [some] *days* (1 Macc. i. 60–64). *Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help* (1 Macc. i. 28; 2 Macc. v. 27, Judas Macc. with nine others); *and many shall cleave to them* [the faithful followers of the Law] *with hypocrisy* [dreading the prowess of Judas, 1 Macc. ii. 46, and yet ready to fall away at the first opportunity, 1 Macc. vii. 6]. *And some of them of understanding shall fall, to make trial among them, and to purge and to make them white, unto the time of the end; because* [the end is] *yet for a time appointed.*" From this point the prophet describes in detail the godlessness of the great oppressor (ver. 36–39), and then his last fortunes and death (ver. 40–45), but says nothing of the triumph of the Maccabees or of the restoration of the Temple, which preceded the last event by some months. This omission is scarcely intelligible unless we regard the facts as symbolising a higher struggle — a truth wrongly held by those who from early times referred verses 36–45 only to Antichrist, the antitype of Antiochus — in which that recovery of the earthly temple had no place. And at any rate it shows the imperfection of that view of the whole chapter by which it is regarded as a mere transcription of history.

12. The history of the Maccabees does not contain much which illustrates in detail the religious or social progress of the Jews. It is obvious that the period must not only have intensified old beliefs, but also have called out elements which were latent in them. One doctrine at least, that of a resurrection, and even of a material resurrection (2 Macc. xiv. 46), was brought out into the most distinct apprehension by suffering. "It is good to look for the hope from God, to be raised up again by Him" (πάλιν ἀναστήσεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ), was the substance of the martyr's answer to his judge; "as for thee, thou shalt have no resurrection to life" (ἀνάστασις εἰς ζωήν, 2 Macc. vii. 14; comp. vi. 26, xiv. 46). "Our brethren," says another, "have fallen, having endured a short pain leading to everlasting life, being under the covenant of God" (2 Macc. vii. 36, πόνον ἀενάου ζωῆς). And as it was believed that an interval elapsed between death and judgment, the dead were supposed to be in some measure still capable of profiting by the intercession of the living. Thus much is certainly expressed in the famous passage, 2 Macc. xii. 43–45, though the secondary notion of a purgatorial state is in no way implied in it. On the other hand it is not very clear how far the future judgment was supposed to extend. If the punishment of the wicked heathen in another life had formed a definite article of belief, it might have been expected to be put forward more prominently (2 Macc. vii. 17, 19, 35, &c.), though the passages in question may be understood of sufferings after death, and not only of earthly sufferings; but for the apostate Jews there was a certain judgment in reserve (vi. 26). The firm faith in the righteous providence of God shown in the chastening of his people, as contrasted with his neglect of other nations, is another proof of the widening view of the spiritual world, which is characteristic of the epoch (2 Macc. iv. 16, 17, v. 17–20, vi. 12–16, &c.). The lessons of the Captivity were reduced to moral teaching; and in the same way the doctrine of the ministry of angels assumed an importance which is without parallel except in patriarchal times [2 MACCABEES]. It was perhaps from this cause also that the Messianic hope was limited in its range. The vivid perception of spiritual truths hindered the spread of a hope which had been cherished in a material form; and a pause, as it were, was made, in which men gained new points of sight from which to contemplate the old promises.

13. The various glimpses of national life which can be gained during the period show on the whole

[a] The *Psalms of Solomon* were first published in Greek with a Latin translation by the Jesuit La Cerda at the end of his *Adversaria Sacra*, Lugd. 1626, afterwards by Fabricius in his *Codex Apocr. Vet. Test.* i. 917 ff. There is an English translation in the first volume of Whiston's *Authentic Records* (Lond. 1727). Ewald has recently published a critical edition of the text (*Die Psalmen Salomo's u. die Himmelfahrt des Moses, griechisch herausgestellt u. erklärt*) in his *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1866, p. 133 ff. He supposes the Psalms to have been written in Greek, not Hebrew, soon after the death of Pompey (B. C. 48); comp. *Ps. Sol.* ii. 30 f. Movers, Delitzsch, Langen and Keim agree with him in referring them to a date subsequent to the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey (B. C. 63); on the other hand Ewald, Grimm, and Dillmann (in Herzog's *Real-Encycl.* xii. 305) assign them to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. A

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a steady adherence to the Mosaic Law. Probably the Law was never more rigorously fulfilled. The importance of the Antiochian persecution in fixing the Canon of the Old Testament has been already noticed. [CANON, vol. i. p. 358.] The books of the Law were specially sought out for destruction (1 Macc. i. 56, 57, iii. 48); and their distinctive value was in consequence proportionately increased. To use the words of 1 Macc., "the holy books" (τὰ βιβλία τὰ ἅγια τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ἡμῶν) were felt to make all other comfort superfluous (1 Macc. xii. 9). The strict observance of the Sabbath (1 Macc. ii. 32; 2 Macc. vi. 11, viii. 26, &c.) and of the Sabbatical year (1 Macc. vi. 53), the law of the Nazarites (1 Macc. iii. 49), and the exemptions from military service (1 Macc. iii. 56), the solemn prayer and fasting (1 Macc. iii. 47; 2 Macc. x. 25, &c.), carry us back to early times. The provision for the maimed, the aged, and the bereaved (2 Macc. viii. 28, 30), was in the spirit of the Law; and the new Feast of the Dedication was a homage to the old rites (2 Macc. i. 9) while it was a proof of independent life. The interruption of the succession to the high-priesthood was the most important innovation which was made, and one which prepared the way for the dissolution of the state. After various arbitrary changes the office was left vacant for seven years upon the death of Alcimus. The last descendant of Jozadak (Onias), in whose family it had been for nearly four centuries, fled to Egypt, and established a schismatic worship; and at last, when the support of the Jews became important, the Maccabæan leader, Jonathan, of the family of Joarib, was elected to the dignity by the nomination of the Syrian king (1 Macc. x. 20), whose will was confirmed, as it appears, by the voice of the people (comp. 1 Macc. xiv. 35).

14. Little can be said of the condition of literature and the arts which has not been already anticipated. In common intercourse the Jews used the Aramaic dialect which was established after the return: this was "their own language" (2 Macc. vii. 8, 21, 27, xii. 37); but it is evident from the narrative quoted that they understood Greek, which must have spread widely through the influence of Syrian officers. There is not, however, the slightest evidence that Greek was employed in Palestinian literature till a much later date. The description of the monument which was erected by Simon at Modin in memory of his family (1 Macc. xiii. 27–30) is the only record of the architecture of the time. The description is obscure, but in some features the structure appears to have presented a resemblance to the tombs of Porsena and the Curiatii (Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 13), and perhaps to one still found in Idumæa. An oblong basement, of which the two chief faces were built of polished white marble (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 6, § 5), supported "seven pyramids in a line ranged one against another," equal in number to the members of the Maccabæan family, including Simon himself. To these he added "other works of art (μηχανήματα), placing round (on the two chief faces?) great columns (Josephus adds, each of a single block), bearing trophies of arms, and sculptured ships, which might be visible from the sea below." The language of 1 Macc. and Josephus implies that these columns were placed upon the basement, otherwise it might be supposed that the columns rose only to the height of the basement, supporting the trophies on the same level as the pyramids. So much at least is evident, that the characteristics of this work — and probably of later Jewish architecture generally — bore closer affinity to the styles of Asia Minor and Greece than of Egypt or the East, a result which would follow equally from the Syrian dominion and the commerce which Simon opened by the Mediterranean (1 Macc. xiv. 5).

15. The only recognized relics of the time are the coins which bear the name of "Simon," or "Simon Prince (*Nasi*) of Israel" in Samaritan letters. The privilege of a national coinage was granted to Simon by Antiochus VII. Sidetes (1 Macc. xv. 6, κόμμα ἴδιον νόμισμα τῇ χώρᾳ), and numerous examples occur which have the dates of the first, second, third, and fourth years of the liberation of Jerusalem (Israel, Zion); and it is a remarkable confirmation of their genuineness, that in the first year the name Zion does not occur, as the citadel was not recovered till the second year of Simon's supremacy, while after the second year Zion alone is found (Bayer, *de Nummis*, 171). The privilege was first definitely accorded to Simon in B. C. 140, while the first year of Simon was B. C. 143 (1 Macc. xiii. 42); but this discrepancy causes little difficulty, as it is not unlikely that the concession of Antiochus was made in favor of a practice already existing. No date is given later than the fourth year, but coins of Simon occur without a date, which may belong to the four last years of his life. The emblems which the coins bear have generally a connection with Jewish history — a vine-leaf, a cluster of grapes, a vase (of manna?), a trifid flowering rod, a palm branch surrounded by a wreath of laurel, a lyre (1 Macc. xiii. 51), a bundle of branches symbolic of the feast of tabernacles. The coins issued in the last war of independence by Bar-cochba repeat many of these emblems, and there is considerable difficulty in distinguishing the two series. The authenticity of all the Maccabæan coins was impugned by Tychsen (*Die Unächtheit d. jüd. Münzen . . . bewiesen . . .* O. G. Tychsen, 1779), but on insufficient grounds. He was answered by Bayer, whose admirable essays (*De Nummis Hebr. Samaritanis*, Val. Ed. 1781; *Vindiciæ . . .* 1790) give the most complete account of the coins, though he reckons some apparently later types as Maccabæan. Eckhel (*Doctr. Numm.* iii. p. 455 ff.) has given a good account of the controversy, and an accurate description of the chief types of the coins. Comp. De Saulcy, *Numism. Judaique*; Ewald, *Gesch.* vii. 366, 476. [MONEY.]

The authorities for the Maccabæan history have been given already. Of modern works, that of Ewald is by far the best. Herzfeld has collected a mass of details, chiefly from late sources, which are interesting and sometimes valuable; but the student of the period cannot but feel how difficult it is to realize it as a whole. Indeed, it seems that the instinct was true which named it from one chief hero. In this last stage of the history of Israel, as in the first, all life came from the leader; and it is the greatest glory of the Maccabees that, while they found at first all turn upon their personal fortunes, they left a nation strong enough to preserve an independent faith till the typical kingdom gave place to a universal Church. B. F. W.

MACCABEES, BOOKS OF (Μακκαβαίων α′ β′ etc.). Four books which bear the common title of "Maccabees" are found in some MSS. of the LXX. Two of these were included in the early current Latin versions of the Bible, and these

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passed into the Vulgate. As forming part of the Vulgate they were received as canonical by the Council of Trent, and retained among the *apocrypha* by the reformed churches. The two other books obtained no such wide circulation, and have only a secondary connection with the Maccabæan history. But all the books, though they differ most widely in character and date and worth, possess points of interest which make them a fruitful field for study. If the historic order were observed, the so-called *third* book would come first, the *fourth* would be an appendix to the *second*, which would retain its place, and the *first* would come last; but it will be more convenient to examine the books in the order in which they are found in the MSS., which was probably decided by some vague tradition of their relative antiquity.

The controversy as to the mutual relations and historic worth of the first two books of Maccabees has given rise to much very ingenious and partial criticism. The subject was very nearly exhausted by a series of essays published in the last century, which contain in the midst of much unfair reasoning the substance of what has been written since. The discussion was occasioned by E. Frölich's *Annals of Syria* (*Annales Syriæ numis veteribus illustrati.* Vindob. 1744). In this great work the author, a Jesuit, had claimed paramount authority for the books of Maccabees. This claim was denied by E. F. Wernsdorf in his *Prolusio de fontibus historiæ Syriæ in Libris Macc.* (Lips. 1746). Frölich replied to this essay in another, *De fontibus hist. Syriæ in Libris Macc. prolusio in examen vocata* (Vindob. 1746): and then the argument fell into other hands. Wernsdorf's brother (Gli. Wernsdorf) undertook to support his cause, which he did in a *Commentatio historico-critica de fide Librorum Macc.* (Wratisl. 1747); and nothing has been written on the same side which can be compared with his work. By the vigor and freedom of his style, by his surprising erudition and unwavering confidence — almost worthy of Bentley — he carries his reader often beyond the bounds of true criticism, and it is only after reflection that the littleness and sophistry of many of his arguments are apparent. But in spite of the injustice and arrogance of the book, it contains very much which is of the greatest value, and no abstract can give an adequate notion of its power. The reply to Wernsdorf was published anonymously by another Jesuit: *Auctoritas utriusque Libri Macc. canonico-historica adserta a quodam Soc. Jesu sacerdote* (Vindob. 1749). The authorship of this was fixed upon J. Khell (Welte, *Einl.* p. 23, *note*); and while, in many points Khell is unequal to his adversary, his book contains some very useful collections for the history of the canon. In more recent times, F. X. Patritius (another Jesuit) has made a fresh attempt to establish the complete harmony of the books, and, on the whole, his essay (*De Consensu utriusque Libri Macc.* Romæ, 1856), though far from satisfactory, is the most able defense of the books which has been published.

I. THE FIRST BOOK OF MACCABEES. — 1. The first book of Maccabees contains a history of the patriotic struggle, from the first resistance of Mattathias to the settled sovereignty and death of Simon, a period of thirty-three years (B. C. 168–135). The opening chapter gives a short summary of the conquests of Alexander the Great as laying the foundations of the Greek empire in the East, and describes at greater length the oppression of Antiochus Epiphanes, culminating in his desperate attempt to extirpate Judaism. The great subject of the book begins with the enumeration of the Maccabæan family (ii. 1–5), which is followed by an account of the part which the aged Mattathias took in rousing and guiding the spirit of his countrymen (ii. 6–70). The remainder of the narrative is occupied with the exploits of his five sons, three of whom in succession carried on with varying fortune the work which he began, till it reached its triumphant issue. Each of the three divisions, into which the main portion of the book thus naturally falls, is stamped with an individual character derived from its special hero. First Judas, by a series of brilliant successes, and scarcely less noble reverses, fully roused his countrymen to their work, and then fell at a Jewish Thermopylæ (iii. 1–ix. 22, B. C. 167–161). Next Jonathan confirmed by policy the advantages which his brother had gained by chivalrous daring, and fell not in open field, but by the treachery of a usurper (ix. 23–xii. 53; B. C. 161–143). Last of all Simon, by wisdom and vigor, gave shape and order to the new state, and was formally installed in the princely office. He also fell, but by domestic and not by foreign treason; and his son succeeded to his power (xiii.–xvi. B. C. 143, 135). The history, in this aspect, presents a kind of epic unity. The passing allusion to the achievements of after-times (xvi. 23, 24) relieves the impression caused by the murder of Simon. But at his death the victory was already won — the life of Judaism had mastered the tyranny of Greece.

2. While the grandeur and unity of the subject invests the book with almost an epic beauty, it never loses the character of history. The earlier part of the narrative, including the exploits of Judas, is cast in a more poetic mould than any other part, except the brief eulogy of Simon (xiv. 4–15); but when the style is most poetical (i. 37–40, ii. 7–13, 49–68, iii. 3–9, 18–22, iv. 8–11, 30–33, 38, vi. 10–13, vii. 37, 38, 41, 42) — and this poetical form is chiefly observable in the speeches — it seems to be true in spirit. The great marks of trustworthiness are everywhere conspicuous. Victory and failure and despondency are, on the whole, chronicled with the same candor. There is no attempt to bring into open display the working of Providence. In speaking of Antiochus Epiphanes (i. 10 ff.) the writer betrays no unjust violence, while he marks in one expressive phrase (i. 10, ῥίζα ἁμαρτωλός) the character of the Syrian type of Antichrist (cf. Is. xi. 10; Dan. xi. 36); and if no mention is made of the reckless profligacy of Alexander Balas, it must be remembered that his relations to the Jews were honorable and liberal, and these alone fall within the scope of the history. So far as the circumstances admit, the general accuracy of the book is established by the evidence of other authorities; but for a considerable period it is the single source of our information. And, indeed, it has little need of external testimony to its worth. Its whole character bears adequate witness to its essential truthfulness; and Luther — no servile judge — expressed himself as not disinclined, on internal grounds, to see it "reckoned among the books of Holy Scripture" ("Diess Buch . . . fast eine gleiche Weise hält mit Reden und Worten wie andere heilige Bücher und nicht unwürdig gewest wäre, hineinzurechnen, weil es ein sehr nöthig und nützlich Buch ist zu verstehen das

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Propheten Daniel im 11 Kapitel." *Werke*, von Walch, xiv. 94, ap. Grimm, p. xxii.).

3. There are, however, some points in which the writer appears to have been imperfectly informed, especially in the history of foreign nations; and some, again, in which he has been supposed to have magnified the difficulties and successes of his countrymen. Of the former class of objections two, which turn upon the description given of the foundation of the Greek kingdoms of the East (1 Macc. i. 5–9), and of the power of Rome (viii. 1–16) deserve notice from their intrinsic interest. After giving a rapid summary of the exploits of Alexander — the reading and interpretation of ver. 1 are too uncertain to allow of objections based upon the common text — the writer states that the king, conscious of approaching death, "divided his kingdom among his servants who had been brought up with him from his youth" (1 Macc. i. 6, διεῖλεν αὐτοῖς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ, ἔτι ζῶντος αὐτοῦ), ... "and after his death they all put on crowns." Various rumors, it is known (Curt. x. 10), prevailed about a will of Alexander, which decided the distribution of the provinces of his kingdom, but this narrative is evidently a different and independent tradition. It may rest upon some former indication of the king's wishes, but in the absence of all corroborative evidence it can scarcely be accepted as a historic fact (Patritius, *De Cons. Macc.* pref. viii.), though it is a remarkable proof of the desire which men felt to attribute the constitution of the Greek power to the immediate counsels of its great founder. In this instance the author has probably accepted without inquiry the opinion of his countrymen; in the other it is distinctly said that the account of the greatness of Rome was brought to Judas by common report (1 Macc. viii. 1, 2, ἤκουσεν διηγήσαντο). The statements made give a lively impression of the popular estimate of the conquerors of the West, whose character and victories are described chiefly with open or covert allusion to the Greek powers. The subjugation of the Galatians, who were the terror of the neighboring people (Liv. xxxviii. 37), and the conquest of Spain, the Tarshish (comp. ver. 3) of Phœnician merchants, are noticed, as would be natural from the immediate interest of the events; but the wars with Carthage are wholly omitted (Josephus adds these in his narrative, *Ant.* xii. 10, § 6). The errors in detail — as the capture of Antiochus the Great by the Romans (ver. 7), the numbers of his armament (ver. 6), the constitution of the Roman Senate (ver. 15), the *one* supreme yearly officer at Rome (ver. 16; comp. xv. 16) — are only such as might be expected in oral accounts; and the endurance (ver. 4, μακροθυμία), the good faith (ver. 12), and the simplicity of the republic (ver. 14, οὐκ ἐπέθετο οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν διδῆμα καὶ οὐ περιεβάλοντο πορφύραν ὥστε ἀδρυνθῆναι ἐν αὐτῇ, contrast i. 9), were features likely to arrest the attention of Orientals. The very imperfection of the writer's knowledge — for it seems likely (ver. 11) that he remodels the rumors to suit his own time — is instructive, as affording a glimpse of the extent and manner in which fame spread the reputation of the Romans in the scene of their future conquests. Nor are the mistakes as to the condition of foreign states calculated to weaken the testimony of the book to national history. They are perfectly consistent with good faith in the narrator: and even if there are inaccuracies in recording the relative numbers of the Jewish and Syrian forces (xi. 45–47, vii. 46), these need cause little surprise, and may in some degree be due to errors of transcription.[a]

4. Much has been written as to the sources from which the narrative was derived, but there does not seem to be evidence sufficient to indicate them with any certainty. In one passage (ix. 22) the author implies that written accounts of some of the actions of Judas were in existence (τὰ περισσὰ οὐ κατεγράφη); and the poetical character of the first section of the book, due in a great measure to the introduction of speeches, was probably borrowed from the writings on which that part was based. It appears, again, to be a reasonable conclusion from the mention of the official records of the life of Hyrcanus (xvi. 24, ταῦτα γέγραπται ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ ἡμερῶν ἀρχιερωσύνης αὐτοῦ), that similar records existed at least for the high-priesthood of Simon. There is nothing certainly to indicate that the writer designed to fill up any gap in the history; and the notice of the change of reckoning which attended the elevation of Simon (xiii. 42) seems to suggest the existence of some kind of public register. The constant appeal to official documents is a further proof both of the preservation of public records and of the sense entertained of their importance. Many documents are inserted in the text of the history, but even when they are described as "copies" (ἀντίγραφα), it is questionable whether the writer designed to give more than the substance of the originals. Some bear clear marks of authenticity (viii. 22–28, xii. 6–18), while others are open to grave difficulties and suspicion; but it is worthy of notice that the letters of the Syrian kings generally appear to be genuine (x. 18–20, 25–45, xi. 30–37, xiii. 36–40, xv. 2–9). What has been said will show the extent to which the writer may have used written authorities, but while the memory of the events was still recent it is not possible that he should have confined himself to them. If he was not himself engaged in the war of independence, he must have been familiar with those who were, and their information would supplement and connect the narratives which were already current, and which were probably confined to isolated passages in the history. But whatever were the sources of different parts of the book, and in whatever way written, oral, and personal information was combined in its structure, the writer made the materials which he used truly his own; and the minute exactness of the geographical details carries the conviction that the whole finally rests upon the evidence of eye-witnesses.

5. The language of the book does not present any striking peculiarities. Both in diction and structure it is generally simple and unaffected, with a marked and yet not harsh Hebraistic character. The number of peculiar words is not very considerable, especially when compared with those in 2 Macc. Some of these are late forms, as: ψογέω (ψογίζω), xi. 5, 11; ἐξουδένωσις, i. 39; ὁπλοδοτέω, xiv. 32; ἀσπίδισκη, iv. 57; δειλάομαι iv. 8, 21, xvi. 6; δμῆρα, viii. 7, ix. 53, &c.; ἀφαίρεμα, xv. 5; τελωνεῖσθαι, xiii. 39; ἐξουσιάζεσθαι, x. 70; or compounds, such as ἀποσκορπίζω, xi. 55; ἐκσυστρέφω, xiv. 44; δειλόψυχος, viii. 15 xvi. 5; φονοκτονία, i. 24. Other words are

[a] The relation of the history of Josephus to that of 1 Macc. is carefully discussed by Grimm, *Exeg. Handb. Einl.* § 9 (5).

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used in new or strange senses, as ἀδρύνω, viii. 14; παράστασις, xv. 32; διαστολή, viii. 7. Some phrases clearly express a Semitic idiom (ii. 48 δοῦναι κέρας τῷ ἁμαρτ. vi. 23, x. 62, xii. 23), and the influence of the LXX. is continually perceptible (*e. g.* i. 54, ii. 63, vii. 17, ix. 23, xiv. 9); but in the main (comp. § 6) the Hebraisms which exist are such as might have been naturalized in the Hebrew-Greek of Palestine. Josephus undoubtedly made use of the Greek text (*Ant.* xii. 5 ff.); and apart from external evidence, this might have been supposed to be the original. But,

6. The testimony of antiquity leaves no doubt but that the book was first written in Hebrew. Origen, in his famous catalogue of the books of Scripture (ap. Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25), after enumerating the contents of the O. T. according to the Hebrew canon, adds: "But without (*i. e.* excluded from the number of) these is the Maccabæan history (τὰ Μακκαβαϊκά), which is entitled *Sarbeth Sabanaiel*." [a] In giving the names of the books of the O. T. he had subjoined the Hebrew to the Greek title in exactly the same manner, and there can be therefore no question but that he was acquainted with a Hebrew original for the *Maccabaïca*, as for the other books. The term *Maccabaïca* is, however, somewhat vague, though the analogy of the other parts of the list requires that it should be limited to one book; but the statement of Jerome is quite explicit: "The first book of Maccabees," he says, "I found in Hebrew: the second is Greek, as can be shown in fact from its style alone" (*Prol. Gal. ad Libr. Reg.*). Admitting the evidence of these two fathers, who were alone able to speak with authority on a subject of Hebrew literature during the first four centuries, the fact of the Hebrew original of the book may be supported by several internal arguments which would be in themselves insufficient to establish it. Some of the Hebraisms are such as suggest rather the immediate influence of a Hebrew text than the free adoption of a Hebrew idiom (i. 4, ἐγένοντο εἰς φόρον; 16, ἡτοιμάσθη ἡ βασ.; 29, δύο ἔτη ἡμερῶν; 36, εἰς διάβολον πονηρόν; 58, ἐν παντὶ μηνὶ καὶ μηνί, etc.; ii. 57, iii. 9, ἀπολλυμένους; iv. 2, v. 37, μετὰ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα, etc.), and difficulties in the Greek text are removed by a recurrence to the words which may be supposed to have been used in the original (i. 28, ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας for עַל־יֹשְׁבֵי; i. 36, ii. 8, iv. 19, xvi. 3). A question, however, might be raised whether the book was written in Biblical Hebrew, or in the later Aramaic (Chaldee); but it seems almost certain that the writer took the canonical histories as his model; and the use of the original text of Scripture by the learned class would preserve the Hebrew as a literary language when it had ceased to be the language of common life. But it is by no means unlikely (Grimm, *Exeg. Handb.* § 4) that the Hebrew was corrupted by later idioms, as in the most recent books of the O. T. It seems almost incredible that any one should have imagined that the worthless *Megillath Antiochus*, of which Bartolocci's Latin translation is printed by Fabricius (*Cod. Pseud. V. T.* i 1165–74), was the Hebrew original of which Origen and Jerome spoke.[b] This tract, which occurs in some of the Jewish services for the Feast of Dedication (Fabricius, *l. c.*), is a perfectly unhistorical narrative of some of the incidents of the Maccabæan War, in which John the high-priest, and not Judas, plays by far the most conspicuous part. The order of events is so entirely disregarded in it that, after the death of Judas, Mattathias is represented as leading his other sons to the decisive victory which precedes the purification of the Temple.

7. The whole structure of 1 Macc. points to Palestine as the place of its composition. This fact itself is a strong proof for a Hebrew original, for there is no trace of a Greek Palestinian literature during the Hasmonæan dynasty, though the wide use of the LXX. towards the close of the period, prepared the way for the apostolic writings. But though the country of the writer can be thus fixed with certainty, there is considerable doubt as to his date. At the close of the book he mentions, in general terms, the acts of Johannes Hyrcanus as written "in the chronicles of his priesthood from the time that he was made high-priest after his father" (xvi. 23, 24). From this it has been concluded that he must have written after the death of Hyrcanus, B. C. 106; and the note in xiii. 30 (ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης) implies the lapse of a considerable time since the accession of Simon (B. C. 143). On the other hand, the omission of all mention of the close of the government of Hyrcanus, when the note of its commencement is given, may be urged as an argument for placing the book late in his long reign, but before his death. It cannot certainly have been composed long after his death; for it would have been almost impossible to write a history so full of simple faith and joyous triumph in the midst of the troubles which, early in the succeeding reign, threatened too distinctly the coming dissolution of the state. Combining these two limits, we may place the date of the original book between B. C. 120–100. The date and person of the Greek translator are wholly undetermined; but it is unlikely that such a book would remain long unknown or untranslated at Alexandria.

8. In a religious aspect the book is more remarkable negatively than positively. The historical instinct of the writer confines him to the bare recital of facts, and were it not for the words of others which he records, it might seem that the true theocratic aspect of national life had been lost. Not only does he relate no miracle, such as occur in 2 Macc., but he does not even refer the triumphant successes of the Jews to divine interposition.[c] It is a characteristic of the same kind that he passes over without any clear notice the Messianic hopes, which, as appears from the Psalms of Solomon and

[a] Σαρβὴθ Σαβαναίελ. This is undoubtedly the true reading without the β. All the explanations of the word with which I am acquainted start from the false reading — Σαρβανέ — "The rod of the renegades" סַרְבַּנְיֵאלִי, Herzfeld), "The sceptre of the prince of the sons of God" (שַׂר בְּנֵי, Ewald), "The history of the princes of the sons of God" (שָׂרֵי בְנֵי); and I cannot propose any satisfactory transcription of the true reading.

[b] The book is found not only in Hebrew, but also in Chaldee (Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V. T.* i. 441 *note*).

[c] The passage xi. 71, 72, may seem to contradict this assertion; but though some writers, even from early times, have regarded the event as miraculous, the tone of the writer seems only to be that of one describing a noble act of successful valor.

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the Book of Enoch, were raised to the highest pitch by the successful struggle for independence. Yet he preserves faint traces of the national belief. He mentions the time from which "a prophet was not seen among them" (1 Macc. ix. 27, οὐκ ἄφθη προφήτης) as a marked epoch; and twice he anticipates the future coming of a prophet as of one who should make a direct revelation of the will of God to his people (iv. 46, μέχρι τοῦ παραγενηθῆναι προφήτην τοῦ ἀποκριθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν), and supersede the temporary arrangements of a merely civil dynasty (xiv. 41, τοῦ εἶναι αἵμωνα ἡγούμενον καὶ ἀρχιερέα εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἕως τοῦ ἀναστῆναι προφήτην πιστόν). But the hope or belief occupies no prominent place in the book; and, like the book of Esther, its greatest merit is, that it is throughout inspired by the faith to which it gives no definite expression, and shows, in deed rather than in word, both the action of Providence and a sustaining trust in his power.

9. The book does not seem to have been much used in early times. It offered far less for rhetorical purposes than the second book; and the history itself lay beyond the ordinary limits of Christian study. Tertullian alludes generally to the conduct of the Maccabæan war (*adv. Jud.* 4). Clement of Alexandria speaks of "the book of the Maccabæan history" (τὸ [βιβλίον] τῶν Μακκαβαϊκῶν, *Strom.* i. § 123), as elsewhere (*Strom.* v. § 98) of "the epitome" (ἡ τῶν Μακκαβαϊκων ἐπιτομή). Eusebius assumes an acquaintance with the two books (*Præp. Ev.* viii. 9, ἡ δευτέρα τῶν Μακκαβαίων); and scanty notices of the first book, but more of the second, occur in later writers.

10. The books of Maccabees were not included by Jerome in his translation of the Bible. "The first book," he says, "I found in Hebrew" (*Prol. Gal. in Reg.*), but he takes no notice of the Latin version, and certainly did not revise it. The version of the two books which has been incorporated in the Romish Vulgate was consequently derived from the old Latin, current before Jerome's time. This version was obviously made from the Greek, and in the main follows it closely. Besides the common text, Sabatier has published a version of a considerable part of the first book (ch. i.–xiv. 1) from a very ancient Paris MS. (*S. Germ.* 15) (*annorum saltem nongentorum*, in 1751), which exhibits an earlier form of the text. Grimm, strangely misquoting Sabatier (*Exeg. Handb.* § 10), inverts the relation of the two versions; but a comparison of the two, even for a few verses, can leave no doubt but that the St. Germain MS. represents the most ancient text, following the Greek words and idioms with a slavish fidelity (Sabatier, p. 1014, "Quemadmodum autem etiamnum inveniri possunt MSS. codices qui Psalmos ante omnem Hieronymi correctionem exhibeant, ita pariter inventus est a nobis codex qui libri primi Machabæorum partem continet majorem, minime quidem correctam, sed qualis olim in nonnullis MSS. antiquis reperiebatur"). Mai (*Spicil. Rom.* ix. *App.* 60) has published a fragment of another Latin translation (ch. ii. 49–64), which differs widely from both texts. The Syriac version given in the Polyglotts is, like the Latin, a close rendering of the Greek. From the rendering of the proper names, it has been supposed that the translator lived while the Semitic forms were still current (Grimm, *Einl.* § 10); but the arguments which have been urged to show that the Syriac was derived directly from the Hebrew original are of no weight against the overwhelming proof of the influence of the Greek text.

11. Of the early commentators on the first two books of Maccabees, the most important are Drusius and Grotius, whose notes are reprinted in the *Critici Sacri*. The annotations of Calmet (*Commentaire litéral*, etc., Paris, 1724) and Michaelis (*Uebersetzung der* 1 *Macc. B.'s mit Anmerk.* Leipz. 1778), are of permanent interest; but for practical use the manual of Grimm (*Kurzgefasstes exeg. Handb. zu den Apokryphen*, etc., Leipz. 1853–57) supplies everything which the student can require.

THE SECOND BOOK OF MACCABEES. — 1. The history of the Second Book of the Maccabees begins some years earlier than that of the First Book, and closes with the victory of Judas Maccabæus over Nicanor. It thus embraces a period of twenty years, from B. C. 180 (?) to B. C. 161. For the few events noticed during the earlier years, it is the chief authority; during the remainder of the time the narrative goes over the same ground as 1 Macc., but with very considerable differences. The first two chapters are taken up by two letters supposed to be addressed by the Palestinian to the Alexandrine Jews, and by a sketch of the author's plan, which proceeds without any perceptible break from the close of the second letter. The main narrative occupies the remainder of the book. This presents several natural divisions, which appear to coincide with the "five books" of Jason on which it was based. The first (c. iii.) contains the history of Heliodorus, as illustrating the fortunes of the Temple before the schism and apostasy of part of the nation (cir. B. C. 180). The second (iv.–vii.) gives varied details of the beginning and course of the great persecution — the murder of Onias, the crimes of Menelaus, the martyrdom of Eleazar, and of the mother with her seven sons (B. C. 175–167). The third (viii.–x. 9) follows the fortunes of Judas to the triumphant restoration of the Temple service (B. C. 166, 165). The fourth (x. 10–xiii.) includes the reign of Antiochus Eupator (B. C. 164–162). The fifth (xiv., xv.) records the treachery of Alcimus, the mission of Nicanor, and the crowning success of Judas (B. C. 162, 161). Each of these divisions is closed by a phrase which seems to mark the end of a definite subject (iii. 40, vii. 42, x. 9, xiii. 26, xv. 37); and they correspond in fact with distinct stages in the national struggle.

2. The relation of the letters with which the book opens to the substance of the book is extremely obscure. The first (i. 1–9) is a solemn invitation to the Egyptian Jews to celebrate "the feast of tabernacles in the month Casleu" (*i. e.* the Feast of the Dedication, i. 9), as before they had sympathized with their brethren in Judæa in "the extremity of their trouble" (i. 7). The second (i. 10–ii. 18, according to the received division), which bears a formal salutation from "the council and Judas" to "Aristobulus . . . and the Jews in Egypt," is a strange, rambling collection of legendary stories of the death of "Antiochus," of the preservation of the sacred fire and its recovery by Nehemiah, of the hiding of the vessels of the sanctuary by Jeremiah, ending — if indeed the letter can be said to have any end — with the same exhortation to observe the Feast of Dedication (ii. 10–18). For it is impossible to point out any break in the construction or style after ver. 19, so that the writer passes insensibly from the epistolary form in ver. 16 to that of the epitomator in ver. 29 (δοκῶ). For this

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reason some critics, both in ancient and modern times (Wernsdorf, § 35, 123), have considered that the whole book is intended to be included in the letter.[a] It seems more natural to suppose that the author found the letters already in existence when he undertook to abridge the work of Jason, and attached his own introduction to the second letter for the convenience of transition, without considering that this would necessarily make the whole appear to be a letter. The letters themselves can lay no claims to authenticity. It is possible that they may rest upon some real correspondence between Jerusalem and Alexandria; but the extravagance of the fables which they contain makes it impossible to accept them in their present form as the work of the Jewish Council. Though it may readily be admitted that the fabulousness of the contents of a letter is no absolute proof of its spuriousness, yet on the other hand the stories may be (as in this case) so entirely unworthy of what we know of the position of the alleged writers, as to betray the work of an impostor or an interpolator. Some have supposed that the original language of one[b] or of both the letters was Hebrew, but this cannot be made out by any conclusive arguments. On the other hand there is no ground at all for believing that they were made up by the author of the book.

3. The writer himself distinctly indicates the source of his narrative — "the five books of Jason of Cyrene" (ii. 23), of which he designed to furnish a short and agreeable epitome for the benefit of those who would be deterred from studying the larger work. [JASON.] His own labor, which he describes in strong terms (ii. 26, 7; comp. xv. 38, 39), was entirely confined to condensation and selection; all investigation of detail he declares to be the peculiar duty of the original historian. It is of course impossible to determine how far the coloring of the events is due to Jason, but "the Divine manifestations" in behalf of the Jews are enumerated among the subjects of which he treated; and no sufficient reasons have been alleged to show that the writer either followed any other authority in his later chapters, or altered the general character of the history which he epitomized. Of Jason himself nothing more is known than may be gleaned from this mention of him. It has been conjectured (Herzfeld, *Gesch. d. Volkes Isr.* i. 455) that he was the same as the son of Eleazer (1 Macc. viii. 17), who was sent by Judas as envoy to Rome after the defeat of Nicanor; and the circumstance of this mission has been used to explain the limit to which he extended his history, as being that which coincided with the extent of his personal observation. There are certainly many details in the book which show a close and accurate knowledge (iv. 21, 29 ff., viii. 1 ff., ix. 29, x. 12, 13, xiv. 1), and the errors in the order of events may be due wholly, or in part, to the epitomator. The questionable interpretation of facts in 2 Macc. is no objection to the truth of the facts themselves; and when due allowance is made for the overwrought rendering of many scenes, and for the obvious effort of the writer to discover everywhere signs of providential interference, the historic worth of the book appears to be considerably greater than it is commonly esteemed to be. Though Herzfeld's conjecture may be untenable, the original work of Jason probably extended no farther than the epitome, for the description of its contents (2 Macc ii. 19–22) does not carry us beyond the close of 2 Macc. The "brethren" of Judas, whose exploits he related, were already distinguished during the lifetime of "the Maccabee" (1 Macc. v. 17 ff., 24 ff. vi. 43–46; 2 Macc. viii. 22–29).

4. The district of Cyrene was most closely united with that of Alexandria. In both, the predominance of Greek literature and the Greek language was absolute. The work of Jason — like the poems of Callimachus — must therefore have been composed in Greek; and the style of the epitome, as Jerome remarked, proves beyond doubt that the Greek text is the original (*Prol. Gal.* "Secundus [Machabæorum] Græcus est; quod ex ipsa quoque φράσει probari potest"). It is scarcely less certain that 2 Macc. was compiled at Alexandria. The characteristics of the style and language are essentially Alexandrine; and though the Alexandrine style may have prevailed in Cyrenaica, the form of the allusion to Jason shows clearly that the compiler was not his fellow-countryman. But all attempts to determine more exactly who the compiler was are mere groundless guesses, without even the semblance of plausibility.

5. The style of the book is extremely uneven. At times it is elaborately ornate (iii. 15–39, v. 20, vi. 12–16, 23–28, vii. etc.); and again, it is so rude and broken, as to seem more like notes for an epitome than a finished composition (xiii. 19-26); but it nowhere attains to the simple energy and pathos of the first book. The vocabulary corresponds to the style. It abounds in new or unusual words. Many of these are forms which belong to the decay of a language, as: ἀλλοφυλισμός, iv. 13, vi. 24; Ἑλληνισμός, iv. 13 (ἐμφανισμός, iii. 9); ἐπασμός, vii. 37; θωρακισμός, v. 3; σπλαγχνισμός, vi. 7, 21, vii. 42; or compounds which betray a false pursuit of emphasis or precision: διεμπίμπλημι, iv. 40; ἐπευλαβεῖσθαι, xiv. 18; κατευθικτεῖν, xiv. 43; προσαναλέγεσθαι, viii. 19 προσυπομιμνήσκω, xv. 9; συνεκκεντεῖν, v. 26. Other words are employed in novel senses, as: δευτερολογεῖν, xiii. 22; εἰσκυκλεῖσθαι, ii. 24; εὐαπάντητος, xiv. 9; κεφρενωμένος, xi. 4; ψυχικῶς, iv. 37, xiv. 24. Others bear a sense which is common in late Greek, as: ἀκληρεῖν, xiv. 8; ἀναζυγή, ix. 2, xiii. 26; διάληψις, iii. 32; ἐναγκωρεῖσθω, ix. 4; φρυάσσομαι, vii. 34; περισκυθίζειν, vii. 4. Others appear to be peculiar to this book, as: διάστασις, xiii. 25; δυσκέτημα, v. 20; προσπυροῦν, xiv. 11; πολεμοτροφεῖν, x. 14, 15; ὁπλολογεῖν, viii. 27, 31; ἀνευθανατίζειν, vi. 28; δοξικός, viii. 35; ἀνδρολογία, xii. 43. Hebraisms are very rare (viii. 15, ix. 5, xiv. 24). Idiomatic Greek phrases are much more common (iv. 40, xii. 22, xv. 12, &c.); and the writer evidently had a considerable command over the Greek language, though his taste was deformed by a love of rhetorical effect.

6. In the absence of all evidence as to the person of Jason — for the conjecture of Herzfeld (§ 3) is wholly unsupported by proof — there are no data which fix the time of the composition of his original work, or of the epitome given in 2 Macc., within very narrow limits. The superior limit of the age of the epitome, though not of Jason's work is determined by the year 124 B. C., which is men-

[a] The subscription in *Cod. Alex.* is Ἰούδα τοῦ Μακκαβαίου πραξέων ἐπιτομή.

[b] F. Schlünkes, *Epistolæ quæ 2 Mac. 1-9 agitur explicatio*, Colon. 1844.

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dened in one of the introductory letters (i. 10); but there is no ground for assigning so great an antiquity to the present book. It has, indeed, been concluded from xv. 37, ἀπ' ἐκείνων τῶν καιρῶν κρατηθείσης τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων — which is written in the person of the epitomator, that it must have been composed before the defeat and death of Judas; but the import of the words appears to be satisfied by the religious supremacy and the uninterrupted celebration of the Temple service, which the Jews maintained till the final ruin of their city; for the destruction of Jerusalem is the only inferior limit, below which the book cannot be placed. The supposed reference to the book in the Epistle to the Hebrews (Heb. xi. 35, "and others were tortured;" comp. vi. 18–vii. 42) may perhaps be rather a reference to the current tradition than to the written text; and Josephus in his history shows no acquaintance with its contents. On the other hand, it is probable that the author of 4 Macc. used either 2 Macc., or the work of Jason; but this at most could only determine that the book was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, which is already clear from xv. 37. There is no explicit mention of the book before the time of Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* v. 14, § 98). Internal evidence is quite insufficient to settle the date, which is thus left undetermined within the limits 124 B. C. — 70 A. C. If a conjecture be admissible, I should be inclined to place the original work of Jason not later than 100 B. C., and the epitome half a century later. It is quite credible that a work might have been long current at Alexandria before it was known to the Jews of Palestine.

7. In order to estimate the historical worth of the book it is necessary to consider separately the two divisions into which it falls. The narrative in iii.–vii. is in part anterior (iii.–iv. 6) and in part (iv. 7–vii.) supplementary to the brief summary in 1 Macc. i. 10–64: that in viii.–xv. is, as a whole, parallel with 1 Macc. iii.–vii. In the first section the book itself is, in the main, the sole source of information: in the second, its contents can be tested by the trustworthy records of the first book. It will be best to take the second section first, for the character of the book does not vary much; and if this can once be determined from sufficient evidence, the result may be extended to those parts which are independent of other testimony. The chief differences between the first and second books lie in the account of the campaigns of Lysias and Timotheus. Differences of detail will always arise where the means of information are partial and separate; but the differences alleged to exist as to these events are more serious. In 1 Macc. iv. 26–35 we read of an invasion of Judæa by Lysias from the side of Idumæa, in which Judas met him at Bethsura and inflicted upon him a severe defeat. In consequence of this Lysias retired to Antioch to make greater preparations for a new attack, while Judas undertook the restoration of the sanctuary. In 2 Macc. the first mention of Lysias is on the accession of Antiochus Eupator (x. 11). Not long after this he is said to have invaded Judæa and suffered a defeat at Bethsura, in consequence of which he made peace with Judas, giving him favorable terms (xi.). A later invasion is mentioned in both books, which took place in the reign of Antiochus Eupator (1 Macc. vi. 17–50; 2 Macc. xiii. 2 ff.), in which Bethsura fell into the hands of Lysias. It is then necessary either to suppose that there were three distinct invasions, of which the first is mentioned only in 1 Macc., the second only in 2 Macc., and the third in both; or to consider the narrative in 2 Macc. x. 1 ff. as a misplaced version of one of the other invasions (for the history in 1 Macc. iv. 26–61 bears every mark of truth): a supposition which is confirmed by the character of the details, and the difficulty of reconciling the supposed results with the events which immediately followed. It is by no means equally clear that there is any mistake in 2 Macc. as to the history of Timotheus. The details in 1 Macc. v. 11 ff. are quite reconcilable with those in 2 Macc. xii. 2 ff., and it seems certain that both books record the same events; but there is no sufficient reason for supposing that 1 Macc. v. 6 ff. is parallel with 2 Macc. x. 24–37. The similarity of the names Jazer and Gazara probably gave rise to the confusion of the two events, which differ in fact in almost all their circumstances; though the identification of the Timotheus mentioned in 2 Macc. x. 24, with the one mentioned in viii. 30, seems to have been designed to distinguish him from some other of the same name. With these exceptions, the general outlines of the history in the two books are the same; but the details are almost always independent and different. The numbers given in 2 Macc. often represent incredible results: *e. g.* viii. 20, 30; x. 23, 31; xi. 11; xii. 16, 19, 23, 26, 29; xv. 27. Some of the statements are obviously incorrect, and seem to have arisen from an erroneous interpretation and embellishment of the original source: vii. 3 (the presence of Antiochus at the death of the Jewish martyrs); ix. (the death of Antiochus); x. 11, &c. (the relation of the boy-king Antiochus Eupator to Lysias); xv. 31, 35 (the recovery of Acra); xiv. 7 (the forces of Demetrius). But on the other hand many of the peculiar details seem to be such as must have been derived from immediate testimony: iv. 29–50 (the intrigues of Menelaus); vi. 2 (the temple at Gerizim); x. 12, 13; xiv. 1 (the landing of Demetrius at Tripolis); viii. 1–7 (the character of the first exploits of Judas). The relation between the two books may be not inaptly represented by that existing between the books of Kings and Chronicles. In each case the later book was composed with a special design, which regulated the character of the materials employed for its construction. But as the design in 2 Macc. is openly avowed by the compiler, so it seems to have been carried out with considerable license. Yet his errors appear to be those of one who interprets history to support his cause, rather than of one who falsifies its substance. The groundwork of facts is true, but the dress in which the facts are presented is due in part at least to the narrator. It is not at all improbable that the error with regard to the first campaign of Lysias arose from the mode in which it was introduced by Jason as an introduction to the more important measures of Lysias in the reign of Antiochus Eupator. In other places (as very obviously in xiii. 19 ff.) the compiler may have disregarded the historical dependence of events while selecting those which were best suited for the support of his theme. If these remarks are true, it follows that 2 Macc. viii.–xv. is to be regarded not as a connected and complete history, but as a series of special incidents from the life of Judas, illustrating the providential interference of God in behalf of his people, true in substance, but embellished in form; and this view of the book is supported by the character of the

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earlier chapters, in which the narrative is unchecked by independent evidence. There is not any ground for questioning the main facts in the history of Heliodorus (ch. iii.) or Menelaus (iv.); and while it is very probable that the narratives of the sufferings of the martyrs (vi., vii.) are highly colored, yet the grounds of the accusation, the replies of the accused, and the forms of torture, in their essential characteristics, seem perfectly authentic.[a]

8. Besides the differences which exist between the two books of Maccabees as to the sequence and details of common events, there is considerable difficulty as to the chronological data which they give. Both follow the Seleucian era ("the era of contracts;" "of the Greek kingdom;" 1 Macc. i. 10, *ἐν ἔτει . . . βασιλείας Ἑλλήνων*), but in some cases in which the two books give the date of the same event, the first book gives a date one year later than the second (1 Macc. vi. 16 ‖ 2 Macc. xi. 21, 33; 1 Macc. vi. 20 ‖ 2 Macc. xiii. 1); yet on the other hand they agree in 1 Macc. vii 1 ‖ 2 Macc. xiv. 4. This discrepancy seems to be due not to a mere error, but to a difference of reckoning; for all attempts to explain away the discrepancy are untenable. The true era of the Seleucidæ began in October (*Dius*) B. C. 312; but there is evidence that considerable variations existed in Syria in the reckoning by it. It is then reasonable to suppose that the discrepancies in the books of Maccabees, which proceeded from independent and widely-separated sources, are to be referred to this confusion; and a very probable mode of explaining (at least in part) the origin of the difference has been supported by most of the best chronologers. Though the Jews may have reckoned two beginnings to the year from the time of the Exodus [CHRONOLOGY, vol. i. p. 436], yet it appears that the Biblical dates are always reckoned by the so-called ecclesiastical year, which began with *Nisan* (April), and not by the civil year, which was afterwards in common use (*Jos. Ant.* i. 3, § 3), which began with *Tisri* (October: comp. Patritius, *De Cons. Macc.* p. 33 ff.). Now since the writer of 1 Macc. was a Palestinian Jew, and followed the ecclesiastical year in his reckoning of months (1 Macc. iv. 52), it is probable that he may have commenced the Seleucian year not in autumn (*Tisri*), but in spring (*Nisan*).[b] The narrative of 1 Macc. x. in fact demands a longer period than could be obtained (1 Macc. x. 1, 21, fourteen days) on the hypothesis that the year began with *Tisri*. If, however, the year began in *Nisan* (reckoning from spring 312 B. C.),[c] the events which fell in the last half of the true Seleucian year would be dated a year forward, while the true and the Jewish dates would agree in the first half of the year. Nor is there any difficulty in supposing that the two events assigned to different years (Wernsdorf, *De Fide Macc.* § 9) happened in one half of the year. On

[a] The following is the parallelism which Patritius (*De cons. utri. lib. Macc.* 175–246) endeavors to establish between the common narratives of i. and ii. Macc. When two or more passages are placed opposite to one, it is to be understood that the *first* only has a parallel in the other narrative; —

1 Macc.	2 Macc.
i. 11–16.	... iv. 7–12; 18–20.
i. 17.	... iv. 21*a*; 21*b*–50; v. 1–4.
i. 18–20.	... —
—	... v. 5–10.
i. 21–24*a*.	... v. 11–16; 17–20.
i. 24*b*.	... v. 21; 22, 23.
i. 30–32; 33–39.	... v 24–26.
i. 40*a*; 40*b*–42.	... v 27.
i. 43; 44–48.	... vi. 1.
i. 49; 50, 51.	... vi. 2.
—	... vi. 3–7.
i. 52–54; 55, 56; 57–62.	... vi. 8, 9.
i. 63, 64.	... vi. 10; 12–17.
i. 65–67.	... —
—	... vi. 18–31.
ii. 1–30.	... —
ii. 31; 32–37.	... vi. 11*a*.
i. 38.	... vi. 11*b*.
—	... vii. 1–42
i. 39–70.	... —
iii. 1–9; 10–37.	... viii. 1–7.
—	... viii. 8; 9–11.
iii. 38, 39; 40, 41.	... —
iii. 42.	... viii. 12*a*; 12*b*–21
iii. 43–54.	... —
iii. 55; 56–60.	... viii. 22.
iv. 1–12.	... —
iv. 13–16; 17–22.	... viii. 23–26.
iv. 23–25.	... viii. 27; 28–36.
vi. 1*a*; iv. 26, 27.	... —
vi. 1*b*–4.	... ix. 1–3; 4–10.
iv. 28–35.	... —
iv. 35–43*a*; 43*b*–46.	... x. 1–8*a*.
iv. 47–61.	... x. 8*b*–8; 9–13.
vi. 5–8	... —
v. 1–5*a*.	... x. 14–18; 19–23.
v 5*b*–6–8.	... x. 28.
1 Macc.	2 Macc.
vi. 9–13.	... ix. 11–17; 18–27.
—	... x. 24–38; xi. 1–4.
vi. 14, 15.	... —
vi. 16; 17*a*.	... ix. 28.
—	... xi. 5–12; 13–15*a*.
v. 9; 30–13; 14–20.	... xii. 1–5.
vi. 17*b*.	... —
—	... xii. 6–17; ix. 29.
v. 21*a*; 23*a*; 24; 25–28.	... —
—	... xi. 15*b*–26; 27–38.
v. 29.	... xii. 17*b*; 18, 19.
v. 30–34; 35*b*–38*a*; 35, 36.	... —
v. 55–62.	... —
v. 37–39; 40–42*a*.	... xii. 20, 21.
v. 42*b*–44.	... xii. 22–26.
v. 45–55*a*.	... xii. 27–33; 34–45.
v. 55*b*–68; vi. 18–27.	... —
vi. 28–30.	... xiii. 1, 2; 3–17
vi. 31; 32–43.	... xiii. 18–21.
vi. 49–54; 55–59.	... xiii. 22, 23*a*.
vi. 60–62*a*.	... xiii. 23*b*–24.
vi 62*b*–63; vii. 1–24.	... xiii. 25, 26.
—	... xiv. 1–2.
vii. 25.	... xiv. 3–5; 6–11.
vii. 26.	... xiv. 12, 13; 14–29.
vii. 27–38.	... xiv. 30–36; 37–46; xv. 1–21
vii. 39, 40*a*.	... —
vii. 40*b*–50.	... xv. 22–40.

This arrangement, however, is that of an apologist for the books; and the tesselation of passages, no less than the large amount of passages peculiar to each book, indicates how little real parallelism there is between them.

[b] In 2 Macc. xv. 36 the same reckoning of months occurs, but with a distinct reference to the Palestinian decree.

[c] It is, however, possible that the years may have been dated from the following spring (311 B. C.); in which case the Jewish and true years would coincide for the last half of the year, and during the first half the Jewish date would fall short by one year (Ideler, *Handb. d. Chronol.* i. 449).

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sthus grounds, indeed, it is not unlikely that the difference in the reckoning of the two books is still greater than is thus accounted for. The Chaldæans, as is proved by good authority (Ptol. Μεγ. συντ. ap. Clinton, *F. H.* 111, 350, 370), dated their Seleucian era one year later than the true time from 311 B C., and probably from October (*Dius*; comp. 2 Macc. xi. 21, 33). If, as is quite possible, the writer of 2 Macc. — or rather Jason of Cyrene, whom he epitomized — used the Chaldæan dates, there may be a maximum difference between the two books of a year and half, which is sufficient to explain the difficulties of the chronology of the events connected with the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (Ideler, i. 531–534, quoted and supported by Browne, *Ordo Sæclorum*, 489, 490. Comp. Clinton, *Fasti Hell.* iii. 367 ff., who takes a different view; Patritius, *l. c.*; and Wernsdorf, § IX. ff., who states the difficulties with great acuteness).

9. The most interesting feature in 2 Macc. is its marked religious character, by which it is clearly distinguished from the first book. "The manifestations (ἐπιφάνειαι) made from heaven on behalf of those who were zealous to behave manfully in defense of Judaism" (2 Macc. ii. 21) form the staple of the book. The events which are related historically in the former book are in this regarded theocratically, if the word may be used. The calamities of persecution and the desolation of God's people are definitely referred to a temporary visitation of his anger (v. 17–20, vi. 12–17, vii. 32, 33), which shows itself even in details of the war (xii. 40; comp. Josh. vii.). Before his great victory Judas is represented as addressing "the Lord that worketh wonders" (τερατοποιός) with the prayer that, as once his angel slew the host of the Assyrians, so then He would "send a good angel before his armies for a fear and dread to their enemies" (xv. 22–24; comp. 1 Macc. vii. 41, 42). A great "manifestation" wrought the punishment of Heliodorus (iii. 24–29): a similar vision announced his cure (iii. 33, 34). Heavenly portents for "forty days" (ἐπιφάνεια, v. 4) foreshowed the coming judgment (v. 2, 3). "When the battle waxed strong five comely men upon horses" appear, of whom two cover Maccabæus from all danger (x. 29, 30). Again, in answer to the supplication of the Jews for "a good angel to deliver them," "there appeared before them on horseback one in white clothing," and "they marched forward" to triumph, having an helper from heaven" (xi. 6–11). And there no special vision is recorded, the rout of the enemy is still referred to "a manifestation of Him that seeth all things" (xii. 22). Closely connected with this belief in the active energy of the beings of the unseen world, is the importance assigned to dreams (xv. 11, ὄνειρον ἀξιόπιστον ὅραμα); and the distinct assertion, not only of a personal "resurrection to life" (vii. 14, ἀνάστασις εἰς ζωήν; v. 9, αἰώνιος ἀναβίωσις ζωῆς), but of the influence which the living may yet exercise on the condition of the dead (xii. 43–45). The doctrine of Providence is carried out in a most minute parallelism of great crimes and their punishment. Thus, Andronicus was put to death on the very spot where he had murdered Onias (iv. 38, τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν ἀξίαν αὐτῷ κόλασιν ἀποδόντος): Jason, who had "driven many out of their country," died an exile, without "solemn funeral," as he had "cast out many unburied" (v. 9, 10): the torments suffered by Antiochus are likened to those which he had inflicted (ix. 5, 6); Menelaus, who "had committed many sins about the altar," "received his death in ashes" (xiii. 4–8): the hand and tongue of Nicanor, with which he had blasphemed, were hung up "as an evident and manifest sign unto all of the help of the Lord" (xv. 32–35). On a larger scale the same idea is presented in the contrasted relations of Israel and the heathen to the Divine Power. The former is "God's people," "God's portion" (ἡ μερίς, i. 26; xiv. 15), who are chastised in love: the latter are left unpunished till the full measure of their sins ends in destruction (vi. 12–17). For in this book, as in 1 Macc., there are no traces of the glorious visions of the prophets, who foresaw the time when all nations should be united in one bond under one Lord.

10. The history of the book, as has been already noticed (§ 6), is extremely obscure. It is first mentioned by Clement of Alexandria (*l. c.*); and Origen, in a Greek fragment of his commentaries on Exodus (*Philoc.* 26), quotes vi. 12–16, with very considerable variations of text, from "the Maccabean history" (τὰ Μακκαβαϊκά: comp. 1 MACC. § 6). At a later time the history of the martyred brothers was a favorite subject with Christian writers (Cypr. *Ep.* lvi. 6, &c.); and in the time of Jerome (*Prol. Galeat.*) and Augustine (*De Doctr. Christ.* ii. 8; *De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 36) the book was in common and public use in the Western Church, where it maintained its position till it was at last definitely declared to be canonical at the council of Trent. [CANON, vol. i. p. 363.]

11. The Latin version adopted in the Vulgate as in the case of the first book, is that current before Jerome's time, which Jerome left wholly untouched in the apocryphal books, with the exception of Judith and Tobit. The St. Germain MS., from which Sabatier edited an earlier text of 1 Macc. does not, unfortunately, contain the second book, being imperfect at the end; but the quotations of Lucifer of Cagliari (Sabatier, *ad Cypp.* vi., vii.) and a fragment published by Mai (*Spicil. Rom.* l. c. 1 MACC. § 10), indicate the existence and character of such a text. The version is much less close to the Greek than in the former book, and often gives no more than the sense of a clause (i. 13, vi. 21, vii. 5, &c.). The Syriac version is of still less value. The Arabic so-called version of 2 Macc. is really an independent work. [FIFTH BOOK OF MACCABEES.]

12. The chief commentaries on 2 Macc. have been already noticed. [FIRST BOOK OF MACCABEES, § 11.] The special edition of Hasse (Jena, 1786) seems, from the account of Grimm, to be of no value. There are, however, many valuable historical observations in the essay of Patritius (*De Consensu*, etc. already cited).

III. THE THIRD BOOK OF THE MACCABEES contains the history of events which preceded the great Macabæan struggle. After the decisive battle of Raphia (B. C. 217), envoys from Jerusalem, following the example of other cities, hastened to Ptolemy Philopator to congratulate him on his success. After receiving them the king resolved to visit the holy city. He offered sacrifice in the Temple, and was so much struck by its majesty that he urgently sought permission to enter the sanctuary. When this was refused he resolved to gratify his curiosity by force, regardless of the consternation with which his design was received (ch. i.). On this Simon the high-priest, after the people had been with difficulty restrained from

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violence, kneeling in front of the Temple implored divine help. At the conclusion of the prayer the king fell paralyzed into the arms of his attendants, and on his recovery returned at once to Egypt without prosecuting his intention. But angry at his failure he turned his vengeance on the Alexandrine Jews. Hitherto these had enjoyed the highest rights of citizenship, but the king commanded that those only who were voluntarily initiated into the heathen mysteries should be on an equal footing with the Alexandrians, and that the remainder should be enrolled in the lowest class (εἰς λαογραφίαν καὶ οἰκετικὴν διάθεσιν ἀχθῆναι, ii. 28), and branded with an ivy-leaf (ch. ii.). [DIONYSUS.] Not content with this order, which was evaded or despised, he commanded all the Jews in the country to be arrested and sent to Alexandria (ch. iii.). This was done as well as might be, though the greater part escaped (iv. 18), and the gathered multitudes were confined in the Hippodrome outside the city (comp. Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 6, § 5). The resident Jews, who showed sympathy for their countrymen, were imprisoned with them; and the king ordered the names of all to be taken down preparatory to their execution. Here the first marvel happened: the scribes to whom the task was assigned toiled for forty days from morning till evening, till at last reeds and paper failed them, and the king's plan was defeated (ch. iv.). However, regardless of this, the king ordered the keeper of his elephants to drug the animals, five hundred in number, with wine and incense, that they might trample the prisoners to death on the morrow. The Jews had no help but in prayer; and here a second marvel happened. The king was overpowered by a deep sleep, and when he awoke the next day it was already time for the banquet which he had ordered to be prepared, so that the execution was deferred. The Jews still prayed for help; but when the dawn came, the multitudes were assembled to witness their destruction, and the elephants stood ready for their bloody work. Then was there another marvel. The king was visited by deep forgetfulness, and chided the keeper of the elephants for the preparations which he had made, and the Jews were again saved. But at the evening banquet the king recalled his purpose, and with terrible threats prepared for its immediate accomplishment at daybreak (ch. v.). Then Eleazer, an aged priest, prayed for his people, and as he ended the royal train came to the Hippodrome. On this there was seen a heavenly vision by all but the Jews (vi. 18). The elephants trampled down their attendants, and the wrath of the king was turned to pity. So the Jews were immediately set free, and a great feast was prepared for them; and they resolved to observe a festival, in memory of their deliverance, during the time of their sojourn in strange lands (ch. vi.). A royal letter to the governors of the provinces set forth the circumstances of their escape, and assured them of the king's protection. Permission was given to them to take vengeance on their renegade countrymen, and the people returned to their homes in great triumph, "crowned with flowers, and singing praises to the God of their fathers."

2. The form of the narrative, even in this bald outline, sufficiently shows that the object of the book has modified the facts which it records. The writer, in his zeal to bring out the action of Providence, has colored his history, so that it has lost all semblance of truth. In this respect the book offers an instructive contrast to the book of Esther, with which it is closely connected both in its purpose and in the general character of its incidents. In both a terrible calamity is averted by faithful prayer; royal anger is changed to royal favor; and the punishment designed for the innocent is directed to the guilty. But here the likeness ends. The divine reserve, which is the peculiar characteristic of Esther, is exchanged in 3 Macc. for rhetorical exaggeration; and once again the words of inspiration stand ennobled by the presence of their later counterpart.

3. But while it is impossible to accept the details of the book as historical, some basis of truth must be supposed to lie beneath them. The yearly festival (vi. 36; vii. 19) can hardly have been a mere fancy of the writer; and the pillar and synagogue (προσευχή) at Ptolemais (vii. 20) must have been connected in some way with a signal deliverance. Besides this, Josephus (*c. Ap.* ii. 5) relates a very similar occurrence which took place in the reign of Ptolemy VII. (Physcon). "The king," as he says, "exasperated by the opposition which Onias, the Jewish general of the royal army, made to his usurpation, seized all the Jews in Alexandria with their wives and children, and exposed them to intoxicated elephants. But the animals turned upon the king's friends; and forthwith the king saw a terrible visage which forbad him to injure the Jews. On this he yielded to the prayers of his mistress, and repented of his attempt; and the Alexandrine Jews observed the day of their deliverance as a festival." The essential points of the story are the same as those in the second part of 3 Macc., and there can be but little doubt that Josephus has preserved the events which the writer adapted to his narrative. If it be true that Ptolemy Philopator attempted to enter the Temple at Jerusalem, and was frustrated in his design — a supposition which is open to no reasonable objection — it is easily conceivable that tradition may have assigned to him the impious design of his successor; or the author of 3 Macc. may have combined the two events for the sake of effect.

4. Assuming rightly that the book is an adaptation of history, Ewald and (at greater length) Grimm have endeavored to fix exactly the circumstances by which it was called forth. The writings of Philo, occasioned by the oppressions which the Alexandrine Jews suffered in the reign of Caligula, offer several points of connection with[a] it; and the panic which was occasioned at Jerusalem by the attempt of the emperor to erect his statue in the Temple is well known (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 8, § 2). It is then argued that the writer designed to portray Caligula under the name of the sensual tyrant who had in earlier times held Egypt and Syria, while he sought to nerve his countrymen for their struggle with heathen power, by reminding them of earlier deliverances. It is unnecessary to urge the various details in which the parallel between the acts of Caligula and the narrative fail. Such differences may have been part of the writer's disguise; but it may be well questioned whether the position of the Jews in the early time of the empire, or under the later Ptolemies, was not generally such

[a] These are pointed out at length by Grimm (*Einl.* § 3); but the relation of the Alexandrine Jews to a persecuting civil power would, perhaps, always present the same general features.

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that a narrative like 3 Macc. would find a ready auditory.

5. The language of the book betrays most clearly its Alexandrine origin. Both in vocabulary and construction it is rich, affected, and exaggerated. Some words occur nowhere else (λαογραφία, ii. 28; προσυστέλλεσθαι, ii. 29; ὑπόφρικος, vi. 20; χαρτηρία, iv. 20; βυθοτρεφής, vi. 8; ψυχουλκεῖσθαι, v. 25; μισόβρυς, vi. 9; πονηρόβροχος, vi. 4; μεγαλοκράτωρ, vi. 2; μυροβρεχής, iv. 6; προκατασκιρροῦσθαι, iv. 1; ἀνεπιστρέπτως, i. 20); others are used in strange senses (ἐκνεύειν, *Mel.* iii. 22; παραβασιλεύω, vi. 24; ἐμπορπάω, *Mel.* vii. 5); others are very rare or characteristic of late Greek writers (ἐπιβάθρα, ii. 31; κατάπτωσις, ii. 14; ἔνθεσμος, ii. 21; ἀπρόπτωτος, iii. 14; ἀλογιστία, v. 42; ἀναπαύδιστος, vi. 28; φρικασμός, iii. 17; μεγαλομερῶς, vi. 33; σκυλμός, iii. 25; κισσόφυλλον, ii. 29; ἑξακοσιοστή, iv. 4). The form of the sentences is strained (*e. g.* i. 15, 17, ii. 31, iii. 23, iv. 11, vii. 17, 19, &c.), and every description is loaded with rhetorical ornament (*e. g.* iv. 2, 5; vi. 45). As a natural consequence the meaning is often obscure (*e. g.* i. 9, 14, 19, iv. 5, 14), and the writer is led into exaggerations which are historically incorrect (vii. 2, 20, v. 2; comp. Grimm).

6. From the abruptness of the commencement (ὁ δὲ Φιλοπάτωρ) it has been thought (Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 535) that the book is a mere fragment of a larger work. Against this view it may be urged that the tenor of the book is one and distinct, and brought to a perfect issue. It must, however, be noticed that in some MSS. (44, 125, Parsons) the beginning is differently worded: "*Now in these days king Ptolemy*"; and the reference in ii. 25 (τῶν προαποδεδειγμένων) is to some passage not contained in the present narrative. It is possible that the narrative may have formed the sequel to an earlier history, as the *Hellenica* continue, without break or repetition, the history of Thucydides (μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Xen. *Hell.* i. 1); or we may suppose (Grimm, *Einl.* § 4) that the introductory chapter has been lost.

7. The evidence of language, which is quite sufficient to fix the place of the composition of the book at Alexandria, is not equally decisive as to the date. It might, indeed, seem to belong to the early period of the empire (B. C. 40–70), when for a Jew all hope lay in the record of past triumphs, which assumed a fabulous grandeur from the contrast with present oppression. But such a date is purely conjectural; and in the absence of any direct proof it is unsafe to trust to an impression which cannot claim any decisive authority, from the very imperfect knowledge which we possess of the religious history of the Jews of the dispersion. If, however, Ewald's theory be correct, the date falls within the limits which have been suggested.

8. The uncertainty of the date of the composition of the book corresponds with the uncertainty of its history. In the Apostolical Canons (*Can.* 85) "three books of the Maccabees" are mentioned (Μακκαβαίων τρία, one MS. reads γ'), of which this is probably the third, as it occupies the third place in the oldest Greek MSS., which contain also the so-called fourth book. It is found in a Syriac translation, and is quoted with marked respect by Theodoret (*ad Dan.* xi. 7) of Antioch (died cir A. D. 457). "Three books of the Maccabees" (Μακκαβαϊκὰ γ') are placed at the head of the *antilegomena* of the O. T. in the catalogue of Nicephorus; and in the *Synopsis*, falsely ascribed to Athanasius, the third book is apparently described as "Ptolemaïca," from the name of the royal hero,[a] and reckoned doubtfully among the disputed books. On the other hand the book seems to have found no acceptance in the Alexandrine or Western churches, a fact which confirms the late date assigned to it, if we assume its Alexandrine origin. It is not quoted, as far as we know, in any Latin writer, and does not occur in the lists of canonical and apocryphal books in the Gelasian Decretals. No ancient Latin version of it occurs; and as it is not contained in the Vulgate it has been excluded from the canon of the Romish church.

9. In modern times it has been translated into Latin (first in the Complutensian Polyglott); German (De Wette and Augusti, *Bibelüberseteung*, 1st ed.; and in an earlier version "by Jo. Circemberger, Wittenberg, 1554;" Cotton, *Five Books*, etc., p. xx.); and French (Calmet). The first English version was appended to "A briefe and compendious table . . . opening the way to the principall histories of the whole Bible . . . London, 1550." This version with a few alterations (Cotton, p. xx.) was included in a folio Bible published next year by J. Day; and the book was again published in 1563. A better translation was published by Whiston in his *Authentic Documents* (1727); and a new version, with short notes by Dr. Cotton (*The Five Books of Maccabees in English* . . . Oxford, 1832). The Commentary of Grimm (*Kurzgef. Handbuch*) gives ample notices of the opinions of earlier commentators, and supersedes the necessity of using any other.

IV. THE FOURTH BOOK OF MACCABEES (Μακκαβαίων δ', εἰς Μακκαβαίους λόγος) contains a rhetorical narrative of the martyrdom of Eleazer and of the "Maccabean family," following in the main the same outline as 2 Macc. The second title of the book, *On the Supreme Sovereignty of Reason* (περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ), explains the moral use which is made of the history. The author in the introduction discusses the nature of reason and the character of its supremacy, which he then illustrates by examples taken from Jewish history (§§ 1–3, Hudson). Then turning to his principal proof of the triumphant power of reason, he gives a short summary of the causes which led to the persecution of Antiochus (§ 4), and in the remainder of the book describes at length the death of Eleazer (§§ 5–7), of the seven brethren (8–14), and of their mother (15–19), enforcing the lessons which he would teach by the words of the martyrs and the reflections which spring from them. The last section (20) is evidently by another hand.

2. The book was ascribed in early times to Josephus. Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 10, πεπόνηται δὲ καὶ ἄλλο οὐκ ἀγεννὲς σπούδασμα τῷ ἀνδρὶ — *i. e.* Ἰωσήπῳ — περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ, ὅ τινες Μακκαβαϊκὸν ἐπέγραψαν), and Jerome, following him (*De Vir. ill.* 13, "Alius quoque liber ejus, qui inscribitur περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ valde

[a] This title occurs only in the *Synopsis* of the *Pseudo-Athanasius* (p. 422, ed. Migne). Athanasius omits the Maccabees in his detailed list. The text at present stands Μακκαβαϊκὰ βιβλία δ' Πτολεμαϊκά. But Credner (*Zur Gesch. d. Kan.* 144 *note*) conjectures with great probability that the true reading is Μακκ. βιβλ. καὶ Πτολ.: Καὶ and δ' can frequently be scarcely distinguished in cursive MSS.

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slegans habetur, in quo et Maccabæorum sunt congesta martyria," comp. Jerome, *adv. Pal.* ii.), also Photius (ap. Philostorg. *H. E.* 1. τὸ μέντοιγε τέταρτον ὑπὸ Ἰωσήπου γέγραφθαι καὶ αὐτὸς συνομολογῶν, so that at that time the judgment was disputed), and Suidas (*s. v.* Ἰώσηπος) — give this opinion without reserve; and it is found under his name in many MSS. of the great Jewish historian. On the other hand, Gregory of Nazianzus quotes the book (*Orat.* xv 22) as though he was unacquainted with the author, and in the Alexandrine and Sinaitic MSS. it is called simply "the fourth of Maccabees." The internal evidence against the authorship by Josephus is so great as to outweigh the testimony of Eusebius, from whom it is probable that the later statements were derived; and there can be no reasonable doubt that the book was assigned to Josephus by a mere conjecture, which the style and contents alike show to be unfounded. It is possible that a tradition was preserved that the author's name was Josephus (Ἰώσηπος), in which case the confusion would be more easy.

3. If we may assume that the authorship was attributed to Josephus only by error, no evidence remains to fix the date of the book. It is only certain that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, and probably after 2 Macc. The character of the composition leads the reader to suppose that it was not a mere rhetorical exercise, but an earnest effort to animate the Jewish nation to face real perils. In which case it might be referred, not unnaturally, to the troubled times which immediately preceded the war with Vespasian (cir. A. D. 67).

4. As a historical document the narrative is of no value. Its interest centres in the fact that it is a unique example of the didactic use which the Jews made of their history. Ewald (*Gesch.* iv. 556) rightly compares it with the sermon of later times, in which a Scriptural theme becomes the subject of an elaborate and practical comment. The style is very ornate and labored; but it is correct and vigorous, and truly Greek. The richness and boldness of the vocabulary is surprising. Many words, coined in an antique mould, seem to be peculiar to the book, as αὐτοδέσποτος, ἐθνάπληκτος, ἐπταμήτωρ, κοσμοπλῆθής, κοσμοφορεῖν, μαλακοψυχεῖν, οἰστρηλασία, παθοκρατεῖσθαι, etc.; others belong to later types, as αὐτεξουσιότης, ἀρχιερᾶσθαι; others are used in meanings which are found in late writers, as πηδαλιουχεῖν, ἀγιστεία, ἀφήγημα; and the number of prepositional compounds is very large — ἀναισθησιάζειν, ἐξευμενίζειν, ἐπικαρπολογεῖσθαι, ἐπίρρωγολογεῖσθαι, προσεπικατατείνειν.

5. The philosophical tone of the book is essentially stoical; but the stoicism is that of a stern legalist. The dictates of reason are supported by the remembrance of noble traditions, and by the hope of a glorious future. The prospect of the life to come is clear and wide. The faithful are seen to rise to endless bliss; the wicked to descend to endless torment, varying in intensity. But while the writer shows, in this respect, the effects of the full culture of the Alexandrine school, and in part advances beyond his predecessors, he offers no trace of that deep spiritual insight which was quickened by Christianity. The Jew stands alone, isolated by character and by blessing (comp. Gfrörer, *Philo, etc.*, ii. 173 ff.; Dähne, *Jüd.-Alex. Relig. Philos.* i. 190 ff.).

6. The original Greek is the only ancient text in which the book has been published, but a Syriac version is said to be preserved in MS. at Milan (Grimm, *Einl.* § 7). In recent times the work has hardly received so much attention as it deserves. The first and only complete commentary is that of Grimm, (*Exeg. Handbuch*), which errs only by extreme elaborateness. An English translation has been published by Dr. Cotton (*The Five Books of Maccabees*, Oxf. 1832). The text is given in the best form by Bekker in his edition of Josephus (Lips. 1855–56).

7. Though it is certain that our present book is that which old writers described, Sixtus Senensis (*Bibl. Sancta*, p. 37, ed. 1575) gives a very interesting account of another fourth book of Maccabees, which he saw in a library at Lyons, which was afterwards burnt. It was in Greek, and contained the history of John Hyrcanus, continuing the narrative directly after the close of the first book. Sixtus quotes the first words: καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀναιρεθῆναι τὸν Σίμωνα ἐγενήθη Ἰωάννης υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀντ' αὐτοῦ, but this is the only fragment which remains of it. The history, he says, was nearly the same as that in Jos. *Ant.* xiii., though the style was very different from his, abounding in Hebrew idioms. The testimony is so exact and explicit, that we can see no reason for questioning its accuracy, and still less for supposing (with Calmet) that Sixtus saw only the so-called fifth book, which is at present preserved in Arabic.

V. THE FIFTH BOOK OF MACCABEES just mentioned may call for a very brief notice. It is printed in Arabic in the Paris and London Polyglotts; and contains a history of the Jews from the attempt of Heliodorus to the birth of our Lord. The writer made use of the first two books of Maccabees and of Josephus, and has no claim to be considered an independent authority. His own knowledge was very imperfect, and he perverts the statements which he derives from others. He must have lived after the fall of Jerusalem, and probably out of Palestine, though the translation bears very clear traces of Hebrew idioms, so that it has been supposed that the book was originally written in Hebrew, or at least that the Greek was strongly modified by Hebrew influence. The book has been published in English by Dr. Cotton (*Five Books*, etc.).

B. F. W.

* MACCABE'US, more correctly MACCABÆUS (Μακκαβαῖος: *Machabæus*) occurs repeatedly in 1 and 2 Macc. as the surname of Judas the son of Mattathias (1 Macc. ii. 4, iii. 1, v. 24, viii. 20; 2 Macc. ii. 19, v. 27, viii. 1, xiv. 6), but more frequently alone, as the rendering of ὁ Μακκαβαῖος, "the Maccabee" (2 Macc. viii. 5, 16, x. 16, 19, 21, 25, 30, 33, 35, xi. 6, 7, 15, xii. 19, 20, xiii. 24, xiv. 27, 30, xv. 7, 21), Judas, however, being always referred to. In 2 Macc. x. 1 the article is omitted, and so in 1 Macc. v. 34 in the Roman edition (but Alex. ὁ Μακκ.). On the name and family see the art. MACCABEES.

A

MACEDO'NIA (Μακεδονία), the first part of Europe which received the Gospel directly from St. Paul, and an important scene of his subsequent missionary labors and the labors of his companions. So closely is this region associated with apostolic journeys, sufferings, and epistles, that it has truly been called by one of our English travellers a kind of Holy Land (Clarke's *Travels*, ch. xi.). For details see NEAPOLIS, PHILIPPI, AMPHIPOLIS

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APOLLONIA, THESSALONICA, and BERŒA. We confine ourselves here to explaining the geographical and political import of the term "Macedonia" as employed in the N. T., with some allusion to its earlier use in the Apocrypha, and one or two general remarks on St. Paul's journeys through the district, and the churches which he founded there.

In a rough and popular description it is enough to say that Macedonia is the region bounded inland by the range of Hæmus or the Balkan northwards, and the chain of Pindus westwards, beyond which the streams flow respectively to the Danube and the Adriatic; that it is separated from Thessaly on the south by the Cambunian hills, running easterly from Pindus to Olympus and the Ægean; and that it is divided on the east from Thrace by a less definite mountain-boundary running southwards from Hæmus. Of the space thus enclosed, two of the most remarkable physical features are two great plains, one watered by the Axius, which comes to the sea at the Thermaic gulf, not far from Thessalonica; the other by the Strymon, which, after passing near Philippi, flows out below Amphipolis. Between the mouths of these two rivers a remarkable peninsula projects, dividing itself into three points, on the farthest of which Mount Athos rises nearly into the region of perpetual snow. Across the neck of this peninsula St. Paul travelled more than once with his companions.

This general sketch would sufficiently describe the Macedonia which was ruled over by Philip and Alexander, and which the Romans conquered from Perseus. At first the conquered country was divided by Æmilius Paulus into four districts. Macedonia Prima was on the east of the Strymon, and had Amphipolis for the capital. Macedonia Secunda stretched between the Strymon and the Axius, with Thessalonica for its metropolis. The third and fourth districts lay to the south and the west. This division was only temporary. The whole of Macedonia, along with Thessaly and a large tract along the Adriatic, was made one province and centralized under the jurisdiction of a proconsul, who resided at Thessalonica. We have now reached the definition which corresponds with the usage of the term in the N. T. (Acts xvi. 9, 10, 12, xviii. 5, xix. 21, 22, 29, xx. 1, 3, xxvii. 2; Rom. xv. 26; 1 Cor. xvi. 5; 2 Cor. i. 16, ii. 13, vii. 5, viii. 1, ix. 2, 4, xi. 9; Phil. iv. 15; 1 Thess. i. 7, 8, iv. 10; 1 Tim. i. 3). Three Roman provinces, all very familiar to us in the writings of St. Paul, divided the whole space between the basin of the Danube and Cape Matapan. The border-town of ILLYRICUM was Lissus on the Adriatic. The boundary-line of ACHAIA nearly coincided, except in the western portion, with that of the kingdom of modern Greece, and ran in an irregular line from the Acroceraunian promontory to the Bay of Thermopylæ and the north of Eubœa. By subtracting these two provinces, we define Macedonia.

The history of Macedonia in the period between the Persian wars and the consolidation of the Roman provinces in the Levant is touched in a very interesting manner by passages in the Apocrypha. In Esth. xvi. 10, Haman is described as a Macedonian, and in xiv. 14 he is said to have contrived his plot for the purpose of transferring the kingdom of the Persians to the Macedonians. This sufficiently betrays the late date and spurious character of these apocryphal chapters: but it is curious thus to have our attention turned to the early struggle of Persia and Greece. Macedonia played a great part in this struggle, and there is little doubt that Ahasuerus is Xerxes. The history of the Maccabees opens with vivid allusions to Alexander the son of Philip, the Macedonian king (Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τοῦ Φιλίππου ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Μακεδὼν), who came out of the land of Chettiim and smote Darius king of the Persians and Medes (1 Macc. i. 1), and who reigned first among the Grecians (*ib.* vi. 2). A little later we have the Roman conquest of Perseus "king of the Citims" recorded (*ib.* viii. 5). Subsequently in these Jewish annals we find the term "Macedonians" used for the soldiers of the Seleucid successors of Alexander (2 Macc. viii. 20). In what is called the Fifth Book of Maccabees this usage of the word is very frequent, and is applied not only to the Seleucid princes at Antioch, but to the Ptolemies at Alexandria (see Cotton's *Five Books of Maccabees*, Oxford, 1832). It is evident that the words "Macedonia" and "Macedonian" were fearfully familiar to the Jewish mind; and this gives a new significance to the vision by which St. Paul was invited at Troas to the country of Philip and Alexander.

Nothing can exceed the interest and impressiveness of the occasion (Acts xvi. 9) when a new and religious meaning was given to the well-known ἀνὴρ Μακεδών of Demosthenes (*Phil.* i. p. 43) and when this part of Europe was designated as the first to be trodden by an Apostle. The account of St. Paul's first journey through Macedonia (Acts xvi. 10–xvii. 15) is marked by copious detail and well-defined incidents. At the close of this journey he returned from Corinth to Syria by sea. On the next occasion of visiting Europe, though he both went and returned through Macedonia (Acts xx. 1–6), the narrative is a very slight sketch, and the route is left uncertain, except as regards Philippi. Many years elapsed before St. Paul visited this province again; but from 1 Tim. i. 3 it is evident that he did accomplish the wish expressed during his first imprisonment. (Phil. ii. 24.)

The character of the Macedonian Christians is set before us in Scripture in a very favorable light. The candor of the Bereans is highly commended (Acts xvii. 11); the Thessalonians were evidently objects of St. Paul's peculiar affection (1 Thess. ii 8, 17-20, iii. 10); and the Philippians, besides their general freedom from blame, are noted as remarkable for their liberality and self-denial (Phil. iv. 10, 14-19; see 2 Cor. ix. 2, xi. 9). It is worth noticing, as a fact almost typical of the change which Christianity has produced in the social life of Europe, that the female element is conspicuous in the records of its introduction into Macedonia. The Gospel was first preached there to a small congregation of women (Acts xvi. 13); the first convert was a woman (*ib.* ver. 14); and, at least at Philippi, women were prominent as active workers in the cause of religion (Phil. iv. 2, 3).

It should be observed that, in St. Paul's time, Macedonia was well intersected by Roman roads, especially by the great Via Egnatia, which connected Philippi and Thessalonica, and also led towards Illyricum (Rom. xv. 19). The antiquities of the country have been well explored and described by many travellers. The two best works are those of Cousinéry (*Voyage dans la Macédoine*, Paris, 1831), and Leake (*Travels in Northern Greece*, London, 1835). J. S. H.

* It is still a question whether Luke's usage distinguishes Macedonia and Thrace from each other or regards them as one. This depends in

part on the interpretation of the controverted ἥτις ἐστὶ πρώτη τῆς μερίδος τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλις (Acts xvi. 12). Rettig (*Quæstiones Philippienses*) maintains that Thrace was not attached to Macedonia till the time of Vespasian, and that Luke, consistently with that fact, speaks of Philippi as the first city in Macedonia which Paul reached after crossing from Asia into Europe. Hence Neapolis (*Kavalla*), where he landed, belonged to Thrace and not to Macedonia, as was true at a later period. On one side see Lechler's *Der Apostel Geschichten*, p. 231 f. (Dr. Schaeffer's transl. in Lange's *Commentary*, p. 304), and on the other, Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 202 f. (1854). There is another supposition. Instead of speaking of Philippi as topographically "first" in Macedonia, because Luke meant to assign Neapolis to Thrace, he may have thought of the city and its harbor as one, whether this distinction of provinces existed at that time or not. That Luke was familiar with this identification of town and port is manifest; for in Acts xvi. 11, he says that Paul and his companions sailed to Philippi (εὐθυδρομήσαμεν), whereas they went thither by land from Neapolis, and in Acts xx. 6, that they sailed from Philippi (ἐξεπλεύσαμεν), whereas they went down to the coast, and embarked at Neapolis.

Other references. — Forbiger, *Handbuch der alten Geogr.* iii. 1049–1071. Hoffmann, *Griechenland u. die Griechen*, i. 1–132. Pauly, *Real-Encyclopädie*, iv. 1132–1142. H. Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, etc.* (1812 and 1813). Pouqueville, *Voyage dans la Grèce* (1820). *Revue Archéologique* (1860), two brief articles entitled *Daton, Néapolis, les mines de Philippes*. Two numbers have appeared (1865) of the *Mission Archéologique de Macédoine*, by MM. Heuzey and Daumet (published by order of the French emperor). They relate chiefly to *Kavalla*, the ancient Neapolis, but contain also a map of Philippi and the neighborhood. See also *A Journey to Neapolis and Philippi* in the *Bibl. Sacra*, xviii. 866–898; and the article "Macedonien" in Herzog's *Real-Encyk.* viii. 633–638. H.



Coin of Macedonia.

MACEDO'NIAN (Μακεδών: [*Macedo*]) occurs in A. V. only in Acts xxvii. 2. In the other cases (Acts xvi. 9, xix. 29, 2 Cor. ix. 2, 4), our translators render it "of Macedonia."

* "Macedonian" occurs also several times in the A. V. in the Apocrypha, namely, 1 Macc. i. 1, vi. 2; 2 Macc. viii. 20; Esth. xvi. 10, 14. For the wide sense in which it is used in 2 Macc. viii. 10, see the note of Grimm *in loc.*, and the remarks in the art. MACEDONIA, p. 1727 *b*. A.

* **MACHÆRUS** (Μαχαιροῦς) is the name of the castle in which, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 5, § 2; *B. J.* vii. 6, §§ 1–4), John the Baptist was imprisoned and put to death by Herod Antipas. (See Matt. xiv. 3–5.) In 1806 Seetzen identified the place with the ruins of the present *Mkauer*, east of the Dead Sea, on a lofty crag overhanging the southern *Zerka-Ma'in*. See *Reisen*, ii. 372 f. It was originally a tower built by Alexander Jannæus as a check on the Arab freebooters in that quarter. It is surrounded by ravines, at some points not less than 175 feet deep, and in addition to its natural strength, was strongly fortified. In Herod's time it was rendered still more attractive by its splendid porticos and reservoirs, and is known to have been a favorite retreat of this luxurious prince. Pliny speaks of it as "secunda quondam arx Judææ ab Hierosolymis" (*Nat. Hist.* v. 15). It has been said that Machærus, though transferred from one occupant to another, was never actually reduced by seige or taken by storm. Its supplies of water are almost unfailing. After the destruction of Jerusalem it fell into the hands of the *Sicarii*, a band of outlaws of whom we read in Acts xxi. 38.

The Evangelists state that John was cast into prison, but do not mention where the prison was situated, or where the feast was held at which the order was given for his execution. As nothing in their narrative, however, contradicts that view, we may conclude that Josephus was well informed, and that John was incarcerated and beheaded in Machærus (TIBERIAS).[a] His confinement was not so strict as to exclude the visits of friends (Matt. xi 2 ff.; Luke vii. 18); and hence it was from this castle, in all probability, that he sent two of his disciples to Christ to inquire of him whether he was the Messiah, or they should look for another (Luke vii. 20). Into one of the deep ravines beneath the fortress the headless body of John (τὸ πτῶμα αὐτοῦ, Mark vi. 29) may have been cast, which his disciples took up and buried, and then went and told Jesus (Matt. xiv. 12; Mark vi. 29). It was from this castle that the Arab wife of Herod, repudiated by him for the sake of Herodias, fled to her father, Aretas king of Arabia, out of which grew the war between Herod and Aretas which resulted in the defeat of Herod (*Ant.* xviii 5 – 1), and the capture of Damascus (alluded to in 2 Cor. xi. 32). The crag on which the old fortress stood is said to be visible from Jerusalem. [See JERUSALEM, ii. 1278, *note*.] It was a saying of the Jews that the torches on Olivet announcing the appearance of the Passover moon could be seen from Tabor and the rocky heights of Machærus (Schwartz, *Das heil. Land*, p. 54).

The history of Machærus is well sketched by Gams (*Johannes der Täufer im Gefängnisse*, pp 50–82). For other notices, mainly historical or topographical, see Jost's *Geschichte der Israeliten*, ii. 221 ff.; Sepp's *Das Leben Christi*, ii. 400–414, and *Das heil. Land*, i. 678; Milman's *History of the*

[a] * Josephus says (*Ant.* xviii. 5, § 1), that Machærus was in the power of Aretas at the time of his daughter's flight thence. Some deny therefore that John's martyrdom could have taken place there; but as Josephus states that it did (πανὺ κτίννυται, *Ant.* xviii 5, § 2), the contradiction, if there be any, falls on him, and not on the Evangelists. Some time elapsed between the flight and Herod's war with Aretas (which was before John's death), and during the interval Herod may in some way have become master of the fortress. John need not however be supposed to have been kept all the time in one place. H.

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Jews, ii. 392 f.; Ritter, *Geogr. of Palestine*, Gage's transl. iii. 65, 70; Robinson's *Phys. Geogr.* p. 67. It was a long two days' journey from Machaerus to Tiberias, the capital of Herod's tetrarchy. H.

MACH'BANAI [3 syl.] (מַכְבַּנַּי) [*one fat, thick*, Fürst]: Μελχαβαναί [Vat. Μελχαβαννι; FA. Μελχαβαννεα;] Alex. Μαχαβαναι: *Machbanai*), one of the lion-faced warriors of Gad who joined the fortunes of David when living in retreat at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 13).

MACHBE'NAH (מַכְבֵּנָה [*hillock, hump*, Fürst]: Μαχαβηνα; Alex. Μαχαμηνα; [Comp. Μαχβηνά:] *Machbena*). Sheva, the father of Machbena, is named in the genealogical list of Judah as the offspring of Maachah, the concubine of Caleb ben-Hezron (1 Chr. ii. 49). Other names similarly mentioned in the passage are known to be those not of persons but of towns. The most feasible inference from this is, that Machbena was founded or colonized by the family of Maachah. To the position of the town, however, whether near Gazah, like MADMANNAH, or between Jerusalem and Hebron, like GIBEA, we possess no clew. It is not named by Eusebius or Jerome, and does not seem to have been met with by any later traveller. G.

MA'CHI (מָכִי): Μαχι, Alex. Μαχι: *Machi*), the father of Geuel the Gadite, who went with Caleb and Joshua to spy out the land of Canaan (Num. xiii. 15).

MA'CHIR (מָכִיר) [*sold, acquired*]: [Rom. Μαχιρ; Vat. Alex.] Μαχειρ: *Machir*), the eldest son (Josh. xvii. 1) of the patriarch Manasseh by an Aramite or Syrian concubine (1 Chr. vii. 14, and the LXX. of Gen. xlvi. 20). His children are commemorated as having been caressed [a] by Joseph before his death (Gen. l. 23). His wife's name is not preserved, but she was a Benjamite, the "sister of Huppim and Shuppim" (1 Chr. vii. 15). The only children whose names are given are his son Gilead,[b] who is repeatedly mentioned (Num. xxvi. 29, xxvii. 1, xxxvi. 1; 1 Chr. vii. 14, &c.), and a daughter, Abiah, who married a chief of Judah named Hezron (1 Chr. ii. 21, 24). The connection with Benjamin may perhaps have led to the selection by Abner of Mahanaim, which lay on the boundary between Gad and Manasseh, as the residence of Ishbosheth (2 Sam. ii. 8); and that with Judah may have also influenced David to go so far north when driven out of his kingdom. At the time of the conquest the family of Machir had become very powerful, and a large part of the country on the east of Jordan was subdued by them (Num. xxxii. 39; Deut. iii. 15). In fact to their warlike tendencies it is probably entirely due that the tribe was divided, and that only the inferior families crossed the Jordan. So great was their power that the name of Machir occasionally supersedes that of Manasseh, not only for the eastern territory, but even for the western half of the tribe also: see Judge v. 14, where Machir occurs in the enumeration of the western tribes — "Gilead" apparently standing for the eastern Manassen in ver. 17; and still more unmistakably in Josh. xiii. 31, compared with 29.

2. The son of Ammiel, a powerful sheykh of one of the trans-Jordanic tribes, but whether of Manasseh — the tribe of his namesake — or of Gad, must remain uncertain till we know where Lo-debar, to which place he belonged, was situated. His name occurs but twice, but the part which he played was by no means an insignificant one. It was his fortune to render essential service to the cause of Saul and of David successively — in each case when they were in difficulty. Under his roof, when a cripple and friendless, after the death of his uncle and the ruin of his house, the unfortunate Mephibosheth found a home, from which he was summoned by David to the honors and the anxieties of a residence at the court of Jerusalem (2 Sam. ix. 4, 5). When David himself, some years later, was driven from his throne to Mahanaim, Machir was one of the three great chiefs who lavished on the exiled king and his soldiers the wealth of the rich pastoral district of which they were the lords — "wheat, and barley, and flour, and parched corn, and beans, and lentiles, and parched pulse, and honey, and butter, and sheep, and cows'-milk cheese" (2 Sam. xvii. 27–29). Josephus calls him the chief of the country of Gilead (*Ant.* vii. 9, § 8). G.

MA'CHIRITES, THE (הַמָּכִירִי) [patr.]: ὁ Μαχιρι; [Vat.] Alex. ο Μαχειρι: *Machirita*). The descendants of MACHIR the father of Gilead (Num. xxvi. 29).

MACH'MAS (Μαχμάς: *Machmas*), 1 Macc. ix. 73. [MICHMASH.]

MACHNADE'BAI [4 syl.] (מַכְנַדְבַּי) [*gift of the noble*, Fürst; *what like the liberal?* Ges.]: Μαχαδραβεῦ; Alex. Μαχναδαβου: *Mechnedebai*), one of the sons of Bani who put away his foreign wife at Ezra's command (Ezr. x. 40). The marginal reading of A. V. is *Mabnadebai*, which is found in some copies. In the corresponding list of 1 Esdr. ix. 34 the place of this name is occupied by "of the sons of Ozora," which may be partly traced in the original.

MACHPE'LAH (always with the article — הַמַּכְפֵּלָה [*the portion, lot*]: τὸ διπλοῦν, also τὸ σηπλαῖον τὸ διπλοῦν: *duplex*, also *spelunca duplex*), the spot containing the timbered field, in the end of which was the cave which Abraham purchased [c] from the Bene-Heth [sons of Heth],

[a] The Targum characteristically says "circumcised."

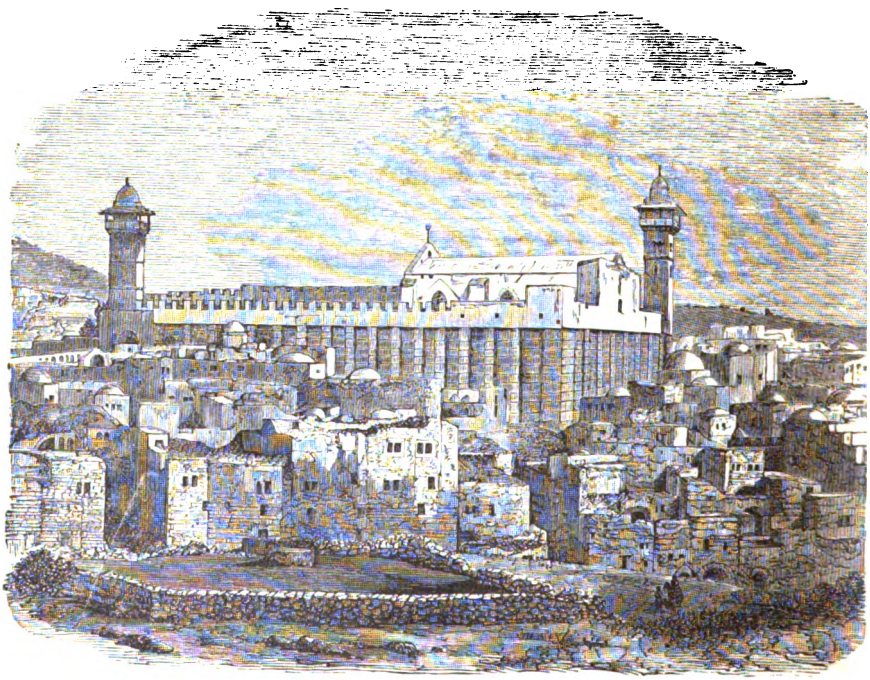
[b] There are several considerations which may lead us to doubt whether we are warranted by the Biblical narrative in affixing a personal sense to the name of Gilead, such as the very remote period from which that name as attached to the district dates (Gen. xxxi.), and also such passages as Num. xxxii. 39, and Deut. iii. 15. (See Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 477, 478, 493.)

[c] The story of the purchase current amongst the modern Arabs of Hebron, as told by Wilson (*Lands*, &c., i. 251), is a counterpart of the legend of the stratagem by which the Phœnician Dido obtained land enough for her city of Byrsa. "Ibrahim asked only as much ground as could be covered with a cow's hide; but after the agreement was concluded he cut the hide into thongs, and surrounded the whole of the space now forming the Haram." The story is remarkable, not only for its repetition of the older Semitic tale, but for its complete departure from the simple and open character of Abraham, as set forth in the Biblical narrative. A similar story is told of other places, but, like Byrsa, their names contain something suggestive of the hide. The writer has not been able

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and which became the burial-place of Sarah, Abraham himself, Isaac, Rebekah, Leah, and Jacob. Abraham resided at Bethel, Hebron and Gerar, but the field which contained his tomb was the only spot which positively belonged to him in the Land of Promise. That the name applied to the general locality, and not to either the field or the cavern,[a] is evident from Gen. xxiii. 17, "the field of Ephron which was in Machpelah . . . the field and the cave which was therein," although for convenience of expression both field and cave are occasionally called by the name. Its position is — with one exception uniformly — specified as "facing (עַל־פְּנֵי) Mamre" (Gen. xxiii. 17, 19, xxv. 9, xlix. 30, l. 13). What the meaning of this ancient name — not met with beyond the book of Genesis — may be, appears quite uncertain. The older interpreters, the LXX., Vulgate, Targums of Onkelos and Pseudo-jonathan, Peshito, Veneto-Greek, etc., explain it as meaning "double" — the double cave or the double field — but the modern lexicographers interpret it, either by comparison with the Ethiopic, as Gesenius (*Thes.* 704 *b*), an allotted or separated place; or again — as Fürst (*Handwb.* 733 *a*) — the undulating spot. The one is probably as near the real meaning as the other.

Beyond the passages already cited, the Bible contains no mention either of the name Machpelah or of the sepulchre of the Patriarchs. Unless this was the sanctuary of Jehovah to which Absalom had vowed or pretended to have vowed a pilgrimage, when absent in the remote Geshur (2 Sam. xv. 7), no allusion to it has been discovered in the records of David's residence at Hebron, nor yet in the struggles of the Maccabees, so many of whose battles were fought in and around it. It is a remarkable instance of the absence among the ancient Hebrews of that veneration for holy places which is so eminently characteristic of modern Orientals. But there are few, if any, of the ancient sites of Palestine of whose genuineness we can feel more assured than Machpelah. The traditional spot has everything in its favor as far as position goes; while the wall which incloses



Mosque at Hebron.

the *Haram*, or sacred precinct in which the sepulchres themselves are reported, and probably with truth, still to lie — and which is the only part at present accessible to Christians — is a monument certainly equal, and probably superior in age to anything remaining in Palestine. It is a quadrangular building of about 200 feet in length by 115 in width, its dark gray walls rising 50 or 60 in height, without window or opening of any description, except two small entrances at the S. E. and S. W. corners. It stands nearly on the crest of the hill which forms the eastern side of the valley on the slopes and bottom of which the town is strewn, and it is remarkable how this venerable structure, quite affecting in its hoary gray color and the archaic forms of its masonry, thus rising above the meaner buildings which it has so often beheld in ruins, dignifies, and so to speak accentuates, the

to trace any connection of this kind in any of the names of Machpelah or Hebron.

[a] The LXX. invariably attach the name to the cave see xxiii. 19, ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ τοῦ ἀγροῦ τῷ διπλῷ. This is followed by Jerome.

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general monotony of the town of Hebron. The ancient Jewish tradition[a] ascribes its erection to David (*Jichus ha-Aboth* in Hottinger, *Cippi Hebr.* p. 30), thus making it coeval with the pool in the valley below; but, whatever the worth of this tradition, it may well be of the age of Solomon,[b] for the masonry is even more antique in its character than that of the lower portion of the south and southwestern walls of the *Haram* at Jerusalem, and which many critics ascribe to Solomon, while even the severest allows it to be of the date of Herod. The date must always remain a mystery, but there are two considerations which may weigh in favor of fixing it very early. 1. That often as the town of Hebron may have been destroyed, this, being a tomb, would always be spared. 2. It cannot on architectural grounds be later than Herod's time, while on the other hand it is omitted from the catalogue given by Josephus of the places which he rebuilt or adorned. Had Herod erected the inclosure round the tombs of the fathers of the nation, it is hardly conceivable that Josephus would have omitted to extol it, especially when he mentions apparently the very structure now existing. His words on this occasion are "the monuments (μνημεῖα) of Abraham and his sons are still to be seen in the town, all of fine stone and admirably wrought" (πάνυ καλῆς μαρμάρου καὶ φιλοτίμως εἰργασμένα, *B. J.* iv. 9, § 7).

Of the contents of this inclosure we have only the most meagre and confused accounts. The spot is one of the most sacred of the Moslem sanctuaries, and since the occupation of Palestine by them it has been entirely closed to Christians, and partially so to Jews, who are allowed, on rare occasions only, to look in through a hole. A great part of the area is occupied by a building which is now a mosque, and was probably originally a church, but of its date or style nothing is known. The sepulchres of Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah, Jacob and Leah, are shown on the floor of the mosque, covered in the usual Mohammedan style with rich carpets; but the real sepulchres are, as they were in the 12th and 16th centuries, in a cave below the floor (Benj. of Tudela: *Jichus ha-Aboth:* Monro). In this they resemble the tomb of Aaron on Mount Hor. [See p. 1087.] The cave, according to the earliest and the latest testimony, opens to the south. This was the report of Monro's servant in 1833; and Arculf particularly mentions the fact that the bodies lay with their heads to the north, as they would do if deposited from the south. A belief seems to prevail in the town that the cave communicates with some one of the modern sepulchres at a considerable distance, outside of Hebron (Loewe, in *Zeitung des Judenth.* June 1, 1839).

The accounts of the sacred inclosure at Hebron will be found collected by Ritter (*Erdkunde, Palästina*, 209, &c., but especially 236–250); Wilson (*Lands*, etc., i. 362–367); Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* ii. 75–79). The chief authorities are Arculf (A. D. 700); Benjamin of Tudela (A. D. cir. 1170); the Jewish tract *Jichus ha-Aboth* (in Hottinger, *Cippi Hebraici;* and also in Wilson, i. 365); Ali Bey (*Travels*, A. D. 1807, ii. 232, 233); Giovanni Finati (*Life* by Bankes, ii. 236); Monro (*Summer Ramble* in 1833, i. 243); Loewe (in *Zeitung des Judenth.* 1839, pp. 272, 288). In a note by Asher to his edition of Benjamin of Tudela (ii. 92), mention is made of an Arabic MS. in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, containing an account of the condition of the mosque under Saladin. This MS. has not yet been published. The travels of Ibrahim el-Khijari in 1669–70 — a small portion of which from the MS. in the Ducal Library at Gotha, has been published by Tuch, with Translation, etc. (Leipzig, Vogel, 1850) — are said to contain a minute description of the Mosque (Tuch, p. 2).

A few words about the exterior, a sketch of the masonry, and a view of the town, showing the inclosure standing prominently in the foreground, will be found in Bartlett's *Walks*, etc., 216–219. A photograph of the exterior, from the East (?) is given as No. 63 of *Palestine as it is*, by Rev. G. W. Bridges. A ground-plan exhibiting considerable detail, made by two Moslem architects who lately superintended some repairs in the *Haram*, and given by them to Dr. Barclay of Jerusalem, is engraved in Osborn's *Pal. Past and Present*, p. 364. G.

* It is since the above article was written that this Moslem sanctuary over the cave of Machpelah was visited and entered by the Prince of Wales and some of his attendants. We are indebted to Dean Stanley, who accompanied the party on that occasion for an interesting report of this visit (*Sermons in the East*, etc., p. 141 ff.) of which we make the following abstract: —

To overcome the difficulties which the fanaticism of the inhabitants of Hebron might place in the way of even a royal approach to the inclosure, a Firman was first requested from the Porte. But the government at Constantinople cautiously gave them only a discretionary letter of recommendation to the Governor of Jerusalem. It was necessary therefore to obtain the sanction of this intermediate functionary. This was not easily done. The Turkish governor not only had his own scruples with reference to such a profanation of the sacred place, but feared the personal consequences which he might suffer from the bigotry of the Mohammedans. After a refusal at first and much hesitation he consented, as an act of national courtesy, that the Prince should make the attempt to enter the Mosque (to guarantee his safety was out of the question), but unaccompanied except by two or three of his suite who were specially interested as *savans* and antiquaries.

The day of the arrival at Hebron was the 7th of April, 1862. They passed into and through the town strongly escorted, through streets deserted

[a] According to hap-Parchi (Asher's *Benj.* p. 437), "the stones had formerly belonged to the Temple." Ritter (*Erdkunde, Palästr.* p. 240) goes so far as to suggest Joseph!

[b] The peculiarities of the masonry are these: (1.) Some of the stones are very large: Dr. Wilson mentions one 38 ft. long, and 8 ft. 4 in. deep. The largest in the Haram wall at Jerusalem is 24½ ft. But yet (2) the surface — in splendid preservation — is very finely worked, more so than the finest of the stones at the south and southwest portion of the inclosure at Jerusalem; the sunken part round the edges (absurdly called the "bevel") very shallow, with no resemblance at all to more modern "rustic work." (3.) The cross-joints are not always vertical, but some are at an angle. (4.) The wall is divided by pilasters about 2 ft. 6 in. wide, and 5 ft. apart, running the entire height of the ancient wall. It is very much to be wished that careful large photographs were taken of these walls from a near point. The writer is not aware that any such ye exist.

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except by the soldiery, whose presence was necessary to guard against any fanatical attempt to avenge the supposed sacrilegious act. Arriving within the inclosure, they were ceremoniously received by the representatives of the forty hereditary guardians of the Mosque, into which they were immediately shown. The architecture of this plainly indicates its original use as a Christian church. The tombs, or rather cenotaphs which cover the actual sepulchres of the patriarchs, are inclosed each within a separate shrine closed with gates. On the right of the inner portico before entering the main building, is the shrine of Abraham, and on the left that of Sarah, each closed with silver gates. The shrine of Abraham, after some manifestations of delay and of grief on the part of the guardians, was thrown open. It is described as a coffin-like structure, about six feet high, built of plastered stone or marble, and hung with three green carpets embroidered with gold. The shrine of Sarah, as of the rest of the women, they were requested not to enter. Within the mosque are the tombs of Isaac and Rebekah, under separate chapels with windows in the walls, and inclosed with iron instead of silver gates. The shrines of Jacob and Leah in recesses corresponding to those of Abraham and Sarah, but opposite to the entrance of the mosque, are in a separate cloister inclosed with iron gates, through which may be seen two green banners resting against Leah's tomb, the meaning of which is unknown. The general structure of Jacob's tomb resembles that of Abraham, but the carpets are coarser.

The correspondence of these monuments with the Biblical narrative is remarkable, in view of Mussulman ignorance and prejudice, and precludes the idea of a fanciful distribution of them. For, in the first place, the prominence given to Isaac is contrary to their prejudice in favor of Ishmael; and again, if they had followed mere probabilities, Rachel would have occupied the place of the less favored Leah.

Besides these six shrines, in a separate chamber reached by an aperture through the wall, is the shrine of Joseph, the situation of which varies from the Biblical account, but is in accordance with the tradition of the country, supported perhaps by an ambiguous expression of Josephus, to the effect that the body of Joseph, though first buried at Shechem, was afterwards brought to Hebron. There are also two ornamental shrines on the northern side of the mosque. But no traces of others were seen within the inclosure.

To the cave itself there was no access. One indication of it in the shape of a circular hole at the corner of the shrine of Abraham, about eight inches across, one foot of the upper part built of strong masonry, but the lower part of the living rock, was alone visible. This aperture has been left in order to allow the sacred air of the sepulchre to escape into the Mosque, and also to allow a lamp to be suspended by a chain and burn over the grave. Even this lamp was not lighted because, as they said, the saint did not "like to have a lamp in full daylight." Whether the Mussulmans themselves are acquainted with any other entrance is doubtful.

The reader will find the same information also in Stanley's *Jewish Church*, i. Appendix ii. p. 535 ff. A plan of the mosque accompanies the narrative. On the purchase of the cave of Machpelah, see EPHRON (Amer. ed.). Of the antiquity of the site, says Thomson (*Land and Book*, ii. 385, "I have no doubt. . . . We have before us the identical cave, in which these patriarchs, with their wives, were reverently gathered 'unto their people,' one after another by their children. . . . Such a cave may last as long as the 'everlasting hills' of which it is a part; and from that to this day it has so come to pass, in the providence of God, that no nation or people has had possession of Machpelah who would have been disposed to disturb the ashes of the illustrious dead within it." H.

MAC'RON (Μάκρων: *Macer*), the surname of Ptolemeus, or Ptolemee, the son of Dorymenes (1 Macc. iii. 38) and governor of Cyprus under Ptolemy Philometor (2 Macc. x. 12).

MA'DAI [2 syl.] (מָדַי: Μαδοί [Μαδαΐμ, Alex. Μαδαι, Μαδαΐ:] *Madai*), which occurs in Gen. x. 2 [and 1 Chr. i. 5] among the list of the sons of Japhet, has been commonly regarded as a personal appellation; and most commentators call Madai the third son of Japhet, and the progenitor of the Medes. But it is extremely doubtful whether, in the mind of the writer of Gen. x., the term *Madai* was regarded as representing a person. That the genealogies in the chapter are to some extent ethnic is universally allowed, and may be seen even in our Authorized Version (ver. 16–18). And as Gomer, Magog, Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, which are conjoined in Gen. x. 2 with Madai, are elsewhere in Scripture always ethnic and not personal appellatives (Ez. xxvii. 13, xxxviii. 6, xxxix. 6; Dan. viii. 21; Joel iii. 6; Ps. cxx. 5; Is. lxvi. 19, &c.), so it is probable that they stand for nations rather than persons here. In that case no one would regard Madai as a person; and we must remember that it is the exact word used elsewhere throughout Scripture for the well-known nation of the Medes. Probably therefore all that the writer intends to assert in Gen. x. 2 is, that the Medes, as well as the Gomerites, Greeks, Tibareni, Moschi, etc., descended from Japhet. Modern science has found that, both in physical type and in language, the Medes belong to that family of the human race which embraces the Cymry and the Greco-Romans. (See Prichard's *Phys. Hist. of Mankind*, iv. 6–50; Ch. x. § 2–4; and comp. the article on the MEDES.) G. R.

MADI'ABUN ('Ημαδαβούν; Alex. Ιησου Ημαδαβουν; [Ald. Μαδιαβούν]). The sons of Madiabun, according to 1 Esdr. v. 58, were among the Levites who superintended the restoration of the Temple under Zorobabel. The name does not occur in the parallel narrative of Ezr. iii. 9, and is also omitted in the Vulgate; nor is it easy to conjecture the origin of the interpolation. Our translators followed the reading of the Aldine edition.

MA'DIAN ([Rom. Ald. Μαδιάν; Vat. Sin. Alex.] Μαδιαμ: *Madian*, but Cod. Amiat. of N. T. *Madiam*), Jud. ii. 26; Acts vii. 29. [MIDIAN.]

MADMAN'NAH (מַדְמַנָּה [*dunghill*: Rom. Μαχαρίμ, Μαδμηνά; Vat.] Μαχαρεμ, [Μαρμηνα;] Alex. Βεδεβηνα, [Μαχαμμηνη:][a] *Medemena*, [*Madmena*]), one of the towns in the south district of Judah (Josh. xv. 31). It is named

[a] Note the change of *m* into *b*, unusual in the Alex. MS., which usually follows the Hebrew more closely than the ordinary LXX. text: compare also MADMENAH

with Hormah, Ziklag, and other remote places, and therefore cannot be identical with the MADMENAH of Isaiah. To Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomasticon*, "Medemana") it appears to have been well known. It was called in their time Menois, and was not far from Gaza. The first stage southward from Gaza is now *el-Minyeh* (Rob. i. 302), which, in default of a better, is suggested by Kiepert (in his *Map*, 1856) as the modern representative of Menois, and therefore of Madmannah.

In the genealogical lists of 1 Chron., Madmannah is derived from Caleb-ben-Hezron through his concubine Maachah, whose son Shaaph is recorded as the founder of the town (ii. 49).

For the termination compare the neighboring place Sansannah. G.

MAD'MEN (מַדְמֵן [*dunghill*]: [a] ταφώς: *silens*), a place in Moab, threatened with destruction in the denunciations of Jeremiah (xlviii. 2), but not elsewhere named, and of which nothing is yet known. G.

MADME'NAH (מַדְמֵנָה [as above]: [b] Μαδεβηνά: *Medemena*), one of the Benjamite villages north of Jerusalem, the inhabitants of which were frightened away by the approach of Sennacherib along the northern road (Is. x. 31). Like others of the places mentioned in this list, Madmenah is not elsewhere named; for to MADMANNAH and MADMEN it can have no relation. Gesenius (*Jesaia*, p. 414) points out that the verb in the sentence is active — "Madmenah flies," not, as in A. V., "is removed" (so also Michaelis, *Bibel für Ungelehrten*).

Madmenah is not impossibly alluded to by Isaiah (xxv. 10) in his denunciation of Moab, where the word rendered in A. V. "dunghill" is identical with that name. The original text (or *Cethib*), by a variation in the preposition (במי and במו), reads the "waters of Madmenah." If this is so, the reference may be either to the Madmenah of Benjamin — one of the towns in a district abounding with corn and threshing-floors — or more appropriately still to MADMEN, the Moabite town. Gesenius (*Jesaia*, p. 786) appears to have overlooked this, which might have induced him to regard with more favor a suggestion which seems to have been first made by Joseph Kimchi. G.

* The places on the march of Sennacherib to Jerusalem have usually been supposed to occur in a direct line; on this supposition Madmenah must have stood between Gibeah of Saul and Nob. But the army possibly may have moved in parallel columns, and thus some of the places mentioned have been lateral to each other and not successive. [NOB.] For an elaborate defense of this theory on topographical grounds, the reader may see Dr. Valentiner's art. entitled *Beitrag zur Topographie des Stammes Benjamin*, in *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch.* xii. 164 ff., 169). H.

MADNESS. The words rendered by "mad," "madman," "madness," etc., in the A. V., vary considerably in the Hebrew of the O T. In Deut. xxviii. 28, 34, 1 Sam. xxi. 13, 14, 15, &c. (μαινία, etc., in the LXX.), they are derivatives of the root שָׁגַע, "to be stirred or excited;" in Jer. xxv 16, l. 38, li. 7, Eccl. i. 17, &c. (περιφορά, LXX.), from the root הָלַל, "to flash out," applied (like the Greek φλέγειν) either to light or sound; in Is. xliv. 25, from סָכַל, "to make void or foolish" (μωραίνειν, LXX.); in Zech. xii. 4, from תָּעָה, "to wander" (ἔκστασις, LXX.). In the N. T. they are generally used to render μαίνεσθαι or μανία (as in John x. 20; Acts xxvi. 24; 1 Cor. xiv. 23); but in 2 Pet. ii. 16 the word is παραφρονία, and in Luke vi. 11 ἄνοια. These passages show that in Scripture "madness" is recognized as a derangement, proceeding either from weakness and misdirection of intellect, or from ungovernable violence of passion; and in both cases it is spoken of, sometimes as arising from the will and action of man himself, sometimes as inflicted judicially by the hand of God. In one passage alone (John x. 20) is madness expressly connected with demoniacal possession, by the Jews in their cavil against our Lord [see DEMONIACS]; in none is it referred to any physical causes. It will easily be seen how entirely this usage of the word is accordant to the general spirit and object of Scripture, in passing by physical causes, and dwelling on the moral and spiritual influences, by which men's hearts may be affected, either from within or from without.

It is well known that among oriental, as among most semi-civilized nations, madmen were looked upon with a kind of reverence, as possessed of a quasi-sacred character. This arises partly no doubt from the feeling, that one, on whom God's hand is laid heavily, should be safe from all other harm; but partly also from the belief that the loss of reason and self-control opened the mind to supernatural influence, and gave it therefore a supernatural sacredness. This belief was strengthened by the enthusiastic expression of idolatrous worship (see 1 K. xviii. 26, 28), and (occasionally) of real inspiration (see 1 Sam. xix. 21–24; comp. the application of "mad fellow" in 2 K. ix. 11, and see Jer. xxix. 26; Acts ii. 13). An illustration of it may be seen in the record of David's pretended madness at the court of Achish (1 Sam. xxi. 13–15), which shows it to be not inconsistent with a kind of contemptuous forbearance, such as is often manifested now, especially by the Turks, towards real or supposed madmen. A. B.

MA'DON (מָדוֹן [*contention, strife*: Rom. Μαρών; Vat.] Μαρρων; Alex. Μαδων, Μαρων [?]: *Madon*), one of the principal cities of Canaan before the conquest. Its king joined Jabin and his confederates in their attempt against Joshua at the waters of Merom, and like the rest was killed (Josh. xi. 1, xii. 19). No later mention of it is found, and beyond the natural inference drawn from its occurrence with Hazor, Shimron, etc., that it was in the north of the country, we have no clew to its position. Schwarz (90) proposes to discover Madon at *Kefr Menda*, a village with extensive ancient remains, at the western end of the Plain of *Buttauf*, 4 or 5 miles N. of Sepphoris. His grounds for the identification are of the slightest: (*a*) the fre-

[a] The LXX. have translated the name as if from the same root with the verb which accompanies it — מָדְמֵן יִדּוֹשׁ, ταφώσι ταφώσεται: in which they are followed by the Vulgate — but the roots, though similar, are really distinct. (See Gesenius, *Thes.* 344 *a* 345 *a*.)

[b] For the change of *m* into *b* comp. MADMANNAH.

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quent transposition of letters in Arabic, and (*b*) a statement of the early Jewish traveller hap-Parchi (Asher's *Benj. of Tudela*, 430), that the Arabs identify Kefar Mendi with "Midian," or, as Schwarz would read it, Madon. The reader may judge for himself what worth there is in these suggestions.

In the LXX. version of 2 Sam. xxi. 20 the Hebrew words אִישׁ מָדוֹן, "a man of stature," are rendered ἀνὴρ Μαδών, "a man of Madon." This may refer to the town Madon, or may be merely an instance of the habit which these translators had of rendering literally in Greek letters Hebrew words which they did not understand. Other instances will be found in 2 K. vi. 8, ix. 13, xii. 9, xv. 10, &c., &c. G.

MAËLUS (Μαήλος; [Vat. Μιλήλος:] *Michelus*), for MIAMIN (1 Esdr. ix. 26; comp. Ezr. x. 25).

* **MAG'ADAN.** [MAGDALA.]

MAG'BISH (מַגְבִּישׁ [*a gathering*, Ges.]: Μαγεβίς; [Vat. Μαγεβωσ:] *Megbis*). A proper name in Ezr. ii. 30, but whether of a man or of a place is doubted by some; it is probably the latter, as all the names from Ezr. ii. 20 to 34, except Elam and Harim, are names of places. The meaning of the name too, which appears to be "freezing" or "congealing," seems better suited to a place than a man. One hundred and fifty-six of its inhabitants, called the children of Magbish, are included in the genealogical roll of Ezr. ii., but have fallen out from the parallel passage in Neh. vii. MAGPIASH, however, is named (Neh. x. 20) as one of those who sealed to the covenant, where Anathoth and Nebo (Nebai) also appear in the midst of proper names of men. Why in these three cases the names of the places are given instead of those of the family, or house, or individual, as in the case of all the other signatures, it is impossible to say for certain, though many reasons might be guessed. From the position of Magbish in the list in Ezr. ii., next to Bethel, Ai, and Nebo, and before Lod, Hadid, Ono, and Jericho, it would seem to be in the tribe of Benjamin. A. C. H.

MAG'DALA (Μαγδάν[a] in MSS. B, D, and Sinait. — A being defective in this place; but Rec. Text, Μαγδαλά: Syr. *Magedun*: Vulg. *Magedan*).

The name Magdala does not really exist in the Bible. It is found in the received Greek text and the A. V. of Matt. xv. 39 only; but the chief MSS. and versions exhibit the name as Magadan.

Into the limits[b] of Magadan Christ comes by boat, over the lake of Gennesaret, after his miracle of feeding the four thousand on the mountain of the eastern side (Matt. xv. 39); and from thence, after a short encounter with the Pharisees and Sadducees, He returned in the same boat to the opposite shore. In the present text of the parallel narrative of St. Mark (viii. 10) we find the "parts of Dalmanutha," though in the time of Eusebius and Jerome the two were in agreement, both reading Magedan, as Mark still does in Codex D. They place it "round Gerasa" (*Onomasticon*, sub voce) as if the MAGED or MAKED of Maccabees; but this is at variance with the requirements of the narrative, which indicates a place close to the water, and on its western side. The same, as far as distance is concerned, may be said of Megiddo — in its Greek form, Mageddo, or, as Josephus spells it, Magedo — which, as a well-known locality of Lower Galilee, might not unnaturally suggest itself.

Dalmanutha was probably at or near *Ain el-Barideh*, about a mile below *el-Mejdel*, on the western edge of the lake of Gennesaret. *El-Mejdel* is doubtless the representative of an ancient Migdol or Magdala, possibly that from which St. Mary came. Her native place was possibly not far distant from the Magadan of our Lord's history, and we can only suppose that, owing to the familiar recurrence of the word Magdalene, the less known name was absorbed in the better, and Magdala usurped the name, and possibly also the position of Magadan. At any rate it has prevented any search being made for the name, which may very possibly still be discovered in the country, though so strangely superseded in the records.[c]

The Magdala which conferred her name on "Mary the Magdal-ene" (M. ἡ Μαγδαληνή), one of the numerous Migdols, *i. e.* towers, which stood in Palestine — such as the MIGDAL-EL, or tower of God, in Naphtali, the MIGDAL-GAD and Migdal-EDAR of Judah — was probably the place of that name which is mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud as near Tiberias (Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* 353; Schwarz, 189), and this again is as probably the modern *el-Mejdel*, "a miserable little Muslim village," rather more than an hour, or about three miles,[d] above *Tubariyeh*, lying on the water's edge at the southeast corner of the plain of Gennesaret (Rob. ii. 396, 397). Professor Stanley's description seems to embrace every point worth notice. "Of all the numerous towns and villages in what must have been the most thickly peopled district of Palestine one only remains. A collection of a few hovels stands at the southeast corner of the plain of Gennesaret, its name hardly altered from the ancient Magdala or Migdol, so called probably from a watch-tower, of which ruins appear to remain, that guarded the entrance to the plain. Through its connection with her whom the long opinion of the church identified with the penitent sinner, the name of that ancient tower has now been incorporated into all the languages of Europe. A large solitary thorn-tree stands beside it. The situation otherwise unmarked, is dignified by the high limestone rock which overhangs it on the southwest, perforated with caves; recalling, by a curious though doubtless unintentional coincidence, the scene of Correggio's celebrated picture." These caves are said by Schwarz (189) — though on no clear authority — to bear the name of Teliman, *i. e.* Talmanutha. "A clear stream rushes past the rock

[a] It is not necessary to do more than mention the hypothesis of Brocardus, who identifies Magedan and Dalmanutha with the well-known circular pool called Phiala (or, as he calls it, Syala), east of Banias, which he says the Saracens call Me-Dan, or water of Dan. See Brocardus, *Descr.* cap. iii.)

[b] Τὰ ὅρια. Thus the present *el-Mejdel* — whether identical with Magadan or Magdala or not — is surrounded by the *Ard el-Mejdel* (Wilson, *Lands*, ii. 126).

[c] The original form of the name may have been Migron; at least so we may infer from the LXX. version of Migron, which is Magedo or Magdon.

[d] The statement of the Talmud is, that a person passing by Magdala could hear the voice of the crier in Tiberias. At three miles distance this would not be impossible in Palestine, where sound travels to a distance far greater than in this country. (See Rob. iii. 17; Stanley, *S. & P.*; Thomson, *Land and Book*

into the sea, issuing in a tangled thicket of thorn and willow from a deep ravine at the back of the plain" (*S. & P.* pp 382, 383). Jerome, although he plays upon the name Magdalene — "recte vocatam Magdalenen, id est Turritam, ob ejus singularem fidei ac ardoris constantiam" — does not appear to connect it with the place in question. By the Jews the word מגדלא is used to denote a person who plaited or twisted hair, a practice then much in use amongst women of loose character. A certain "Miriam Magdala" is mentioned by the Talmudists, who is probably intended for St. Mary. (See Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* "Maria;" and Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* pp. 389, 1459.) Magdalum is mentioned as between Tiberias and Capernaum, as early as by Willibald, A. D. 722; since that time it is occasionally named by travellers, amongst others Quaresmius, *Elucidatio*, p. 866*b*; Sir R. Guylforde, *Pylgrymage*; Breydenbach, p. 29; Bonar, *Land of Promise*, pp. 433, 434, and 549. Buchanan (*Clerical Furlough*, p. 375) describes well the striking view of the northern part of the lake which is obtained from *el-Mejdel*. A ruined site called *Om Moghdala* is pointed out at about 2 hours S. of Jerusalem, apparently N. W. of Bethlehem (Tobler, *3te Wand.* p. 81). H. B. H.

MAG'DIEL (מַגְדִּיאֵל [El (God) *is renown*, Fürst: Rom.] Μαγεδιήλ; [Vat.] in Chron. Μεδιηλ; Alex. Μετοδιηλ, [Μαγεδιηλ:] *Magdiel*). One of the "dukes" of Edom, descended from Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 43; 1 Chr. i. 54). The name does not yet appear to have been met with, as borne by either tribe or place.

* Fürst suggests that it may have been the place of a temple, identical with the station *ad Dianam* (Peutinger's *Tab.* 9, c.), seven hours north of Aila [ELATH]. H.

MA'GED (Μαγέδ, in both MSS.: *Mageth*), the form in which the name MAKED appears in the A. V. on its second occurrence (1 Macc. v. 36).

* The form Maged seems to have no support from Greek MSS. Our translators may have derived it from the Genevan version, where it also occurs in ver. 26. A.

MAGI (A. V. "wise men:" Μάγοι: *magi*). It does not fall within the scope of this article to enter fully into the history of the Magi as an order, and of the relation in which they stood to the religion of Zoroaster. Only so far as they come within the horizon of a student of the Bible, and present points of contact with its history and language, have they any claim for notice in this place. As might be expected, where two forms of faith and national life run on, for a long period, side by side, each maintaining its distinctness, those points are separated from each other by wide intervals, and it is hard to treat of them with any apparent continuity. What has to be said will be best arranged under the four following heads: —

I. The position occupied by the Magi in the history of the O. T.

II. The transition-stages in the history of the word and of the order between the close of the O. T. and the time of the N. T., so far as they affect the latter.

III. The Magi as they appear in the N. T.

IV. The later traditions which have gathered round the Magi of Matt. ii.

I. In the Hebrew text of the O. T. the word occurs but twice, and then only incidentally. In Jer. xxxix. 3 and 13 we meet, among the Chaldæan officers sent by Nebuchadnezzar to Jerusalem, one with the name or title of Rab-Mag (רַב־מָג). This word is interpreted, after the analogy of Rab-shakeh and Rab-saris, as equivalent to chief of the Magi (Ewald, *Propheten*, and Hitzig, *in loc.*, taking it as the title of Nergal-Sharezer), and we thus find both the name and the order occupying a conspicuous place under the government of the Chaldæans. Many questions of some difficulty are suggested by this fact.

Historically the Magi are conspicuous chiefly as a Persian religious caste. Herodotus connects them with another people by reckoning them among the six tribes of the Medes (i. 101). They appear in his history of Astyages as interpreters of dreams (i. 120), the name having apparently lost its ethnological and acquired a caste significance. But in Jeremiah they appear at a still earlier period among the retinue of the Chaldæan king. The very word Rab-Mag (if the received etymology of Magi be correct) presents a hybrid formation. The first syllable is unquestionably Semitic, the last is all but unquestionably Aryan.[a] The problem thus presented admits of two solutions: (1.) If we believe the Chaldæans to have been a Hamitic people, closely connected with the Babylonians [CHALDÆANS], we must then suppose that the colossal schemes of greatness which showed themselves in Nebuchadnezzar's conquests led him to gather round him the wise men and religious teachers of the nations which he subdued, and that thus the sacred tribe of the Medes rose under his rule to favor and power. His treatment of those who bore a like character among the Jews (Dan. i. 4) makes this hypothesis a natural one; and the alliance which existed between the Medes and the Chaldæans at the time of the overthrow of the old Assyrian empire would account for the intermixture of religious systems belonging to two different races. (2.) If, on the other hand, with Renan (*Histoire des Langues Sémitiques*, pp. 66, 67), following Lassen and Ritter, we look on the Chaldæans as themselves belonging to the Aryan family, and possessing strong affinities with the Medes, there is even less difficulty in explaining the presence among the one people of the religious teachers of the other. It is likely enough, in either case, that the simpler Median religion which the Magi brought with them, corresponding more or less closely to

[a] In the Pehlvi dialect of the Zend, Mogh = priest (Hyde, *Relig. Vet. Pers.* c. 31); and this is connected by philologists with the Sanskrit, *mahat* (great), μέγας, and *magnus* (Gesenius, *s. v.* מָג; Anquetil du Perron's *Zendavesta*, ii. 555). The coincidence of a Sanskrit *máya*, in the sense of "illusion, magic," is remarkable; but it is probable that this, as well as the analogous Greek word, is the derived, rather than the original meaning (comp. Bichhoff, *Vergleichung der Sprachen*, ed Kaltschmidt, p. 231). Hyde (*l. c.*) notices another etymology, given by Arabian authors, which makes the word = cropt-eared (*parvis auribus*), but rejects it. Prideaux, on the other hand (*Connection*, under B. C. 522), accepts it, and seriously connects it with the story of the Pseudo-Smerdis who had lost his ears in Herod. iii. 69. Spanheim (*Dub. Evang.* xviii.) speaks favorably, though not decisively of a Hebrew etymology.

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the faith of the Zendavesta, lost some measure of its original purity through this contact with the darker superstitions of the old Babylonian population. From this time onward it is noticeable that the names both of the Magi and Chaldæans are identified with the astrology, divination, interpretation of dreams, which had impressed themselves on the prophets of Israel as the most characteristic features of the old Babel-religion (Is. xliv. 25, xlvii. 13). The Magi took their places among "the astrologers and star-gazers and monthly prognosticators."

It is with such men that we have to think of Daniel and his fellow-exiles as associated. They are described as "ten times wiser than all the magicians (LXX. μάγους) and astrologers" (Dan. i. 20). Daniel himself so far sympathizes with the order into which he is thus, as it were, enrolled, as to intercede for them when Nebuchadnezzar gives the order for their death (Dan. ii. 24), and accepts an office which, as making him "master of the magicians,[a] astrologers, Chaldæans, soothsayers" (Dan. v. 11), was probably identical with that of the Rab-Mag who first came before us. May we conjecture that he found in the belief which the Magi had brought with them some elements of the truth that had been revealed to his fathers, and that the way was thus prepared for the strong sympathy which showed itself in a hundred ways when the purest Aryan and the purest Semitic faiths were brought face to face with each other (Dan. vi. 3, 16, 26; Ezr. i. 1–4; Is. xliv. 28), agreeing as they did in their hatred of idolatry and in their acknowledgment of the "God of Heaven"?

The name of the Magi does not meet us in the Biblical account of the Medo-Persian kings. If, however, we identify the Artaxerxes who stops the building of the Temple (Ezr. iv. 17–22) with the Pseudo-Smerdis of Herodotus [ARTAXERXES] and the Gomates of the Behistun inscription, we may see here also another point of contact. The Magian attempt to reassert Median supremacy, and with it probably a corrupted Chaldaized form of Magianism, in place of the purer faith in Ormusd of which Cyrus had been the propagator,[b] would naturally be accompanied by antagonism to the people whom the Persians had protected and supported. The immediate renewal of the suspended work on the triumph of Darius (Ezr. iv. 24, v. 1, 2, vi. 7, 8) falls in, it need hardly be added, with this hypothesis. The story of the actual massacre of the Magi throughout the dominions of Darius, and of the commemorative Magophonia (Herod. iii. 79) with whatever exaggerations it may be mixed up indicates in like manner the triumph of the Zoroastrian system. If we accept the traditional date of Zoroaster as a contemporary of Darius, we may see in the changes which he effected a revival of the older system.[c] It is at any rate striking that the word Magi does not appear in the Zendavesta, the priests being there described as Atharva (Guardians of the Fire), and that there are multiplied prohibitions in it of all forms of the magic which, in the West, and possibly in the East also, took its name from them, and with which, it would appear they had already become tainted. All such arts, auguries, necromancy, and the like, are looked on as evil, and emanating from Ahriman, and are pursued by the hero-king Feridoun with the most persistent hostility (Du Perron, *Zendavesta*, vol. i. part 2, pp. 268, 424).

The name, however, kept its ground, and with it probably the order to which it was attached. Under Xerxes, the Magi occupy a position which indicates that they had recovered from their temporary depression. They are consulted by him as soothsayers (Herod. vii. 19), and are as influential as they had been in the court of Astyages. They prescribe the strange and terrible sacrifices at the Strymon and the Nine Ways (Herod. vii. 114). They were said to have urged the destruction of the temples of Greece (Cic. *De Legg.* ii. 10). Traces of their influence may perhaps be seen in the regard paid by Mardonius to the oracles of the Greek god that offered the nearest analogue to their own Mithras (Herod. viii. 134), and in the like reverence which had previously been shown by the *Median* Datis towards the island of Delos (Herod. vi. 97). They come before the Greeks as the representatives of the religion of the Persians. No sacrifices may be offered unless one of their order is present chanting the prescribed prayers, as in the ritual of the Zendavesta (Herod. i. 132). No great change is traceable in their position during the decline of the Persian monarchy. The position of Judæa as a Persian province must have kept up some measure of contact between the two religious systems. The histories of Esther and Nehemiah point to the influence which might be exercised by members of the subject-race. It might well be that the religious minds of the two nations would learn to respect each other, and that some measure of the prophetic hopes of Israel might mingle with the

[a] רַב חַרְטֻמִּין; ἄρχοντα ἐπαοιδῶν μάγων, LXX.

[b] Comp. Sir Henry Rawlinson's translation of the Behistun inscription: "The rites which Gomates the Magian had introduced I prohibited. I restored to the state the chants, and the worship, and to those families which Gomates the Magian had deprived of them" *Journal of Asiatic Soc.*, vol. x., and Blakesley's *Herodotus*, Excurs. on iii. 74).

[c] The opinion that Zoroaster (otherwise Zerdusht, or Zarathrust) and his work belonged to the 6th century B. C. rests chiefly on the mention in his life and in the Zendavesta of a king Gustasp, who has been identified with Hystaspes, the father of Darius (Hyde, p. 24; Du Perron, *Zendavesta*, i. 29). On the other hand, the name of Zoroaster does not appear in any of the monumental or historical notices of Darius; and Bactria, rather than Persia, appears as the scene of his labors. The Magi, at any rate, appear as a distinct order, and with a definite faith, before this time; and his work in relation to them, if contemporary with Darius, must have been that of the restorer rather than the founder of a system. The hypothesis of two Zoroasters is hardly more than an attempt to disentangle the conflicting traditions that cluster round the name, so as to give some degree of historical credibility to each group. Most of these traditions lie outside the range of our present inquiry, but one or two come within the horizon of Biblical legend, if not of Biblical history. Unable to account for the truth they recognised in his system, except on the hypothesis that it had been derived from the faith of Israel, Christian and Mohammedan writers have seen in him the disciple of one of the prophets of the O. T. The leper Gehazi, Baruch the friend and disciple of Jeremiah, some unnamed disciple of Ezra, — these (wild as it may sound) have each in his turn, been identified with the Bactrian sage. His name will meet us again in connection with the Magi of the N. T. (Hyde, *l. c.* Prideaux, *Connn.* B. C. 521–486.)

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belief of the Magi. As an order they perpetuated themselves under the Parthian kings. The name rose to fresh honor under the Sassanidæ. The classification which was ascribed to Zoroaster was recognized as the basis of a hierarchical system, after other and lower elements had mingled with the earlier Dualism, and might be traced even in the religion and worship of the Parsees. According to this arrangement the Magi were divided — by a classification which has been compared to that of bishops, priests, and deacons — into disciples (Harbeds), teachers (Mobeds[a]), and the more perfect teachers of a higher wisdom (Destur Moheds). This, too, will connect itself with a tradition further on (Hyde, c. 28; Du Perron, *Zendavesta*, ii. 555).

II. In the mean time the word was acquiring a new and wider signification. It presented itself to the Greeks as connected with a foreign system of divination, and the religion of a foe whom they had conquered, and it soon became a by-word for the worst form of imposture. The rapid growth of this feeling is traceable perhaps in the meanings attached to the word by the two great tragedians. In Æschylus (*Persæ*, 291) it retains its old significance as denoting simply a tribe. In Sophocles (*Oed. Tyr.* 387) it appears among the epithets of reproach which the king heaps upon Teiresias. The fact, however, that the religion with which the word was associated still maintained its ground as the faith of a great nation, kept it from falling into utter disrepute, and it is interesting to notice how at one time the good, and at another the bad, side of the word is uppermost. Thus the μαγεία of Zoroaster is spoken of with respect by Plato as a θεῶν θεραπεία, forming the groundwork of an education which he praises as far better than that of the Athenians (*Alcib.* i. p. 122 *a*). Xenophon, in like manner, idealizes the character and functions of the order (*Cyrop.* iv. 5, § 16; 6, § 6). Both meanings appear in the later lexicographers. The word Magos is equivalent to ἀστρέων καὶ φαρμακευτής, but it is also used for the θεοσεβὴς καὶ θεόλογος καὶ ἱερεύς (Hesych.). The Magi as an order are οἱ παρὰ Περσαῖς φιλόσοφοι καὶ φιλόθεοι (Suid.). The word thus passed into the hands of the LXX., and from them into those of the writers of the N. T., oscillating between the two meanings, capable of being used in either. The relations which had existed between the Jews and Persians would perhaps tend to give a prominence to the more favorable associations in their use of it. In Daniel (i. 20, ii. 2, 10, 27, v. 11) it is used, as has been noticed, for the priestly diviners with whom the prophet was associated. Philo, in like manner (*Quod omnis probus liber*, p. 792), mentions the Magi with warm praise, as men who gave themselves to the study of nature and the contemplation of the Divine perfections, worthy of being the counsellors of kings. It was perhaps natural that this aspect of the word should commend itself to the theosophic Jew of Alexandria. There were, however, other influences at work tending to drag it down. The swarms of impostors that were to be met with in every part of the Roman empire, known as "Chaldæi," "Mathematici," and the like, bore this name also. Their arts were "artes magicæ." Though philosophers and men of letters might recognize the better meaning of which the word was capable (Cic. *De Divin* i. 23, 41), yet in the language of public documents and of historians, they were treated as a class at once hateful and contemptible (Tacit. *Ann.* i. 32, ii. 27, xii. 22, xii. 59), and as such were the victims of repeated edicts of banishment.

III. We need not wonder, accordingly, to find that this is the predominant meaning of the word as it appears in the N. T. The noun and the verb derived from it (μαγεία and μαγεύω) are used by St. Luke in describing the impostor, who is therefore known distinctively as Simon Magus (Acts viii. 9). Another of the same class (Bar-jesus) is described (Acts xiii. 8) as having, in his cognomen Elymas, a title which was equivalent to Magus.[b] [ELYMAS.]

In one memorable instance, however, the word retains (probably, at least) its better meaning. In the Gospel of St. Matthew, written (according to the general belief of early Christian writers) for the Hebrew Christians of Palestine, we find it, not as embodying the contempt which the frauds of impostors had brought upon it through the whole Roman empire, but in the sense which it had had, of old, as associated with a religion which they respected, and an order of which one of their own prophets had been the head. In spite of Patristic authorities on the other side, asserting the Μάγοι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν of Matt. ii. 1 to have been sorcerers whose mysterious knowledge came from below, not from above, and who were thus translated out of darkness into light (Just. Martyr, Chrysostom, Theophylact, in Spanheim, *Dub. Evang.* xix.; Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* in Matt. ii.), we are justified, not less by the *consensus* of later interpreters (including even Maldonatus) than by the general tenor of St. Matthew's narrative, in seeing in them men such as those that were in the minds of the LXX. translators of Daniel, and those described by Philo — at once astronomers and astrologers, but not mingling any conscious fraud with their efforts after a higher knowledge. The vagueness of the description leaves their country undefined, and implies that probably the Evangelist himself had no certain information. The same phrase is used as in passages where the express object is to include a wide range of country (comp. ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν, Matt. viii. 11, xxiv. 27; Luke xiii. 29). Probably the region chiefly present to the mind of the Palestine Jew would be the tract of country stretching eastward from the Jordan to the Euphrates, the land of "the children of the East" in the early period of the history of the O. T. (Gen. xxix. 1; Judg. vi. 3, vii. 12, viii. 10). It should be remembered, however, that the language of the O. T., and therefore probably that of St. Matthew, included under this name countries that lay considerably to the north as well as to the east of Palestine. Balaam came from "the mountains of the east," *i. e.* from Pethor on the Euphrates (Num. xxiii. 7, xxii. 5). Abraham (or Cyrus?) is the righteous man raised up "from the east" (Is. xli. 2). The Persian conqueror is called "from the east, from a far country" (Is. xlvi. 11).

We cannot wonder that there should have been very varying interpretations given of words that

[a] The word "Mobed," a contraction of the fuller form Magovad, is apparently identical with that which appears in Greek as Μάγος.

[b] Instead of "sorcerer," Acts xiii. 6, 8 (A. V.), μαγος should be rendered Magian; for it is the man's professional title, like Elymas, and implies nothing opprobrious. This Bar-jesus is stigmatised as an impostor in being called "a false prophet." H.

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allowed so wide a field for conjecture. Some of these are, for various reasons, worth noticing. (1.) The feeling of some early writers that the coming of the wise men was the fulfillment of the prophecy which spoke of the gifts of the men of Sheba and Seba (Ps. lxxii. 10, 15; comp. Is. lx. 6) led them to fix on Arabia as the country of the Magi (Just. Martyr, Tertullian, Epiphanius, Cyprian, in Spanheim, *Dub. Evang.* l. c.),[a] and they have been followed by Baronius, Maldonatus, Grotius, and Lightfoot. (2.) Others have conjectured Mesopotamia as the great seat of Chaldæan astrology (Origen, *Hom. in Matt.* vi. and vii.), or Egypt as the country in which magic was most prevalent (Meyer, *ad loc.*). (3.) The historical associations of the word led others again, with greater probability, to fix on Persia, and to see in these Magi members of the priestly order, to which the name of right belonged (Chrysostom, Theophylact, Calvin, Olshausen), while Hyde (*Rel. Pers.* l. c.) suggests Parthia, as being at that time the conspicuous eastern monarchy in which the Magi were recognized and honored.

It is perhaps a legitimate inference from the narrative of Matt. ii. that in these Magi we may recognize, as the Church has done from a very early period, the first Gentile worshippers of the Christ. The name, by itself, indeed, applied as it is in Acts xiii. 8, to a Jewish false prophet, would hardly prove this; but the distinctive epithet "from the east" was probably intended to mark them out as different in character and race from the western Magi, Jews, and others, who swarmed over the Roman empire. So, when they come to Jerusalem it is to ask not after "our king" or "the king of Israel," but, as the men of another race might do, after "the king of the Jews." The language of the O. T. prophets and the traditional interpretation of it are apparently new things to them.

The narrative of Matt. ii. supplies us with an outline which we may legitimately endeavor to fill up, as far as our knowledge enables us, with inferences and illustration.

Some time after the birth of Jesus[b] there appeared among the strangers who visited Jerusalem these men from the far East. They were not idolaters. Their form of worship was looked upon by the Jews with greater tolerance and sympathy than that of any other Gentiles (comp. Wisd. xiii. 6, 7). Whatever may have been their country, their name indicates that they would be watchers of the stars, seeking to read in them the destinies of nations. They say that they have seen a star in which they recognize such a prognostic. They are sure that one is born King of the Jews, and they come to pay their homage. It may have been simply that the quarter of the heavens in which the star appeared indicated the direction of Judæa. It may have been that some form of the prophecy of Balaam that a "star should rise out of Jacob" (Num. xxiv. 17) had reached them, either through the Jews of the Dispersion, or through traditions running parallel with the O. T., and that this led them to recognize its fulfillment (Origen, *c. Cels.* i.; Hom. *in Num.* xiii.; but the hypothesis is neither necessary nor satisfactory; comp. Ellicott, *Hulsean Lectures*, p. 77). It may have been, lastly, that the traditional predictions ascribed to their own prophet Zoroaster, leading them to expect a succession of three deliverers, two working as prophets to reform the world and raise up a kingdom (Tavernier, *Travels*, iv. 8), the third (Zosiosh), the greatest of the three, coming to be the head of the kingdom, to conquer Ahriman and to raise the dead (Du Perron, *Zendav.* i. 2, p. 46; Hyde, c. 31) Ellicott, *Hulsean Lect* l. c.), and in strange fantastic ways connecting these redeemers with the seed of Abraham (Tavernier, *l. c.*; and D'Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* s. v. "Zerdascht"), had roused their minds to an attitude of expectancy, and that their contact with a people cherishing like hopes on stronger grounds, may have prepared them to see in a king of the Jews, the Oshanderbegha (*Homo Mundi*, Hyde, *l. c.*), or the Zosiosh whom they expected. In any case they shared the "vetus et constans opinio" which had spread itself over the whole East, that the Jews, as a people, crushed and broken as they were, were yet destined once again to give a ruler to the nations. It is not unlikely that they appeared, occupying the position of Destur-Mobeds in the later Zoroastrian hierarchy, as the representatives of many others who shared the same feeling. They came, at any rate, to pay their homage to the king whose birth was thus indicated, and with the gold and frankincense and myrrh, which were the customary gifts of subject nations (comp. Gen. xliii. 11; Ps. lxxii. 15; 1 K. x. 2, 10; 2 Chr. ix. 24; Cant. iii. 6, iv. 14). The arrival of such a company, bound on so strange an errand, in the last years of the tyrannous and distrustful Herod, could hardly fail to attract notice and excite a people, among whom Messianic expectations had already begun to show themselves (Luke ii. 25, 38). "Herod was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him." The Sanhedrim was convened, and the question where the Messiah was to be born was formally placed before them. It was in accordance with the subtle, fox-like character of the king that he should pretend to share the expectations of the people in order that he might find in what direction they pointed, and then take whatever steps were necessary to crush them [comp. HEROD]. The answer given, based upon the traditional interpretation of Mic. v. 2, that Bethlehem was to be the birthplace of the Christ, determined the king's plans. He had found out the locality. It remained to determine the time: with what was probably a real belief in astrology, he inquired of them diligently, when they had first seen the star. If he assumed that that was contemporaneous with the birth, he

[a] This is adopted by most Romish interpreters, and is all but authoritatively recognised in the services of the Latin Church. Through the whole Octave of the Epiphany the ever-recurring antiphon is, "Reges Pharsis et insulæ munera offerent. Alleluia, Alleluia. Reges Arabum et Saba dona adducent. Alleluia, Alleluia." — *Brev. Rom. in Epiph.*

[b] The discordant views of commentators and harmonists indicate the absence of any trustworthy data. The time of their arrival at Bethlehem has been fixed in each case on grounds so utterly insufficient, that it would be idle to examine them. (1.) As in the Church Calendar, on the twelfth day after the nativity (Baronius, *Ann.* i. 9). (2.) At some time towards the close of the forty days before the Purification (Spanheim and Stolberg). (3.) Four months later (Greswell), on the hypothesis that they saw the star at the nativity, and then started on a journey which would take that time. Or (4) as an inference from Matt. ii. 16, at some time in the second year after the birth of Christ (comp Spanheim, *Dub. Evang.* l. c.). On the attempt to find a chronological datum in the star itself, comp. STAR IN THE EAST; also JESUS CHRIST, vol. ii. p. 1961 b

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would not be far wrong. The Magi accordingly are sent on to Bethlehem, as if they were but the forerunners of the king's own homage. As they journeyed they again saw the star, which for a time, it would seem, they had lost sight of, and it guided them on their way. [Comp. STAR IN THE EAST for this and all other questions connected with its appearance.] The pressure of the crowds, which a fortnight, or four months, or well-nigh two years before, had driven Mary and Joseph to the rude stable of the caravanserai of Bethlehem, had apparently abated, and the Magi entering "the house" (Matt. ii. 11) fell down and paid their homage and offered their gifts. Once more they receive guidance through the channel which their work and their studies had made familiar to them. From first to last, in Media, in Babylon, in Persia, the Magi had been famous as the interpreters of dreams. That which they received now need not have involved a disclosure of the plans of Herod to them. It was enough that it directed them to "return to their own country another way." With this their history, so far as the N. T. carries us, comes to an end.

It need hardly be said that this part of the Gospel narrative has had to bear the brunt of the attacks of a hostile criticism. The omission of all mention of the Magi in a gospel which enters so fully into all the circumstances of the infancy of Christ as that of St. Luke, and the difficulty of harmonizing this incident with those which he narrates, have been urged as at least throwing suspicion on what St. Matthew alone has recorded. The advocate of a "mythical theory" sees in this almost the strongest confirmation of it (Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, i. p. 272). "There must be prodigies gathering round the cradle of the infant Christ. Other heroes and kings had had their stars, and so must he. He must receive in his childhood the homage of the representatives of other races and creeds. The facts recorded lie outside the range of history, and are not mentioned by any contemporary historian." The answers to these objections may be briefly stated. (1.) Assuming the central fact of the early chapters of St. Matthew, no objection lies against any of its accessories on the ground of their being wonderful and improbable. It would be in harmony with our expectations that there should be signs and wonders indicating its presence. The objection therefore postulates the absolute incredibility of that fact, and begs the point at issue (comp. Trench, *Star of the Wise Men*, p. 124). (2.) The question whether this, or any other given narrative connected with the nativity of Christ, bears upon it the stamp of a *mythus*, is therefore one to be determined by its own merits, on its own evidence; and then the case stands thus: A mythical story is characterized for the most part by a large admixture of what is wild, poetical, fantastic. A comparison of Matt. ii. with the Jewish or Mohammedan legends of a later time, or even with the Christian mythology which afterwards gathered round this very chapter, will show how wide is the distance that separates its simple narrative, without ornament, without exaggeration, from the over flowing luxuriance of those figments (comp. IV below). (3.) The absence of any direct confirmatory evidence in other writers of the time may be accounted for, partly at least, by the want of any full chronicle of the events of the later years of Herod. The momentary excitement of the arrival of such travellers as the Magi, or of the slaughter of some score of children in a small Jewish town, would easily be effaced by the more agitating events that followed [comp. HEROD]. The silence of Josephus is not more conclusive against this fact than it is (assuming the spuriousness of *Ant.* xviii. 4, § 3) against the fact of the Crucifixion and the growth of the sect of the Nazarenes within the walls of Jerusalem.[a] (4.) The more perplexing absence of all mention of the Magi in St. Luke's Gospel may yet receive some probable explanation. So far as we cannot explain it, our ignorance of all, or nearly all, the circumstances of the composition of the Gospels is a sufficient answer. It is, however, at least possible that St. Luke, knowing that the facts related by St. Matthew were already current among the churches,[b] sought rather to add what was not yet recorded. Something too may have been due to the leading thoughts of the two Gospels. St. Matthew, dwelling chiefly on the kingly office of Christ as the Son of David, seizes naturally on the first recognition of that character by the Magi of the East (comp. on the fitness of this Mill, *Pantheistic Principles*, p. 375). St. Luke, portraying the Son of Man in his sympathy with common men, in his compassion on the poor and humble, dwells as naturally on the manifestation to the shepherds on the hills of Bethlehem. It may be added further, that everything tends to show that the latter Evangelist derived the materials for this part of his history much more directly from the *mother* of the Lord, or her kindred, than did the former; and, if so, it is not difficult to understand how she might come to dwell on that which connected itself at once with the eternal blessedness of peace, good-will, salvation, rather than on the homage and offerings of strangers, which seemed to be the presage of an earthly kingdom, and had proved to be the prelude to a life of poverty, and to the death upon the cross.

IV. In this instance, as in others, what is told by the Gospel-writers in plain simple words, has become the nucleus for a whole cycle of legends. A Christian mythology has overshadowed that which itself had nothing in common with it. The love of the strange and marvelous, the eager desire to fill up in detail a narrative which had been left in outline, and to make every detail the representative of an idea — these, which tend everywhere to the growth of the mythical element within the region of history, fixed themselves, naturally enough, precisely on those portions of the life of Christ where the written records were the least complete. The stages

[a] It is perhaps not right to pass over the supposed testimony of heathen authors. These are found (1), in the saying of Augustus, recorded by Macrobius ("It is better to be Herod's swine than his son"), as connected with the slaughter of a child under two years of age. (2.) In the remarkable passage of Chalcidius *Comment. in Timæum*, vii. § 125), alluding to the star which had heralded the birth not of a conqueror or destroyer, but of a divine and righteous king. The facts of the Gospel history may have been mixed up with (1), but the expression of Augustus does not point to anything beyond Herod's domestic tragedies. The genuineness of (2) is questionable; and both are too remote in time to be of any worth as evidence (comp. W. H. Mill, *Pantheistic Principles*, p. 373).

[b] It will be noticed that this is altogether a distinct hypothesis from that which assumes that he had the Gospel of St. Matthew in its present form before him

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of this development present themselves in regular succession.

(1.) The Magi are no longer thought of as simply 'wise men," members of a sacred order. The prophecies of Ps. lxxii.; Is. xlix. 7, 23, lx. 16, must be fulfilled in them, and they become princes ("reguli," Tertull. *c. Jud.* 9; *c. Marc.* 5). This tends more and more to be the dominant thought. When the arrival of the Magi, rather than the birth or the baptism of Christ, as the first of his mighty works, comes to be looked on as the great Epiphany of his divine power, the older title of the feast receives as a synonym, almost as a substitute, that of the Feast of the Three Kings. (2.) The number of the Wise Men, which St. Matthew leaves altogether undefined, was arbitrarily fixed. They were three (Leo Magn. *Serm. ad Epiph.*), because thus they became a symbol of the mysterious Trinity (Hilary of Arles), or because then the number corresponded to the threefold gifts, or to the three parts of the earth, or the three great divisions of the human race descended from the sons of Noah (Bede, *De Collect.*). (3.) Symbolic meanings were found for each of the three gifts. The gold they offered as to a king. With the myrrh they prefigured the bitterness of the Passion, the embalmment for the Burial. With the frankincense they adored the divinity of the Son of God (Suicer, *Thes.* s. v. Μάγοι;[a] *Brev. Rom. in Epiph.* passim). (4.) Later on, in a tradition which, though appearing in a western writer, is traceable probably to reports brought back by pilgrims from Italy or the East, the names are added, and Gaspar, Melchior, and Balthazar, take their place among the objects of Christian reverence, and are honored as the patron saints of travellers. The passage from Bede (*de Collect.*) is, in many ways, interesting, and as it is not commonly quoted by commentators, though often referred to, it may be worth while to give it.[b] "Primus dicitur fuisse Melchior qui senex et canus, barbâ prolixâ et capillis, aurum obtulit regi Domino. Secundus, nomine Gaspar, juvenis imberbis, rubicundus, thure, quasi Deo oblatione dignâ, Deum honoravit. Tertius fuscus, integre barbatus, Baltassar nomine, per myrrham filium hominis moriturum professus." We recognize at once in this description the received types of the early pictorial art of Western Europe. It is open to believe that both the description and the art-types may be traced to early quasi-dramatic representations of the facts of the Nativity. In any such representations names of some kind would become a matter of necessity, and were probably invented at random. Familiar as the names given by Bede now are to us, there was a time when they had no more authority than Bithisarea, Melchior, and Gathaspar (Moroni, Dizion. *s. v.* "Magi"); Magalath, Pangalath, Saracen; Appellius, Amerius, and Damascus, and a score of others (Spanheim, *Dub. Evang* ii. p. 288).[c]

In the Eastern Church, where, it would seem, there was less desire to find symbolic meanings than to magnify the circumstances of the history, the traditions assume a different character. The Magi arrive at Jerusalem with a retinue of 1000 men, having left behind them, on the further bank of the Euphrates, an army of 7000 (Jacob. Edess. and Bar-hebræus, in Hyde, *l. c.*). They have been led to undertake the journey, not by the star only, or by expectations which they shared with Israelites, but by a prophecy of the founder of their own faith. Zoroaster had predicted[d] that in the latter days there should be a Mighty One and a Redeemer, and that his descendants should see the star which should be the herald of his coming. According to another legend (*Opus imperf.* in *Matt.* ii. *apud Chrysost.* t. vi. ed. Montfaucon) they came from the remotest East, near the borders of the ocean. They had been taught to expect the star by a writing that bore the name of Seth. That expectation was handed down from father to son. Twelve of the holiest of them were appointed to be ever on the watch. Their post of observation was a rock known as the Mount of Victory. Night by night they washed in pure water, and prayed, and looked out on the heavens. At last the star appeared, and in it the form of a young child bearing a cross. A voice came from it and bade them proceed to Judæa. They started on their two years' journey, and during all that time the meat and the drink with which they started never failed them. The gifts they bring are those which Abraham gave to their progenitors the sons of Keturah (this, of course, on the hypothesis that they were Arabians), which the queen of Sheba had in her turn presented to Solomon, and which had found their way back again to the children of the East (Epiphan. *in Comp. Doctr.* in Moroni, *Dizion.* l. c.). They return from Bethlehem to their own country, and give themselves up to a life of contemplation and prayer. When the Twelve Apostles leave Jerusalem to carry on their work as preachers, St. Thomas finds them in Parthia. They offer themselves for baptism, and become evangelists of the new faith (*Opus imperf. in Matt.* ii. *l. c.*). The pilgrim-feeling of the 4th century includes them also within its range. Among other relics supplied to meet the demands of the market which the devotion of Helena had created, the bodies of the Magi are discovered somewhere in the East, are brought to Constantinople, and placed in the great church which, as the Mosque of St. Sophia, still bears in its name the witness of its original dedication to the Divine Wisdom. The favor with which the people of

[a] This was the prevalent interpretation: but others read the symbols differently, and with coarser feeling. The gold helped the poverty of the Holy Family. The incense remedied the noisome air of the stable. The myrrh was used, it was said, to give strength and firmness to the bodies of new-born infants (Suicer, *l. c.*).

[b] The treatise *De Collectaneis* is in fact a miscellaneous collection of memoranda in the form of question and answer. The desire to find names for those who have none given them is very noticeable in other instances as well as in that of the Magi: *e. g.*, he gives those of the penitent and impenitent thief. The passage quoted in the text is followed by a description of their dress, taken obviously either from some early painting, or from the decorations of a miracle-play (comp. the account of such a performance in Trench, *Star of the Wise Men*, p. 70). The account of the offerings, it will be noticed, does not agree with the traditional hexameter of the Latin Church: —

"Gaspar fert myrrham, thus Melchior, Balthasar aurum."

[c] Hyde quotes from Bar Bahlul the names of the thirteen who appear in the Eastern traditions. The three which the legends of the West have made famous are not among them.

[d] "Vos autem, O filii mei, ante omnes gentes ortum ejus percepturi estis" (Abulpharagius, *Dynast. Lib* in Hyde, c. 31).

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Milan had received the emperor's prefect Eustorgius called for some special mark of favor, and on his consecration as bishop of that city, he obtained for it the privilege of being the resting-place of the precious relics. There the fame of the three kings increased. The prominence given to all the feasts connected with the season of the Nativity — the transfer to that season of the mirth and joy of the old Saturnalia — the setting apart of a distinct day for the commemoration of the Epiphany in the 4th century[a] — all this added to the veneration with which they were regarded. When Milan fell into the hands of Frederick Barbarossa (A. D. 1162) the influence of the archbishop of Cologne prevailed on the Emperor to transfer them to that city. The Milanese, at a later period, consoled themselves by forming a special confraternity for perpetuating their veneration for the Magi by the annual performance of a "Mystery" (Moroni, *l. c.*); but the glory of possessing the relics of the first Gentile worshippers of Christ remained with Cologne.[b] In that proud cathedral which is the glory of Teutonic art the shrine of the Three Kings has, for six centuries, been shown as the greatest of its many treasures. The tabernacle in which the bones of some whose real name and history are lost forever lie enshrined in honor, bears witness, in its gold and gems, to the faith with which the story of the wanderings of the Three Kings has been received. The reverence has sometimes taken stranger and more grotesque forms. As the patron-saints of travellers they have given a name to the inns of earlier or later date. The names of Melchior, Gaspar, and Balthasar were used as a charm against attacks of epilepsy (Spanheim, *Dub. Evang.* xxi.).

Comp., in addition to authorities already cited, Trench, *Star of the Wise Men;* J. F. Müller, in Herzog's *Real-Encykl.*, s. v. "Magi;" Triebel, *De Magis advenient.*, and Miegius, *De Stella*, etc., in *Crit. Sacri, Thes. Nov.* ii. 111, 118; Stolberg, *Dissert. de Magis;* and Rhoden, *De primis Salv. venerat.*, in *Crit. Sacri, Thes. Theol. Phil.* ii. 69. [On the Magi and on Magism among the Babylonians, see especially Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, iii. 125–136; among the Medes, *ibid.* iii. 218 ff.; among the Persians, *ibid.* iv. 391–395. — On the representations of the Magi (the Three Kings) in works of art, and the legends concerning them, see Mrs. Jameson's *Legends of the Madonna*, 3d ed., pp. 210–222. — H.] E. H. P.

MAGIC, MAGICIANS. The magical arts spoken of in the Bible are those practiced by the Egyptians, the Canaanites, and their neighbors, the Hebrews, the Chaldæans, and probably the Greeks. We therefore begin this article with an endeavor to state the position of magic in relation to religion and philosophy with the several races of mankind.

The degree of the civilization of a nation is not the measure of the importance of magic in its convictions. The natural features of a country are not the primary causes of what is termed superstition in its inhabitants. With nations as with men, — and the analogy of Plato in the "Republic" is not always false, — the feelings on which magic fixes its hold are essential to the mental constitution. Contrary as are these assertions to the common opinions of our time, inductive reasoning forbids our doubting them.

With the lowest race magic is the chief part of religion. The Nigritians, or blacks of this race, show this in their extreme use of amulets and their worship of objects which have no other value in their eyes but as having a supposed magical character through the influence of supernatural agents. With the Turanians, or corresponding whites of the same great family, — we use the word white for a group of nations mainly yellow, in contradistinction to black, — incantations and witchcraft occupy the same place, shamanism characterizing their tribes in both hemispheres. In the days of Herodotus the distinction in this matter between the Nigritians and the Caucasian population of North Africa was what it now is. In his remarkable account of the journey of the Nasamonian young men, — the Nasamones, be it remembered, were "a Libyan race" and dwellers on the northern coast, as the historian here says, — we are told that the adventurers passed through the inhabited maritime region, and the tract occupied by wild beasts, and the desert, and at last came upon a plain with trees, where they were seized by men of small stature who carried them across marshes to a town of such men black in complexion. A great river, running from west to east and containing crocodiles, flowed by that town, and all that nation were sorcerers (*ἐς τοὺς οὗτοι ἀπίκοντο ἀνθρώπους, γόητας εἶναι πάντας*, ii. 32, 33). It little matters whether the conjecture that the great river was the Niger be true, which the idea adopted by Herodotus that it was the Upper Nile seems to favor:[c] it is quite evident that the Nasamones came upon a nation of Nigritians beyond the Great Desert and were struck with their fetishism. So, in our own days, the traveller is astonished at the height to which this superstition is carried among the Nigritians, who have no religious practices that are not of the nature of sorcery, nor any priests who are not magicians, and magicians alone. The strength of this belief in magic in these two great divisions of the lowest race is shown in the case of each by its having maintained its hold in an instance in which its tenacity must have been severely tried. The ancient Egyptians show their partly-Nigritian origin not alone in their physical characteristics and language but in their religion. They retained the strange low nature-worship of the Nigritians, forcibly combining it with more intellectual kinds of belief, as they represented their gods with the heads of animals and the bodies of men, and even connecting it with truths which point to a primeval revelation. The Ritual, which was the great treasury of Egyptian belief and explained the means of gaining future happiness, is full of charms to be said, and contains directions for making and for using amulets. As the Nigritian goes on a journey hung about with amulets, so amulets were placed on the Egyptian's embalmed body, and his soul went on its mysterious way fortified with incantations learnt while on earth. In China, although

[a] The institution of the Feast of the Three Kings is ascribed to Pope Julius. A. D. 336 (Moroni, *Dizion.* c.).

[b] For the later mediæval developments of the traditions. comp. Joan. von Hildesheim in *Quarterly Rev.* cxvm. p. 423.

[c] It is perhaps worthy of note that Æschylus calls the Upper Nile *νοταμὸς Αἰθίοψ*, as though the great Æthiopian river (*Prom. Vinct.* 809; comp. Soph. *Œd. Tyr.* 30).

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Buddhism has established itself, and the system of Confucius has gained the power its positivism would insure it with a highly-educated people of low type, another belief still maintains itself which there is strong reason to hold to be older than the other two, although it is usually supposed to have been of the same age as Confucianism; in this religion magic is of the highest importance, the distinguishing characteristic by which it is known.

With the Shemites magic takes a lower place. Nowhere is it even part of religion; yet it is looked upon as a powerful engine, and generally unlawful or lawful according to the aid invoked. Among many of the Shemitic peoples there linger the remnants of a primitive fetishism. Sacred trees and stones are revereneed from an old superstition, of which they do not always know the meaning, derived from the nations whose place they have taken. Thus fetishism remains, although in a kind of fossil state. The importance of astrology with the Shemites has tended to raise the character of their magic, which deals rather with the discovery of supposed existing influences than with the production of new influences. The only direct association of magic with religion is where the priests, as the educated class, have taken the functions of magicians; but this is far different from the case of the Nigritians, where the magicians are the only priests. The Shemites, however, when depending on human reason alone, seem never to have doubted the efficacy of magical arts, yet recourse to their aid was not usually with them the first idea of a man in doubt. Though the case of Saul cannot be taken as applying to the whole race, yet, even with the heathen Shemites, prayers must have been held to be of more value than incantations.

The Iranians assign to magic a still less important position. It can scarcely be traced in the relics of old nature-worship, which they with greater skill than the Egyptians interwove with their more intellectual beliefs, as the Greeks gave the objects of reverence in Arcadia and Crete a place in poetical myths, and the Scandinavians animated the hard remains of primitive superstition. The character of the ancient belief is utterly gone with the assigning of new reasons for the reverence of its sacred objects. Magic always maintained some hold on men's minds; but the stronger intellects despised it, like the Roman commander who threw the sacred chickens overboard, and the Greek who defied an adverse omen at the beginning of a great battle. When any, oppressed by the sight of the calamities of mankind, sought to resolve the mysterious problem, they fixed, like Æschylus, not upon the childish notion of a chance-government by many conflicting agencies, but upon the nobler idea of a dominating fate. Men of highly sensitive temperaments have always inclined to a belief in magic, and there has therefore been a section of Iranian philosophers in all ages who have paid attention to its practice; but, expelled from religion, it has held but a low and precarious place in philosophy.

The Hebrews had no magic of their own. It was so strictly forbidden by the Law that it could never afterwards have had any recognized existence, save in times of general heresy or apostasy, and the same was doubtless the case in the patriarchal ages. The magical practices which obtained among the Hebrews were therefore borrowed from the nations around. The hold they gained was such as we should have expected with a Shemitic race, making allowance for the discredit thrown upon them by the prohibitions of the Law. From the first entrance into the Land of Promise until the destruction of Jerusalem we have constant glimpses of magic practiced in secret, or resorted to, not alone by the common but also by the great. The Talmud abounds in notices of contemporary magic among the Jews, showing that it survived idolatry notwithstanding their original connection, and was supposed to produce real effects. The Kur-án in like manner treats charms and incantations as capable of producing evil consequences when used against a man.[a] It is a distinctive characteristic of the Bible that from first to last it warrants no such trust or dread. In the Psalms, the most personal of all the books of Scripture, there is no prayer to be protected against magical influences. The believer prays to be delivered from every kind of evil that could hurt the body or the soul, but he says nothing of the machinations of sorcerers. Here and everywhere magic is passed by, or if mentioned, mentioned only to be condemned (comp. Ps. cvi. 28). Let those who affirm that they see in the Psalms merely human piety, and in Job and Ecclesiastes merely human philosophy, explain the absence in them, and throughout the Scriptures, of the expression of superstitious feelings that are inherent in the Shemite mind. Let them explain the luxuriant growth in the after-literature of the Hebrews and Arabs, and notably in the Talmud and the Kur-án, of these feelings with no root in those older writings from which that after-literature was derived. If the Bible, the Talmud, and the Kur-án, be but several expressions of the Shemite mind, differing only through the effect of time, how can this contrast be accounted for? — the very opposite of what obtains elsewhere; for superstitions are generally strongest in the earlier literature of a race, and gradually fade, excepting a condition of barbarism restore their vigor. Those who see in the Bible a Divine work can understand how a God-taught preacher could throw aside the miserable fears of his race, and boldly tell man to trust in his Maker alone. Here, as in all matters, the history of the Bible confirms its doctrine. In the doctrinal Scriptures magic is passed by with contempt, in the historical Scriptures the reasonableness of this contempt is shown. Whenever the practicers of magic attempt to combat the servants of God, they conspicuously fail. Pharaoh's magicians bow to the Divine power shown in the wonders wrought by Moses and Aaron. Balaam, the great enchanter, comes from afar to curse Israel and is forced to bless them.

In examining the mentions of magic in the Bible, we must keep in view the curious inquiry whether there be any reality in the art. We would at the outset protest against the idea, once very prevalent, that the conviction that the seen and unseen worlds were often more manifestly in contact in the Biblical ages than now necessitates a belief in the reality of the magic spoken of in the Scriptures. We do indeed see a connection of a supernatural agency with magic in such a case as that of the damsel possessed with a spirit of divination mentioned in the Acts; yet there the agency

[a] The 113th chapter of the Kur-án was written when Mohammad believed that the magical practices of certain persons had affected him with a kind of rheumatism

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appears to have been involuntary in the damsel, and shrewdly made profitable by her employers. This does not establish the possibility of man being able at his will to use supernatural powers to gain his own ends, which is what magic has always pretended to accomplish. Thus much we premise, lest we should be thought to hold latitudinarian opinions because we treat the reality of magic as an open question.

Without losing sight of the distinctions we have drawn between the magic of different races, we shall consider the notices of the subject in the Bible in the order in which they occur. It is impossible in every case to assign the magical practice spoken of to a particular nation, or, when this can be done, to determine whether it be native or borrowed, and the general absence of details renders any other system of classification liable to error.

The theft and carrying away of Laban's teraphim (תְּרָפִים) by Rachel seems to indicate the practice of magic in Padan-aram at this early time. It appears that Laban attached great value to these objects, from what he said as to the theft, and his determined search for them (Gen. xxxi. 19, 30, 32–35). It may be supposed from the manner in which they were hidden that these teraphim were not very small. The most important point is that Laban calls them his "gods" (*ibid.* 30, 32), although he was not without belief in the true God (24, 49–53); for this makes it almost certain that we have here not an indication of the worship of strange gods, but the first notice of a superstition that afterwards obtained among those Israelites who added corrupt practices to the true religion.[a] The derivation of the name teraphim is extremely obscure. Gesenius takes it from an "unused" root, תָּרַף, which he supposes, from the Arabic, probably signified "to live pleasantly" (*Thes.* s. v.). It may, however, be reasonably conjectured that such a root would have had, if not in Hebrew, in the language whence the Hebrews took it or its derivative, the proper meaning "to dance," corresponding to this, which would then be its tropical meaning.[b] We should prefer, if no other derivation be found, to suppose that the name teraphim might mean "dancers" or "causers of dancing," with reference either to primitive nature-worship[c] or its magical rites of the character of shamanism rather than that it signifies, as Gesenius suggests "givers of pleasant life." There seems, however, to be a cognate word, unconnected with the "unused" root just mentioned, in ancient Egyptian, whence we may obtain a conjectural derivation. We do not of course trace the worship of teraphim to the sojourn in Egypt. They were probably those objects of the pre-Abrahamite idolatry, put away by order of Jacob (Gen. xxxv. 2–4), yet retained even in Joshua's time (Josh. xxiv. 14); and, if so, notwithstanding his exhortation, abandoned only for a space (Judg. xvii., xviii.); and they were also known to the Babylonians, being used by them for divination (Ez. xxi. 21). But there is great reason for supposing a close connection between the oldest language and religion of Chaldæa, and the ancient Egyptian language and religion. The Egyptian word TER signifies "a shape, type, transformation,"[d] and has for its determinative a mummy: it is used in the Ritual, where the various transformations of the deceased in Hades are described (*Todtenbuch*, ed. Lepsius, ch. 76 ff.). The small mummy-shaped figure, SHEBTEE, usually made of baked clay covered with a blue vitreous varnish, representing the Egyptian as deceased, is of a nature connecting it with magic, since it was made with the idea that it secured benefits in Hades; and it is connected with the word TER, for it represents a mummy, the determinative of that word, and was considered to be of use in the state in which the deceased passed through transformations, TERU. The difficulty which forbids our doing more than conjecture a relation between TER and teraphim is the want in the former of the third radical of the latter; and in our present state of ignorance respecting the ancient Egyptian and the primitive language of Chaldæa in their *verbal* relations to the Semitic family it is impossible to say whether it is likely to be explained. The possible connection with the Egyptian religious magic is, however, not to be slighted, especially as it is not improbable that the household idolatry of the Hebrews was ancestral worship, and the SHEBTEE was the image of a deceased man or woman, as a mummy, and therefore as an Osiris, bearing the insignia of that divinity, and so in a manner as a deified dead person, although we do not know that it was used in the ancestral worship

[a] Laban's expression in Gen. xxx. 27, "I have augured" (נִחַשְׁתִּי), may refer to divination; but the context makes it more reasonable not to take it in a literal sense.

[b] The Arabic root تَرَفَ certainly means "he abounded in the comforts of life," and the like, but the corresponding ancient Egyptian word TERF or TERF, "to dance," suggests that this is a tropical signification, especially as in the Indo-European languages, if our "to trip" preserve the proper sense and the Sanskrit *trip* and the Greek τέρπω the tropical sense of the root, we have the same word with the two meanings. We believe also that, in point of age, precedence should be given to the ancient Egyptian word before the Semitic, and that in the former language an objective sense is always the proper sense and a subjective the tropical, when a word is used in both significations. We think that this principle is equally true of the Semitic group, although it may be contested with reference to the Indo-European languages.

[c] In the fragments ascribed to Sanchoniatho, which, whatever their age and author, cannot be doubted to be genuine, the Betulia are characterised in a manner that illustrates this supposition. The Betulia, it must be remembered, were sacred stones, the reverence of which in Syria in the historical times was a relic of the early low nature-worship with which fetishism or shamanism is now everywhere associated. The words used, Ἐπενόησε θεὸς Οὐρανὸ Βαιτύλια, λίθους ἐμψύχους μηχανησάμενος (Cory, *Anc. Frag.* p. 12), cannot be held to mean more than that Uranus contrived living stones, but the idea of contriving and the term "living" imply motion in these stones.

[d] Egyptologists have generally read this word TER. Mr. Birch, however, reads it CHEPER (SHEPER according to the writer's system of transcription). The balance is decided by the discovery of the Coptic equivalent ϣⲞⲢ, "transmutare," in which the absence of the final R is explained by a peculiar but regular modification which the writer was the first to point out (Hieroglyphics *Encyclopædia Britannica* 8th ed. p. 421).

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of the Egyptians. It is important to notice that no singular is found of the word teraphim, and that the plural form is once used where only one statue seems to be meant (1 Sam. xix. 13, 16): in this case it may be a "plural of excellence." If the latter inference be true, this word must have become thoroughly Semiticized. There is no description of these images; but from the account of Michal's stratagem to deceive Saul's messengers, it is evident, if only one image be there meant, as is very probable, that they were at least sometimes of the size of a man, and perhaps in the head and shoulders, if not lower, of human shape, or of a similar form (*Id.* 13–16).

The worship or use of teraphim after the occupation of the Promised Land cannot be doubted to have been one of the corrupt practices of those Hebrews who leant to idolatry, but did not abandon their belief in the God of Israel. Although the Scriptures draw no marked distinction between those who forsook their religion and those who added to it such corruptions, it is evident that the latter always professed to be orthodox. Teraphim therefore cannot be regarded as among the Hebrews necessarily connected with strange gods, whatever may have been the case with other nations. The account of Micah's images in the Book of Judges, compared with a passage in Hosea, shows our conclusion to be correct. In the earliest days of the occupation of the Promised Land, in the time of anarchy that followed Joshua's rule, Micah, "a man of Mount Ephraim," made certain images and other objects of heretical worship, which were stolen from him by those Danites who took Laish and called it Dan, there setting up idolatry, where it continued the whole time that the ark was at Shiloh, the priests retaining their post "until the day of the captivity of the land" (Judg. xvii., xviii., esp. 30, 31). Probably this worship was somewhat changed, although not in its essential character, when Jeroboam set up the golden calf at Dan. Micah's idolatrous objects were a graven image, a molten image, an ephod, and teraphim (xvii. 3, 4, 5, xviii. 17, 18, 20). In Hosea there is a retrospect of this period where the prophet takes a harlot, and commands her to be faithful to him "many days." It is added: "For the children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image [or "pillar," מַצֵּבָה], and without an ephod, and teraphim: afterward shall be children of Israel return, and seek Jehovah their God, and David their king; and shall fear Jehovah and His goodness in the latter days" (iii. esp. 4, 5). The apostate people are long to be without their spurious king and false worship, and in the end are to return to their loyalty to the house of David and their faith in the true God. That Dan should be connected with Jeroboam "who made Israel to sin," and with the kingdom which he founded, is most natural; and it is therefore worthy of note that the images, ephod, and teraphim made by Micah and stolen and set up by the Danites at Dan should so nearly correspond with the objects spoken of by the prophet. It has been imagined that the use of teraphim and the similar abominations of the heretical Israelites are not so strongly condemned in the Scriptures as the worship of strange gods. This mistake arises from the mention of pious kings who did not suppress the high places, which proves only their timidity, and not any lesser sinfulness in the spurious religion than in false systems borrowed from the peoples of Canaan and neighboring countries. The cruel rites of the heathen are indeed especially reprobated, but the heresy of the Israelites is too emphatically denounced, by Samuel in a passage to be soon examined, and in the repeated condemnation of Jeroboam the son of Nebat "who made Israel to sin," for it to be possible that we should take a view of it consistent only with modern sophistry.[a]

We pass to the magical use of teraphim. By the Israelites they were consulted for oracular answers. This was apparently done by the Danites who asked Micah's Levite to inquire as to the success of their spying expedition (Judg. xviii. 5, 6). In later times this is distinctly stated of the Israelites where Zechariah says, "For the teraphim have spoken vanity, and the diviners have seen a lie, and have told false dreams" (x. 2). It cannot be supposed that, as this first positive mention of the use of teraphim for divination by the Israelites is after the return from Babylon, and as that use obtained with the Babylonians in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, therefore the Israelites borrowed it from their conquerors; for these objects are mentioned in earlier places in such a manner that their connection with divination must be intended, if we bear in mind that this connection is undoubted in a subsequent period. Samuel's reproof of Saul for his disobedience in the matter of Amalek, associates "divination" with "vanity," or "idols" (אָוֶן), and "teraphim," however we render the difficult passage where these words occur (1 Sam xv. 22, 23). (The word rendered "vanity," אָוֶן, is especially used with reference to idols, and even in some places stands alone for an idol or idols.) When Saul, having put to death the workers in black arts, finding himself rejected of God in his extremity, sought the witch of Endor, and asked to see Samuel, the prophet's apparition denounced his doom as the punishment of this very disobedience as to Amalek. The reproof would seem, therefore, to have been a prophecy that the self-confident king would at the last alienate himself from God, and take refuge in the very abominations he despised. This apparent reference tends to confirm the inference we have indicated. As to a later time, when Josiah's reform is related, he is said to have put away "the wizards, and the teraphim, and the idols" (2 K. xxiii. 24); where the mention of the teraphim immediately after the wizards, and as distinct from the idols, seems to favor the inference that they are spoken of as objects used in divination.

The only account of the act of divining by teraphim is in a remarkable passage of Ezekiel relating to Nebuchadnezzar's advance against Jerusalem. "Also, thou son of man, appoint thee two ways, that the sword of the king of Babylon may come: both twain [two swords] shall come forth out of

[a] Kalisch, in his *Commentary on Genesis* (pp 533, 534), considers the use of teraphim as a comparatively harmless form of idolatry, and explains the passage in Hosea quoted above as meaning that the Israelites should be deprived not alone of true religion, but even of the resource of their mild household superstitions. He thus entirely misses the sense of the passage and makes the Bible contradictory.

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one land: and choose thou a place, choose [it] at the head of the way to the city. Appoint a way, that the sword may come to Rabbath of the Ammonites, and to Judah in Jerusalem the defenced. For the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination: he shuffled arrows, he consulted with teraphim, he looked in the liver. At his right hand was the divination for Jerusalem" (xxi. 19–22). The mention together of consulting teraphim and looking into the liver, may not indicate that the victim was offered to teraphim and its liver then looked into, but may mean two separate acts of divining. That the former is the right explanation seems, however, probable from a comparison with the LXX. rendering of the account of Michal's stratagem.[a] Perhaps Michal had been divining, and on the coming of the messengers seized the image and liver and hastily put them in the bed. — The accounts which the Rabbins give of divining by teraphim are worthless.

Before speaking of the notices of the Egyptian magicians in Genesis and Exodus, there is one passage that may be examined out of the regular order. Joseph, when his brethren left after their second visit to buy corn, ordered his steward to hide his silver cup in Benjamin's sack, and afterwards sent him after them, ordering him to claim it, thus: "[Is] not this [it] in which my lord drinketh, and whereby indeed he divineth?"[b] (Gen. xliv. 5). The meaning of the latter clause has been contested, Gesenius translating, "he could surely foresee it" (ap. Barrett, *Synopsis*, in loc.), but the other rendering seems far more probable, especially as we read that Joseph afterwards said to his brethren, "Wot ye not that such a man as I can certainly divine?" (xliv. 15), — the same word being used. If so, the reference would probably be to the use of the cup in divining, and we should have to infer that here Joseph was acting on his own judgment [JOSEPH], divination being not alone doubtless a forbidden act, but one of which he when called before Pharaoh had distinctly disclaimed the practice. Two uses of cups or the like for magical purposes have obtained in the East from ancient times. In one use either the cup itself bears engraved inscriptions, supposed to have a magical influence,[c] or it is plain and such inscriptions are written on its inner surface in ink. In both cases water poured into the cup is drunk by those wishing to derive benefit, as, for instance, the cure of diseases, from the inscriptions, which, if written, are dissolved.[d] This use, in both its forms, obtains among the Arabs in the present day, and cups bearing Chaldæan inscriptions in ink have been discovered by Mr. Layard, and probably show that this practice existed among the Jews in Babylonia in about the 7th century of the Christian era.[e] In the other use the cup or bowl was of very secondary importance. It was merely the receptacle for water, in which, after the performance of magical rites, a boy looked to see what the magician desired. This is precisely the same as the practice of the modern Egyptian magicians, where the difference that ink is employed and is poured into the palm of the boy's hand is merely accidental. A Gnostic papyrus in Greek, written in Egypt in the earlier centuries of the Christian era, now preserved in the British Museum, describes the practice of the boy with a bowl, and alleges results strikingly similar to the alleged results of the well-known modern Egyptian magician, whose divination would seem, therefore, to be a relic of the famous magic of ancient Egypt.[f] As this latter use only is of the nature of divination, it is probable that to it Joseph referred. The practice may have been prevalent in his time, and hieroglyphic inscriptions upon the bowl may have given color to the idea that it had magical properties, and perhaps even that it had thus led to the discovery of its place of concealment, a discovery which must have struck Joseph's brethren with the utmost astonishment.

The magicians of Egypt are spoken of as a class in the histories of Joseph and Moses. When Pharaoh's officers were troubled by their dreams, being in prison they were at a loss for an interpreter. Before Joseph explained the dreams he disclaimed the power of interpreting save by the Divine aid, saying, "[Do] not interpretations [belong] to God? tell me [them], I pray you" (Gen. xl. 8). In like manner when Pharaoh had his two dreams we find that he had recourse to those who professed to interpret dreams. We read: "He sent and called for all the scribes of Egypt, and all the wise men thereof: and Pharaoh told them his dream; but [there was] none that could interpret them unto Pharaoh" (xli. 8: comp. ver. 24). Joseph, being sent for on the report of the chief of the cupbearers, was told by Pharaoh that he had heard that he could interpret a dream. Joseph said, "[It is] not in me: God shall give Pharaoh an answer of peace" (ver. 16). Thus, from the expectations of the Egyptians and Joseph's disavowals, we see that the interpretation of dreams was a branch of the knowledge to which the ancient Egyptian magicians pretended. The failure of the Egyptians in the case of Pharaoh's dreams must probably be regarded as the result of their inability to give a satisfactory explanation, for it is unlikely that they refused to attempt to interpret. The two

[a] The Masoretic text reads, "And Michal took the teraphim, and laid [it] upon the bed, and the mattress (כְּבִיר?) of she-goats' [or goats'] hair she put at its head, and she covered [it] with a cloth" [or garment] (1 Sam. xix. 13). The LXX. has "the liver of goats," having apparently found כָּבֵד instead of כְּבִיר. (Καὶ ἔλαβεν ἡ Μελχὸλ τὰ κενοτάφια, καὶ ἔθετο ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην, καὶ ἦπαρ τῶν αἰγῶν ἔθετο πρὸς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκάλυψεν αὐτὰ ἱματίῳ.)

[b] בָּחֹשׁ יְנַחֵשׁ בּוֹ׃

[c] The modern Persians apply the word Jám, signifying a cup, mirror, or even globe, to magical vessels of this kind, and relate marvels of two which they say belonged to their ancient king Jemsheed a d to Alexander the Great. The former of these, called Jám-i-Jem or Jám-i-Jemsheed, is famous in Persian poetry. D'Herbelot quotes a Turkish poet who thus alludes to this belief in magical cups: "When I shall have been illuminated by the light of heaven my soul will become the mirror of the world, in which I shall discover the most hidden secrets" (*Bibliothèque Orientale*, s. v. "Giam").

[d] *Modern Egyptians*, 5th edit. chap. xi.

[e] *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 509, &c. There is an excellent paper on these bowls by Dr. Levy of Breslau, in the *Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morgenland. Gesellschaft*, ix. p. 465, &c.

[f] See the *Modern Egyptians*, 5th edit. chap. xii. for an account of the performances of this magician, and Mr. Lane's opinion as to the causes of their occasional apparent success.

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words used to designate the interpreters sent for by Pharaoh are חַרְטֻמִּים, "scribes" (?) and חֲכָמִים, "wise men."[a]

We again hear of the magicians of Egypt in the narrative of the events before the Exodus. They were summoned by Pharaoh to oppose Moses. The account of what they effected requires to be carefully examined, from its bearing on the question whether magic be an imposture. We read: "And the Lord spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, When Pharaoh shall speak unto you, saying, Show a miracle for you: then thou shalt say unto Aaron, Take thy rod, and cast [it] before Pharaoh, [and] it shall become a serpent."[b] It is then related that Aaron did thus, and afterwards: "Then Pharaoh also called the wise men[c] and the enchanters:[d] now they, the scribes[e] of Egypt, did so by their secret arts:[f] for they cast down every man his rod, and they became serpents, but Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods" (Ex. vii. 8–12). The rods were probably long staves like those represented on the Egyptian monuments, not much less than the height of a man. If the word used mean here a serpent, the Egyptian magicians may have feigned a change: if it signify a crocodile they could scarcely have done so. The names by which the magicians are designated are to be noted. That which we render "scribes" seems here to have a general signification, including wise men and enchanters. The last term is more definite in its meaning, denoting users of incantations.[g] On the occasion of the first plague, the turning the rivers and waters of Egypt into blood, the opposition of the magicians again occurs. "And the scribes of Egypt did so by their secret arts" (vii. 22). When the second plague, that of frogs, was sent, the magicians again made the same opposition (viii. 7). Once more they appear in the history. The plague of lice came, and we read that when Aaron had worked the wonder the magicians opposed him: "And the scribes did so by their secret arts to bring forth the lice, but they could not: so there were lice upon man and upon beast. And the scribes said unto Pharaoh, This [is] the finger of God: but Pharaoh's heart was hardened, and he hearkened not unto them, as the Lord had said" (viii. 18, 19, Heb. 14, 15). After this we hear no more of the magicians. All we can gather from the narrative is that the appearances produced by them were sufficient to deceive Pharaoh on three occasions. It is nowhere declared that they actually produced wonders, since the expression "the scribes did so by their secret arts" is used on the occasion of their complete failure. Nor is their statement that in the wonders wrought by Aaron they saw the finger of God any proof that they recognized a power superior to the native objects of worship they invoked, for we find that the Egyptians frequently spoke of a supreme being as God. It seems rather as though they had said, "Our juggles are of no avail against the work of a divinity." There is one later mention of these transactions, which adds to our information, but does not decide the main question. St. Paul mentions Jannes and Jambres as having "withstood Moses," and says that their folly in doing so became manifest (2 Tim. iii. 8, 9). The Egyptian character of these names, the first of which is, in our opinion, found in hieroglyphics, does not favor the opinion, which seems inconsistent with the character of an inspired record, that the Apostle cited a prevalent tradition of the Jews. [JANNES AND JAMBRES.]

We turn to the Egyptian illustrations of this part of the subject. Magic, as we have before remarked, was inherent in the ancient Egyptian religion. The Ritual is a system of incantations and directions for making amulets, with the object of securing the future happiness of the disembodied soul. However obscure the belief of the Egyptians as to the actual character of the state of the soul after death may be to us, it cannot be doubted that the knowledge and use of the magical amulets and incantations treated of in the Ritual was held to be necessary for future happiness, although it was not believed that they alone could ensure it, since to have done good works, or, more strictly, not to have committed certain sins, was an essential condition

[a] The former word is difficult of explanation. It is to be noticed that it is also used for a class of the Babylonian *magi* (Dan. i. 20, ii. 2); so that it can scarcely be supposed to be an Egyptian word Hebraized. Egyptian equivalents have however been sought for; and Jablonsky suggests ερχωλλ, *thaumaturgus*, and Ignatius Rossi cλρεcτωλλ "guardian of secret things" (ap. Ges. *Thes.* s. v.), both of which are far too unlike the Hebrew to have any probability. To derive it from the Persian خردمند, "endued with wisdom," when occurring in Daniel, is puerile, as Gesenius admits. He suggests a Hebrew origin, and takes it either from חֶרֶט, "a pen or stylus," and ם—formative, or supposes it to be a quadriliteral, formed from the triliteral חָרַם, the "unused" root of חֶרֶם, and חָרַם, "he or it was sacred." The former seems far more probable at first sight; and the latter would not have had any weight were it not for its likeness to the Greek ἱερογραμματεύς, used of Egyptian religious scribes; a resemblance which, moreover, loses much of its value when we find that in hieroglyphics there is no exactly corresponding expression. Notwithstanding these Hebrew derivations, Gesenius inclines to the idea that a similar Egyptian word was imitated: instancing Abrech, Moses, and behemoth (אַבְרֵךְ, מֹשֶׁה, בְּהֵמוֹת); but no one of these can be proved to be Egyptian in origin, and there is no strong ground for seeking any but a Hebrew etymology for the second and third (*Thes.* l. c.). The most similar word is Hashmannim, חַשְׁמַנִּים (Ps. lxviii. 31, Heb. 32), which we suppose to be Egyptian, meaning Hermopolites, with perhaps, in the one place where it occurs, a reference to the wisdom of the citizens of Hermopolis Magna, the city of Thoth, the Egyptian Hermes. [HASHMANNIM.] We prefer to keep to the Hebrew derivation simply from חֶרֶם, and to read "scribes," the idea of magicians being probably understood. The other word, חַכָמִים, does not seem to mean any special class, but merely the wise men of Egypt generally.

[b] הַגֵּוִן. [c] חֲכָמִים. [d] מְכַשְּׁפִים.

[e] חַרְטֻמִּים. [f] לְהֲטֵיהֶם.

[g] The word לָטִים, elsewhere לְטֻמִים (ver. 22 viii. 7, 18, Heb. 3, 14), signifies "secret" or "hidden arts," from לוּט (לָאַט), "he or it covered over, hid, or wrapped up."

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at the acquittal of the soul in the great trial in Hades. The thoroughly magical character of the Ritual is most strikingly evident in the minute directions given for making amulets (*Todtenbuch*, ch. 100, 129, 134), and the secrecy enjoined in one case to those thus occupied (133). The later chapters of the Ritual (163–165), held to have been added after the compilation or composition of the rest, which theory, as M. Chabas has well remarked, does not prove their much more modern date (*Le Papyrus Magique Harris*, p. 162), contain mystical names not bearing an Egyptian etymology. These names have been thought to be Ethiopian; they either have no signification, and are mere magical gibberish, or else they are, mainly at least, of foreign origin. Besides the Ritual, the ancient Egyptians had books of a purely magical character, such as that which M. Chabas has just edited in his work referred to above. The main source of their belief in the efficacy of magic appears to have been the idea that the souls of the dead, whether justified or condemned, had the power of revisiting the earth and taking various forms. This belief is abundantly used in the moral tale of "The Two Brothers," of which the text has been recently published by the Trustees of the British Museum (*Select Papyri*, Part II.), and we learn from this ancient papyrus the age and source of much of the machinery of mediæval fictions, both eastern and western. A likeness that strikes us at once in the case of a fiction is not less true of the Ritual; and the perils encountered by the soul in Hades are the first rude indications of the adventures of the heroes of Arab and German romance. The regions of terror traversed, the mystic portals that open alone to magical words, and the monsters whom magic alone can deprive of their power to injure, are here already in the book that in part was found in the reign of king Mencheres four thousand years ago. Bearing in mind the Nigritian nature of Egyptian magic, we may look for the source of these ideas in primitive Africa. There we find the realities of which the ideal form is not greatly distorted, though greatly intensified. The forests that clothe the southern slopes of snowy Atlas, full of fierce beasts; the vast desert, untenanted save by harmful reptiles, swept by sand-storms, and ever burning under an unchanging sun; the marshes of the south, teeming with brutes of vast size and strength, are the several zones of the Egyptian Hades. The creatures of the desert and the plains and slopes, the crocodile, the pachydermata, the lion, perchance the gorilla, are the genii that hold this land of fear. In what dread must the first scanty population have held dangers and enemies still feared by their swarming posterity. No wonder then that the imaginative Nigritians were struck with a superstitious fear that certain conditions of external nature always produce with races of a low type, where a higher feeling would only be touched by the analogies of life and death, of time and eternity. No wonder that, so struck, the primitive race imagined the evils of the unseen world to be the recurrence of those against which they struggled while on earth. That there is some ground for our theory, besides the generalization which led us to it, is shown by a usual Egyptian name of Hades, "the West;" and that the wild regions west of Egypt might directly give birth to such fancies as form the common ground of the machinery, not the general belief, of the Ritual, as well as of the machinery of mediæval fiction, is shown by the fables that the rude Arabs of our own day tell of the wonders they have seen.

Like all nations who have practiced magic generally, the Egyptians separated it into a lawful kind and an unlawful. M. Chabas has proved this from a papyrus which he finds to contain an account of the prosecution, in the reign of Rameses III. (B. C. cir. 1220), of an official for unlawfully acquiring and using magical books, the king's property. The culprit was convicted and punished with death (p. 169 ff.).

A belief in unlucky and lucky days, in actions to be avoided or done on certain days, and in the fortune attending birth on certain days, was extremely strong, as we learn from a remarkable ancient calendar (*Select Papyri*, Part I.) and the evidence of writers of antiquity. A religious prejudice, or the occurrence of some great calamity, probably lay at the root of this observance of days. Of the former, the birthday of Typhon, the fifth of the Epagomenæ, is an instance. Astrology was also held in high honor, as the calendars of certain of the tombs of the kings, stating the positions of the stars and their influence on different parts of the body, show us; but it seems doubtful whether this branch of magical arts is older than the XVIIIth dynasty, although certain stars were held in reverence in the time of the IVth dynasty. The belief in omens probably did not take an important place in Egyptian magic, if we may judge from the absence of direct mention of them. The superstition as to "the evil eye" appears to have been known, but there is nothing else that we can class with phenomena of the nature of animal magnetism. Two classes of learned men had the charge of the magical books: one of these, the name of which has not been read phonetically, would seem to correspond to the "scribes," as we render the word, spoken of in the history of Joseph; whereas the other has the general sense of "wise men," like the other class there mentioned.[a]

There are no representations on the monuments that can be held to relate directly to the practice of this art, but the secret passages in the thickness of the wall, lately opened in the great temple of Dendarah, seem to have been intended for some purpose of imposture.

The Law contains very distinct prohibitions of all magical arts. Besides several passages condemning them, in one place there is a specification which is so full that it seems evident that its object is to include every kind of magical art. The reference is to the practices of Canaan, not to those of Egypt, which indeed do not seem to have been brought away by the Israelites, who, it may be remarked, apparently did not adopt Egyptian idolatry, but only that of foreigners settled in Egypt. [REMPHAN.]

The Israelites are commanded, in the place referred to, not to learn the abominations of the peoples of the Promised Land. Then follows this prohibition: "There shall not be found with thee one who offereth his son or his daughter by fire, a

[a] For the facts respecting Egyptian magic here stated we are greatly indebted to M. Chabas' remarkable work. We do not, however, agree with some of his deductions; and the theory we have put forth of the origin of Egyptian magic is purely our own.

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practicer of divinations (לֹקֵם קְסָמִים), a worker of hidden arts (מְעוֹנֵן), an augurer (מְנַחֵשׁ), an enchanter (מְכַשֵּׁף), or a fabricator of charms (חֹבֵר חָבֶר), or an inquirer by a familiar spirit (שֹׁאֵל אוֹב), or a wizard (יִדְּעֹנִי), or a consulter of the dead (דֹּרֵשׁ אֶל־הַמֵּתִים)." It is added that these are abominations, and that on account of their practice the nations of Canaan were to be driven out (Deut. xviii. 9–14, esp. 10, 11). It is remarkable that the offering of children should be mentioned in connection with magical arts. The passage in Micah, which has been supposed to preserve a question of Balak and an answer of Balaam, when the soothsayer was sent for to curse Israel, should be here noticed, for the questioner asks, after speaking of sacrifices of usual kinds, "Shall I give my first-born [for] my transgression, the fruit of my body [for] the sin of my soul?" (vi. 5–8). Perhaps, however, child-sacrifice is specified on account of its atrocity, which would connect it with secret arts, which we know were frequently in later times the causes of cruelty. The terms which follow appear to refer properly to eight different kinds of magic, but some of them are elsewhere used in a general sense. 1. לֹקֵם קְסָמִים is literally "a diviner of divinations." The verb קָסַם is used of false prophets, but also in a general sense for divining, as in the narrative of Saul's consultation of the witch of Endor, where the king says "divine unto me (קָסְמִי־נָא לִי בָּאוֹב), I pray thee, by the familiar spirit" (1 Sam. xxviii. 8). 2. מְעוֹנֵן conveys the idea of "one who acts covertly," and so "a worker of hidden arts." The meaning of the root עָנַן is covering, and the supposed connection with fascination by the eyes, like the notion of "the evil eye," as though the original root were "the eye" (עַיִן), seems untenable.[a] 3. מְנַחֵשׁ, which we render "an augurer," is from נָחַשׁ, which is literally "he or it hissed or whispered," and in Piel is applied to the practice of enchantments, but also to divining generally, as in the case of Joseph's cup, and where, evidently referring to it, he tells his brethren that he could divine, although in both places it has been read more vaguely with the sense to foresee or make trial (Gen. xliv. 5, 15). We therefore render it by a term which seems appropriate but not too definite. The supposed connection of נָחַשׁ with נָחָשׁ, "a serpent," as though meaning serpent-divination, must be rejected, the latter word rather coming from the former, with the signification "a hisser."[b] 4. מְכַשֵּׁף signifies "an enchanter:" the original meaning of the verb was probably "he prayed," and the strict sense of this word "one who uses incantations." 5. חֹבֵר חָבֶר seems to mean "a fabricator of material charms or amulets," if חָבַר, when used of practicing sorcery, means to bind magical knots, and not to bind a person by spells. 6. שֹׁאֵל אוֹב is "an inquirer by a familiar spirit." The second term signifies a bottle,[c] a familiar spirit consulted by a soothsayer, and a soothsayer having a familiar spirit. The LXX. usually render the plural אבות by ἐγγαστριμύθοι, which has been rashly translated ventriloquists, for it may not signify what we understand by the latter, but refer to the mode in which soothsayers of this kind gave out their responses: to this subject we shall recur later. The consulting of familiar spirits may mean no more than invoking them; but in the Acts we read of a damsel possessed with a spirit of divination (xvi. 16–18) in very distinct terms. This kind of sorcery — divination by a familiar spirit — was practiced by the witch of Endor. 7. יִדְּעֹנִי, which we render "a wizard," is properly "a wise man," but is always applied to wizards and false prophets. Gesenius (*Thes.* s. v.) supposes that in Lev. xx. 27 it is used of a familiar spirit, but surely the reading "a wizard" is there more probable. 8. The last term, דֹּרֵשׁ אֶל־הַמֵּתִים, is very explicit, meaning "a consulter of the dead:" necromancer is an exact translation if the original signification of the latter is retained, instead of the more general one it now usually bears. In the Law it was commanded that a man or woman who had a familiar spirit, or a wizard, should be stoned (Lev. xx. 27). An "enchantress" (מְכַשֵּׁפָה) was not to live (Ex. xxii. 18; Heb. 17). Using augury and hidden arts was also forbidden (Lev. xix. 26).

The history of Balaam shows the belief of some ancient nations in the powers of soothsayers. When the Israelites had begun to conquer the Land of Promise, Balak the king of Moab and the elders of Midian, resorting to Pharaoh's expedient, sent by messengers with "the rewards of divination (קְסָמִים) in their hands" (Num. xxii. 7) for Balaam the diviner (הַקּוֹסֵם, Josh. xiii. 22), whose fame was known to them though he dwelt in Aram. Balak's message shows what he believed Balaam's powers to be: "Behold, there is a people come out from Egypt: behold, they cover the face of the earth, and they abide over against me: come now therefore, I pray thee, curse me this people; for they [are] too mighty for me: peradventure I shall prevail, [that] we may smite them, and [that] I may drive them out of the land: for I wot that he whom thou blessest [is] blessed: and he whom thou cursest is cursed" (Num. xxii. 5, 6). We are told, however, that Balaam, warned of God, first

[a] The ancient Egyptians seem to have held the superstition of the evil eye, for an eye is the determinative of a word which appears to signify some kind of magic (Chabas, *Papyrus Magique Harris*, p. 170 and note 4).

[b] The name Nahshon (נַחְשׁוֹן), of a prince of Judah in the second year after the Exodus (Num. i. 7; Ex. vi. 23; Ruth iv. 20, &c.), means "enchanter": it was probably used as a proper name in a vague sense.

[c] This meaning suggests the probability that the Arab idea of the evil Jinn having been inclosed in bottles by Solomon was derived from some Jewish tradition.

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said that he could not speak of himself, and then by inspiration blessed those whom he had been sent for to curse. He appears to have received inspiration in a vision or a trance. In one place it is said, "And Balaam saw that it was good in the eyes of the LORD to bless Israel, and he went not, now as before, to the meeting enchantments (נְחָשִׁים), but he set his face to the wilderness" (xxiv. 1). From this it would seem that it was his wont to use enchantments, and that when on other occasions he went away after the sacrifices had been offered, he hoped that he could prevail to obtain the wish of those who had sent for him, but was constantly defeated. The building new altars of the mystic number of seven, and the offering of seven oxen and seven rams, seem to show that Balaam had some such idea; and the marked manner in which he declared "there is no enchantment (נָחָשׁ) against Jacob, and no divination (קֶסֶם) against Israel" (xxiii. 23), that he had come in the hope that they would have availed, the diviner here being made to declare his own powerlessness while he blessed those whom he was sent for to curse. The case is a very difficult one, since it shows a man who was used as an instrument of declaring God's will trusting in practices that could only have incurred his displeasure. The simplest explanation seems to be that Balaam was never a true prophet but on this occasion, when the enemies of Israel were to be signally confounded. This history affords a notable instance of the failure of magicians in attempting to resist the Divine will.

The account of Saul's consulting the witch of Endor is the foremost place in Scripture of those which refer to magic. The supernatural terror with which it is full cannot however be proved to be due to this art, for it has always been held by sober critics that the appearing of Samuel was permitted for the purpose of declaring the doom of Saul, and not that it was caused by the incantations of a sorceress. As, however, the narrative is allowed to be very difficult, we may look for a moment at the evidence of its authenticity. The details are strictly in accordance with the age: there is a simplicity in the manners described that is foreign to a later time. The circumstances are agreeable with the rest of the history, and especially with all we know of Saul's character. Here, as ever, he is seen resolved to gain his ends without caring what wrong he does; he wishes to consult a prophet, and asks a witch to call up his shade. Most of all, the vigor of the narrative, showing us the scene in a few words, proves its antiquity and genuineness. We can see no reason whatever for supposing that it is an interpolation.

"Now Samuel was dead, and all Israel had lamented him, and buried him in Ramah, even in his own city. And Saul had put away those that had familiar spirits, and the wizards, out of the land. And the Philistines gathered themselves together, and came and pitched in Shunem; and Saul gathered all Israel together, and they pitched in Gilboa." That the Philistines should have advanced so far, spreading in the plain of Esdraelon, the garden of the Holy Land, shows the straits to which Saul had come. Here in times of faith Sisera was defeated by Barak, and the Midianites were smitten by Gideon, some of the army of the former perishing at En-dor itself (Ps. lxxxiii. 9, 10). "And when Saul saw the host of the Philistines, he was afraid, and his heart greatly trembled. And when Saul inquired of the LORD, the LORD answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets. Then said Saul unto his servants, Seek me a woman that hath a familiar spirit, that I may go to her, and enquire of her. And his servants said to him, Behold, [there is] a woman that hath a familiar spirit at En-dor. And Saul disguised himself, and put on other raiment, and he went, and two men with him, and they came to the woman by night." En-dor lay in the territory of Issachar, about 7 or 8 miles to the northward of Mount Gilboa. Its name, the "fountain of Dor," may connect it with the Phœnician city Dor, which was on the coast to the westward.[a] If so, it may have retained its stranger-population, and been therefore chosen by the witch as a place where she might with less danger than elsewhere practice her arts. It has been noticed that the mountain on whose slope the modern village stands is hollowed into rock-hewn caverns, in one of which the witch may probably have dwelt. [EN-DOR.] Saul's disguise, and his journeying by night, seem to have been taken that he might not alarm the woman, rather than because he may have passed through a part of the Philistine force. The Philistines held the plain, having their camp at Shunem, whither they had pushed on from Aphek: the Israelites were at first encamped by a fountain at Jezreel, but when their enemies had advanced to Jezreel they appear to have retired to the slopes of Gilboa, whence there was a way of retreat either into the mountains to the south, or across Jordan. The latter seems to have been the line of flight, as, though Saul was slain on Mount Gilboa, his body was fastened to the wall of Beth-shan. Thus Saul could have scarcely reached En-dor without passing at least very near the army of the Philistines. "And he said, Divine unto me, I pray thee, by the familiar spirit, and bring me [him] up, whom I shall name unto thee." It is noticeable that here witchcraft, the inquiring by a familiar spirit, and necromancy, are all connected as though but a single art, which favors the idea that the prohibition in Deuteronomy specifies every name by which magical arts were known, rather than so many different kinds of arts, in order that no one should attempt to evade the condemnation of such practices by any subterfuge. It is evident that Saul thought he might be able to call up Samuel by the aid of the witch; but this does not prove what was his own general conviction, or the prevalent conviction of the Israelites on the subject. He was in a great extremity: his kingdom in danger: himself forsaken of God: he was weary with a night-journey, perhaps of risk, perhaps of great length to avoid the enemy, and faint with a day's fasting: he was conscious of wrong as, probably for the first time, he commanded unholy rites and heard in the gloom unholy incantations. In such a strait no man's judgment is steady, and Saul may have asked to see Samuel in a moment of sudden desperation when he had only meant to demand an oracular answer. It may even be thought that, yearning for the counsel of Samuel, and longing to learn if the net that he felt closing about him were one from which he should never escape, Saul had that keener sense that some say comes in the last

[a] Dor is said to have taken its name from Dorus, a son of Neptune, whose name reminds one of Taras, the founder of Tarentum.

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hours of life, and so, conscious that the prophet's shade was near, or was about to come, at once sought to see and speak with it, though this had not been before purposed. Strange things we know occur at the moment when man feels he is about to die,[a] and if there be any time when the unseen world is felt while yet unentered, it is when the soul comes first within the chill of its long-projected shadow. "And the woman said unto him, Behold, thou knowest what Saul hath done, how he hath cut off those that have familiar spirits, and the wizards, out of the land: wherefore then layest thou a snare for my life, to cause me to die? And Saul sware to her by the LORD, saying, [As] the LORD liveth, there shall no punishment happen to thee for this thing." Nothing more shows Saul's desperate resolution than his thus swearing when engaged in a most unholy act — a terrible profanity that makes the horror of the scene complete. Everything being prepared, the final act takes place. "Then said the woman, Whom shall I bring up unto thee? And he said, Bring me up Samuel. And when the woman saw Samuel, she cried with a loud voice: and the woman spake to Saul, saying, Why hast thou deceived me? for thou [art] Saul. And the king said unto her, Be not afraid: for what sawest thou? And the woman said unto Saul, I saw gods ascending out of the earth. And he said unto her, What [is] his form? And she said, An old man cometh up; and he [is] covered with a mantle. And Saul perceived that it [was] Samuel, and he stooped with [his] face to the ground, and bowed himself. And Samuel said to Saul, Why hast thou disquieted [or "disturbed"] me, to bring me up? And Saul answered, I am sore distressed; for the Philistines make war against me, and God is departed from me, and answereth me no more, neither by prophets, nor by dreams: therefore I have called thee, that thou mayest make known unto me what I shall do. Then said Samuel, Wherefore then dost thou ask of me, seeing the LORD is departed from thee, and is become thine enemy? And the LORD hath done to him, as he spake by me: for the LORD hath rent the kingdom out of thine hand, and given it to thy neighbor, [even] to David: because thou obeyedst not the voice of the LORD, nor executedst his fierce wrath upon Amalek, therefore hath the LORD done this thing unto thee this day. Moreover, the LORD will also deliver Israel with thee into the hand of the Philistines: and to-morrow [shalt] thou and thy sons [be] with me: the LORD also shall deliver the host of Israel into the hand of the Philistines. Then Saul fell straightway all along on the earth, and was sore afraid, because of the words of Samuel: and there was no strength in him; for he had eaten no bread all the day, nor all the night" (1 Sam. xxviii. 3–20). The woman clearly was terrified by an unexpected apparition when she saw Samuel. She must therefore either have been a mere juggler, or one who had no power of working magical wonders at will. The sight of Samuel at once showed her who had come to consult her. The prophet's shade seems to have been preceded by some unearthly shapes which the witch called gods. Saul, as it seems, interrupting her, asked his form, and she described the prophet as he was in his last days on earth, an old man, covered either with a mantle, such as the prophets used to wear, or wrapped in his winding-sheet. Then Saul knew it was Samuel, and bowed to the ground, from respect or fear. It seems that the woman saw the appearances, and that Saul only knew of them through her, perhaps not daring to look, else why should he have asked what form Samuel had? The prophet's complaint we cannot understand, in our ignorance as to the separate state: thus much we know, that state is always described as one of perfect rest or sleep. That the woman should have been able to call him up cannot be hence inferred; her astonishment shows the contrary; and it would be explanation enough to suppose that he was sent to give Saul the last warning, or that the earnestness of the king's wish had been permitted to disquiet him in his resting-place. Although the word "disquieted" need not be pushed to an extreme sense, and seems to mean the interruption of a state of rest, our translators wisely, we think, preferring this rendering to "disturbed," it cannot be denied that, if we hold that Samuel appeared, this is a great difficulty. If, however, we suppose that the prophet's coming was ordered, it is not unsurmountable. The declaration of Saul's doom agrees with what Samuel had said before, and was fulfilled the next day, when the king and his sons fell on Mount Gilboa. It may, however, be asked — Was the apparition Samuel himself, or a supernatural messenger in his stead? Some may even object to our holding it to have been aught but a phantom of a sick brain; but if so, what can we make of the woman's conviction that it was Samuel, and the king's horror at the words he heard, or, as these would say, that he thought he heard? It was not only the hearing his doom, but the hearing it in a voice from the other world that stretched the faithless strong man on the ground. He must have felt the presence of the dead, and heard the sound of a sepulchral voice. How else could the doom have come true, and not the king alone, but his sons, have gone to the place of disembodied souls on the morrow? for to be with the dead concerned the soul, not the body: it is no difficulty that the king's corpse was unburied till the generous men of Jabesh-gilead, mindful of his old kindness, rescued it from the wall of Bethshan. If then the apparition was real, should we suppose it Samuel's? A reasonable criticism would say it seems to have been so; (for the supposition that a messenger came in his stead must be rejected, as it would make the speech a mixture of truth and untruth;) and if asked what sufficient cause there was for such a sending forth of the prophet from his rest, would reply that we

[a] We may instance the well-known circumstance that men who have been near death by drowning have asserted that in the last moments of consciousness all the events of their lives have passed before their minds. A friend of the writer assured him that he experienced this sensation, whenever he had a very bad fall in hunting, while he was actually falling. This is alluded to in the epitaph —

"Between the saddle and the ground,
I mercy sought, and mercy found."

If this phenomenon be not involuntary, but the result of an effort of will, then there is no reason why it should be confined to the last moments of consciousness. A man sure of his doom might be in this peculiar and unexplained mental state long before. Perhaps however, the mind before death experiences a change of condition, just as, conversely, every physical function does not cease at once with what we term its solution.

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know not the reason for such warnings as abound in the Bible, and that perhaps even at the eleventh hour, the door of repentance was not closed against the king, and his impiety might have been pardoned had he repented. Instead, he went forth in despair, and, when his sons had fallen and his army was put to the rout, sore wounded fell on his own sword.

From the beginning to the end of this strange history we have no warrant for attributing supernatural power to magicians. Viewed reasonably, it refers to the question of apparitions of the dead, as to which other places in the Bible leave no doubt. The connection with magic seems purely accidental. The witch is no more than a bystander after the first: she sees Samuel, and that is all. The apparition may have been a terrible fulfillment of Saul's desire, but this does not prove that the measures he used were of any power. We have examined the narrative very carefully, from its detail and its remarkable character: the result leaves the main question unanswered.

In the later days of the two kingdoms magical practices of many kinds prevailed among the Hebrews, as we especially learn from the condemnation of them by the prophets. Every form of idolatry which the people had adopted in succession doubtless brought with it its magic, which seems always to have remained with a strange tenacity that probably made it outlive the false worship with which it was connected. Thus the use of teraphim, dating from the patriarchal age, was not abandoned when the worship of the Canaanite, Phœnician, and Syrian idols had been successively adopted. In the historical books of Scripture there is little notice of magic, excepting that wherever the false prophets are mentioned we have no doubt an indication of the prevalence of magical practices. We are especially told of Josiah that he put away the workers with familiar spirits, the wizards, and the teraphim, as well as the idols and the other abominations of Judah and Jerusalem, in performance of the commands of the book of the Law which had been found (2 K. xxiii. 24). But in the prophets we find several notices of the magic of the Hebrews in their times, and some of the magic of foreign nations. Isaiah says that the people had become "workers of hidden arts (עֹנְנִים) like the Philistines," and apparently alludes in the same place to the practice of magic by the Bene-Kedem (ii. 6). The nation had not only abandoned true religion, but had become generally addicted to magic in the manner of the Philistines, whose Egyptian origin [CAPHTOR] is consistent with such a condition. The origin of the Bene-Kedem is doubtful, but it seems certain that as late as the time of the Egyptian wars in Syria, under the XIXth dynasty, B. C. cir. 1300, a race, partly at least Mongolian, inhabited the valley of the Orontes,[a] among whom therefore we should again expect a national practice of magic, and its prevalence with their neighbors. Balaam, too, dwelt with the Bene-Kedem, though he may not have been of their race. In another place the prophet reproves the people for seeking "unto them that have familiar spirits, and unto the wizards that chirp, and that mutter" (viii. 19). The practices of one class of magicians are still more distinctly described, where it is thus said of Jerusalem: "And I will camp against thee round about, and will lay siege against thee with a mount, and I will raise forts against thee. And thou shalt be brought down, [and] shalt speak out of the ground, and thy speech shall be low out of the dust, and thy voice shall be, as of one that hath a familiar spirit, out of the ground, and thy speech shall whisper out of the dust" (xxix. 3, 4). Isaiah alludes to the magic of the Egyptians when he says that in their calamity "they shall seek to the idols, and to the charmers [אִטִּים (?)],[b] and to them that have familiar spirits, and to the wizards" (xix. 3). And in the same manner he thus taunts Babylon: "Stand now with thy charms, and with the multitude of thine enchantments, wherein thou hast labored from thy youth; if so be thou shalt be able to profit, if so be thou mayest prevail. Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels. Let now the viewers of the heavens [or astrologers], the stargazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from [these things] that shall come upon thee" (xlvii. 12, 13). The magic of Babylon is here characterized by the prominence given to astrology, no magicians being mentioned excepting practicers of this art; unlike the case of the Egyptians, with whom astrology seems always to have held a lower place than with the Chaldæan nation. In both instances the folly of those who seek the aid of magic is shown.

Micah, declaring the judgments coming for the crimes of his time, speaks of the prevalence of divination among prophets who most probably were such pretended prophets as the opponents of Jeremiah, not avowed prophets of idols, as Ahab's seem to have been. Concerning these prophets it is said, "Night [shall be] unto you, that ye shall not have a vision: and it shall be dark unto you, that ye shall not divine; and the sun shall go down over the prophets, and the day shall be dark over them. Then shall the seers be ashamed, and the diviners confounded: yea, they shall all cover their lip; for [there is] no answer of God" (iii. 6, 7). Later it is said as to Jerusalem, "The heads thereof judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money: yet will they lean upon the LORD, and say, [Is] not the LORD among us? none evil can come upon us" (ver. 11). These prophets seem to have practiced unlawful arts, and yet to have expected revelations.

Jeremiah was constantly opposed by false prophets, who pretended to speak in the name of the Lord, saying that they had dreamt when they told false visions, and who practiced various magical arts (xiv. 14, xxiii. 25, *ad fin.*, xxvii. 9, 10,—where the several designations applied to those who counselled the people not to serve the king of Babylon may be used in contempt of the false prophets—xxix. 8, 9).

Ezekiel, as we should have expected, affords some remarkable details of the magic of his time, in the clear and forcible descriptions of his visions. From him we learn that fetishism was among the idolatries which the Hebrews, in the latest days of the

[a] Let those who doubt this examine the representation in Rosellini's *Monumenti Storici*, l. pl. lxxxviii. seq. of the great battle between Rameses II. and the Hittites and their confederates, near KETESH, on the Orontes.

[b] This word may mean whisperers, if it be the plural of אֵט, "a murmur."

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kingdom of Judah, had adopted from their neighbors, like the Romans in the age of general corruption that caused the decline of their empire. In a vision, in which the prophet saw the abominations of Jerusalem, he entered the chambers of imagery in the Temple itself: "I went in and saw; and behold every form of creeping things, and abominable beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel, portrayed upon the wall round about." Here seventy elders were offering incense in the dark (viii. 7–12). This idolatry was probably borrowed from Egypt, for the description perfectly answers to that of the dark sanctuaries of Egyptian temples, with the sacred animals portrayed upon their walls, and does not accord with the character of the Assyrian sculptures, where creeping things are not represented as objects of worship. With this low form of idolatry an equally low kind of magic obtained, practiced by prophetesses who for small rewards made amulets by which the people were deceived, (xiii. 17, *ad fin.*). The passage must be allowed to be very difficult, but it can scarcely be doubted that amulets are referred to which were made and sold by these women, and perhaps also worn by them. We may probably read: "Woe to the [women] that sew pillows upon all joints of the hands [elbows or armholes?], and make kerchiefs upon the head of every stature to hunt souls!" (xiii. 18). If so, we have a practice analogous to that of the modern Egyptians, who hang amulets of the kind called "hegáb" upon the right side, and of the Nubians, who hang them on the upper part of the arm. We cannot, in any case, see how the passage can be explained as simply referring to the luxurious dress of the women of that time, since the prophet distinctly alludes to pretended visions and to divinations (ver. 23), using almost the same expressions that he applies in another place to the practices of the false prophets (xxii. 28). The notice of Nebuchadnezzar's divination by arrows, where it is said "he shuffled arrows" (xxi. 21), must refer to a practice the same or similar to the kind of divination by arrows called El-Meysar, in use among the pagan Arabs, and forbidden in the Kur-án. [See HOSPITALITY.]

The references to magic in the book of Daniel relate wholly to that of Babylon, and not so much to the art as to those who used it. Daniel, when taken captive, was instructed in the learning of the Chaldæans and placed among the wise men of Babylon (ii. 18), by whom we are to understand the Magi (חַרְטֻמֵּי בָבֶל), for the term is used as including magicians (חַרְטֻמִּים), sorcerers (אַשָּׁפִים), enchanters (מְכַשְּׁפִים), astrologers (גָּזְרִין), and Chaldæans, the last being apparently the most important class (ii. 2, 4, 5, 10, 12, 14, 8, 24, 27; comp. i. 20). As in other cases the true prophet was put to the test with the magicians, and he succeeded where they utterly failed. The case resembles Pharaoh's, excepting that Nebuchadnezzar asked a harder thing of the wise men. Having forgotten his dream, he not only required of them an interpretation, but that they should make known the dream itself. They were perfectly ready to tell the interpretation if only they heard the dream. The king at once saw that they were impostors, and that if they truly had supernatural powers they could as well tell him his dream as its meaning. Therefore he decreed the death of all the wise men of Babylon; but Daniel, praying that he and his fellows might escape this destruction, had a vision in which the matter was revealed to him. He was accordingly brought before the king. Like Joseph, he disavowed any knowledge of his own. "The secret which the king hath demanded, the wise men, the sorcerers, the magicians, the astrologers, cannot show unto the king; but there is a God in heaven that revealeth secrets" (vv. 27, 28). "But as for me, this secret is not revealed to me for [any] wisdom that I have more than any living" (30). He then related the dream and its interpretation, and was set over the province as well as over all the wise men of Babylon. Again the king dreamt: and though he told them the dream the wise men could not interpret it, and Daniel again showed the meaning (iv. 4, ff.). In the relation of this event we read that the king called him "chief of the scribes," the second part of the title being the same as that applied to the Egyptian magicians (iv. 9; Chald. 6). A third time, when Belshazzar saw the writing on the wall, were the wise men sent for, and on their failing, Daniel was brought before the king and the interpretation given (v.). These events are perfectly consistent with what always occurred in all other cases recorded in Scripture when the practicers of magic were placed in opposition to true prophets. It may be asked by some how Daniel could take the post of chief of the wise men when he had himself proved their imposture. If, however, as we cannot doubt, the class were one of the learned generally, among whom some practiced magical arts, the case is very different from what it would have been had these wise men been magicians only. Besides, it seems almost certain that Daniel was providentially thus placed that, like another Joseph, he might further the welfare and ultimate return of his people. [MAGI.]

After the Captivity it is probable that the Jews gradually abandoned the practice of magic. Zechariah speaks indeed of the deceit of teraphim and diviners (x. 2), and foretells a time when the very names of idols should be forgotten and false prophets have virtually ceased (xiii. 1–4), yet in neither case does it seem certain that he is alluding to the usages of his own day.

In the Apocrypha we find indications that in the later centuries preceding the Christian era magic was no longer practiced by the educated Jews. In the Wisdom of Solomon the writer, speaking of the Egyptian magicians, treats their art as an imposture (xvii. 7). The book of Tobit is an exceptional case. If we hold that it was written in Persia or a neighboring country, and, with Ewald, date its composition not long after the fall of the Persian empire, it is obvious that it relates to a different state of society to [from] that of the Jews of Egypt and Palestine. If, however, it was written in Palestine about the time of the Maccabees, as others suppose, we must still recollect that it refers rather to the superstitions of the common people than to those of the learned. In either case its pretensions make it unsafe to follow as indicating the opinions of the time at which it was written. It professes to relate to a period of which its writer could have known little, and borrows its idea of supernatural agency from Scripture, adding as much as was judged safe of current superstition.

In the N. T. we read very little of magic. The coming of Magi to worship Christ is indeed related

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Matt ii. 1-12), but we have no warrant for supposing that they were magicians from their name, which the A. V. not unreasonably renders "wise men" [MAGI]. Our Lord is not said to have been opposed by magicians, and the Apostles and other early teachers of the Gospel seem to have rarely encountered them. Philip the deacon, when he preached at Samaria, found there Simon a famous magician, commonly known as Simon Magus, who had had great power over the people; but he is not said to have been able to work wonders, nor, had it been so, is it likely that he would have soon been admitted into the Church (Acts viii. 9–24). When St. Barnabas and St. Paul were at Paphos, as they preached to the proconsul Sergius Paulus, Elymas, a Jewish sorcerer and false prophet (τινα ἄνδρα μάγον ψευδοπροφήτην), withstood them, and was struck blind for a time at the word of St. Paul (xiii. 6–12). At Ephesus, certain Jewish exorcists signally failing, both Jews and Greeks were afraid, and abandoned their practice of magical arts. "And many that believed came, and confessed, and showed their deeds. Many of them also which used curious arts brought their books together, and burned them before all: and they counted the price of them, and found [it] fifty thousand [pieces] of silver" (xix. 18, 19). Here both Jews and Greeks seem to have been greatly addicted to magic, even after they had nominally joined the Church. In all these cases it appears that though the practicers were generally or always Jews, the field of their success was with Gentiles, showing that among the Jews in general, or the educated class, the art had fallen into disrepute. Here, as before, there is no evidence of any real effect produced by the magicians. We have already noticed the remarkable case of the "damsel having a spirit of divination" (ἔχουσαν πνεῦμα πύθωνα) "which brought her masters much gain by fortelling" (μαντευομένη), from whom St. Paul cast out the spirit of divination (xvi. 16–18). This is a matter belonging to another subject than that of magic.

Our examination of the various notices of magic in the Bible gives us this general result: They do not, as far as we can understand, once state positively that any but illusive results were produced by magical rites. They therefore afford no evidence that man can gain supernatural powers to use at his will. This consequence goes some way towards showing that we may conclude that there is no such thing as real magic; for although it is dangerous to reason on negative evidence, yet in a case of this kind it is especially strong. Had any but illusions been worked by magicians, surely the Scriptures would not have passed over a fact of so much importance, and one which would have rendered the prohibition of these arts far more necessary. The general belief of mankind in magic, or things akin to it, is of no worth, since the holding such current superstition in some of its branches, if we push it to its legitimate consequences, would lead to the rejection of faith in God's government of the world, and the adoption of a creed far below that of Plato.

From the conclusion at which we have arrived, that there is no evidence in the Bible of real results having been worked by supernatural agency used by magicians, we may draw this important inference, that the absence of any proof of the same in profane literature, ancient or modern, in no way militates against the credibility of the miracles recorded in Scripture. R. S. P.

MAGID'DO ([Rom.] Μαγιδδό; but Mai [*i. e.* Vat.], μετὰ Ἀδδοῦς; and Alex.[a] Μεταδδαους: *Mageddo*), the Greek form of the name MEGIDDO. It occurs only in 1 Esdr. i. 29. [MEGIDDON.] G.

* MAGISTRATES has its generic sense of rulers, civil officers, in Exr. vii. 25; Luke xii. 11; Tit. iii. 1; but in Acts xvi. 20 ff. is a specific term (στρατηγοί) referring to the *duumviri* or *prætors* at Philippi [see COLONY, Amer. ed.]. H.

* MAGNIFICAL = magnificent, according to the present usage, applied to Solomon's Temple, only in 1 Chr. xxii. 5. It is the rendering of the Hiph. inf. of גָּדַל. H.

MA'GOG (מָגוֹג [see below]: Μαγώγ; [in Ez. xxxix. 6 Γάγ, Alex. σε; in 1 Chr., Alex. Μαγωα: *Magog*]). The name Magog is applied in Scripture both to a person and to a land or people. In Gen. x. 2 [and 1 Chr. i. 5] Magog appears as the second son of Japheth in connection with Gomer (the Cimmerians) and Madai (the Medes): in Ez. xxxviii. 2, xxxix. 1, 6, it appears as a country or people of which Gog was the prince,[b] in conjunction with Meshech[c] (the Moschici), Tubal (the Tibareni), and Rosh (the Roxolani). In the latter of these senses there is evidently implied an etymological connection between Gog and Ma = gog, the *Ma* being regarded by Ezekiel as a prefix significant of a country. In this case Gog contains the original element of the name, which may possibly have its origin in some Persian root.[d] The notices of Magog would lead us to fix a northern locality: not only did all the tribes mentioned in connection with it belong to that quarter, but it is expressly stated by Ezekiel that he was to come up from "the sides of the north" (xxxix. 2), from a country adjacent to that of Togarmah or Armenia (xxxviii. 6), and not far from "the isles" or mari-

[a] This is one of a great number of cases in which the readings of Mai's edition of the Vatican Codex depart from the ordinary "Vatican Text," as usually edited, and agree more or less closely with the Alexandrine (Codex A).

[b] Von Bohlen (*Introd. to Gen.* ii. 211) represents Gog as the *people*, and not the prince. There can be no doubt that in Rev. xx. 8 the name does apply to a people, but this is not the case in Ezekiel.

[c] In the A. V. Gog is represented as "the *chief prince*" of Meshech and Tubal: but it is pretty well agreed that the Hebrew words נְשִׂיא רֹאשׁ cannot bear the meaning thus affixed to them. The true rendering is "prince of Rosh," as given in the LXX. (Μοσοχων Ῥώς). This other sense was adopted by the Vulgate in consequence of the name Rosh not occurring elsewhere in Scripture. [ROSH.]

[d] Various etymologies of the name have been suggested, none of which can be absolutely accepted. Knobel (*Völkert.* p. 63) proposes the Sanskrit *mah* or *maha*, "great," and a Persian word signifying "mountain," in which case the reference would be to the Caucasian range. The terms *ghagh* and *meghef* are still applied to some of the heights of that range. This etymology is supported by Von Bohlen (*Introd. to Gen.* ii. 211). On the other hand, Hitzig (*Comm. in Ez.*) connects the first syllable with the Coptic *ma*, "place," or the Sanskrit *maha*, "land," and the second with a Persian root, *kohn*, "the moon," as though the term had reference to moon-worshippers.

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time regions of Europe (xxxix. 6). The people of Magog further appear as having a force of cavalry (xxxviii. 5), and as armed with the bow (xxxix. 3). From the above *data*, combined with the consideration of the time at which Ezekiel lived, the conclusion has been drawn that Magog represents the important race of the Scythians. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, § 1) and Jerome (*Quæst.* in Gen. x. 2) among early writers adopted this view, and they have been followed in the main by modern writers. In identifying Magog with the Scythians, however, we must not be understood as using the latter term in a strictly ethnographical sense, but as a general expression for the tribes living north of the Caucasus.[a] We regard Magog as essentially a *geographical* term, just as it was applied by the Syrians of the Middle Ages to Asiatic Tartary, and by the Arabians to the district between the Caspian and Euxine seas (Winer, *Rwb.* s. v.). The inhabitants of this district in the time of Ezekiel were undoubtedly the people generally known by the classical name of "Scythians." In the latter part of the 7th century B. C. they had become well known as a formidable power through the whole of western Asia. Forced from their original quarters north of the Caucasian range by the inroad of the Massagetæ, they descended into Asia Minor, where they took Sardis (B. C. 629), and maintained a long war with the Lydian monarchs: thence they spread into Media (B. C. 624), where they defeated Cyaxares. They then directed their course to Egypt, and were bribed off by Psammetichus: on their return[b] they attacked the temple of Venus Urania at Ascalon. They were finally ejected B. C. 596, after having made their name a terror to the whole eastern world (Herod. i. 103 ff.). The Scythians are described by classical writers as skillful in the use of the bow (Herod. i. 73, iv. 132: Xen. *Anab.* iii. 4, § 15), and even as the inventors of the bow and arrow (Plin. vii. 57); they were specially famous as mounted bowmen (ἱπποτοξόται: Herod. iv. 46; Thucyd. ii. 96); they also enjoyed



Scythian horseman (from Kertch).

an ill-fame for their cruel and rapacious habits (Herod. i. 106). With the memory of these events yet fresh on the minds of his countrymen, Ezekiel selects the Scythians as the symbol of earthly violence, arrayed against the people of God, but meeting with a signal and utter overthrow. He depicts their avarice and violence (xxxviii. 7–13), and the fearful vengeance executed upon them (xxxviii. 14–23)—a massacre so tremendous that seven months would hardly suffice for the burial of the corpses in the valley which should thenceforth be named Hamon-gog (xxxix. 11–16). The imagery of Ezekiel has been transferred in the Apocalypse to describe the final struggle between Christ and Antichrist (Rev. xx. 8). As a question of ethnology, the origin of the Scythians presents great difficulties: many eminent writers, with Niebuhr and Neumann at their head, regard them as a Mongolian, and therefore a non-Japhetic race. It is unnecessary for us to enter into the general question, which is complicated by the undefined and varying applications of the name Scythia and Scythians among ancient writers. As far as the Biblical notices are concerned, it is sufficient to state that the Scythians of Ezekiel's age—the Scythians of Herodotus—were in all probability a Japhetic race. They are distinguished on the one hand from the Argippæi, a clearly Mongolian race (Herod. iv. 23), and they are connected on the other hand with the Agathyrsi, a clearly Indo-European race (iv. 10). The mere silence of so observant a writer as Herodotus, as to any striking features in the physical conformation of the Scythians, must further be regarded as a strong argument in favor of their Japhetic origin. W. L. B.

MA'GOR-MIS'SABIB (מָגוֹר מִסָּבִיב: Μέτοικος: *Pavor undique*), literally, "terror on every side:" the name given by Jeremiah to Pashur the priest, when he smote him and put him in the stocks for prophesying against the idolatry of Jerusalem (Jer. xx. 3). The significance of the appellation is explained in the denunciation with which it was accompanied (ver. 4): "Thus saith Jehovah, Behold I will make thee a *terror* to thyself and to all thy friends." The LXX. must have connected the word with the original meaning of the root "to wander," for they keep up the play upon the name in ver. 4. It is remarkable that the same phrase occurs in several other passages of Jeremiah (vi. 25, xx. 10, xlvi. 5, xlix. 29; Lam. ii. 22), and is only found besides in Ps. xxxi. 13.

MAG'PIASH (מַגְפִּיעָשׁ [perh. *moth-killer*]: Μεγαφίς; Alex. Μαγαφίς; [Vat.] FA. Βαγαφής: *Megphias*), one of the heads of the people who signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 20). The name is probably not that of an individual, but of a family. It is supposed by Calmet and Junius to be the same as MAGBISH in Ezr. ii. 30.

MA'HALAH (מַחְלָה [*sickness*]: Μαελά; Alex. Μοολα: *Mohola*), one of the three children of Hammoleketh, the sister of Gilead (1 Chr. vii. 18). The name is probably that of a woman, as it is the same with that of Mahlah, the daughter of Zelophehad, also a descendant of Gilead the Manassite.

MAHALA'LEËL (מַהֲלַלְאֵל [*praise of God*]: Μαλελεήλ: *Malaleel*). 1. The fourth in descent from Adam, according to the Sethite genealogy, and son of Cainan (Gen. v. 12, 13, 15–17; 1 Chr. i. 2). In the LXX. the names of Mahalaleel and Mehujael, the fourth from Adam in the

[a] In the Koran Gog and Magog are localised north of the Caucasus. There appears to have been from the earliest times a legend that the enemies of religion and civilisation lived in that quarter (*Haxthausen's Tribes of the Caucasus*, p. 55).

[b] The name of Scythopolis, by which Beth-shean was known in our Saviour's time, was regarded as trace of the Scythian occupation (Plin. v. 16): this however, is doubtful. [SCYTHOPOLIS.]

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genealogy of the descendants of Cain, are identical. Ewald recognizes in Mahalaleel the sun-god, or Apollo of the antediluvian mythology, and in his son Jared the god of water, the Indian Varuna (*Gesch.* i. 357), but his assertions are perfectly arbitrary.

2. ([Vat.] FA. Μαλελημ.) A descendant of Peres, or Pharez, the son of Judah, and ancestor of Athaiah, whose family resided in Jerusalem after the return from Babylon (Neh. xi. 4).

MA'HALATH (מַחֲלַת [perh. *harp, lyre*]: Μαελέθ: *Maheleth*), the daughter of Ishmael, and one of the wives of Esau (Gen. xxviii. 9). In the Edomite genealogy (Gen. xxxvi. 3, 4, 10, 13, 17) she is called BASHEMATH, sister of Nebajoth, and mother of Reuel; but the Hebræo-Samaritan text has Mahalath throughout. On the other hand Bashemath, the wife of Esau, is described as the daughter of Elon the Hittite (Gen. xxvi. 34). [BASHEMATH.]

MA'HALATH (מַחֲלַת [*harp, lyre*]: [Rom. Μοολάθ; Vat.] Μολααθ; Alex. Μολαθ: *Mahalath*), one of the eighteen wives of king Rehoboam, apparently his first (2 Chr. xi. 18 only). She was her husband's cousin, being the daughter of king David's son Jerimoth, who was probably the child of a concubine, and not one of his regular family. Josephus, without naming Mahalath, speaks of her as "a kinswoman" (*συγγενῆ τινα, Ant.* viii. 10, § 1). No children are attributed to the marriage, nor is she again named. The ancient Hebrew text (*Cethib*) in this passage has "son" instead of "daughter." The latter, however, is the correction of the *Kri*, and is adopted by the LXX., Vulgate, and Targum, as well as by the A. V. G.

MA'HALATH (מַחֲלַת [see below]: Μαελέθ: *Maëleth*). The title of Ps. liii., in which this rare word occurs, was rendered in the Geneva version, "To him that excelleth on Mahalath;" which was explained in the margin to be "an instrument or kind of note." This expresses in short the opinions of most commentators. Connecting the word with מָחוֹל, *mâchôl* (Ex. xv. 20; Ps. cl. 4), rendered "dance" in the A. V., but supposed by many from its connection with instruments of music to be one itself (DANCE, vol. i. p. 538 *b*), Jerome renders the phrase "on Mahalath" by "per *chorum*," and in this he is supported by the translations of Theodotion (*ὑπὲρ τῆς χορείας*), Symmachus (*διὰ χοροῦ*), and Aquila (*ἐπὶ χορείᾳ*), quoted by Theodoret (*Comm. in Ps.* lii.). Augustine (*Enarr. in Ps.* lii.) gives the title of the Psalm, "In finem pro *Amalech* intellectus ipsi David;" explaining "pro Amalech," as he says from the Hebrew, "for one in labor or sorrow" (pro parturiente sive dolente), by whom he understands Christ, as the subject of the psalm. But in another passage (*Enarr. in Ps.* lxxxvii.) he gives the word in the form *melech*, and interprets it by the Latin *chorus*: having in the first instance made some confusion with עָמָל, *'âmâl*, "sorrow," which forms part of the proper name "Amalek." The title of Ps. liii. in the Chaldee and Syriac versions contains no trace of the word, which is also omitted in the almost identical Ps. xiv. From this fact alone it might be inferred that it was not intended to point enigmatically to the contents of the psalm, as Hengstenberg and others are inclined to believe. Aben Ezra understands by it the name of a melody to which the psalm was sung, and R. Solomon Jarchi explains it as "the name of a musical instrument," adding however immediately, with a play upon the word, "another discourse on the *sickness* (*machalâh*) of Israel when the Temple was laid waste." Calvin and J. H. Michaelis, among others, regarded it as an instrument of music or the commencement of a melody. Junius derived it from the root חָלַל, *châlal*, "to bore, perforate," and understood by it a wind instrument of some kind, like *Nehiloth* in Ps. vi.; but his etymology is certainly wrong. Its connection with *mâchôl* is equally uncertain. Joel Bril, in the second preface to his notes on the Psalms in Mendelssohn's Bible, mentions three opinions as current with regard to the meaning of Mahalath; some regarding it as a feminine form of *mâchôl*, others as one of the *wind* instruments (the flute, according to De Wette's translation of Ps. liii.), and others again as a *stringed* instrument. Between these conflicting conjectures, he says, it is impossible to decide. That it was a stringed instrument, played either with the fingers or a quill, is maintained by Simonis (*Lex. Hebr.*), who derives it from an unused Arabic root حلث, to sweep. But the most probable of all conjectures, and one which Gesenius approves, is that of Ludolf, who quotes the Ethiopic *mâchlet*, by which the *κιθάρα* of the LXX. is rendered in Gen. iv. 21 (Simonis, *Arcanum Formarum*, p. 475). Fürst (*Handw.* s. v.) explains Mahalath as the name of a musical corps dwelling at Abel-*Meholah*, just as by Gittith he understands the band of Levite minstrels at *Gath* Rimmon.

On the other hand, the opinion that Mahalath contains an enigmatical indication of the subject of the psalm, which we have seen hinted at in the quotations from Jarchi given above, is adopted by Hengstenberg to the exclusion of every other. He translates "on Mahalath" by "on sickness," referring to the spiritual malady of the sons of men (*Comm. über die Psalm.*). Lengerke (*die Psalmen*) adopts the same view, which had been previously advanced by Arias Montanus.

A third theory is that of Delitzsch (*Comm. üb. d. Psalter*), who considers Mahalath as indicating to the choir the manner in which the psalm was to be sung, and compares the modern terms *mesto, andante mesto*. Ewald leaves it untranslated and unexplained, regarding it as probably an abbreviation of a longer sentence (*Dichter d. Alt. Bundes*, i. 174). The latest speculation upon the subject is that of Mr. Thrupp, who, after dismissing as mere conjecture the interpretation of Mahalath as a musical instrument, or as *sickness*, propounds, as more probable than either, that it is "a proper name borrowed from Gen. xxviii. 9, and used by David as an enigmatical designation of Abigail, in the same manner as, in Psalms vii., xxxiv., the names Cush and Abimelech are employed to denote Shimei and Achish. The real Mahalath, Esau's wife, was the sister of Nebajoth, from whom were descended an Arabian tribe famous for their wealth in sheep; the name might be therefore not unfitly applied to one who, though now wedded to David, had till recently been the wife of the rich sheep-owner of the village of Carmel" (*Introd. to the Psalms*, i. 314). It can scarcely be said that Mr. Thrupp has replaced conjecture by certainty.

W. A. W.

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MA'HALATH LEAN'NOTH (מָחֲלַת לְעַנּוֹת: Μαελὲθ τοῦ ἀποκριθῆναι: *Mahaleth ad respondendum*). The Geneva version of Ps. lxxxviii., in the title of which these words occur, has "upon Malath Leannoth," and in the margin, "that is, to humble. It was the beginning of a song, by the tune whereof this Psalm was sung." It is a remarkable proof of the obscurity which envelops the former of the two words that the same commentator explains it differently in each of the passages in which it occurs. In De Wette's translation it is a "flute" in Ps. liii.. a "guitar" in Ps. lxxxviii.; and while Jarchi in the former passage explains it as a musical instrument, he describes the latter as referring to "one sick of love and affliction who was afflicted with the punishments of the Captivity." Symmachus, again, as quoted by Theodoret (*Comm. in Ps.* 87), has διχόρου, unless this be a mistake of the copyist for διὰ χοροῦ, as in Ps. liii. Augustine and Theodoret both understand *leannoth* of responsive singing. Theophylact says "they danced while responding to the music of the organ." Jerome, in his version of the Hebrew, has "per chorum ad præcinendum." The Hebrew עָנָה, in the Piel Conj.. certainly signifies "to sing," as in Ex. xxxii. 18; Is. xxvii. 2; and in this sense it is taken by Ewald in the title of Ps. lxxxviii. In like manner Junius and Tremellius render "upon Mahalath Leannoth" "to be sung to the wind instruments." There is nothing, however, in the construction of the psalm to show that it was adapted for responsive singing; and if *leannoth* be simply "to sing," it would seem, as Olshausen observes, almost unnecessary. It has reference, more probably, to the character of the psalm, and might be rendered "to humble, or afflict," in which sense the root occurs in verse 7. In support of this may be compared, "to bring to remembrance," in the titles of Pss. xxxviii. and lxx.; and "to thank," 1 Chr. xvi. 7. Mr. Thrupp remarks that this psalm (lxxxviii.) "should be regarded as a solemn exercise of humiliation; it is more deeply melancholy than any other in the Psalter" (*Intr. to the Psalms*, ii. 99). Hengstenberg, in accordance with the view he takes of Mahalath, regards Ps. lxxxviii. as the prayer of one recovered from severe bodily sickness, rendering *leannoth* "concerning affliction," and the whole "on the sickness of distress." Lengerke has a similar explanation, which is the same with that of Piscator, but is too forced.

W. A. W.

MA'HALI (מָחְלִי [*sick, infirm*]: Μοολί; [Vat.] Alex. Μοολεί: *Moholi*), MAHLI, the son of Merari. His name occurs in the A. V. but once in this form (Ex. vi. 19).

MAHANA'IM (מַחֲנָיִם = *two camps* or *hosts*: [Παρεμβολή,] Παρεμβολαί, [Rom. Καμὶν, Vat.] Καμειν; Μαναέμ, Μαναείμ, [Μααναΐμ, etc.,] Joseph. Θεοῦ στρατόπεδον: [*Mahanaim,*] *Manaim*, [*Castra*]), a town on the east of the Jordan, intimately connected with the early and middle history of the nation of Israel. It purports to have received its name at the most important crisis of the life of Jacob. He had parted from Laban in peace after their hazardous encounter on Mount Gilead (Gen. xxxi.), and the next step in the journey to Canaan brings him to Mahanaim "Jacob went on his way; and he lifted up his eyes and saw the camp of God[a] encamped; and the angels (or messengers) of God met him. And when he saw them he said, This is God's host (*mahaneh*), and he called the name of that place Mahanaim." It is but rarely, and in none but the earliest of these ancient records, that we meet with the occasion of a name being conferred; and generally, as has been already remarked, such narratives are full of difficulties, arising from the peculiar turns and involutions of words, which form a very prominent feature in this primeval literature, at once so simple and so artificial. [BEER LAHAI-ROI, EN-HAKKORE, etc.] The form in which the history of Mahanaim is cast is no exception to this rule. It is in some respects perhaps more characteristic and more pregnant with hidden meaning than any other. Thus the "host" of angels — "God's host" — which is said to have been the occasion of the name, is only mentioned in a cursory manner, and in the singular number — "the [one] host;" while the "two hosts" into which Jacob divided his caravan when anticipating an attack from Esau, the host of Leah and the host of Rachel, agreeing in their number with the name Mahanaim ("two hosts"), are dwelt upon with constant repetition and emphasis. So also the same word is employed for the "messengers" of God and the "messengers" to Esau; and so, further on in the history, the "face" of God and the "face" of Esau are named by the same word (xxiii. 30, xxxiii. 10). It is as if there were a correspondence throughout between the human and the divine, the inner and outer parts of the event, — the host of God and the hosts of Jacob; the messengers of God and the messengers of Jacob; the face of God and the face of Esau.[b] The very name of the torrent on whose banks the event took place seems to be derived from the "wrestling"[c] of the patriarch with the angel. The whole narrative hovers between the real and the ideal, earth and heaven.

How or when the town of Mahanaim arose on the spot thus signalized we are not told. We next meet with it in the records of the conquest. The line separating Gad from Manasseh would appear to have run through or close to it, since it is named in the specification of the frontier of each tribe (Josh. xiii. 26 and 30). It was also on the southern boundary of the district of Bashan (ver. 30). But it was certainly within the territory of Gad (Josh. xxi. 38, 39), and therefore on the south side of the torrent Jabbok, as indeed we should infer from the history of Genesis, in which it lies between Gilead — probably the modern *Jebel Jilad* — and the torrent. The town with its "suburbs" was allotted to the service of the Merarite Levites (Josh. xxi. 39; 1 Chron. vi. 80). From some cause — the sanctity of its original foundation, or the strength of its position[d] — Mahanaim had become in the time of the monarchy a place of mark. When after the death of Saul, Abner undertook the establishment of the kingdom of Ishbosheth, unable to

[a] This paragraph is added in the LXX.

[b] For this observation the writer is indebted to a sermon by Prof. Stanley (Marlborough, 1853).

[c] Jabbok, יַבֹּק; wrestled," יֵאָבֵק.

[d] To the latter Josephus testifies: Παρεμβολαί — so he renders the Hebrew Mahanaim — καλλίστῃ καὶ ὀχυρωτάτῃ πόλει (*Ant.* vii. 9, § 8).

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occupy any of the towns of Benjamin or Ephraim, which were then in the hands of the Philistines, he fixed on Mahanaim as his head-quarters. There the new king was crowned over all Israel, east as well as west of the Jordan (2 Sam. ii. 9). From thence Abner made his disastrous expedition to Gibeon (ver. 12), and there apparently the unfortunate Ishbosheth was murdered (iv. 5), the murderers making off to Hebron by the way of the valley of the Jordan.

The same causes which led Abner to fix Ishbosheth's residence at Mahanaim probably induced David to take refuge there when driven out of the western part of his kingdom by Absalom. He proceeds thither without hesitation or inquiry, but as if when Jerusalem was lost it was the one alternative (2 Sam. xvii. 24; 1 K. ii. 8). It was then a walled town, capacious enough to contain the "hundreds" and the "thousands" of David's followers (xviii. 1, 4; and compare "ten thousand," ver. 3); with gates, and the usual provision for the watchman of a fortified town (see the remark of Josephus quoted in the note). But its associations with royal persons were not fortunate. One king had already been murdered within its walls, and it was here that David received the news of the death of Absalom, and made the walls of the "chamber over the gate" resound with his cries.

Mahanaim was the seat of one of Solomon's commissariat officers (1 K. iv. 14); and it is alluded to in the Song which bears his name (vi. 13), in terms which, though very obscure, seem at any rate to show that at the date of the composition of that poem it was still in repute for sanctity, possibly famous for some ceremonial commemorating the original vision of the patriarch: "What will ye see in the Shulamite? We see as it were the dance (*mecholah*, a word usually applied to dances of a religious nature; see vol. i. p. 539) of the two hosts of Mahanaim."

On the monument of Sheshonk (Shishak) at Karnak, in the 22d cartouch — one of those which are believed to contain the names of Israelite cities conquered by that king — a name appears which is read as *Ma-ha-n-ma*, that is, Mahanaim. The adjoining cartouches contain names which are read as Beth-shean, Shunem, Megiddo, Beth-horon, Gibeon, and other Israelite names (Brugsch, *Geogr. der Nachbarländer Ægyptens*, etc., p. 61). If this interpretation may be relied on, it shows that the invasion of Shishak was more extensive than we should gather from the records of the Bible (2 Chr. xii.), which are occupied mainly with occurrences at the metropolis. Possibly the army entered by the plains of Philistia and Sharon, ravaged Esdraëlon and some towns like Mahanaim just beyond Jordan, and then returned, either by the same route or by the Jordan Valley, to Jerusalem, attacking it last. This would account for Rehoboam's non-resistance, and also for the fact, of which special mention is made, that many of the chief men of the country had taken refuge in the city. It should, however, be remarked that the names occur in most promiscuous order, and that none has been found resembling Jerusalem.

As to the identification of Mahanaim with any modern site or remains, little can be said. To Eusebius and Jerome it appears to have been unknown. A place called *Mahneh* does certainly exist among the villages of the east of Jordan, though its exact position is not so certain. The earliest mention of it appears to be that of the Jewish traveller hap-Parchi, according to whom "Machnajim is *Machneh*, and stands about half a day's journey in a due east direction from Bethsan" (Zunz, in Asher's *Benj. of Tudela*, p. 408) *Mahneh* is named in the lists of Dr. Eli Smith among the places of *Jebel Ajlûn* (Rob. *Bibl. Res.* 1st ed., iii. App. 166). It is marked on Kiepert's map (1856) as exactly east of Beth-shan, but about 30 miles distant therefrom — *i. e.* not half but a long whole day's journey It is also mentioned, and its identity with Mahanaim upheld, by Porter (*Handbook*, p. 322). But the distance of *Mahneh* from the Jordan and from both the *Wady Zârka* and the *Yarmûk* — each of which has claims to represent the torrent Jabbok — seems to forbid this conclusion. At any rate the point may be recommended to the investigation of future travellers east of the Jordan. G.

* Mr. Porter's remark (*Handbook*, ii. 322) is merely that "perhaps" *Mahneh* may be the ancient Mahanaim; but he cannot be said to "uphold" that identity (see above). In his more recent article on this name in Kitto's *Cyclop. of Biblical Literature* (1866) he suggests that "the ruins of Gerasa, the most extensive and splendid east of the Jordan, may occupy the site of Mahanaim." On the other hand, Mr. Tristram, who visited *Mahneh*, regards the other as altogether the better opinion. He describes the place as near "a fine natural pond, with traces of many buildings, grass-grown and beneath the soil," and "sufficiently extensive to have belonged to a considerable place," though "there is no trace of a wall, such as must have been there when David sat in the gate and wept for his son Absalom." He admits that the situation of *Mahneh* so far north of the Jabbok presents some difficulty, but argues that this and other objections are not insuperable. "Mahneh is on the borders of Bashan (see Josh. xiii. 30), and though to the north, it is also to the east of the Jabbok, and therefore outside of the line where the river was the boundary of Gilead and Bashan. It is probable, also, that in Genesis the 'Mount of Gilead' may be used in a general signification — not confined to Jebel Osha, but including also Ajlûn, which was certainly a portion of Gilead. Considering the geography of the region, it would have been more natural for Jacob to take this course in his flight from Laban, than to have gone south to Jebel Osha, and then turned northwards again to cross the deep ravine of the Jabbok. There is therefore, I conceive, every probability that the name of Mahanaim has been preserved in *Mahneh*, and that these grass-grown mounds represent all that is left of the capital of Ishbosheth (2 Sam. ii. 8) and the refuge of David" (*Land of Israel*, 2d ed., p. 487 f.).

Mr. Grove also, who writes the above article, represents *Mahneh* as probably Mahanaim in his Index to Clark's *Bible Atlas*, p. 102. It must be that he would abate something at present from the force of his own objections as urged above. The region is still remarkable for its forests of oaks. It was in the boughs of such a tree that Absalom was caught by his hair, and, thus entangled, was slain. "As I rode under a grand old oak tree," says Mr. Tristram, "I too lost my hat and turban, which were caught by a bough" (*Land of Israel*, p. 467). The defeat, too, of Absalom and his army was the more complete because "the battle was scattered over the face of all the country, and the wood

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devoured more people that day than the sword devoured" (2 Sam. xviii. 8). The ruins of *Mahneh* are on one of the branches of *Wady el-Hemdn*, which is known as *Wady Mahneh* on that account (Rob. *Phys. Geogr.* p. 86). H.

MA'HANEH-DAN (מַחֲנֵה דָן): παρεμβολὴ Δάν: *Castra Dan*: *Camp-of-Dan*: Luth. *das Lager Dans*), a name which commemorated the last encampment of the band of six hundred Danite warriors before setting out on their expedition to Laish. The position of the spot is specified with great precision, as "behind Kirjath-jearim" (Judg. xviii. 12), and as "between Zorah and Eshtaol" (xiii. 25; here the name is translated in the A. V.). Kirjath-jearim is identified with tolerable certainty in *Kuriet el-Enab*, and Zorah in *Sur'a*, about 7 miles S. W. of it. But no site has yet been suggested for Eshtaol which would be compatible with the above conditions, requiring as they do that Kirjath-jearim should lie between it and Zorah. In *Kustul*, a "remarkable conical hill about an hour from *Kuriet el-Enab*, towards Jerusalem," south of the road, we have a site which is not dissimilar in name to Eshtaol, while its position sufficiently answers the requirements. Mr. Williams (*Holy City*, i. 12 *note*) was shown a site on the north side of the *Wady Ismail*, N. N. E. from *Deir el-Howa* — which bore the name of *Beit Mahanem*, and which he suggests may be identical with Mahaneh Dan. The position is certainly very suitable; but the name does not occur in the lists or maps of other travellers — not even of Tobler (*Dritte Wanderung*, 1859); and the question must be left with that started above, of the identity of *Kustul* and Eshtaol, for the investigation of future explorers and Arabic scholars.

The statement in xviii. 12 of the origin of the name is so precise, and has so historical an air, that it supplies a strong reason for believing that the events there recorded took place earlier than those in xiii. 25, though in the present arrangement of the book of Judges they come after them. G.

MA'HARAI [3 syl.] (מַחְרַי) [*hasty, swift*]: Νοεφέ; Alex. Μαεραει, in 2 Sam. xxiii. 28; Μαραΐ, [Vat. FA. Νεεφε,] Alex. Μοορμ, 1 Chr. xi. 30; Μεηρά, Alex. Μοοραΐ, 1 Chr. xxvii. 13: *Maharai*, *Marai*, 1 Chr. xxvii. 13), an inhabitant of Netophah in the tribe of Judah, and one of David's captains. He was of the family of Zerah, and commanded the tenth monthly division of the army.

MA'HATH (מַחַת) [perh. *fire-pan, censer*]: Μαάθ; [Vat. Μεθ:] *Mahath*). 1. The son of Amassi, a Kohathite of the house of Korah, and ancestor of Heman the singer (1 Chr. vi. 35). In ver. 25 he is called AHIMOTH (Hervey, *Geneal.* p. 215).

2. (Alex. Μαεθ, 2 Chr. xxix. 12; [Vat., by inclusion of the following word, Θαναβαναιας, 2 Chr. xxxi. 13.]) Also a Kohathite, who, in the reign of Hezekiah, was appointed, as one of the representatives of his house, to assist in the purification of the Levites, by which they prepared themselves to cleanse the Temple from the traces of idolatrous worship. He was apparently the same who, with other Levites, had the charge of the tithes and dedicated offerings, under the superintendence of Conaniah and Shimei.

MA'HAVITE, THE (הַמַּחֲוִים, *i. e.* "the Machavites": [Rom. ὁ Μααλ; Vat. FA.] ὁ Μιεε Alex. ὁ Μααεω: *Mahumites*), the designation of Eliel, one of the warriors of king David's guard, whose name is preserved in the catalogue of 1 Chron. only (xi. 46). It will be observed that the word is plural in the Hebrew text, but the whole of the list is evidently in so confused a state, that it is impossible to draw any inference from that circumstance. The Targum has דְּמָן מָחָנָוָא, "from Machavua." Kennicott (*Dissert.* 231) conjectures that originally the Hebrew may have stood מֵחִוִּים, "from the Hivites." Others have proposed to insert an N and read "the Mahanaimite" (Fürst, *Hdwb.* p. 721 *a*; Bertheau, *Chronik*, p. 136). G.

MAHA'ZIOTH (מָחֲזִיאוֹת) [*visions*]: Μεαζώθ; [Vat. in ver. 4, Μελζωθ:] Alex. Μαεζεωθ: *Mahazioth*), one of the 14 sons of Heman the Kohathite, who formed part of the Temple choir, under the leadership of their father with Asaph and Jeduthun. He was chief of the 23d course of twelve musicians (1 Chr. xxv. 4, 30), whose office it was to blow the horns. [HOTHIR, Amer. ed.]

MA'HER-SHA'LAL-HASH'-BAZ (מַהֵר שָׁלָל חָשׁ בָּז: Ταχέως σκύλευσον δέξεως προνόμευσον: *Accelera spolia detrahere festina*), son of Isaiah, and younger brother of Shear-jashub, of whom nothing more is known than that his name was given by Divine direction, to indicate that Damascus and Samaria were soon to be plundered by the king of Assyria (Is. viii. 1–4; comp. p. 1153). In reference to the grammatical construction of the several parts of the name, whether the verbal parts are imperatives, indicatives, infinitives, or verbal adjectives, leading versions, as well as the opinions of critics, differ, though all agree as to its general import (comp. Drechsler *in loc.*). E. H—e.

MAH'LAH (מַחְלָה) [*disease*]: Μαλά, Num. xxvi. 33; Μααλά, [Alex. Μαλα,] Num. xxvii. 1; Josh. xvii. 3; Μαλαά, Num. xxxvi. 11; Μαελά; Alex. Μοολα, 1 Chr. vii. 18: *Maala* in all cases, except *Mohola*, 1 Chr. vii. 18), the eldest of the five daughters of Zelophehad, the grandson of Manasseh, in whose favor the law of succession to an inheritance was altered (Num. xxvii. 1–11). She married her cousin, and received as her share a portion of the territory of Manasseh, east of the Jordan.

MAH'LI (מַחְלִי) [*sickly, pining*]: Μοολί; [Vat. -λει, and once Μοηλι:] *Mohli*). 1. The son of Merari, the son of Levi, and ancestor of the family of the MAHLITES (Num. iii. 20; 1 Chr. vi. 19, 29, xxiv. 26). In the last quoted verse there is apparently a gap in the text, Libni and Shimei belonging to the family of Gershom (comp. ver. 20, 42), and Eleazar and Kish being afterwards described as the sons of Mahli (1 Chr. xxiii. 21, xxiv. 28). One of his descendants, Sherebiah, was appointed one of the ministers of the Temple in the days of Ezra (Ezr. viii. 18). He is called MAHALI in the A. V. of Ex. vi. 19, MOLI in 1 Esdr. viii. 47, and MACHLI in the margin.

2. The son of Mushi, and grandson of Merari (1 Chr. vi. 47, xxiii. 23, xxiv. 30).

MAH'LITES, THE (הַמַּחְלִי) [see above]

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§ Μοολί [Vat. -λει; in ch. xxvi., LXX. omit]: *Mokhlíta, Moholi*), the descendants of Mahli the son of Merari (Num. iii. 33, xxvi. 58).

MAH'LON (מַחְלוֹן [*pining*]: Μαελών: *Maalon*), the first husband of Ruth. He and his brother Chilion were sons of Elimelech and Naomi, and are described, exactly in the same terms with a subsequent member of their house — Jesse, — as "Ephrathites of Bethlehem-judah" (Ruth i. 2, 5; iv. 9, 10; comp. 1 Sam. xvii. 12).

It is uncertain which was the elder of the two. In the narrative (i. 2, 5) Mahlon is mentioned first; but in his formal address to the elders in the gate (iv. 9), Boaz says "Chilion and Mahlon." Like his brother, Mahlon died in the land of Moab without offspring, which in the Targum on Ruth (i. 5) is explained to have been a judgment for their transgression of the law in marrying a Moabitess. In the Targum on 1 Chr. iv. 22, Mahlon is identified with Joash, possibly on account of the double meaning of the Hebrew word which follows, and which signifies both "had dominion" and "married." (See that passage.) [CHILION, Amer. ed.] G.

MA'HOL (מָחוֹל [*a dance*]: Μάλ; Alex. Μαουλ: *Mahol*). The father of Ethan the Ezrahite, and Heman, Chalcol, and Darda, the four men most famous for wisdom next to Solomon himself (1 K. iv. 31), who in 1 Chr. ii. 6 are the sons and immediate descendants of Zerah. Mahol is evidently a proper name, but some consider it an appellative, and translate "the sons of Mahol" by "the sons of song," or "sons of the choir," in reference to their skill in music. In this case it would be more correct to render it "sons of the dance;" *máchól* corresponding to the Greek χόρος in its original sense of "a dance in a ring," though it has not followed the meanings which have been attached to its derivatives "chorus" and "choir." Jarchi says that "they were skilled in composing hymns which were recited in the dances of song." Another explanation still is that Ethan and his brethren the minstrels were called "the sons of Mahol," because *máchól* is the name of an instrument of music in Ps. cl. 4. Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 2, § 5) calls him Ἡμάων. W. A. W.

MAIA'NEAS (Μαιάννας; [Ald. Μαιαννάλας:] om. in Vulg.) = MAASEIAH, 7 (1 Esdr. ix. 48); probably a corruption of MAASIAS.

* **MAIL.** [ARMS, ii. 1.]

* **MAINSAIL,** Acts xxvii. 40. [SHIP, (6.)]

MA'KAZ (מָקֵץ [*end*, perh. *border-town*]: [Rom. Μακές; Vat.] Μαχεμας; Alex. Μαχμας: *Macces*), a place, apparently a town, named once only (1 K. iv. 9), in the specification of the jurisdiction of Solomon's commissariat officer, Ben-Dekar. The places which accompany it — Shaalbim, Beth-shemesh, and Elon-beth-hanan — seem to have been on the western slopes of the mountains of Judah and Benjamin, i. e. the district occupied by the tribe of Dan. But Makaz has not been discovered. Michmash — the reading of the LXX. (but of no other version) — is hardly possible, both for distance and direction, though the position and subsequent importance of Michmash, and the great fertility of its neighborhood, render it not an unlikely seat for a commissariat officer. G.

* **MAKE** has the sense of "do," "be occupied with," — "What *makest* thou in this place" (Judg. xviii. 3). The use also of "make" as signifying "pretend," "feign" (Josh. viii. 15, ix. 4; 2 Sam. xiii. 6; Luke xxiv. 28), deserves notice. H.

MA'KED (Μακέδ; Alex. Μακεβ: Syr. *Mokor*. Vulg. *Mageth*), one of the "strong and great" cities of Gilead — Josephus says Galilee, but this must be an error — into which the Jews were driven by the Ammonites under Timotheus, and from which they were delivered by Judas Maccabæus (1 Macc. v. 26, 36; in the latter passage the name is given in the A. V. MAGED). By Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 8, § 3) it is not mentioned. Some of the other cities named in this narrative have been identified; but no name corresponding to Maked has yet been discovered; and the conjecture of Schwarz (p. 230) that it is a corruption of MINNITH (מִנִּית for מִמְּנִית), though ingenious, can hardly be accepted without further proof. G.

MAKHE'LOTH (מַקְהֵלֹת: Μακηλώθ: *Maceloth*), a place only mentioned in Num. xxxiii. 25 as that of a desert encampment of the Israelites. The name is plural in form, and may signify "places of meeting." H. H.

MAKKE'DAH (מַקֵּדָה [*place of sheep herds*]: Μακηδά, once [Josh. xv. 41] Μακηδάν [Vat. also Josh. x. 28]; Alex. Μακηδα: Syr. *Mokor*, and *Nakoda*: *Maceda*), a place memorable in the annals of the conquest of Canaan as the scene of the execution by Joshua of the five confederate kings: an act by which the victory of Beth-horon was sealed and consummated, and the subjection of the entire southern portion of the country insured. Makkedah is first mentioned (Josh. x. 10) with Azekah, in the narrative of the battle of Beth-horon, as the point to which the rout extended; but it is difficult to decide whether this refers to one of the operations in the earlier portion of the fight, or is not rather an anticipation of its close — of the circumstances related in detail in vv. 11 and 16, &c. But with regard to the event which has conferred immortality on Makkedah — the "crowning mercy" — (if we may be allowed to borrow an expression from a not dissimilar transaction in our own history) — there is fortunately no obscurity or uncertainty. It unquestionably occurred in the afternoon of that tremendous day, which "was like no day before or after it." The order of the events of the twenty-four hours which elapsed after the departure from the ark and tabernacle at the camp seems to have been as follows. The march from the depths of the Jordan Valley at Gilgal, through the rocky clefts of the ravines which lead up to the central hills, was made during the night. By or before dawn they had reached Gibeon; then — at the favorite hour for such surprises[a] — came the sudden onset and the first carnage[b]; then the chase and the appeal of Joshua to the rising sun, just darting his level rays over the ridge of the hill of

[a] E. g. Gideon's, Saul's, and David's attacks. [See ENCAMPMENTS, i. 733 *b*.]

[b] The Moslem tradition is that the attack took place on a Friday, and that the day was prolonged by one half, to prevent the Sabbath being encroached upon (See Jalaladdin, *Temple of Jerusalem*, p. 287.)

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Gibeon in the rear; then the furious storm assisting and completing the rout. In the mean time the detection of the five chiefs in their hiding-place has been communicated to Joshua, and, as soon as the matter in hand will allow, he rushes on with the whole of his force to Makkedah (ver. 21). The first thing to be done is to form a regular camp (מחנה). The next to dispose of the five chiefs, and that by no hurried massacre, but in so deliberate and judicial a manner as at once to infuse terror into the Canaanites and confidence into his own followers, to show to both that "thus shall Jehovah do to all the enemies" of Israel. The cave in the recesses of which the wretched kings were hidden was a well-known one.[a] It was close to the town;[b] we may safely conclude that the whole proceeding was in full view of the walls. At last the ceremonial is over, the strange and significant parable has been acted, and the bodies of Adonisedek and his companions are swinging[c] from the trees — possibly the trees of some grove sacred to the abominable rites of the Canaanite Ashtaroth — in the afternoon sun. Then Joshua turns to the town itself. To force the walls, to put the king and all the inhabitants to the sword (ver. 28) is to that indomitable energy, still fresh after the gigantic labors and excitements of the last twenty-four hours — the work of an hour or two. And now the evening has arrived, the sun is at last sinking — the first sun that has set since the departure from Gilgal — and the tragedy is terminated by cutting down the five bodies from the trees, and restoring them to the cave, which is then so blocked up with stones as henceforth never again to become refuge for friend or foe of Israel.

The taking of Makkedah was the first in that series of sieges and destructions by which the Great Captain possessed himself of the main points of defense throughout this portion of the country. Its situation has hitherto eluded discovery. The catalogue of the cities of Judah in Joshua (xv. 41) places it in the *Shefelah* or maritime plain, but unfortunately it forms one of a group of towns of which few or none are identified. The report of Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomasticon*, "Maceda") is that it lay 8 miles to the east of Eleutheropolis, *Beit-Jibrin*, a position irreconcilable with every requirement of the narrative. Porter (*Handbook* 224, 251) suggests a ruin on the northern slope of the *Wady es Sumt*, bearing the somewhat similar name of *el-Klédiah*; but it is difficult to understand how this can have been the position of Makkedah, which we should imagine would be found, if it ever is found, considerably nearer Ramleh or Jimzu.

Van de Velde (*Memoir*, p. 332) would place it at *Sumeil*, a village standing on a low hill 6 or 7 miles N.W. of *Beit-Jibrin*; but the only claim of this site appears to be the reported existence in the neighborhood of a large cavern, while its position — at least 8 miles further from Beth-horon than even *el-Klédiah* — would make the view of the narrative taken above impossible. G.

MAK'TESH (הַמַּכְתֵּשׁ,[d] with the def. article [see below]: ἡ κατακεκομμένη: *Pila*), a place evidently in Jerusalem, the inhabitants of which are denounced by Zephaniah (i. 11). Ewald conjectures (*Propheten*, 364) that it was the "Phœnician quarter" of the city, in which the traders of that nation — the Canaanites (A. V. "merchants"), who in this passage are associated with Mactesh — resided, after the custom in oriental towns. As to which part of the city this quarter occupied we have little or no indication. The meaning of "Mactesh" is probably a deep hollow, literally a "mortar."[e] This the Targum identifies with the torrent Kedron, the deep basin or ravine of which sinks down below the eastern wall and southeastern corner of the city. The Targum, probably with an eye to the traditional uncleanness of this valley, and to the idol-worship perpetrated at its lower end, says: "Howl ye inhabitants of the torrent Kedron, for all the people are broken whose works were like the works of the people of Canaan." But may it not, with equal probability have been the deep valley which separated the Temple from the upper city, and which at the time of Titus' siege was, as it still is, crowded with the "bazaars" of the merchants? (See p. 1306 *a*.) G.

MAL'ACHI (מַלְאָכִי: Μαλαχίας in the title only: *Malachias*), the last, and therefore called "the seal" of the prophets, as his prophecies constitute the closing book of the canon. His name is probably contracted from Malachijah, "messenger of Jehovah," as Abi (2 K. xviii. 2) from Abijah (2 Chr. xxix. 1). Of his personal history nothing is known. A tradition preserved in Pseudo-Epiphanius (*De Vitis Proph.*) relates that Malachi was of the tribe of Zebulun, and born after the captivity at Sopha (Σοφᾶ) in the territory of that tribe. According to the same apocryphal story he died young, and was buried with his fathers in his own country. Jerome, in the preface to his *Commentary on Malachi*, mentions a belief which was current among the Jews, that Malachi was identical with Ezra the priest, because the circumstances recorded in the narrative of the latter are also mentioned by the prophet. The Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel, on the words "by the hand of Malachi" (i. 1), gives the gloss "whose name is called Ezra the scribe." With equal probability Malachi has been identified with Mordecai, Nehemiah, and Zerubbabel. The LXX. render "by Malachi" (Mal. i. 1), "by the hand of his angel;" and this translation appears to have given rise to the idea that Malachi, as well as Haggai and John the Baptist,

[a] It is throughout distinguished by the definite article, הַמְּעָרָה, "*the* cave."

[b] The preposition used is the same as that employed to describe the position of the five kings in the cave — בְּמַקֵּדָה, "in Makkedah" — בַּמְּעָרָה, "in the cave."

[c] The word תָּלָה, rendered "hang" in ver. 26, has the force of suspending. See Ps. cxxxvii. 2; 2 Sam xviii. 10; and other passages where it must have this meaning. It is an entirely distinct term from יָקַע, which, though also translated by "hang" in the A. V., really means to crucify. See MISHMANNIM.

[d] One of the few cases in which our translators have represented the Hebrew letter *Caph* by K, which they commonly reserve for *Koph*. [See also MEKONAH.]

[e] The literal Aquila renders the words by οἱ τὸν βόθυνον; Theodotion, ἐν τῷ βόθυνῳ. The Hebrew term is the same as that employed in Judg. xv. 19 for the hollow basin or combe in Lehi from which the spring burst forth for the relief of Samson.

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was an angel in human shape (comp. Mal. iii. 1; 2 Esdr. i. 40; Jerome, *Comm. in Hag.* i. 13). Cyril alludes to this belief only to express his disapprobation, and characterizes those who held it as romancers (οἱ μάταιν ἐξαμφιβήκασιν κ. τ. λ.). Another Hebrew tradition associated Malachi with Haggai and Zechariah as the companions of Daniel when he saw the vision recorded in Dan. x. 7 (Smith's *Select Discourses*, p. 214; ed. 1660), and as among the first members of the Great Synagogue, which consisted of 120 elders.

The time at which his prophecies were delivered is not difficult to ascertain. Cyril makes him contemporary with Haggai and Zechariah, or a little later. Syncellus (p. 240 B) places these three prophets under Joshua the son of Josedec. That Malachi was contemporary with Nehemiah, is rendered probable by a comparison of ii. 8 with Neh. xiii. 15; ii. 10–16 with Neh. xiii. 23, &c.; and iii. 7–12 with Neh. xiii. 10, &c. That he prophesied after the times of Haggai and Zechariah is inferred from his omitting to mention the restoration of the Temple, and from no allusion being made to him by Ezra. The Captivity was already a thing of the long past, and is not referred to. The existence of the Temple-service is presupposed in i. 10, iii. 1, 10. The Jewish nation had still a political chief (i. 8), distinguished by the same title as that borne by Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 26), to which Gesenius assigns a Persian origin. Hence Vitringa concludes that Malachi delivered his prophecies after the second return of Nehemiah from Persia (Neh. xiii. 6), and subsequently to the 32d year of Artaxerxes Longimanus (cir. B. C. 420), which is the date adopted by Kennicott and Hales, and approved by Davidson (*Introd.* p. 985). It may be mentioned that in the Seder Olam Rabba (p. 55, ed. Meyer), the date of Malachi's prophecy is assigned, with that of Haggai and Zechariah, to the second year of Darius; and his death in the Seder Olam Zuta (p. 105) is placed, with that of the same two prophets, in the 52d year of the Medes and Persians. The principal reasons adduced by Vitringa, and which appear conclusively to fix the time of Malachi's prophecy as contemporary with Nehemiah, are the following: The offenses denounced by Malachi as prevailing among the people, and especially the corruption of the priests by marrying foreign wives, correspond with the actual abuses with which Nehemiah had to contend in his efforts to bring about a reformation (comp. Mal. ii. 8 with Neh. xiii. 29). The alliance of the high-priest's family with Tobiah the Ammonite (Neh. xiii. 4, 28) and Sanballat the Horonite had introduced neglect of the customary Temple-service, and the offerings and tithes due to the Levites and priests, in consequence of which the Temple was forsaken (Neh. xiii. 4–13), and the Sabbath openly profaned (*id.* 15–21). The short interval of Nehemiah's absence from Jerusalem had been sufficient for the growth of these corruptions, and on his return he found it necessary to put them down with a strong hand, and to do over again the work that Ezra had done a few years before. From the striking parallelism between the state of things indicated in Malachi's prophecies and that actually existing on Nehemiah's return from the court of Artaxerxes, it is on all accounts highly probable that the efforts of the secular governor were on this occasion seconded by the preaching of "Jehovah's messenger," and that Malachi occupied the same position with regard to the reformation under Nehemiah, which Isaiah held in the time of Hezekiah, and Jeremiah in that of Josiah. The last chapter of canonical Jewish history is the key to the last chapter of its prophecy.

The book of Malachi is contained in four chapters in our version, as in the LXX., Vulgate, and Peshito-Syriac. In the Hebrew the 3d and 4th form but one chapter. The whole prophecy naturally divides itself into three sections, in the first of which Jehovah is represented as the loving father and ruler of his people (i. 2–ii. 9); in the second, as the supreme God and father of all (ii. 10–16); and in the third, as their righteous and final judge (ii. 17–end). These may be again subdivided into smaller sections, each of which follows a certain order: first, a short sentence; then the skeptical questions which might be raised by the people; and, finally, their full and triumphant refutation. The formal and almost scholastic manner of the prophecy seemed to Ewald to indicate that it was rather delivered in writing than spoken publicly. But though this may be true of the prophecy in its present shape, which probably presents the substance of oral discourses, there is no reason for supposing that it was not also pronounced orally in public, like the warnings and denunciations of the older prophets, however it may differ from them in vigor of conception and high poetic diction. The style of the prophet's language is suitable to the manner of his prophecy. Smooth and easy to a remarkable degree, it is the style of the reasoner rather than of the poet. We miss the fiery prophetic eloquence of Isaiah, and have in its stead the calm and almost artificial discourse of the practiced orator, carefully modeled upon those of the ancient prophets: thus blending in one the characteristics of the old prophetical and the more modern dialogistic structures.

I. The first section of the prophet's message consists of two parts: the first (i. 1–6) addressed to the people generally, in which Jehovah, by his messenger, asserts his love for them, and proves it, in answer to their reply, "Wherein hast thou loved us?" by referring to the punishment of Edom as an example. The second part (i. 6–ii. 9) is addressed especially to the priests, who had despised the name of Jehovah, and had been the chief movers of the defection from his worship and covenant. They are rebuked for the worthlessness of their sacrifices and offerings, and their profanation of the Temple thereby (i. 7–14). The denunciation of their offense is followed by the threat of punishment for future neglect (ii. 1–3), and the character of the true priest is drawn as the companion picture to their own (ii. 5–9).

II. In the second section (ii. 10–16) the prophet reproves the people for their intermarriages with the idolatrous heathen, and the divorces by which they separated themselves from their legitimate wives, who wept at the altar of Jehovah; in violation of the great law of marriage which God, the father of all, established at the beginning.

III. The judgment, which the people lightly regard, is announced with all solemnity, ushered in by the advent of the Messiah. The Lord, preceded by his messenger, shall come to his Temple suddenly, to purify the land from its iniquity, and to execute swift judgment upon those who violate their duty to God and their neighbor. The first part (ii. 17–iii. 5) of the section terminates with the threatened punishment; in the second (iii. 6–12 the faithfulness of God to his promises is vindicated, and the people exhorted to repentance, with

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its attendant blessings; in the third (iii. 13–iv. 6) they are reproved for their want of confidence in God, and for confusing good and evil. The final severance between the righteous and the wicked is then set forth, and the great day of judgment is depicted, to be announced by the coming of Elijah, or John the Baptist, the forerunner of Christ (Matt. xi. 14, xvii. 10–13).

The prophecy of Malachi is alluded to in the N. T., and its canonical authority thereby established (comp. Mark i. 2, ix. 11, 12; Luke i. 17; Rom. ix. 13). W. A. W.

* It has been made a question (not distinctly adverted to above) whether the Hebrew term for Malachi in i. 1 denotes the actual name of the prophet or his mission and office. According to this form of the question the writing may be anonymous, and yet that not affect at all its canonical character or authority. This idea of the appellative import of the name probably appears in ἐν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ of the LXX. Jerome also entertained this view. Vitringa, among other later writers, supports essentially the same view (*Observatt. Sacræ*, ii. 353 ff.); while Hengstenberg (denying the reference to the prophet either as a personal or a symbolic name) maintains that it is identical with "my messenger" in iii. 1. (*Christologie*, iii. 582 ff., 2te Ausg.; or Keith's transl. iii. 272 ff.) The correspondence between the name and Malachi's errand as "Jehovah's messenger" or "my messenger," *i. e.* of Jehovah, does not show the name to be fictitious; for this correspondence between names and history or vocation is a well-known characteristic of Hebrew names (for example, Elijah, Isaiah), and may be accounted for sometimes as accidental and sometimes as a change of the original name (subsequently lost) for the sake of the conformity. [NAMES, Amer. ed.] Hengstenberg urges that the title (i. 1) says nothing of the parentage or birth-place of the prophet. But this omission is not peculiar to Malachi; for of the sixteen prophets whose writings are preserved in the Canon, the fathers of only eight are named. The birth-place of only three (Amos, Micah, and Nahum) is mentioned, and in the case of Habakkuk and Haggai, nothing is added to the names except "the prophet" (יַחֲגַּבִיא). Another of his arguments is that Nehemiah, the contemporary of Malachi, makes no mention of him. But history shows innumerable instances in which writers of the same period who are known in other ways to have been personally connected with each other, have left in their works no evidence of this knowledge and intimacy. Besides, in this case Nehemiah may possibly have been absent from Jerusalem at the time of Malachi's greatest activity (see Neh. xiii. 6), and hence would have had so much less occasion for speaking of him. Further, the use of the same expression as a proper name in one place is not inconsistent with its literal sense in another place: and still more questionable is this identification if the Hebrew expression in i. 1 differs from that in iii. 1, as "messenger of Jehovah" differs from "my messenger." Hengstenberg denies, in opposition to the best authorities (Fürst, Ges. *s. v.*), that מַלְאָכִי is abridged from מַלְאָכִיָּה. In support of that etymology see Hävernick's *Einl. in das A. Test.*, ii. 431, and especially Nägelsbach's article on "Maleachi" in Herzog's *Real-Encykl.* viii. 755. Bleek remarks that "the form itself of the name leads us much sooner to think of an actual name, as also by far most of the interpreters understand it" (*Einl. in das A. Test.* p. 566).

The unity which characterizes the contents of Malachi is unusual. Instead of being composed of detached messages or themes, as in the case of the other prophets, the parts here arise out of each other by a natural gradation. The ground-thought which pervades the book is that of the relations of God and his chosen people to each other under the ancient and the new economy.

Literature. — For the older writers on Malachi either separately or as one of the minor prophets (among whom may be mentioned Calvin, Bahrdt, Seb. Schmid, Faber, Pococke), see Winer's *Handb. der theol. Literatur*, i. 222 f. The later commentators (most of them in connection with the Minor Prophets) are Rosenmüller, Ewald, Umbreit, Hitzig, Maurer, Keil (Bd. iv., *Bibl. Comm.* 1866), Laur. Reinke, Henderson (Amer. ed., 1860); and in this country Noyes, T. V. Moore (*Prophets of the Restoration*, New York, 1856), and Cowles. (See the lists under AMOS and HABAKKUK.) Reinke's work (*Der Prophet Malachi*, Giessen, 1850) contains an introduction, the Hebrew text, and a translation, together with philological and historical notes, and is the most complete modern work on this prophet. On the Christology of the book, one may see Hengstenberg's *Christology of the O. Test.* iii. 272–364 (Keith's transl.); Stähelin's *Die Messianischen Weissagungen*, p. 135 f.; Hävernick, *Vorlesungen üb. die Theologie des A. T.* p. 173 f.; and J. Pye Smith's *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah*, 5th ed., i. 295 f. H.

MAL'ACHY (*Malachias*), the prophet Malachi (2 Esdr. i. 40).

MAL'CHAM (מַלְכָּם [*their king*]: Μελχάς; Alex. Μελχαμ: *Molchom*). 1. One of the heads of the fathers of Benjamin, and son of Shaharaim by his wife Hodesh (1 Chr. viii. 9), whom the Targum of R. Joseph identifies with Baara.

2. (ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν: *Melchom.*) The idol Molech, as some suppose (Zeph. i. 5). The word literally signifies "their king," as the margin of our version gives it, and is referred by Gesenius to an idol generally, as invested with regal honors by its worshippers. He quotes Is. viii. 21 and Am. v. 26 in support of this view, though he refers Jer. xlix. 1, 3, to Molech (as the LXX., the present reading being evidently corrupt), and regards Malcham as equivalent to Milcom (1 K. xi. 5, &c.). Hitzig (*Kurzg. Hdb.* Jeremia), while he considers the idol Milcom as unquestionably intended in Jer. xlix. 1, renders *Malcham* literally "their king" in ver. 3. The same ambiguity occurs in 2 Sam. xii. 30, where David, after his conquest of the Ammonites, is said to have taken the crown of "their king," or "Malcham" (see LXX. and Vulg. on 1 Chr. xx. 2). A legend is told in Jerome's *Quæstiones Hebr.* (1 Chr. xx. 2), how that, as it was unlawful for a Hebrew to touch anything of gold or silver belonging to an idol, Ittai the Gittite, who was a Philistine, snatched the crown from the head of Milcom, and gave it to David, who thus avoided the pollution. [ITTAI; MOLECH.]

Again, in 2 Sam. xii. 31, the *Cethîb* has עַמָּלֵכָן where the *Keri* is עַמָּלֵקָן (A. V. "through the

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brick-kiln"). Kimchi's note on the passage is as follows: "i. e. in the place of Molech, in the fire which the children of Ammon made their children pass through to Molech; for Milcom was the abomination of the children of Ammon, that is Molech, and Milcom and Malcon are one."

W. A. W.

MALCHI'AH (מַלְכִּיָּה [*Jehovah's king*, i. e. inaugurated by him]: Μελχία; [Vat. Μελχεια:] *Melchias*). 1. A descendant of Gershom the son of Levi, and ancestor of Asaph the minstrel (1 Chr. vi. 40).

* The A. V. ed. 1611 here reads Melchiah; the Bishops' Bible Melchia. A.

2. ([Vat. FA. Μελχεια:] *Melchia.*) One of the sons of Parosh, who had married a foreign wife, and put her away at the command of Ezra (Ezr. x. 25). MELCHIAS in 1 Esdr. ix. 26.

3. ([Vat. Alex. FA. Μελχεια:] *Melchias.*) Enumerated among the sons of Harim, who lived in the time of Ezra, and had intermarried with the people of the land (Ezr. x. 31). In 1 Esdr. x. 32 he appears as MELCHIAS, and in Neh. iii. 11 as MALCHIJAH 4.

4. [Vat. Alex. Μελχεια.] Son of Rechab, and ruler of the circuit or environs of Bethhaccerem. He took part in the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem under Nehemiah, and repaired the Dung Gate (Neh. iii. 14).

5. [Vat. FA. Μελχεια.] "The goldsmith's son," who assisted Nehemiah in rebuilding the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 31). The word rendered "the goldsmith" is taken as a proper name by the LXX. (Ζαρεφί), and in the Peshito-Syriac Malchiah is called "the son of Zephaniah." The A. V. has followed the Vulgate and Jarchi.

6. (Μελχίας; [Vat. FA.] Alex. Μελχειας: *Melchia.*) One of the priests who stood at the left hand of Ezra when he read the Law to the people in the street before the Water Gate (Neh. viii. 4). In 1 Esdr. ix. 44 he is called MELCHIAS.

7. [In Neh., Vat. M. Μελκεια; FA. Μελχεια.] A priest, the father of Pashur = MALCHIJAH 1 (Neh. xi. 12; Jer. xxxviii. 1), and MELCHIAH (Jer. xxi. 1).

8. (מַלְכִּיָּהוּ [see above: Alex. Μελχειας.]) The son of Ham-melech (or "the king's son," as it is translated in 1 K. xxii. 26; 2 Chr. xxviii. 7), into whose dungeon or cistern Jeremiah was cast (Jer. xxxviii. 6). The title "king's son" is applied to Jerahmeel (Jer. xxxvi. 26), who was among those commissioned by the king to take prisoners Jeremiah and Baruch; to Joash, who appears to have held an office inferior to that of the governor of the city, and to whose custody Micaiah was committed by Ahab (1 K. xxii. 26); and to Maaseiah who was slain by Zichri the Ephraimite in the invasion of Judah by Pekah, in the reign of Ahaz (2 Chr. xxviii. 7). It would seem from these passages that the title "king's son" was official, like that of "king's mother," and applied to one of the royal family, who exercised functions somewhat similar to those of Potiphar in the court of Pharaoh. W. A. W.

MAL'CHIEL (מַלְכִּיאֵל [*God's king*, i. e. appointed by him]: Μελχιήλ, Gen. xlvi. 17; Μελχιήλ in Num. and Chr., as Alex. in all cases; [Vat. in Num. Μελχειηλ, in Chr. Μελλειη.] *Melchiel*), the son of Beriah the son of Asher, and ancestor of the family of the MALCHIELITES (Num xxvi. 45). In 1 Chr. vii. 31 he is called the father, that is founder, of Birzavith or Berazith, as is the reading of the Targum of R. Joseph. Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 7, § 4) reckons him with Heber among the six sons of Asher, thus making up the number of Jacob's children and grandchildren to seventy, without reckoning great-grandchildren.

MAL'CHIELITES, THE (הַמַּלְכִּיאֵלִי: Μελχιηλί; [Vat. Μελχειηλει:] *Melchielita*), the descendants of Malchiel, the grandson of Asher (Num. xxvi. 45).

MALCHI'JAH (מַלְכִּיָּה [*Jehovah's king*]: Μελχία; [Vat. Μαλχεια:] Alex. Μελχιας: *Melchias*). 1. A priest, the father of Pashur (1 Chr. ix. 12); the same as MALCHIAH 7, and MELCHIAH.

2. ([Vat. Μελχεια:] *Melchia.*) A priest, chief of the fifth of the twenty-four courses appointed by David (1 Chr. xxiv. 9).

3. (Ἀσαβία; [Vat. omits; FA. Ζαβια; Comp. Μελχίας: *Melchia,*] *Jammebias* [?]) An Israelite layman of the sons of Parosh, who at Ezra's command put away his foreign wife (Ezr. x. 25). In 1 Esdr. ix. 26 he is called ASIBIAS, which agrees with the reading of the LXX.

4. (Μελχίας; [Vat. FA.] Alex. Μελχειας: *Melchias.*) Son, that is, descendant of Harim, who with Hashub repaired the Tower of the Furnaces when the wall of Jerusalem was rebuilt by Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 11). He is probably the same as MALCHIAH 3.

5. (Μελχία; [Vat.] Alex. Μελχεια.) One of the priests who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 3). It seems probable that the names in the list referred to are rather those of families than of individuals (comp. 1 Chr. xxiv. 7–18, and Neh. xii. 1–7), and in this case Malchijah in Neh. x. 3 would be the same with the head of the fifth course of priests = MALCHIJAH 2.

6. (Om. in Vat. MS. [also Rom. Alex. FA.[1]]; Alex. [rather FA.[3]] Μελχειας: *Melchia.*) One of the priests who assisted in the solemn dedication of the wall of Jerusalem under Ezra and Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 42).

MALCHI'RAM (מַלְכִּירָם [*king of exaltation*]: Μελχιράμ; [Vat. Μελχειραμ:] *Melchíram*), one of the sons of Jeconiah, or Jehoiachin, the last but one of the kings of Judah (1 Chr. iii. 18).

MAL'CHI-SHU'A (מַלְכִּישׁוּעַ [*king of help*]: [Rom. Alex. Μελχισουέ; Vat. 1 Chr. viii.,] Μελχεσουε, [1 Chr. ix., x., Μελχεισουε; Sin. 1 Chr. x. 2, Μελχισεδεκ:] *Melchisua*), one of the sons of king Saul. His position in the family cannot be exactly determined. In the two genealogies of Saul's house preserved in Chronicles he is given as the second son next below Jonathan (1 Chr. viii. 33, ix. 39). But in the account of Saul's offspring in 1 Samuel he is named third — Ishui being between him and Jonathan (1 Sam. xiv. 49), and on the remaining occasion the same order is preserved, but Abinadab is substituted for Ishui (1 Sam. xxxi. 2). In both these latter passages the name is erroneously given in the A. V. as Melchi-shua. Nothing is known of Malchi-shua beyond the fact that he fell, with his two brothers, and before his father, in the early part of the battle of Gilboa.

G

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MAL'CHUS (Μάλχος = מַלְכּוֹ, *Malluch*, in 1 Chr. vi. 44, Neh. x. 4, &c., *ruler* or *councillor*; LXX. Μαλάχ or Μαλούχ; and Joseph. Μάλχος, *Ant.* xiii. 5, § 1, xiv. 14, § 1) is the name of the servant of the high-priest, whose right ear Peter cut off at the time of the Saviour's apprehension in the garden. See the narrative in Matt. xxvi. 51; Mark xiv. 47; Luke xxii. 49–51; John xviii. 10. He was the personal servant (δοῦλος) of the high-priest, and not one of the bailiffs or apparitors (ὑπηρέτης) of the Sanhedrim. The high-priest intended is Caiaphas no doubt (though Annas is called ἀρχιερεύς in the same connection); for John, who was personally known to the former (John xviii. 15), is the only one of the Evangelists who gives the name of Malchus. This servant was probably stepping forward at the moment with others to handcuff or pinion Jesus, when the zealous Peter struck at him with his sword. The blow was meant undoubtedly to be more effective, but reached only the ear. It may be as Stier remarks (*Reden Jesu*, vi. 268), that the man seeing the danger, threw his head or body to the left, so as to expose the right ear more than the other.

The allegation that the writers are inconsistent with each other, because Matthew, Mark, and John say either ὠτίον, or ὠτάριον (as if that meant the lappet or tip of the ear), while Luke says οὖς, is groundless. The Greek of the New Testament age, like the modern Romaic, made no distinction often between the primitive and diminutive. This is especially true of terms relating to parts of the human body. (See Lobeck *ad Phryn.* p. 211.) In fact, Luke himself exchanges the one term for the other in this very narrative (vv. 50 and 51). The Saviour, as his pursuers were about to seize Him, asked to be left free for a moment longer (ἐᾶτε ἕως τούτου [Luke xxii. 51]), and that moment He used in restoring the wounded man to soundness.[a] The ἁψάμενος τοῦ ὠτίου may indicate (which is not forbidden by ἀφεῖλεν, ἀπέκοψεν) that the ear still adhered slightly to its place. It is noticeable that Luke the physician is the only one of the writers who mentions the act of healing. It is a touching remembrance that this was our Lord's last miracle for the relief of human suffering. The hands which had been stretched forth so often to heal and bless mankind, were then bound, and his beneficent ministry in that form of its exercise was finished for ever. H. B. H.

MALE'LEËL (Μαλελεήλ: *Malaleel*). The same as MAHALALEEL, the son of Cainan (Luke iii. 37; Gen. v. 12, marg.).

MAL'LOS, THEY OF (Μαλλῶται: *Mallotæ*), who, with the people of Tarsus, revolted from Antiochus Epiphanes because he had bestowed them on one of his concubines (2 Macc. iv. 30). The absence of the king from Antioch to put down the insurrection, gave the infamous Menelaus the high-priest an opportunity of purloining some of the sacred vessels from the Temple of Jerusalem (vv. 32, 39), an act which finally led to the murder of the good Onias (vv. 34, 35). Mallos was an important city of Cilicia, lying at the mouth of the Pyramus (*Seihun*), on the shore of the Mediterranean, N E. of Cyprus, and about 20 miles from Tarsus (*Tersûs*). (See *Dict. of Geography.*) G.

MALLO'THI (מַלּוֹתִי [perh. *Jehovah is splendor*, Fürst]: Μαλλιθί; [Vat. Μαρθει, Μεθαθει:] Alex. Μεαλωθι, and Μελληθι: *Mellothi*), a Kohathite, one of the fourteen sons of Heman the singer, and chief of the nineteenth course of twelve Levites into which the Temple choir was divided (1 Chr. xxv. 4, 26). [HOTHOR, Amer. ed.]

MALLOWS (מַלּוּחַ,[b] *malluach*:[c] ἅλιμα: *herbæ et arborum cortices*). By the Hebrew word we are no doubt to understand some species of *Orache*, and in all probability the *Atriplex halimus* of botanists. It occurs only in Job xxx. 4, where the patriarch laments that he is exposed to the



Jew's Mallow (*Corchorus olitorius*).

derision of the lowest of the people, "whose fathers he would have disdained to have set with the dogs of his flock," and who from poverty were obliged to seek their sustenance in desert places amongst wild herbs — "who pluck off the *sea orache* near the hedges[d] and eat the bitter roots of the Spanish broom." Some writers, as R. Levi (Job xxx.) and Luther, with the Swedish and the old Danish versions, hence understood "nettles" to be denoted by *malluach*, this troublesome weed having been from time immemorial an article of occasional diet

a • The Greek expression cited above is singularly ambiguous. It is uncertain what the verb (ἐᾶτε) means. It is uncertain whether Christ's disciples or the soldiers are addressed, and whether the pronoun (τούτου) refers to a person, or place, or an act. For the different interpretations, see Meyer's *Komm. üb. das N. T.* i. (2.) 576 f. (1867). But though the words are so doubtful as written, they were perfectly explicit as heard at the moment, because they were accompanied by some tone or gesture which is lost to us. H.

b From מָלַח (Arab. ملح), "salt."

c Old editions of the text read ἅλιμα, instead of ἅλιμα, as from ἀ priv. and λιμός, "hunger." So Chrysostom, ἅλιμα βοτάνη τίς ἐστιν, ταχὺ πληροῦσα τὸν ἐσθίοντα.

d עֲלֵי־שִׂיחַ some translate "on the branch." See Lee's *Comment.* on Job, *l. c.*

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amongst the poor, even as it is amongst ourselves at this day (Plin. *H. N.* xxi. 15; Athen. iv. c. 15). Others have conjectured that some species of "mallow" (*malva*) is intended, as Deodatius, and the A. V. Sprengel (*Hist. Rei herb.* 14) identifies the "Jew's mallow" (*Corchorus olitorius*) with the *malluach*, and Lady Callcott (*Script. Herb.* p. 255) is of a similar opinion. "In Purchase's *Pilgrims*," observes this writer, "there is a letter from Master William Biddulph, who was travelling from Aleppo to Jerusalem in 1600, in which he says, 'we saw many poor people gathering mallows and three-leaved grasse, and asked them what they did with it, and they answered that it was all their food and they did eate it'" (see also Harmer's *Observations*, iii. 166). There is no doubt that this same mallow is still eaten in Arabia and Palestine, the leaves and pods being used as a pot-herb. Dr. Shaw (*Travels*, i. 258, 8vo. 1808) mentions *Mellow-Keahs*, which he says is the same with the *Corchorus*, as being cultivated in the gardens of Barbary, and draws attention to the resemblance of this word with the *malluach* of Job, but he thinks 'some other plant of a more saltish taste"



Atriplex halimus.

is rather intended. The *Atriplex halimus* has undoubtedly the best claim to represent the *malluach*, as Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 223), and before him Drusius (*Quæst. Hebr.* i. qu. 17) have proved. Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 97), Hiller (*Hierophyt.* i. 457), Rosenmüller (*Schol. in Job* xxx. 4, and *Botany of the Bible*, p. 115), and Dr. Kitto (*Pictor. Bible on Job*) adopt this opinion. The Greek word used by the LXX. is applied by Dioscorides (i. c. 120) to the *Atriplex halimus*, as Sprengel (*Comment. in* . c.) has shown. Dioscorides says of this plant, that "it is a shrub which is used for hedges, and resembles the Rhamnus, being white and without horns; its leaves are like those of the olive, but broader and smoother, they are cooked as vegetables; the plant grows near the sea, and in hedges." See also the quotation from the Arabian botanist, Abenbeitar (in Bochart, *l. c.* above), who says that the plant which Dioscorides calls "*halimus*" is the same with that which the Syrians call *maluch*, Galen (vi. 22), Serapion in Bochart, and Prosper Alpinus (*De Plant. Ægypt.* cxxviii. 45).

The Hebrew name, like the Greek, has reference either to the locality where the plant grows —"nomen Græcum a loco natali ἁλίμῳ, *a sea-saltness*," says Sprengel — or to its saline taste. The *Atriplex halimus* is a shrub from four to five feet high, with many thick branches; the leaves are rather sour to the taste; the flowers are purple and very small; it grows on the sea-coast in Greece, Arabia, Syria, etc., and belongs to the natural Order *Chenopodiaceæ*. *Atriplex hortensis*, or garden Orach, is often cooked and eaten as spinach, to which it is by some persons preferred. W. H.

* "The best authorities," says Tristram (*Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, p. 466), "are in favor of a species of Sea Purslane (*Atriplex halimus*), which grows abundantly on the shores of the Mediterranean, in salt marshes, and also on the shores of the Dead Sea still more luxuriantly. We found thickets of it of considerable extent on the west side of the sea, and it exclusively supplied us with fuel for many days. It grows there to the height of ten feet — more than double its size on the Mediterranean. It forms a dense mass of thin twigs without thorns, has very minute purple flowers close to the stem, and small, thick, sour-tasting leaves, which could be eaten, as is the *Atriplex hortensis*, or garden Orache, but it would be very miserable food." Prof. Conant renders מַלּוּחַ "salt-plant" (*Book of Job*, in loc.). H.

MAL'LUCH (מַלּוּךְ [*ruler* or *counsellor*]: Μαλέχ: *Maloch*). 1. A Levite of the family of Merari, and ancestor of Ethan the singer (1 Chr vi. 44).

2. (Μαλούχ; [Vat., with preceding word, Μελουσαμαλουμ:] *Melluch*.) One of the sons of Beni, who put away his foreign wife at Ezra's command (Ezr. x. 29). He was probably of the tribe of Judah and line of Pharez (see 1 Chr. ix. 4). In the parallel list of 1 Esdr. ix. 30, he is called MAMUCHUS.

3. (Βαλούχ; [Vat.] Alex. Μαλουχ: *Maloch*.) One of the descendants of Harim in the time of Ezra, who had married a foreign wife (Ezr. x. 32).

4. (Μαλούχ: *Melluch*.) A priest or family of priests who signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 4).

5. One of the "heads" of the people who signed the covenant on the same occasion (Neh. x. 27).

6. [Vat. Αλουλ.] One of the families of priests who returned with Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 2); probably the same as No. 4. It was represented in the time of Joiakim by Jonathan (ver. 14). The same as MELICU.

MAMA'IAS [3 syl.] (Σαμαίας: *Samea*), apparently the same with SHEMAIAH in Ezr. viii. 16. In the Geneva version of 1 Esdr. viii. 44, it is written *Samaias*. [See also MASMAN.]

MAM'MON (מָמוֹן: Μαμωνᾶς: Matt. vi. 24, and Luke xvi. 9), a word which often occurs in the Chaldee Targums of Onkelos, and later writers, and in the Syriac Version, and which signifies "riches." This meaning of the word is given by Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* iv. 33, and by Augustine and Jerome commenting on St. Matthew: Augus-

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tine adds that it was in use as a Punic, and Jerome adds that it was a Syriac word. There is no reason to suppose that any idol received divine honors in the east under this name. It is used in St. Matthew as a personification of riches. The derivation of the word is discussed by A. Pfeiffer, *Opera*, p. 474. W. T. B.

MAMNITANAI'MUS (Μαμνιτάναιμος; [Vat. Μαμναναιμος:] *Mathanaeus*), a name which appears in the lists of 1 Esdr. ix. 34, and occupies the place of "Mattaniah, Mattenai," in Ezr. x. 37, of which it is a corruption, as is still more evident from the form "Mamnimatanaius," in which it appears in the Geneva version.

MAM'RE (מַמְרֵא [perh. *fatness*, and then *strength*, *manliness*, Ges.]: Μαμβρή; Joseph. Μαμβρῆς: *Mamre*), an ancient Amorite,[a] who with his brothers Eshcol and Aner was in alliance with Abram (Gen. xiv. 13, 24), and under the shade of whose oak-grove the patriarch dwelt in the interval between his residence at Bethel and at Beer-sheba (xiii. 18, xviii. 1). The personality of this ancient chieftain, unmistakably though slightly brought out[b] in the narrative just cited — a narrative regarded by Ewald and others as one of the most ancient, if not the most ancient, documents in the Bible — is lost in the subsequent chapters. Mamre is there a mere local appellation — "Mamre which faces Machpelah" (xxiii. 17, 19, xxv. 9, xlix. 30, l. 13). It does not appear beyond the book of Genesis. ESHCOL survived to the date of the conquest — survives possibly still — but Mamre and Aner have vanished, at least their names have not yet been met with. If the field and cave of MACHPELAH were on the hill which forms the northeastern side of the Valley of Hebron — and we need not doubt that they were — then Mamre, as "facing" them, must have been on the opposite slope, where the residence of the governor now stands.

In the Vulgate of Jud. ii. 14 (A. V. ii. 24), "torrens Mambre" is found for the *Abronas* of the original text. G.

MAMU'CHUS (Μαμοῦχος: *Maluchus*), the same as MALLUCH 2 (1 Esdr. ix. 30). The LXX. was probably Μαλλοῦχος at first, which would easily be corrupted into the present reading.

MAN. Four Hebrew terms are rendered "man" in the A. V. 1. *Adam*, אָדָם. (A.) The name of the man created in the image of God. It appears to be derived from *ādam*,[c] "he or it was red or ruddy," like Edom.[d] The epithet rendered by us "red" has a very wide signification in the Semitic languages, and must be limited to the English sense. Thus the Arabs speak, in both the literary and the vulgar language, of a "red" camel, using the term *ahmar*,[e] their common word for "red," just as they speak of a "green" ass, meaning in the one case a shade of brown, and in the other a kind of dingy gray. When they apply the term "red" to man, they always mean by it "fair." The name Adam has been supposed by some to be derived from *adāmāh*,[f] "earth," or "ground," because Adam was formed of "dust of the ground"[g] (Gen. ii. 7); but the earth or ground derived this appellation from its brownness, which the Hebrews would call "redness." In Egypt, where the alluvial earth of the Nile-valley is of a blackish-brown color, the name of the country, KEM, signifies "black" in the ancient Egyptian and in Coptic. [EGYPT.] Others have connected the name of Adam with *demuth*,[h] "likeness," from *dāmāh*,[i] "he or it was or became like," on account of the use of this word in both narratives of his creation: "And God said, Let us make Adam in our image, after our likeness"[k] (Gen. i. 26). "In the day of God's creating Adam, in the likeness[l] of God made He him" (v. 1). It should be observed that the usual opinion that by "image" and "likeness" moral qualities are denoted, is perfectly in accordance with Semitic phraseology: the contrary idea, arising from a misapprehension of anthropomorphism, is utterly repugnant to it. This derivation seems improbable, although perhaps more agreeable than that from *ādam* with the derivations of antediluvian names known to us. (B.) The name of Adam and his wife (v. 1, 2; comp. i. 27, in which case there is nothing to show that more than one pair is intended). (C.) A collective noun, indeclinable, having neither construct state, plural, nor feminine form, used to designate any or all of the descendants of Adam.

2. *Ish*, אִישׁ, apparently softened from a form unused in the singular by the Hebrews, *énesh*,[m] "man," "woman," "men." It corresponds to the Arabic *ins*,[n] "man," *insān*,[o] softened form *eesān*,[p] "a man," "a woman," and "man" collectively like *ins*; and perhaps to the ancient Egyptian *as*, "a noble."[q] The variant *Enosh* (mentioned in the note) occurs as the proper name *enôsh*, אֱנוֹשׁ, which some take to be the primitive form.

[a] The LXX., except in xiv. 24, give the name with the feminine article. They do the same in other cases; *e. g.* Baal.

[b] In the Jewish traditions he appears as encouraging Abraham to undergo the pain of circumcision, from which his brothers would have dissuaded him — by a reference to the deliverance he had already experienced from far greater trials — the furnace of Nimrod and the sword of Chedorlaomer. (Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, 38.)

[c] אָדָם. [d] אֱדֹם. [e] أحمر.

[f] אֲדָמָה. [g] עָפָר מִן־הָאֲדָמָה.

[h] דְּמוּת. [i] דָּמָה.

[k] כִּדְמוּתֵנוּ. [l] בִּדְמוּת.

[m] אֱנוֹשׁ; fem. אִשָּׁה, pl. אֲנָשִׁים, variant

[n] انس. [o] انسان. [p] ايسان.

[q] It has been derived from אָנַשׁ, "he was sick," so as to mean weak, mortal; to which Gesenius objects that this verb comes from the theme נָשׁ (*Lex.* s. v. אָנַשׁ). The opposite signification, strength and robustness, has been suggested with a reference to the theme אִישׁ (Fürst, *Concord.* s. v. אִישׁ). It seems more reasonable to suppose, with Gesenius, that this is primitive word (*Lex.* s. v. אִישׁ). Perhaps the idea of being may lie at its foundation.

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of a son of Seth and grandson of Adam (Gen. iv. 26; 1 Chr. i. 1). In the A. V. it is written Enos. It might be supposed that this was a case like that of Adam's name; but this cannot be admitted, since the variant *Ish* and the fem. form *Ishshâh* are used before the birth of Enosh, as in the cases of the naming of Eve (Gen. ii. 23) and Cain (iv. 1). If it be objected that we must not lay too much stress upon verbal criticism, we reply that, if so, no stress can be laid upon the name of Enosh, which might even be a translation, and that such forms as Methusael and Methuselah, which have the characteristics of a primitive state of Hebrew, oblige us to lay the greatest stress upon verbal criticism.[a]

3. *Geber*, גֶּבֶר, "a man," from *gâbar*, [b] "to be strong," generally with reference to his strength, corresponding to *vir* and *ἀνήρ*.

4. *Méthim*, מְתִים, [c] "men," always masculine. The singular is to be traced in the antediluvian proper names Methusael and Methuselah.[d] Perhaps it may be derived from the root *mâth*, "he died," [e] in which case its use would be very appropriate in Is. xli. 14, "Fear not, thou worm Jacob, ye men of Israel." [f] If this conjecture be admitted, this word would correspond to *βροτός* and might be read "mortal."

MAN'AËN (*Μαναήν*: *Manahen*) is mentioned in Acts xiii. 1 as one of the teachers and prophets in the church at Antioch at the time of the appointment of Saul and Barnabas as missionaries to the heathen. He is not known out of this passage. The name signifies *consoler* (מְנַחֵם, 2 K. xv. 17, &c.); and both that and his relation to Herod render it quite certain that he was a Jew. The Herod with whom he is said to have been brought up (*σύντροφος*) could not have been Herod Agrippa II. (Acts xxv. 13), for as he was only seventeen years old at the time of the death of his father, Herod Agrippa I. in A. D. 44 (Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 9, § 1), a comrade of that age would have been too young to be so prominent as a teacher at Antioch as Manaen was at the date of Paul's first missionary journey (Acts xiii. 3). The Herod in question must have been Herod Antipas, under whose jurisdiction the Saviour as a Galilean lived, and who beheaded John the Baptist. Since this Antipas was older than Archelaus, who succeeded Herod the Great soon after the birth of Christ, Manaen (his *σύντροφος*) must have been somewhat advanced in years in A. D. 44, when he appears before us in Luke's history — older certainly than forty-five or fifty, as stated in Lange's *Bibelwerk* (v. 182). The point of chief interest relating to him concerns the sense of *σύντροφος*, which the historian regarded as sufficiently remarkable to connect with his name. We have a learned discussion of this question in Walch's *Dissertationes in Acta Apostolorum* (*de Menachemo*, ii. 195–252). For the value of this treatise see Tholuck's *Glaubwürdigkeit*, p. 167.

The two following are the principal views that have been advanced, and have still their advocates One is that *σύντροφος* means comrade, associate, or, more strictly, one brought up, educated with another. This is the more frequent sense of the word, and Calvin, Grotius, Schott, Baumgarten, and others, adopt it here. It was very common in ancient times for persons of rank to associate other children with their own, for the purpose of sharing their amusements (hence *συμπαίκτορες* in Xenoph. *Cyropæd.* i. 3, § 14) and their studies, and thus exciting them to greater activity and emulation. Josephus, Plutarch, Polybius, and others speak of this custom. Walch shows it to have existed among the Medes, Persians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans. Herod might have adopted it from the Romans, whom he was so much inclined to imitate (see Raphel's *Annotationes*, ii. 80, and Wetstein, *Nov. Test.* ii. 532).

The other view is that *σύντροφος* denotes *foster-brother*, brought up at the same breast (*ὁμογάλακτος*, *collactaneus*), and, as so taken, Manaen's mother, or the woman who reared him, would have been also Herod's nurse. So Kuinoel, Olshausen, De Wette, Alford, and others. Walch's conclusion (not correctly represented by some recent writers), combines in a measure these two explanations. He thinks that Manaen was educated in Herod's family along with Antipas and some of his other children, and at the same time that he stood in the stricter relation to Antipas which *σύντροφος* denotes as *collactaneus*. He calls attention to the statement of Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. 1, § 3) that the brothers Antipas and Archelaus were educated in a private way at Rome (*Ἀρχέλαος δὲ καὶ Ἀντίπας ἐπὶ Ῥώμης παρά τινι ἰδιώτῃ τροφὰς εἶχον*), and though not supposing that Manaen accompanied them thither he thinks we may infer that Manaen enjoyed at home the same course of discipline and instruction (*σύντροφος* in that sense) as the two brothers, who are not likely to have been separated in their earlier, any more than in their later education. Yet as Manaen is called the *σύντροφος* of Herod only, Walch suggests that there may have been the additional tie in their case which resulted from their having had a common nurse.

It is a singular circumstance, to say the least, that Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 10, § 5) mentions a certain Manaem (*Μανάημος*), who was in high repute among the Essenes for wisdom and sanctity, and who foretold to Herod the Great, in early life, that he was destined to attain royal honors. After the fulfillment of the prediction the king treated the prophet with special favor, and honored the entire sect on his account (*πάντας ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοὺς Ἐσσηνοὺς*

[a] The naming of Cain (קַיִן) may suggest how Enosh came to bear a name signifying "man." "I have obtained a man (קָנִיתִי אִישׁ) from the LORD" (Gen. iv. 1).

[b] גָּבַר.

[c] Defective מְתִם, from an unused singular מֹת or מָת.

[d] מְתוּשָׁאֵל and מְתוּשֶׁלַח, where the word is not, as Gesenius would make it, changed by the construct state, but has a case-ending ִי, to be compared to the Arabic case-ending of the nominative, un, ûn, ûn, ŷ.

[e] The conjecture of Gesenius (*Lex.* s. v.), that the middle radical of מוּת is softened from *r* is not borne out by the Egyptian form, which is MRI "a dead one."

[f] מְתֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל; ὀλιγοστοὶ Ἰσραήλ. For the word "worm" compare Job xxv. 6; Ps. xxii. 6

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τιμῶν διετέλει). There was a class of the Essenes who had families (Walch, 237 f.), though others had not; and it has been conjectured with some plausibility that, as one of the results of Herod's friendship for the lucky soothsayer, he may have adopted one of his sons (who took the father's name), so far as to receive him into his family, and make him the companion of his children (see Walch, p. 234, &c.). Lightfoot surmises, as one of the possibilities, that the Manaem of Josephus may be the one mentioned in the Acts (*suspicioncm vel levem cieri potest hunc nostrum esse eundem*); but he deems it more probable (if it be certain that the Essenes had wives) that a son or some kinsman of the soothsayer may have been the prophet at Antioch. (See *Hora Hebr.* ii. 726 f.) The inevitable disparity in age which must have existed between the Essene of Josephus and Antipas, the son of Herod the Great, to say nothing of other difficulties, puts the former of their suppositions out of the question.

The precise interest which led Luke to recall the Herodian connection is not certain. Meyer's suggestion, that it may have been the contrast between the early relationship and Manaen's later *Christian* position (though he makes it of the first only), applies to one sense of σύντροφος as well as the other. A far-fetched motive need not be sought. Even such a casual relation to the great Jewish family of the age (whether it was that of a foster-brother or a companion of princes) was peculiar and interesting, and would be mentioned without any special object merely as a part of the individual's history. Walch's citations show that σύντροφος, as used of such intimacies (συντροφίαι), was a title greatly esteemed among the ancients; that it was often borne through life as a sort of proper name; and was recounted among the honors of the epitaph after death. It is found repeatedly on ancient monuments.

It may be added that Manaen, as a resident in Palestine (he may have been one of Herod's courtiers till his banishment to Gaul), could hardly fail to have had some personal knowledge of the Saviour's ministry. He must have spent his youth at Jerusalem or in that neighborhood; and among his recollections of that period, connected as he was with Herod's family, may have been the tragic scene of the massacre at Bethlehem. H. B. H.

MAN'AHATH (מְנַחַת [*rest*[a]]: [Vat.] Μαχαναθει; [Rom. -θι; Alex. Μαναχαθι:] *Manahath*), a place named in 1 Chr. viii. 6 only, in connection with the genealogies of the tribe of Benjamin. The passage is very obscure, and is not made less so by the translation of the A. V.; but the meaning probably is that the family of Ehud, the heads of the town of Geba, migrated thence, under the guidance of Naaman, Ahiah, and Gera, and settled at Manahath. Of the situation of Manahath we know little or nothing. It is tempting to believe it identical with the Menuchah mentioned, according to many interpreters, in Judg. xx. 43[b] (in the A. V. translated "with ease"). This has in its favor the close proximity in which the place, if a place, evidently stood to Gibeah, which was one of the chief towns of Benjamin, even if not identical with Geba. [MENUCHAH, Amer. ed.] Manahath is usually identified with a place of similar name in Judah, but, considering how hostile the relations of Judah and Benjamin were at the earlier period of the history, this identification is difficult to receive. The Chaldee Targum adds, "in the land of the house of Esau," *i. e.* in Edom. The Syriac and Arabic versions connect the name with that immediately following, and read "to the plain or pasture of Naaman." But these explanations are no less obscure than that which they seek to explain. [MANAHETHITES.]

G.

MAN'AHATH (מָנַחַת [*rest*]: in Gen. xxxvi. 23, Μαναχαθ; Alex. Μανναχαθ: *Manaha*. 1 Chr. i. 40, Μαχαναθ; [Vat. Μαχαναμ;] Alex. Μαναχαθ: *Mmahath*), one of the sons of Shobal, and descendant of Seir the Horite.

MANA'HETHITES, THE (הַמְּנֻחֹתִי, *i. e.* the Menuchoth, and הַמַּנַּחְתִּי, the Manachti: [in 52, Rom. Alex. Αμμανιθ, Vat. Μανει;] in 54, [Vat.] της Μαλαθει [Rom. -θι]; Alex. της Μανεθ: Vulg. translating, *dimidium requietionum*). "Half the Manahethites" are named in the genealogies of Judah as descended from Shobal, the father of Kirjath-jearim (1 Chr. ii. 52 [A. V. marg. "Menuchites"]), and half from Salma, the founder of Bethlehem (ver. 54). It seems to be generally accepted that the same place is referred to in each passage, though why the vowels should be so different — as it will be seen above they are — is not apparent. Nor has the writer succeeded in discovering why the translators of the A. V. rendered the two differing Hebrew words by the same English one.[c]

Of the situation or nature of the place or places we have as yet no knowledge. The town MANAHATH naturally suggests itself, but it seems impossible to identify a Benjamite town with a place occurring in the genealogies of Judah, and apparently in close connection with Bethlehem and with the house of Joab, the great opponent and murderer of Abner the Benjamite. It is more probably identical with Manocho (Μανοχό = מְנֻחוֹת), one of the eleven cities which in the LXX. text are inserted between verses 59 and 60 of Josh. xv., Bethlehem being another of the eleven. The writer of the Targum, playing on the word as if it were *Minchah*, "an offering," renders the passage in 1 Chr. ii. 52, "the disciples and priests who looked to the division of the offerings." His interpretation of ver. 54 is too long to quote here. See the editions of Wilkins and Beck, with the learned notes of the latter.

G.

MANASSE'AS (Μανασσίας; [Vat. Ald.] Alex. Μανασσῆας: *Manasses*) = MANASSEH 3, of the sons of Pahath Moab (1 Esdr. ix. 31; comp. Ezr. x. 30).

MANAS'SEH (מְנַשֶּׁה, *i. e.* M'nasheh [see below]: Μανασσῆ: *Manasses*), the eldest son of Joseph by his wife Asenath the Egyptian (Gen. xli 51, xlvi. 20). The birth of the child was the first thing which had occurred since Joseph's banish-

a • The Hebrew form of this name is the same as that of the personal name which follows, except the lengthened penult from its being in pause. H.

b The Vat. LXX. has ἀνὰ Νοῦε.

c They sometimes follow Junius and Tremellius but in this passage those translators have exactly reversed the A. V., and in both cases use the form Menuchot

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ment from Canaan to alleviate his sorrows and fill the void left by the father and the brother he so longed to behold, and it was natural that he should commemorate his acquisition in the name MANASSEH, "Forgetting" — "For God hath-made-me-forget (*nasheeni*) all my toil and all my father's house." Both he and Ephraim were born before the commencement of the famine.

Whether the elder of the two sons was inferior in form or promise to the younger, or whether there was any external reason to justify the preference of Jacob, we are not told. It is only certain that when the youths were brought before their aged grandfather to receive his blessing and his name, and be adopted as foreigners[a] into his family, Manasseh was degraded, in spite of the efforts of Joseph, into the second place. [EPHRAIM, vol. i. p. 752 *a*.] It is the first indication of the inferior rank in the nation which the tribe descended from him afterwards held, in relation to that of his more fortunate brother. But though, like his grand-uncle Esau, Manasseh had lost his birthright in favor of his younger brother, he received, as Esau had, a blessing only inferior to the birthright itself. Like his brother he was to increase with the fertility of the fish[b] which swarmed in the great Egyptian stream, to "become a people and also to be great" — the "thousands of Manasseh," no less than those of Ephraim, indeed more, were to become a proverb[c] in the nation, his name, no less than that of Ephraim, was to be the symbol and the expression of the richest blessings for his kindred.[d]

At the time of this interview Manasseh seems to have been about 22 years of age. Whether he married in Egypt we are not told. At any rate the names of no wives or lawful children are extant in the lists. As if to carry out most literally the terms of the blessing of Jacob, the mother of MACHIR, his eldest, indeed apparently his only son — who was really the foundation of the "thousands of Manasseh" — was no regular wife, but a Syrian or Aramite concubine (1 Chr. vii. 14), possibly a prisoner in some predatory expedition into Palestine, like that in which the sons of Ephraim lost their lives (1 Chr. vii. 21). It is recorded that the children of Machir were embraced[e] by Joseph before his death, but of the personal history of the patriarch Manasseh himself no trait whatever is given in the Bible, either in the Pentateuch or in the curious records preserved in 1 Chronicles. The ancient Jewish traditions are, however, less reticent. According to them Manasseh was the steward of Joseph's house, and the interpreter who intervened between Joseph and his brethren at their interview, and the extraordinary strength which he displayed in the struggle with and binding of Simeon, first caused Judah to suspect that the apparent Egyptians were really his own flesh and blood (see Targums Jerusalem and Pseudojon. on Gen. xlii. 23. xliii. 15; also the quotations in Weil's *Bibl. Legends*, p. 88 *note*).

The position of the tribe of Manasseh during the march to Canaan was with Ephraim and Benjamin on the west side of the sacred Tent. The standard of the three sons of Rachel was the figure of a boy with the inscription, "The cloud of Jehovah rested on them until they went forth out of the camp" (Targ. Pseudojon. on Num. ii. 18). The Chief of the tribe at the time of the census at Sinai was Gamaliel ben-Pedahzur, and its numbers were then 32,200 (Num. i. 10, 35, ii. 20, 21, vii. 54–59). The numbers of Ephraim were at the same date 40,500. Forty years later, on the banks of Jordan, these proportions were reversed. Manasseh had then increased to 52,700, while Ephraim had diminished to 32,500 (Num. xxvi. 34, 37). On this occasion it is remarkable that Manasseh resumes his position in the catalogue as the eldest son of Joseph. Possibly this is due to the prowess which the tribe had shown in the conquest of Gilead, for Manasseh was certainly at this time the most distinguished of all the tribes. Of the three who had elected to remain on that side of the Jordan, Reuben and Gad had chosen their lot because the country was suitable to their pastoral possessions and tendencies. But Machir, Jair, and Nobah, the sons of Manasseh, were no shepherds. They were pure warriors, who had taken the most prominent part in the conquest of those provinces which up to that time had been conquered, and whose deeds are constantly referred to (Num. xxxii. 39; Deut. iii. 13, 14, 15) with credit and renown. "Jair the son of Manasseh took all the tract of Argob . . . sixty great cities" (Deut. iii. 14; 4). "Nobah took Kenath and the daughter-towns thereof, and called it after his own name" (Num. xxxii. 42). "Because Machir was a man of war, therefore he had Gilead and Bashan" (Josh. xvii. 1). The district which these ancient warriors conquered was among the most difficult, if not the most difficult, in the whole country. It embraced the hills of Gilead with their inaccessible heights and impassable ravines, and the almost impregnable tract of Argob, which derives its modern name of *Lejah* from the secure "asylum" it affords to those who take refuge within its natural fortifications. Had they not remained

[a] This seems to follow from the expressions of xlviii. 5 and 9: "Thy two sons who were born unto thee in the land of Egypt" — "My sons whom God hath given me in this place," and from the solemn invocation over them of Jacob's "name," and the "names" of Abraham and Isaac (ver. 16), combined with the fact of Joseph having married an Egyptian, a person of different race from his own. The Jewish commentators overcome the difficulty of Joseph's marrying an entire foreigner, by a tradition that Asenath was the daughter of Dinah and Shechem. See Targum Pseudojon. on Gen. xli. 45.

[b] "And like fish become a multitude." Such is the literal rendering of the words יִרְבּוּ לָרֹב (Gen. xlviii. 16), which in the text of the A. V. are "grow into a multitude." The sense is preserved in the margin. The expression is no doubt derived from the which is to this day one of the most characteristic things in Egypt. Certainly, next to the vast stream itself, nothing could strike a native of Southern Palestine more, on his first visit to the banks of the Nile, than the abundance of its fish.

[c] The word "thousand" (אֶלֶף), in the sense of "family," seems to be more frequently applied to Manasseh than to any of the other tribes. See Deut. xxxiii. 17, and compare Judg. vi. 15, where "family" should be "thousand" — "my thousand is the poor one in Manasseh;" and 1 Chr. xii. 20.

[d] The Targum Pseudojon. on xlviii. 20 seems to intimate that the words of that verse were used as part of the formula at the rite of circumcision. They do not, however, appear in any of the accounts of that ceremony, as given by Buxtorf and others, that the writer has been able to discover.

[e] The Targum characteristically says *circumcised*

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in these wild and inaccessible districts, but had gone forward and taken their lot with the rest, who shall say what changes might not have occurred in the history of the nation, through the presence of such energetic and warlike spirits? The few personages of eminence whom we can with certainty identify as Manassites, such as Gideon and Jephthah — for Elijah and others may with equal probability have belonged to the neighboring tribe of Gad — were among the most remarkable characters that Israel produced. Gideon was in fact "the greatest of the judges, and his children all but established hereditary monarchy in their own line" (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 230). But with the one exception of Gideon the warlike tendencies of Manasseh seem to have been confined to the east of the Jordan. There they throve exceedingly, pushing their way northward over the rich plains of *Jaulân* and *Jedûr* — the Gaulanitis and Iturea of the Roman period — to the foot of Mount Hermon (1 Chr. v. 23). At the time of the coronation of David at Hebron, while the western Manasseh sent 18,000, and Ephraim itself 20,800, the eastern Manasseh, with Gad and Reuben, mustered to the number of 120,000, thoroughly armed — a remarkable demonstration of strength, still more remarkable when we remember the fact that Saul's house, with the great Abner at its head, was then residing at Mahanaim on the border of Manasseh and Gad. But, though thus outwardly prosperous, a similar fate awaited them in the end to that which befell Gad and Reuben; they gradually assimilated themselves to the old inhabitants of the country — they "transgressed against the God of their fathers, and went a-whoring after the gods of the people of the land whom God destroyed before them" (*ib.* 25). They relinquished too the settled mode of life and the defined limits which befitted the members of a federal nation, and gradually became Bedouins of the wilderness, spreading themselves over the vast deserts which lay between the allotted possessions of their tribe and the Euphrates, and which had from time immemorial been the hunting-grounds and pastures of the wild Hagarites of Jetur, Nephish, and Nodab (1 Chr. v. 19, 22). On them first descended the punishment which was ordained to be the inevitable consequence of such misdoing. They, first of all Israel, were carried away by Pul and Tiglath-Pileser, and settled in the Assyrian territories (*ib.* 26). The connection, however, between east and west had been kept up to a certain degree. In Beth-shean, the most easterly city of the cis-Jordanic Manasseh, the two portions all but joined. David had judges or officers there for all matters sacred and secular (1 Chr. xxvi. 32); and Solomon's commissariat officer, Ben-Geber, ruled over the towns of Jair and the whole district of Argob (1 K. iv. 13), and transmitted their productions, doubtless not without their people, to the court of Jerusalem.

The genealogies of the tribe are preserved in Num. xxvi. 28–34; Josh. xvii. 1, &c.; and 1 Chr. vii. 14–19. But it seems impossible to unravel these so as to ascertain for instance which of the families remained east of Jordan, and which advanced to the west. From the fact that Abi-ezer (the family of Gideon), Hepher (possibly Ophrah, the native place of the same hero), and Shechem (the well-known city of the Bene-Joseph) all occur among the names of the sons of Gilead the son of Machir, it seems probable that Gilead, whose name is so intimately connected with the eastern, was also the immediate progenitor of the western half of the tribe.[a]

Nor is it less difficult to fix the exact position of the territory allotted to the western half. In Josh. xvii. 14–18, a passage usually regarded by critics as an exceedingly ancient document, we find the two tribes of Joseph complaining that only one portion had been allotted to them, namely, Mount Ephraim (ver. 15), and that they could not extend into the plains of Jordan or Esdraelon, because those districts were still in the possession of the Canaanites, and scoured by their chariots. In reply Joshua advises them to go up into the forest (ver. 15, A. V. "wood") — into the mountain which is a forest (ver. 18). This mountain clothed with forest can surely be nothing but CARMEL, the "mountain" closely adjoining the portion of Ephraim, whose richness of wood was so proverbial. And it is in accordance with this view that the majority of the towns of Manasseh — which as the weaker portion of the tribe would naturally be pushed to seek its fortunes outside the limits originally bestowed — were actually on the slopes either of Carmel itself or of the contiguous ranges. Thus TAANACH and MEGIDDO were on the northern spurs of Carmel; IBLEAM appears to have been on the eastern continuation of the range, somewhere near the present *Jenîn*. EN-DOR was on the slopes of the so-called "Little Hermon." The two remaining towns mentioned as belonging to Manasseh formed the extreme eastern and western limits of the tribe; the one, BETH-SHEAN[b] (Josh xvii. 11), was in the hollow of the *Ghôr*, or Jordan-Valley; the other, DOR (*ibid.*), was on the coast of the Mediterranean, sheltered behind the range of Carmel, and immediately opposite the bluff or shoulder which forms its highest point. The whole of these cities are specially mentioned as standing in the allotments of other tribes, though inhabited by Manasseh; and this, with the absence of any attempt to define a limit to the possessions of the tribe on the north, looks as if no boundary-line had existed on that side, but as if the territory faded off gradually into those of the two contiguous tribes from whom it had borrowed its fairest cities. On the south side the boundary between Manasseh and Ephraim is more definitely described, and may be generally traced with tolerable certainty. It began on the east in the territory of Issachar (xvii. 10) at a place called ASHER,[c] (ver. 7) now *Yasîr*,

[a] If this is correct, it may probably furnish the clew to the real meaning of the difficult allusion to Gilead in Judg. vii. 3. [See p. 920 *b*.]

[b] "Bethsan in Manasseh" (Hap-Parchi, in Asher's *B. of T.* 401).

[c] The name of ASHER, as attached to a town, independent of the tribe, was overlooked by the writer at the proper time (אֲשֵׁר: Δηλαιάθ: Alex. Ασηρ: *Asar.*) It is mentioned in Josh. xvii. 7 only as the starting-point — evidently at its eastern end — of the boundary line separating Ephraim and Manasseh. It cannot have been at any great distance from Shechem, because the next point in the boundary is "the Michmethath facing Shechem." By Eusebius and Jerome in the *Onomasticon* (*sub voce* "Asar"), it is mentioned evidently from actual knowledge, as still retaining its name, and lying on the high road from Neapolis (*Nablus*), that is Shechem, to Scythopolis (*Beisan*), the ancient Beth-shean, fifteen Roman miles from the former. In the *Itinerarium Hieros.* (587) it occurs

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12 miles N. E. of *Nablus*. Thence it ran to Michmethah, described as facing Shechem (*Nablûs*), though now unknown; then went to the right, *i. e.* apparently[a] northward, to the spring of Tappuah, also unknown; there it fell in with the watercourses of the torrent Kanah — probably the *Nahr Falaik* — along which it ran to the Mediterranean.

From the indications of the history it would appear that Manasseh took very little part in public affairs. They either left all that to Ephraim, or were so far removed from the centre of the nation as to have little interest in what was taking place. That they attended David's coronation at Hebron has already been mentioned. When his rule was established over all Israel, each half had its distinct ruler — the western, Joel ben-Pedaiah, the eastern, Iddo ben-Zechariah (1 Chr. xxvii. 20, 21). From this time the eastern Manasseh fades entirely from our view, and the western is hardly kept before us by an occasional mention. Such scattered notices as we do find have almost all reference to the part taken by members of the tribe in the reforms of the good kings of Judah — the Jehovah-revival under Asa (2 Chr. xv. 9) — the Passover of Hezekiah (xxx. 1, 10, 11, 18), and the subsequent enthusiasm against idolatry (xxxi. 1),— the iconoclasms of Josiah (xxxiv. 6), and his restoration of the buildings of the Temple (ver. 9). It is gratifying to reflect that these notices, faint and scattered as they are, are all colored with good, and exhibit none of the repulsive traits of that most repulsive heathenism into which other tribes of Israel fell. It may have been at some such time of revival, whether brought about by the invitation of Judah, or, as the title in the LXX. would imply, by the dread of invasion, that Ps. lxxx. was composed. But on the other hand, the mention of Benjamin as in alliance with Ephraim and Manasseh, points to an earlier date than the disruption of the two kingdoms. Whatever its date may prove to be, there can be little doubt that the author of the psalm was a member of the house of Joseph.

A positive connection between Manasseh and Benjamin is implied in the genealogies of 1 Chr. vii., where Machir is said to have married into the family of Huppim and Shuppim, chief houses in the latter tribe (ver. 15). No record of any such relation appears to have been yet discovered in the historical books, nor is it directly alluded to except in the genealogy just quoted. But we know that a connection existed between the tribe of Benjamin and the town of Jabesh-Gilead, inasmuch as from that town were procured wives for four hundred out of the six hundred Benjamites who survived the slaughter of Gibeah (Judg. xxi. 12); and if Jabesh-Gilead was a town of Manasseh — as is very probable, though the fact is certainly nowhere stated — it does appear very possible that this was the relationship referred to in the genealogies. According to the statement of the narrrative two-thirds of the tribe of Benjamin must have been directly descended from Manasseh. Possibly we have here an explanation of the apparent connection between King Saul and the people of Jabesh. No appeal could have been more forcible to an oriental chieftain than that of his blood-relations when threatened with extermination (1 Sam. xi. 4, 5), while no duty was more natural than that which they in their turn performed to his remains (1 Sam. xxxi. 11). G.

MANASSEH (מְנַשֶּׁה [see above]: Μανασσῆς: *Manasses*), the thirteenth king of Judah. The reign of this monarch is longer than that of any other of the house of David. There is none of which we know so little. In part, it may be, this was the direct result of the character and policy of the man. In part, doubtless, it is to be traced to the abhorrence with which the following generation looked back upon it as the period of lowest degradation to which their country had ever fallen. Chroniclers and prophets pass it over, gathering from its horrors and disasters the great, broad lessons in which they saw the foot-prints of a righteous retribution, the tokens of a Divine compassion, and then they avert their eyes and will see and say no more. This is in itself significant. It gives a meaning and a value to every fact which has escaped the sentence of oblivion. The very reticence of the historians of the O. T. shows how free they were from the rhetorical exaggerations and inaccuracies of a later age. The struggle of opposing worships must have been as fierce under Manasseh as it was under Antiochus, or Decius, or Diocletian, or Mary. Men must have suffered and died in that struggle, of whom the world was not worthy, and yet no contrast can be greater than that between the short notices in Kings and Chronicles, and the martyrologies which belong to those other periods of persecution.

The birth of Manasseh is fixed twelve years before the death of Hezekiah, B. C. 710 (2 K. xvi. 1). We must, therefore, infer either that there had been no heir to the throne up to that comparatively late period in his reign, or that any that had been born had died, or that, as sometimes happened in the succession of Jewish and other eastern kings, the elder son was passed over for the younger. There are reasons which make the former the more probable alternative. The exceeding bitterness of Hezekiah's sorrow at the threatened approach of death (2 K. xx. 2, 3; 2 Chr. xxxii. 24; Is. xxxviii. 1–3) is more natural if we think of him as sinking under the thought that he was dying childless, leaving no heir to his work and to his kingdom. When, a little later, Isaiah warns him of the cap-

between "civitas Sciopoli" (*i. e.* Scythopolis) and "civ. Neapolis" as "Aser, ubi fuit villa Job." Where it lay then, it lies still. Exactly in this position M. Van de Velde (*Syr. and Pal.* ii. 336) has discovered a village called *Yasîr*, lying in the centre of a plain or basin, surrounded on the north and west by mountains, but on the east sloping away into a *Wady* called the Salt Valley, which forms a near and direct descent to the Jordan Valley. The road from *Nablus* to *Beisan* passes by the village. Porter (*Hdbk.* 348) gives the name as *Teyâsîr*.

It does not seem to have been important enough to allow us to suppose that its inhabitants are the Azmaveth, or Asherites of 2 Sam. ii. 9.

Van de Velde suggests that this may have been the spot on which the Midianites encamped when surprised by Gideon; but that was surely further to the north, nearer the spring of Charod and the plain of Esdraelon.

[a] The right (יְמִינָה) is generally taken to signify the South; and so Keil understands it in the place: but it seems more consonant with common sense and also with the probable course of the boundary — which could hardly have gone south of Shechem — to take it as the right of the person tracing this line from East to West *i. e.* North.

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tivity and shame which will fall on his children, he speaks of those children as yet future (2 K. xx. 18). This circumstance will explain one or two facts in the contemporary history. Hezekiah, it would seem, recovering from his sickness, anxious to avoid the danger that had threatened him of leaving his kingdom without an heir, marries, at or about this time, Hephzibah (2 K. xxi. 1), the daughter of one of the citizens or princes of Jerusalem (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 3, § 1). The prophets, we may well imagine, would welcome the prospect of a successor named by a king who had been so true and faithful. Isaiah (in a passage clearly belonging to a later date than the early portions of the book, and apparently suggested by some conspicuous marriage), with his characteristic fondness for tracing auguries in names, finds in that of the new queen a prophecy of the ultimate restoration of Israel and the glories of Jerusalem (Is. lxii. 4, 5; comp. Blunt, *Scriptural Coincid.* Part iii. 5). The city also should be a Hephzibah, a delightsome one. As the bridegroom rejoiceth over the bride, so would Jehovah rejoice over his people.[a] The child that is born from this union is called Manasseh. This name too is strangely significant. It appears nowhere else in the history of the kingdom of Judah. The only associations connected with it were, that it belonged to the tribe which was all but the most powerful of the hostile kingdom of Israel. How are we to account for so singular and unlikely a choice? The answer is, that the name embodied what had been for years the cherished object of Hezekiah's policy and hope. To take advantage of the overthrow of the rival kingdom by Shalmaneser, and the anarchy in which its provinces had been left, to gather round him the remnant of the population, to bring them back to the worship and faith of their fathers, this had been the second step in his great national reformation (2 Chr. xxx. 6). It was at least partially successful. "Divers of Asher, *Manasseh*, and Zebulun, humbled themselves and came to Jerusalem." They were there at the great passover. The work of destroying idols went on in Ephraim and *Manasseh* as well as in Judah (2 Chr. xxxi. 1). What could be a more acceptable pledge of his desire to receive the fugitives as on the same footing with his own subjects than that he should give to the heir to his throne the name in which one of their tribes exulted? What could better show the desire to let all past discords and offenses be forgotten than the name which was itself an amnesty? (Gesenius.)

The last twelve years of Hezekiah's reign were not, however, it will be remembered, those which were likely to influence for good the character of his successor. His policy had succeeded. He had thrown off the yoke of the king of Assyria, which Ahaz had accepted, had defied his armies, had been delivered from extremest danger, and had made himself the head of an independent kingdom, receiving tribute from neighboring princes instead of paying it to the great king, the king of Assyria. But he goes a step further. Not content with independence, he enters on a policy of aggression. He contracts an alliance with the rebellious viceroy of Babylon against their common enemy (2 K. xx. 12; Is. xxxix.). He displays the treasures of his kingdom to the ambassadors, in the belief that that will show them how powerful an ally he can prove himself. Isaiah protested against this step, but the ambition of being a great potentate continued, and it was to the results of this ambition that the boy Manasseh succeeded at the age of twelve. His accession appears to have been the signal for an entire change, if not in the foreign policy, at any rate in the religious administration of the kingdom. At so early an age he can scarcely have been the spontaneous author of so great an alteration, and we may infer accordingly that it was the work of the idolatrous, or Ahaz party, which had been repressed during the reign of Hezekiah, but had all along, like the Romish clergy under Edward VI. in England, looked on the reform with a sullen acquiescence, and thwarted it when they dared. The change which the king's measures brought about was after all superficial. The idolatry which was publicly discountenanced, was practiced privately (Is. i. 29, ii. 20, lxv. 3). The priests and the prophets, in spite of their outward orthodoxy, were too often little better than licentious drunkards (Is. xxviii. 7). The nobles of Judah kept the new moons and Sabbaths much in the same way as those of France kept their Lents, when Louis XIV. had made devotion a court ceremonial (Is. i. 13, 14). There are signs that even among the king's highest officers of state there was one, Shebna the scribe (Is. xxxvii. 2), the treasurer (Is. xxii. 15) "over the house," whose policy was simply that of a selfish ambition, himself possibly a foreigner (comp. Blunt's *Script. Coinc.* iii. 4), and whom Isaiah saw through and distrusted. It was, moreover, the traditional policy of "the princes of Judah" (comp. one remarkable instance in the reign of Joash, 2 Chr. xxiv. 17) to favor foreign alliances and the toleration of foreign worship, as it was that of the true priests and prophets to protest against it. It would seem, accordingly, as if they urged upon the young king that scheme of a close alliance with Babylon which Isaiah had condemned, and as the natural consequence of this, the adoption, as far as possible, of its worship, and that of other nations whom it was desirable to conciliate. The morbid desire for widening the range of their knowledge and penetrating into the mysteries of other systems of belief may possibly have contributed now, as it had done in the days of Solomon, to increase the evil (Jer. ii. 10–25; Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* iii. 666). The result was a debasement which had not been equaled even in the reign of Ahaz, uniting in one centre the abominations which elsewhere existed separately. Not content with sanctioning their presence in the Holy City, as Solomon and Rehoboam had done, he defiled with it the Sanctuary itself (2 Chr. xxxiii. 4). The worship thus introduced was, as has been said, predominantly Babylonian in its character. "He observed times, and used enchantments, and used witchcraft, and dealt with a familiar spirit, and with wizards" (*ibid.* ver. 6). The worship of "the host of heaven," which each man celebrated for himself on the roof of his own house, took the place of that of the Lord God of Sabaoth (2 K. xxiii. 12; Is. lxv. 3, 11; Zeph. i. 5; Jer. viii. 2, xix. 13, xxxii. 29). With this, however, there was associated the old Molech worship of the Ammonites. The fires were rekindled in the Valley of Ben-Hinnom. Tophet was (for the first time apparently) built into a stately fabric (2 K. xvi. 3 Is. xxx. 33, as compared with Jer. vii. 31, x x. 5 Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* iii. 667). Even the king's sons

[a] The bearing of this passage on the controversy as to the authorship and date of the later chapters of Isaiah is, at least, worth considering.

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instead of being presented to Jehovah, received a horrible fire-baptism dedicating them to Molech (2 Chr. xxxiii. 6), while others were actually slaughtered (Ez. xxiii. 37, 39). The Baal and Ashtaroth ritual, which had been imported under Solomon, from the Phœnicians, was revived with fresh splendor, and in the worship of the "Queen of heaven," fixed its roots deep into the habits of the people (Jer. vii. 18). Worse and more horrible than all, the Asherah, the image of Astarte, or the obscene symbol of a phallic worship (comp. ASHERAH, and in addition to the authorities there cited, Mayer, *De Reform. Josiæ*, etc., in the *Thes. theol. philol.* Amstel. 1701), was seen in the house of which Jehovah had said that He would there put His Name for ever (2 K. xxi. 7). All this was accompanied by the extremest moral degradation. The worship of those old Eastern religions has been well described as a kind of "sensuous intoxication," simply sensuous, and therefore associated inevitably with a fiendish cruelty, leading to the utter annihilation of the spiritual life of men (Hegel, *Philos. of History*, i. 3). So it was in Jerusalem in the days of Manasseh. Rival priests (the Chemarim of Zeph. i. 4) were consecrated for this hideous worship. Women dedicating themselves to a *cultus* like that of the Babylonian Mylitta, wove hangings for the Asherah, as they sat there (Mayer, cap. ii. § 4). The Kadeshim, in closest neighborhood with them, gave themselves up to yet darker abominations (2 K. xxiii. 7). The awful words of Isaiah (i. 10) had a terrible truth in them. Those to whom he spoke were literally "rulers of Sodom and princes of Gomorrah." Every faith was tolerated but the old faith of Israel. This was abandoned and proscribed. The altar of Jehovah was displaced (2 Chr. xxxiii. 16). The very ark of the covenant was removed from the sanctuary (2 Chr. xxxv. 3). The sacred books of the people were so systematically destroyed, that fifty years later, men listened to the Book of the Law of Jehovah as a newly discovered treasure (2 K. xxii. 8). It may well be, according to a Jewish tradition, that this fanaticism of idolatry led Manasseh to order the name Jehovah to be erased from all documents and inscriptions (Patrick, *ad loc.*). All this involved also a systematic violation of the weekly Sabbatic rest and the consequent loss of one witness against a merely animal life (Is. lvi. 2, lviii. 13). The tide of corruption carried away some even of those who, as priests and prophets, should have been steadfast in resisting it (Zeph. iii. 4; Jer. ii. 26, v. 13, vi. 13).

It is easy to imagine the bitter grief and burning indignation of those who continued faithful. The fiercest zeal of Huguenots in France, of Covenanters in Scotland, against the badges and symbols of the Latin Church, is perhaps but a faint shadow of that which grew to a white heat in the hearts of the worshippers of Jehovah. They spoke out in words of corresponding strength. Evil was coming on Jerusalem which should make the ears of men to tingle (2 K. xxi. 12). The line of Samaria and the plummet of the house of Ahab should be the doom of the Holy City. Like a vessel that had once been full of precious ointment (comp. the LXX. ἀλαβάστρον), but had afterwards become foul, Jerusalem should be emptied and wiped out, and exposed to the winds of heaven till it was cleansed. Foremost, we may well believe, among those who thus bore their witness, was the old prophet, now bent with the weight of fourscore years, who had in his earlier days protested with equal courage against the crimes of the king's grandfather. On him too, according to the old Jewish tradition, came the first shock of the persecution. [ISAIAH.] Habakkuk may have shared his martyrdom (Keil on 2 K. xxi.; but comp. HABAKKUK). But the persecution did not stop there. It attacked the whole order of the true prophets, and those who followed them. Every day witnessed an execution (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 3, § 1) The slaughter was like that under Alva or Charles IX. (2 K. xxi. 16). The martyrs who were faithful unto death had to endure not torture only, but the mocks and taunts of a godless generation (Is. lvii. 1–4). Long afterwards the remembrance of that reign of terror lingered in the minds of men as a guilt for which nothing could atone (2 K. xxiv. 4). The persecution, like most other persecutions carried on with entire singleness of purpose, was for a time successful (Jer. ii. 30). The prophets appear no more in the long history of Manasseh's reign. The heart and the intellect of the nation were crushed out, and there would seem to have been no chroniclers left to record this portion of its history.

Retribution came soon in the natural sequence of events. There are indications that the neighboring nations — Philistines, Moabites, Ammonites — who had been tributary under Hezekiah, revolted at some period in the reign of Manasseh, and asserted their independence (Zeph. ii. 4–15; Jer. xlvii., xlviii., xlix.). The Babylonian alliance bore the fruits which had been predicted. Hezekiah had been too hasty in attaching himself to the cause of the rebel-prince against Assyria. The rebellion of Merodach-Baladan was crushed, and then the wrath of the Assyrian king fell on those who had supported him. [ESARHADDON.] Judæa was again overrun by the Assyrian armies, and this time the invasion was more successful than that of Sennacherib. The city apparently was taken. The king himself was made prisoner and carried off to Babylon. There his eyes were opened, and he repented, and his prayer was heard, and the Lord delivered him (2 Chr. xxxiii. 12, 13; comp. Maurice, *Prophets and Kings*, p. 362).

Two questions meet us at this point. (1.) Have we satisfactory grounds for believing that this statement is historically true? (2.) If we accept it, to what period in the reign of Manasseh is it to be assigned? It has been urged in regard to (1) that the silence of the writer of the books of Kings is conclusive against the trustworthiness of the narrative of 2 Chronicles. In the former there is no mention made of captivity or repentance or return. The latter, it has been said, yields to the temptation of pointing a moral, of making history appear more in harmony with his own notions of the Divine government than it actually is. His anxiety to deal leniently with the successors of David leads him to invent at once a reformation and the captivity which is represented as its cause (Winer, *Rwb.* s. v. Manasseh; Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Alterth.* i. 2, p. 131; Hitzig, *Begr. d. Kritik*, p. 130, quoted by Keil). It will be necessary, in dealing with this objection, to meet the skeptical critic on his own ground. To say that his reasoning contradicts our belief in the inspiration of the historical books of Scripture, and is destructive of all reverence for them, would involve a *petitio principii*, and however strongly it may influence our feelings, we are bound to find another answer. It is believed that that answer is not far to seek. (1.) The silence of

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a writer who sums up the history of a reign of 55 years in 19 verses as to one alleged event in it is surely a weak ground for refusing to accept that event on the authority of another historian. (2.) The omission is in part explained by the character of the narrative of 2 K. xxi. The writer deliberately turns away from the history of the days of shame, and not less from the personal biography of the king. He looks on the reign only as it contributed to the corruption and final overthrow of the kingdom, and no after repentance was able to undo the mischief that had been done at first. (3.) Still keeping on the level of human probabilities, the character of the writer of 2 Chronicles, obviously a Levite, and looking at the facts of the history from the Levite point of view, would lead him to attach greater importance to a partial reinstatement of the old ritual and to the cessation of persecution, and so to give them in proportion a greater prominence. (4.) There is one peculiarity in the history which is, in some measure, of the nature of an undesigned coincidence, and so confirms it. The captains of the host of Assyria take Manasseh to Babylon. Would not a later writer, inventing the story, have made the Assyrian, and not the Babylonian capital, the scene of the captivity; or if the latter were chosen for the sake of harmony with the prophecy of Is. xxxix., have made the king of Babylon rather than of Assyria the captor?[a] As it is, the narrative fits in, with the utmost accuracy, to the facts of oriental history. The first attempt of Babylon to assert its independence of Nineveh failed. It was crushed by Esarhaddon (the first or second of that name; comp. ESARHADDON, and Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* iii. 675), and for a time the Assyrian king held his court at Babylon, so as to effect more completely the reduction of the rebellious province. There is (5) the fact of agreement with the intervention of the Assyrian king in 2 K. xvii. 24, just at the same time. The king is not named there, but Ezra iv. 2, 10, gives Asnappar, and this is probably only another form of Asardanapar, and this = Esarhaddon (comp. Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 676; Tob. i. 21 gives Sarchedonus). The importation of tribes from Eastern Asia thus becomes part of the same policy as the attack on Judah. On the whole, then, the objection may well be dismissed as frivolous and vexatious. Like many other difficulties urged by the same school, it has in it something at once captious and puerile. Those who lay undue stress on them act in the spirit of a clever boy asking puzzling questions, or a sharp advocate getting up a case against the evidence on the other side, rather than in that of critics who have learnt how to construct a history and to value its materials rightly (comp. Keil, *Comm. on* 2 K. xxi.). Ewald, a critic of a nobler stamp, whose fault is rather that of fantastic reconstruction than needless skepticism (*Gesch. Isr.* iii. 678), admits the groundwork of truth. Would the prophecy of Isaiah, it may be asked, have been recorded and preserved if it had not been fulfilled? Might not Manasseh's release have been, as Ewald suggests, the direct consequence of the death of Esarhaddon?

The circumstance just noticed enables us to return an approximate answer to the other question. The duration of Esarhaddon's Babylonian reign is calculated as from B. C. 680–667; and Manasseh's captivity must therefore have fallen within those limits. A Jewish tradition (Seder Olam Rabba, c. 24) fixes the 22d year of his reign as the exact date; and this, according as we adopt the earlier or the later date of his accession, would give B. C. 676 or 673.

The period that followed is dwelt upon by the writer of 2 Chr. as one of a great change for the better. The discipline of exile made the king feel that the gods whom he had chosen were powerless to deliver, and he turned in his heart to Jehovah, the God of his fathers. The compassion or death of Esarhaddon led to his release, and he returned after some uncertain interval of time to Jerusalem. It is not improbable that his absence from that city had given a breathing-time to the oppressed adherents of the ancient creed, and possibly had brought into prominence, as the provisional ruler and defender of the city, one of the chief members of the party. If the prophecy of Is. xxii. 15 received, as it probably did, its fulfillment in Shebna's sharing the captivity of his master, there is nothing extravagant in the belief that we may refer to the same period the noble words which speak of Eliakim the son of Hilkiah as taking the place which Shebna should leave vacant, and rising up to be "a father unto the inhabitants of Jerusalem and to the house of Judah," having "the key of the house of David on his shoulder."

The return of Manasseh was at any rate followed by a new policy. The old faith of Israel was no longer persecuted. Foreign idolatries were no longer thrust, in all their foulness, into the Sanctuary itself. The altar of the Lord was again restored, and peace-offerings and thank-offerings sacrificed to Jehovah (2 Chr. xxxiii. 15, 16). But beyond this the reformation did not go. The ark was not restored to its place. The book of the Law of Jehovah remained in its concealment. Satisfied with the feeling that they were no longer worshipping the gods of other nations by name, they went on with a mode of worship essentially idolatrous. "The people did sacrifice still in the high places, but to Jehovah their God only" (*ibid.* ver. 17).

The other facts known of Manasseh's reign connect themselves with the state of the world round him. The Assyrian monarchy was tottering to its fall, and the king of Judah seems to have thought that it was still possible for him to rule as the head of a strong and independent kingdom. If he had to content himself with a smaller territory, he might yet guard its capital against attack, by a new wall defending what had been before its weak side, "to the entering in of the fish-gate," and completing the tower of Ophel,[b] which had been begun, with a like purpose, by Jotham (2 Chr. xxvii. 3). Nor were the preparations for defense limited to Jerusalem. "He put captains of war in all the fenced cities of Judah." There was, it must be remembered, a special reason for this attitude, over and above that afforded by the condition of Assyria. Egypt had emerged from the chaos of the Dodecarchy and the Ethiopian intruders, and was become

[a] It may be noticed that this was actually done in later apocryphal traditions (see below).

[b] A comparison of the description of these fortifications with Zeph. i. 10 gives a special interest and force to the prophet's words. Manasseh had strengthened the city where it was most open to attack. Zephaniah points to the defenses, and says that they shall avail nothing. It is useless to trust in them: "There shall be the noise of a cry *from the fish-gate*."

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strong and aggressive under Psammitichus. Pushing his arms northwards, he attacked the Philistines; and the twenty-nine years' siege of Azotus must have fallen wholly or in part within the reign of Manasseh. So far his progress would not be unacceptable. It would be pleasant to see the old hereditary enemies of Israel, who had lately grown insolent and defiant, meet with their masters. About this time, accordingly, we find the thought of an Egyptian alliance again beginning to gain favor. The prophets, and those who were guided by them, dreaded this more than anything, and entered their protest against it. Not the less, however, from this time forth, did it continue to be the favorite idea which took possession of the minds of the lay-party of the princes of Judah. The very name of Manasseh's son, Amon, barely admitting a possible Hebrew explanation, but identical in form and sound with that of the great sun-god of Egypt (so Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 665), is probably an indication of the gladness with which the alliance of Psammitichus was welcomed. As one of its consequences, it involved probably the supply of troops from Judah to serve in the armies of the Egyptian king. Without adopting Ewald's hypothesis that this is referred to in Deut. xxviii. 68, it is yet likely enough in itself, and Jer. ii. 14–16 seems to allude to some such state of things. In return for this, Manasseh, we may believe, received the help of the chariots and horses for which Egypt was always famous (Is. xxxi. 1). (Comp. Aristeas, *Epist. ad Philocr.* in Haverscamp's *Josephus*, ii. p. 104).[a] If this was the close of Manasseh's reign, we can well understand how to the writer of the books of Kings it would seem hardly better than the beginning, leaving the root-evil uncured, preparing the way for worse evils than itself. We can understand how it was that on his death he was buried as Ahaz had been, not with the burial of a king, in the sepulchres of the house of David, but in the garden of Uzza (2 K. xxi. 26), and that, long afterwards, in spite of his repentance, the Jews held his name in abhorrence, as one of the three kings (the other two are Jeroboam and Ahab) who had no part in eternal life (*Sanhedr.* ch. xi. 1, quoted by Patrick on 2 Chr. xxxiii. 13).

And the evil was irreparable. The habits of a sensuous and debased worship had eaten into the life of the people; and though they might be repressed for a time by force, as in the reformation of Josiah, they burst out again, when the pressure was removed, with fresh violence, and rendered even the zeal of the best of the Jewish kings fruitful chiefly in hypocrisy and unreality.

The intellectual life of the people suffered in the same degree. The persecution cut off all who, trained in the schools of the prophets, were the thinkers and teachers of the people. The reign of Manasseh witnessed the close of the work of Isaiah and Habakkuk at its beginning, and the youth of Jeremiah and Zephaniah at its conclusion, but no prophetic writings illumine that dreary half century of debasement.[b] The most fearful symptom of all, when a prophet's voice was again heard during the minority of Josiah, was the atheism which, then as in other ages, followed on the confused adoption of a confluent polytheism (Zeph. i. 12). It is surely a strained, almost a fantastic hypothesis, to assign (as Ewald does) to such a period two such noble works as Deuteronomy and the Book of Job. Nor was this dying-out of a true faith the only evil. The systematic persecution of the worshippers of Jehovah accustomed the people to the horrors of a religious war; and when they in their turn gained the ascendency, they used the opportunity with a fiercer sternness than had been known before. Jehoshaphat and Hezekiah in their reforms had been content with restoring the true worship and destroying the instruments of the false. In that of Josiah, the destruction extends to the priests of the high places, whom he sacrifices on their own altars (2 K. xxiii. 20).

But little is added by later tradition to the O. T. narrative of Manasseh's reign. The prayer that bears his name among the apocryphal books can hardly, in the absence of any Hebrew original, be considered as identical with that referred to in 2 Chr. xxxiii., and is probably rather the result of an attempt to work out the hint there supplied than the reproduction of an older document. There are reasons, however, for believing that there existed at some time or other, a fuller history, more or less legendary, of Manasseh and his conversion, from which the prayer may possibly have been an *excerpt* preserved for devotional purposes (it appears for the first time in the Apostolical Constitutions) when the rest was rejected as worthless. Scattered here and there, we find the *disjecta membra* of such a work. Among the offenses of Manasseh, the most prominent is, that he places in the sanctuary an ἄγαλμα τετραπρόσωπον of Zeus (Suidas, *s. v.* Μανασσῆς; Georg. Syncellus, *Chronograph.* i. 404). The charge on which he condemns Isaiah to death is that of blasphemy, the words, "I saw the Lord" (Is. vi. 1) being treated as a presumptuous boast at variance with Ex. xxxiii. 20 (Nic. de Lyra, from a Jewish treatise: *Jebamoth*, quoted by Amama, in *Crit. Sacri* on 2 K. xxi.). Isaiah is miraculously rescued. A cedar opens to receive him. Then comes the order that the cedar should be sawn through (*ibid.*). That which made this sin the greater was, that the king's mother, Hephzibah, was the daughter of Isaiah. When Manasseh was taken captive by Merodach and taken to Babylon (Suidas), he was thrown into prison and

[a] The passage referred to occurs in the opening paragraphs of the letter of the Pseudo-Aristeas. He is speaking of the large number of Jews (100,000) who had been brought into Egypt by Ptolemy, the son of Lagus. "They, however," he says, "were not the only Jews there. Others, though not so many, had come in with the Persian. Before that, troops had been sent, by virtue of a treaty of alliance, to help Psammitichus against the Ethiopians." The direct authority of this writer is, of course, not very great; but the absence of any motive for the invention of such a fact makes it probable that he was following some historical records. Ewald, it should be mentioned, claims the credit of having been the first to discover the bearing of this fact on the history of Manasseh's reign. Another indication that Ethiopia was looked on, about this time, as among the enemies of Judah, may be found in Zeph. ii. 12, while in Zeph. iii. 10 we have a clear statement of the fact that a great multitude of the people had found their way to that remote country. The story told by Herodotus of the revolt of the Automoli (ii. 30) indicates the necessity which led Psammitichus to gather mercenary troops from all quarters for defense of that frontier of his kingdom.

[b] There is a possible exception to this in the existence of a prophet Hosai (the Vulg. rendering, where the LXX. has τῶν ὁρώντων, and the A. V. "the seers") (2 Chr. xxxiii. 19); but nothing else is known of him

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fed daily with a scanty allowance of bran-bread and water mixed with vinegar. Then came his condemnation. He was encased in a brazen image (the description suggests a punishment like that of the bull of Perillus), but he repented and prayed, and the image clave asunder, and he escaped (Suidas and Georg. Syncellus). Then he returned to Jerusalem and lived righteously and justly.

E. H. P.

2. (Μανασσῆ; [Vat. Μανασση:] *Manasse.*) One of the descendants of Pahath-Moab, who in the days of Ezra had married a foreign wife (Ezr. x 30). In 1 Esdr. ix. 31 he is called MANASSEAS.

3. One of the laymen, of the family of Hashum, who put away his foreign wife at Ezra's command (Ezr. x. 33). He is called MANASSES in 1 Esdr. ix. 33.

4. ([Μανασσῆ; Alex. Μανασση:] *Moyses.*) In the Hebrew text of Judg. xviii. 30, the name of the priest of the graven image of the Danites is given as "Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Manasseh"; the last word being written מנשה, and a Masoretic note calling attention to the "*nun* suspended." "The fate of this superpositious letter," says Kennicott (*Diss.* ii. 53), "has been very various, sometimes placed over the word, sometimes suspended half way, and sometimes uniformly inserted." Jarchi's note upon the passage is as follows: "On account of the honor of Moses he wrote *Nun* to change the name; and it is written suspended to signify that it was not Manasseh but Moses." The LXX., Peshito-Syriac, and Chaldee all read "Manasseh," but the Vulgate retains the original and undoubtedly the true reading, *Moyses.* Three of De Rossi's MSS. had originally משה, "Moses;" and this was also the reading "of three Greek MSS. in the Library of St. Germain at Paris, of one in the Library of the Carmelites of the same place, of a Greek MS., No. 331, in the Vatican, and of a MS. of the Octateuch in University College Library, Oxford" (Burrington, *Genealogies*, i. 86). A passage in Theodoret is either an attempt to reconcile the two readings, or indicates that in some copies at least of the Greek they must have coexisted. He quotes the clause in question in this form, Ἰωνάθαν . . . υἱὸς Μανασσῆ υἱοῦ Γηρσὰμ υἱοῦ Μωσῆ; and this apparently gave rise to the assertion of Hiller (*Arcanum Keri et Kethib*, p. 187, quoted by Rosenmüller on Judg. xviii. 30), that the "Nun suspended" denotes that the previous word is transposed. He accordingly proposes to read יהונתן בן מנשה בן גרשם: but although his judgment on the point is accepted as final by Rosenmüller, it has not the smallest authority. Kennicott attributes the presence of the *Nun* to the corruption of MSS. by Jewish transcribers. With regard to the chronological difficulty of accounting for the presence of a grandson of Moses at an apparently late period, there is every reason to believe that the last five chapters of Judges refer to earlier events than those after which they are placed. In xx. 28 Phinehas the son of Eleazar, and therefore the grandson of Aaron, is said to have stood before the ark, and there is therefore no difficulty in supposing that a grandson of Moses might be alive at the same time, which was not long after the death of Joshua. Josephus places the episode of the Benjamites before that of the Gadites, and introduces them both before the invasion of Chushanrishathaim and the deliverance of Israel by Othniel, narrated in Judg. iii. (*Ant.* v. 2, § 8–v. 3, § 1: see also Kennicott's *Dissertations*, ii. 51–57; *Dissert. Gener.* p. 10). It may be as well to mention a tradition recorded by R. David Kimchi, that in the genealogy of Jonathan, Manasseh is written for Moses because he did the deed of Manasseh, the idolatrous king of Judah. A note from the margin of a Hebrew MS. quoted by Kennicott (*Diss. Gen.* p. 10) is as follows: "He is called by the name of Manasseh the son of Hezekiah, for he also made the graven image in the Temple." It must be confessed that the point of this is not very apparent. W. A. W.

MANAS'SES (Μανασσῆς; [Vat. Μανασση:] *Manasses*). 1. MANASSEH 4, of the sons of Hashum (1 Esdr. ix. 33; comp. Ezr. x. 33).

2. MANASSEH, king of Judah (Matt. i. 10), to whom the apocryphal prayer is attributed.

3. MANASSEH, the son of Joseph (Rev. vii. 6).

4. A wealthy inhabitant of Bethulia, and husband of Judith, according to the legend. He was smitten with a sunstroke while superintending the laborers in his fields, leaving Judith a widow with great possessions (Jud. viii. 2, 7, x. 3, xvi. 22, 23, 24), and was buried between Dothan and Baalhamon.

MANAS'SES, THE PRAYER OF (προσευχὴ Μανασσῆ). 1. The repentance and restoration of Manasseh (2 Chr. xxxiii. 12 ff.) furnished the subject of many legendary stories (Fabric. *Cod. Apocr. V. T.* i. 1101 f.). "His prayer unto his God" was still preserved "in the book of the kings of Israel" when the Chronicles were compiled (2 Chr. xxxiii. 18), and, after this record was lost, the subject was likely to attract the notice of later writers.[a] "The Prayer of Manasseh," which is found in some MSS. of the LXX., is the work of one who has endeavored to express, not without true feeling, the thoughts of the repentant king. It opens with a description of the majesty of God (1–5), which passes into a description of his mercy in granting repentance to sinners (6–8, ἐμοὶ τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ). Then follows a personal confession and supplication to God as "the God of them that repent," "hymned by all the powers of heaven," to whom belongs "glory for ever" (9–15, σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας). "And the Lord heard the voice of Manasses and pitied him," the legend continues, "and there came around him a flame of fire, and all the irons about him (τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν σιδηρᾶ) were melted, and the Lord delivered him out of his affliction" (*Const. Apost.* ii. 22; comp. Jul. Afric. ap. Routh, *Rel. Sac.* ii. 288).

2. The Greek text is undoubtedly original, and not a mere translation from the Hebrew; and even within the small space of fifteen verses some peculiarities are found (ἄστεκτος, κλίνειν γόνυ καρδίας, παροργίζειν τὸν θυμόν, τίθεσθαι μετάνοιαν τινι). The writer was well acquainted with the LXX. (τὰ κατάστατα τῆς γῆς, τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χρηστοτητός σου, πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις τῶν οὐρανῶν) but beyond this there is nothing to determine the

[a] Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 679) is inclined to think that the Greek may have been based on the Hebrew. There is at least no trace of such an origin of the Greek text

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date at which he lived. The allusion to the patriarchs (ver. 8, δίκαιοι; ver. 1, τὸ σπέρμα αὐτῶν τὸ δίκαιον) appears to fix the authorship on a Jew; but the clear teaching on repentance points to a time certainly not long before the Christian era. There is no indication of the place at which the Prayer was written.

3. The earliest reference to the Prayer is contained in a fragment of Julius Africanus (cir. 221 A. D.), but it may be doubted whether the words in their original form clearly referred to the present composition (Jul. Afric. *fr.* 40). It is, however, given at length in the Apostolical Constitutions (ii. 22), in which it is followed by a narrative of the same apocryphal facts (§ 1) as are quoted from Africanus. The Prayer is found in the Alexandrine MS. in the collection of hymns and metrical prayers which is appended to the Psalter — a position which it generally occupies; but in the three Latin MSS. used by Sabatier it is placed at the end of 2 Chr. (Sabat. *Bibl. Lat.* iii. 1038).

4. The Prayer was never distinctly recognized as a canonical writing, though it was included in many MSS. of the LXX. and of the Latin version, and has been deservedly retained among the apocrypha in A. V. and by Luther. The Latin translation which occurs in Vulgate MSS. is not by the hand of Jerome, and has some remarkable phrases (*insustentabilis*, *importibilis* (ἀνυπόστατος), *omnis virtus cælorum*); but there is no sufficient internal evidence to show whether it is earlier or later than his time. It does not, however, seem to have been used by any Latin writer of the first four centuries, and was not known to Victor Tunonensis in the 6th (Ambrosius, iv. 989, ed. Migne).

5. The Commentary of Fritzsche (*Exeg. Handb.* 1851) contains all that is necessary for the interpretation of the Prayer, which is, indeed, in little need of explanation. The Alexandrine text seems to have been interpolated in some places, while it also omits a whole clause; but at present the materials for settling a satisfactory text have not been collected. B. F. W.

MANASSITES, THE (הַמְנַשִּׁי, *i. e.* "the Manassite": ὁ Μανασσῆ [or -σσῆς; Alex. in Deut. and Judg. Μανασση or -σης:] *Manasse*), that is, the members of the tribe of Manasseh. The word occurs but thrice in the A. V. namely, Deut. iv. 43; Judg. xii. 4; and 2 K. x. 33. In the first and last of these the original is as given above, but in the other it is "Manasseh" — "Fugitives of Ephraim are you, Gilead; in the midst of Ephraim, in the midst of Manasseh." It may be well to take this opportunity of remarking, that the point of the verse following that just quoted is lost in the A. V., from the word which in ver. 4 is rightly rendered "fugitive" being there given as "those which were escaped." Ver. 5 would more accurately be, "And Gilead seized the fords of the Jordan-of-Ephraim; and it was so that when fugitives of Ephraim said, 'I will go over,' the men of Gilead said to him, 'Art thou an Ephraimite?'" — the point being that the taunt of the Ephraimites was turned against themselves. G.

MANDRAKES (דּוּדָאִים, *dudâim*: μῆλα μανδραγορῶν, οἱ μανδραγόραι: *mandragoræ*). "It were a wearisome and superfluous task," says Oedmann (*Vermisch. Samml.* i. v. 95), "to quote and pass judgment on the multitude of authors who have written about *dudaim*:" but the reader who cares to know the literature of the subject will find a long list of authorities in Celsius (*Hierob.* i. 1 ff.) and in Rudbeck (*De Dudâim Rubenis*, Upsal, 1733). See also Winer (*Bibl. Realwört.* "Alraun"). The *dudâim* (the word occurs only in the plural number) are mentioned in Gen. xxx. 14, 15, 16, and in Cant. vii. 13. From the former passage we learn that they were found in the fields of Mesopotamia, where Jacob and his wives were at one time living, and that the fruit (μῆλα μανδραγορῶν, LXX.) was gathered "in the days of wheat-harvest," *i. e.* in May. There is evidently also an allusion to the supposed properties of this plant to promote conception, hence Rachel's desire of obtaining the fruit, for as yet she had not borne children. In Cant. vii. 13 it is said, "the *dudâim* give a smell, and at our gates are all manner of pleasant fruits" — from this passage we learn that the plant in question was strong-scented, and that it grew in Palestine. Various attempts have been made to identify the *dudâim*. Rudbeck the younger — the same who maintained that the quails which fed the Israelites in the wilderness were "flying fish," and who, as Oedmann has truly remarked, seems to have a special gift for demonstrating anything he pleases — supposed the *dudâim* were "bramble-berries" (*Rubus cæsius*, Linn.), a theory which deserves no serious consideration. Celsius, who supposes that a kind of Rhamnus is meant, is far from satisfactory in his conclusions; he identifies the *dudâim* with what he calls *Lotus Cyrenaica*, the *Sidra* of Arabic authors. This appears to be the lotus of the ancients, *Zizyphus lotus*. See Shaw's *Travels*, i. 263, and Sprengel, *Hist. Rei herb.* i. 251; Freytag, *Ar. Lex.* s. v. سدر. Celsius's argument is based entirely upon the authority of a certain Rabbi (see Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* p. 1202), who asserts the *dudâim* to be the fruit of the *mayish* (the lotus?);[b] but the authority of a single Rabbi is of little weight against the almost unanimous testimony of the ancient versions. With still less reason have Castell (*Lex. Hept.* p. 2052) and Ludolf (*Hist. Æth.* i. c. 9), and a few others, advanced a claim for the *Musa paradisiaca*, the banana, to denote the *dudâim*. Faber, following Ant. Deusing (*Dissert. de Dudaim*), thought the *dudâim* were small sweet-scented melons (*Cucumis dudaim*), which grow in Syria, Egypt, and Persia, known by the Persians as *distembujeh*, a word which means "fragrance in the hand;" and Sprengel (*Hist.* i. 17) appears to have entertained a similar belief. This theory is certainly more plausible than many others that have been adduced, but it is unsupported except by the Persian version in Genesis. Various other conjectures have from time to time been made, as that the *dudâim* are "lilies," or "citrons," or "baskets of figs" — all mere theories.

[a] Various etymologies have been proposed for this word; the most probable is that it comes from the root דּוּד, "to love," whence דּוֹד, 'love.'

[b] מַיִישׁ. This plant, according to Abulfadl., corresponds with the Arabic مَيْش, which, however, Sprengel identifies with *Zizyphus Paliurus*.

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The most satisfactory attempt at identification is certainly that which supposes the mandrake (*Atropa mandragora*) to be the plant denoted by the Hebrew word. The LXX., the Vulg., the Syriac, and the Arabic versions, the Targums, the most learned of the Rabbis, and many later commentators, are in favor of the translation of the A. V. The arguments which Celsius has adduced against the mandrake being the *dudâim* have been most ably answered by Michaelis (see *Supp. ad Lex. Heb.* No. 451). It is well known that the mandrake is far from odoriferous, the whole plant being, in European estimation at all events, very fetid; on this account Celsius objected to its being the *dudâim*, which he supposed were said in the Canticles to be fragrant. Michaelis has shown that nothing of the kind is asserted in Scripture: the *dudâim* "give forth an odor," which, however, may be one of no fragrant nature; the invitation to



The Mandrake (*Atropa mandragora*).

the "beloved to go forth into the field" is full of force if we suppose the *dudâim* ("love plants") to denote the mandrake.[a] Again, the odor or flavor of plants is after all a matter of opinion, for Schulz (*Leitung. des Höchsten*, v. 197), who found mandrakes on Mount Tabor, says of them, "they have a delightful smell, and the taste is equally agreeable, though *not to everybody*." Mariti (*Trav.* iii. 146) found on the 7th of May, near the hamlet of St. John in Mount Juda," mandrake plants, the fruit of which he says "is of the size and color of a small apple, ruddy and of a most *agreeable odor*." Oedmann, after quoting a number of authorities to show that the mandrakes were prized by the Arabs for their odor, makes the following just remark: "It is known that Orientals set an especial value on strongly smelling things that to more delicate European senses are unpleasing The intoxicating qualities of the mandrake, far from lessening its value, would rather add to it, for every one knows with what relish the Orientals use all kinds of preparations to produce intoxication."

The Arabic version of Saadias has *luffaḥ*[b] = mandragora; in Onkelos *yabruchin*, and in Syriac *yabruch*[c] express the Hebrew *dudâim*: now we learn from Mariti (*Trav.* iii. 146, ed. Lond. 1792), that a word similar to this last was applied by the Arabs to the mandrake — he says, "the Arabs call it *jabrohak*."[d] Celsius asserts that the mandrake has not the property which has been attributed to it: it is, however, a matter of common belief in the East that this plant has the power to aid in the procreation of offspring. Schulz, Maundrell, Mariti, all allude to it; compare also Dioscorides, iv. 76, Sprengel's Annotations; and Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* ix. 9, § 1. Venus was called *Mandragoritis* by the ancient Greeks (Hesych. *s. v.*), and the fruit of the plant was termed "apples of love."

That the fruit was fit to be gathered at the time of wheat-harvest is clear from the testimony of several travellers. Schulz found mandrake-apples on the 15th of May. Hasselquist saw them at Nazareth early in May. He says: "I had not the pleasure to see the plant in blossom, the fruit now [May 5, O. S.] hanging ripe on the stem which lay withered on the ground" — he conjectures that they are Rachel's *dudâim*. Dr. Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, p. 577) found mandrakes ripe on the lower ranges of Lebanon and Hermon towards the end of April.

From a certain rude resemblance of old roots of the mandrake to the human form, whence Pythagoras is said to have called the mandrake ἀνθρωπόμορφον, and Columella (10, 19) *semihomo*, some strange superstitious notions have arisen concerning it. Josephus (*B. J.* vii. 6, § 3) evidently alludes to one of these superstitions, though he calls the plant *baaras*. In a Vienna MS. of Dioscorides is a curious drawing which represents Euresis, the goddess of discovery, handing to Dioscorides a root of the mandrake; the dog employed for the purpose is depicted in the agonies of death (Daubeny's *Roman Husbandry*, p. 275).[e]

The mandrake is found abundantly in the Grecian islands, and in some parts of the south of Europe. The root is spindle-shaped and often divided into two or three forks. The leaves, which are long, sharp-pointed, and hairy, rise immediately from the ground; they are of a dark-green color. The flowers are dingy white, stained with veins of purple. The fruit is of a pale orange color, and about the size of a nutmeg: but it would appear that the plant varies considerably in appearance

[a] "Qui quidem quod hircinus est quodammodo, visusque mandragorse in Aphrodisiacis laudantur, amoribus auras perflare videtur et ad eos stimulare."

[b] لُفَّاح. [c] יְבְרוּחִין. [d] The Arabs call the fruit *tuphach el-sheitan*, "the devil's apple," from its power to excite voluptuousness

[e] Comp. also Shaksp. *Henry IV.*, Pt. II. Act. i. Sc 2; *Rom. and Jul.*, Act iv. Sc. 3; D'Herbelot, *Bibliot. Orient.* s. v. "Abromanam."

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according to the localities where it grows. The mandrake (*Atropa mandragora*) is closely allied to the well-known deadly nightshade (*A. belladonna*), and belongs to the order *Solanaceæ*. W. H.

* The Arabs of Mt. Lebanon also call the *Mandragora officinalis* (i. e. *Atropa mandragora*), بَيْض الْجِن (Baidh ul-Jinn) = *eggs of Genii*, no doubt in allusion to their supposed virtues. G. E. P.

MANEH. [WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.]

MANGER. This word occurs only in connection with the birth of Christ, in Luke ii. 7, 12, 16. The original term is φάτνη, which is found but once besides in the N. T., namely, Luke xiii. 15, where it is rendered by "stall." The word in classical Greek undoubtedly means a manger, crib, or feeding-trough (see Liddell and Scott, *Lex.* s. v.); but according to Schleusner its real signification in the N. T. is the open court-yard, attached to the inn or khan, and enclosed by a rough fence of stones, wattle, or other slight material, into which the cattle would be shut at night, and where the poorer travellers might unpack their animals and take up their lodging, when they were either by want of room or want of means excluded from the house. This conclusion is supported by the rendering of the Vulg. — *præsepe* — and of the Peshito-Syriac, ܐܘܪܝܐ, both which terms mean "enclosures," — and also by the customs of Palestine.[a] Stables and mangers, in the sense in which we understand them, are of comparatively late introduction into the East (see the quotations from Chardin and others in Harmer's *Observations*, ii. 205, 206), and although they have furnished material to painters and poets, did not enter into the circumstances attending the birth of Christ — and are hardly less inaccurate than the "cradle" and the "stable,"[b] which are named in some descriptions of that event. [CRIB, Amer. ed.]

This applies, however, only to the painters of the later schools. The early Christian artists seem almost invariably to represent the Nativity as in an open and detached court-yard. A crib or trough is occasionally shown, but not prominently, and more as if symbolic of the locality than as actually existing.

The above interpretation of φάτνη is of course at variance with the traditional belief that the Nativity took place in a cave. Professor Stanley has however shown (*S. & P.* pp. 440, 441; see also 153) how destitute of foundation this tradition is. And it should not be overlooked that the two apocryphal Gospels which appear to be its main foundation, the Protevangelion and the Gospel of the Infancy, do not represent the cave as belonging to the inn — in fact, do not mention the inn in connection with the Nativity at all, while the former does not introduce the manger and the inn till a later period, that of the massacre of the innocents (*Protev.* chap. xvi.). G.

MANI (Μανί: *Banni*). The same as BANI, 4 (1 Esdr. ix. 30; comp. Ezr. x. 29).

MANLIUS, T. [Τίτος Μάνλιος: Alex. Ald. with 5 MSS. T. Μάνιος: *Titus Manilius*]. In the account of the conclusion of the campaign of Lysias (B. C. 163) against the Jews given in 2 Macc. xi., four letters are introduced, of which the last purports to be from "Q. Memmius and T. Manlius, ambassadors (πρεσβύται) of the Romans" (vv. 34–38), confirming the concessions made by Lysias. There can be but little doubt that the letter is a fabrication. No such names occur among the many legates to Syria noticed by Polybius; and there is no room for the mission of another embassy between two recorded shortly before and after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (Polyb. xxxi. 9, 6; 12, 9; Grimm, *ad loc*). If, as seems likely, the true reading is T. Manius (not Manlius), the writer was probably thinking of the former embassy when C. Sulpicius and Manius Sergius were sent to Syria. The form of the letter is no less fatal to the idea of its authenticity than the names in which it is written. The use of the era of the Seleucidæ to fix the year, the omission of the name of the place at which it was dated, and the exact coincidence of the date of this letter with that of the young Antiochus, are all suspicious circumstances. Moreover, the first intercourse between the Jews and Romans is marked distinctly as taking place two years later (1 Macc. viii. 1 ff.), when Judas heard of their power and fidelity.

The remaining letters are of no more worth though it is possible that some facts may have suggested special details (*e. g.* 2 Macc. xi. 29 ff.).

(Wernsdorf, *De Fide Macc.* § 66; Grimm, *ad loc.*; and on the other side Patritius, *De Cons. Macc.* pp. 142, 280.) B. F. W.

MANNA (מָן, *mân*: Μάννα: *Manhu, Man, Manna*). The most important passages of the O. T. on this topic are the following: Ex. xvi. 14–36; Num. xi. 7–9; Deut. viii. 3, 16; Josh. v. 12; Ps. lxxviii. 24, 25; Wisd. xvi. 20, 21. From these passages we learn that the manna came every morning except the Sabbath, in the form of a small round seed resembling the hoar frost; that it must be gathered early, before the sun became so hot as to melt it; that it must be gathered every day except the Sabbath; that the attempt to lay aside for a succeeding day, except on the day immediately preceding the Sabbath, failed by the substance becoming wormy and offensive; that it was prepared for food by grinding and baking; that its taste was like fresh oil, and like wafers made with honey, equally agreeable to all palates; that the whole nation subsisted upon it for forty years; that it suddenly ceased when they first got the new corn of the land of Canaan; and that it was always regarded as a miraculous gift directly from God, and not a product of nature.

The natural products of the Arabian deserts and other oriental regions, which bear the name of manna, have not the qualities or uses ascribed to the manna of Scripture. They are all condiments or medicines rather than food, stimulating or purgative rather than nutritious; they are produced only three or four months in the year, from May to August, and not all the year round; they come only in small quantities, never affording anything like

[a] Those who desire to see all that can be said on the meaning of φάτνη in the N. T. and in the LXX as bearing on the N. T., will find it in the 16th chapter of the 2d book of P. Horreus, *Miscell. criticorum libri duo*, Leovardiæ, 1738.

[b] See for example, Milton's *Hymn on the Nativity* line 142.

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18,000,000 of pounds a week, which must have been requisite for the subsistence of the whole Israelitish camp, since each man had an omer (or three Eng. ish quarts) a day, and that for forty years; they can be kept for a long time, and do not become useless in a day or two; they are just as liable to deteriorate on the Sabbath as on any other day; nor does a double quantity fall on the day preceding the Sabbath; nor would natural products cease at once and for ever, as the manna is represented as ceasing in the book of Joshua. The manna of Scripture we therefore regard as wholly miraculous, and not in any respect a product of nature.

The etymology and meaning of the word manna are best given by the old authorities, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and Josephus. The Septuagint translation of Ex. xvi. 15 is this: Ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτὸ οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ εἶπαν ἕτερος τῷ ἑτέρῳ, τί ἐστι τοῦτο; οὐ γὰρ ᾔδεισαν τί ἦν. "*But the children of Israel, seeing it, said one to another, What is this? for they knew not what it was.*" The Vulgate, with a very careful reference to the Hebrew, thus: "Quod cum vidissent filii Israel, dixerunt ad invicem *manhu*, quod significat: Quid est hoc? ignorabant enim quid esset:" i. e. "*Which when the children of Israel saw, they said one to another*, MAN HU, *which signifies, What is this? for they knew not what it was.*" In Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 1, § 6) we have the following: Καλοῦσι δὲ Ἑβραῖοι τὸ βρῶμα τοῦτο μάννα, τὸ γὰρ μὰν ἐπερώτησις κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν διάλεκτον, τί τοῦτ' ἐστιν, ἀνακρίνουσα. "*Now the Hebrews call this food* MANNA, *for the particle* MAN, *in our language, is the asking of a question*, WHAT IS THIS?"

According to all these authorities, with which the Syriac also agrees, the Hebrew word *man*, by which this substance is always designated in the Hebrew Scriptures, is the neuter interrogative pronoun (what?), and the name is derived from the inquiry מָן הוּא (*man hu*, what is this?), which the Hebrews made when they first saw it upon the ground. The other etymologies, which would derive the word from either of the Hebrew verbs מָנָה or מָנַן, are more recent and less worthy of confidence, and do not agree with the sacred text; a literal translation of which (Ex. xvi. 15) is this: "*And the children of Israel saw and said, a man to his neighbor, what is this* (man hu); *for they knew not what it was.*"

The Arabian physician Avicenna gives the following description of the manna which in his time was used as a medicine: "Manna is a dew which falls on stones or bushes, becomes thick like honey, and can be hardened so as to be like grains of corn." The substance now called manna in the Arabian desert through which the Israelites passed, is collected in the month of June from the *tarfa* or tamarisk shrub (*Tamarix gallica*). According to Burckhardt it drops from the thorns on the sticks and leaves with which the ground is covered, and must be gathered early in the day, or it will be melted by the sun. The Arabs cleanse and boil it, strain it through a cloth, and put it in leathern bottles, and in this way it can be kept uninjured for several years. They use it like honey or butter with their unleavened bread, but never make it into cakes or eat it by itself. It abounds only in very wet years, and in dry seasons it sometimes disappears entirely. Various shrubs, all through the oriental world, from India to Syria, yield a substance of this kind. The tamarisk gum is by some supposed to be produced by the puncture of a small insect, which Ehrenberg has examined and described under the name of *Coccus manniparus*. See *Symbolæ Physicæ*, p. i.; *Transact. of Literary Society of Bombay*, i. 251. This surely could not have been the food of the Israelites during their forty years' sojourn in the wilderness, though the



Tamarix Gallica

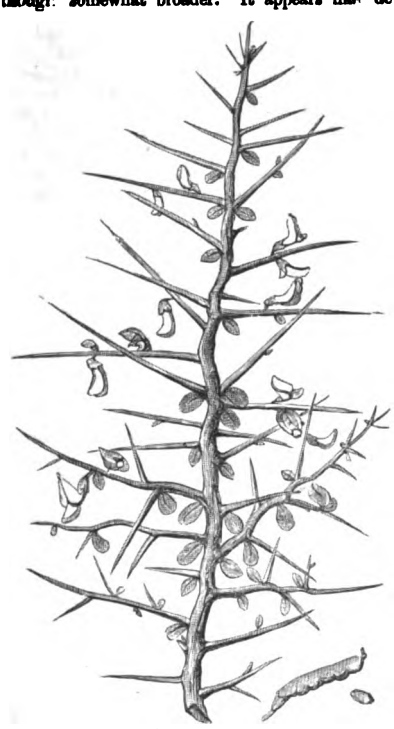
name might have been derived from some real or fancied resemblance to it.

Rauwolf (*Trav.* i. 94) and some more recent travellers have observed that the dried grains of the oriental manna were like the coriander-seed. Gmelin (*Trav. through Russia to Persia*, pt. iii. p. 98) remarks this of the manna of Persia, which he says is white as snow. The peasants of Ispahan gather the leaves of a certain thorny shrub (the sweet thorn) and strike them with a stick, and the grains of manna are received in a sieve. Niebuhr observed that at Mardin in Mesopotamia, the manna lies like meal on the leaves of a tree called in the East *ballût* and *afs* or *as*, which he regards as a species of oak.[a] The harvest is in July and August and much more plentiful in wet than dry seasons

[a] أصف, which Freytag, however, identifies with some species of *Capparis*.

[b] The *ballut* here spoken of is the Arabic

it is sometimes collected before sunrise by shaking it from the leaves onto a cloth, and thus collected it remains very white and pure. That which is not shaken off in the morning melts upon the leaves, and accumulates till it becomes very thick. The leaves are then gathered and put in boiling water, and the manna floats like oil upon the surface. This the natives call *manna essemma*, i. e. *heavenly manna*. In the valley of the Jordan Burckhardt found manna like gum on the leaves and branches of the tree *gharrob*,[a] which is as large as the olive tree, having a leaf like the poplar, though somewhat broader. It appears like dew



Alhagi maurorum.

upon the leaves, is of a brown or gray color, and drops on the ground. When first gathered it is sweet, but in a day or two becomes acid. The Arabs use it like honey or butter, and eat it in their oatmeal gruel. They also use it in cleaning their leather bottles and making them air-tight. The season for gathering this is May or June. Two other shrubs which have been supposed to yield the manna of Scripture, are the *Alhagi maurorum*, or Persian *manna*, and the *Alhagi desertorum*, — thorny plants common in Syria.

The manna of European commerce comes mostly from Calabria and Sicily. It is gathered during the months of June and July from some species of ash (*Ornus Europæa* and *Ornus rotundifolia*), from which it drops in consequence of a puncture by an insect resembling the locust, but distinguished from it by having a sting under its body. The substance is fluid at night, and resembles the dew, but in the morning it begins to harden.

Compare Rosenmüller's *Alterthumskunde*, iv. pp. 316–29; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, ii. pp. 53, 54; and the oriental travellers above referred to. C. E. S.

MANO'AH (מָנוֹחַ [*rest*]: Μανωέ; Joseph. Μανόχης: *Manue*), the father of Samson; a Danite, native of the town of Zorah (Judg. xiii, 2). The narrative of the Bible (xiii. 1–23), of the circumstances which preceded the birth of Samson, supplies us with very few and faint traits of Manoah's character or habits. He seems to have had some occupation which separated him during part of the day from his wife, though that was not field work, because it was in the field that his wife was found by the angel during his absence. He was hospitable, as his forefather Abram had been before him; he was a worshipper of Jehovah, and reverent to a great degree of fear. These faint lineaments are brought into somewhat greater distinctness by Josephus (*Ant.* v. 8, §§ 2, 3), on what authority we have no means of judging, though his account is doubtless founded on some ancient Jewish tradition or record. "There was a certain Manoches who was without controversy the best and chiefest person of his country. This man had a wife of exceeding beauty, surpassing the other women of the place. Now, when they had no children, and were much distressed thereat, he besought God that He would grant unto them a lawful heir, and for that purpose resorted often with his wife to the suburb[b] (τὸ προάστειον) of the city. And in that place was the great plain. Now the man loved his wife to distraction, and on that account was exceedingly jealous of her. And it came to pass that his wife being alone, an angel appeared to her . . . and when he had said these things he departed, for he had come by the command of God. When her husband came she informed him of all things concerning the angel, wondering greatly at the beauty and size of the youth, insomuch that he was filled with jealousy and with suspicion thereat. Then the woman, desiring to relieve her husband of his excessive grief, besought God that He would send again the angel, so that the man might behold him as well as she. And it came to pass that when they were in the suburbs again, by the favor of God the angel appeared the second time to the woman, while her husband was absent. And she having prayed him to tarry awhile till she should fetch her husband, went and brought Manoches" The rest of the story agrees with the Bible.

We hear of Manoah once again in connection with the marriage of Samson to the Philistine of Timnath. His father and his mother remonstrated with him thereon, but to no purpose (xiv. 2, 3) They then accompanied him to Timnath, both on

بلّوط, which signifies *acorn*, and has come to be applied to various species of oak, while the word 'afs' عفص not أصف, as incorrectly printed in the text, signifies "galls," and is often used for the tree on which the galls grow, which is some species of the oak. G. B. P.

[a] Sprengel (*Hist. Rei Herb.* i. 270) identifies the *gharb* or *gharab* with the *Salix babylonica*.

[b] Possibly to consult the Levites, whose special property the suburbs of the city were. But Zorah is no where stated to have been a Levites' city.

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the preliminary visit (vv. 5, 6), and to the marriage itself (9, 10). Manoah appears not to have survived his son: not he, but Samson's brothers, went down to Gaza for the body of the hero, and bringing it up to the family tomb between Zorah and Eshtaol, reunited the father to the son (xvi. 31), whose birth had been the subject of so many prayers and so much anxiety. Milton, however, does not take this view. In *Samson Agonistes* Manoah bears a prominent part throughout, and lives to bury his son. G.

* **MANSIONS** (*μοναί*: *mansiones*) in the A. V. John xiv. 2 ("in my Father's house are many *mansions*") is used in its primary signification of "abodes" or "places of abode," not in the more specific sense which now belongs to the term. Mr. Norton translates, "There are many rooms in my Father's house." The reference is to the abundant provision made for the future blessedness of the followers of Christ, not to the different degrees of their reward, a thought which is foreign from the context. A.

MANSLAYER.[a] The principle on which the "manslayer" was to be allowed to escape, namely, that the person slain was regarded as "delivered into his hand" by the Almighty, was obviously open to much willful perversion (1 Sam. xxiv. 4, 18; xxvi. 8; Philo, *De Spec. Leg.* iii. 21, vol. ii. 320), though the cases mentioned appear to be a sufficient sample of the intention of the lawgiver. (*a.*) Death by a blow in a sudden quarrel (Num. xxxv. 22). (*b.*) Death by a stone or missile thrown at random (*ib.* 22, 23). (*c.*) By the blade of an axe flying from its handle (Deut. xix. 5). (*d.*) Whether the case of a person killed by falling from a roof unprovided with a parapet involved the guilt of manslaughter on the owner, is not clear; but the law seems intended to prevent the imputation of malice in any such case, by preventing as far as possible the occurrence of the fact itself (Deut. xxii. 8). (Michaelis, *On the Laws of Moses*, arts. 223, 280, ed. Smith.) In all these and the like cases the manslayer was allowed to retire to a city of refuge. [CITIES OF REFUGE.]

Besides these the following may be mentioned as cases of homicide. (*a.*) An animal, not known to be vicious, causing death to a human being, was to be put to death, and regarded as unclean. But if it was known to be vicious, the owner also was liable to fine, and even death (Ex. xxi. 28, 31). (*b.*) A thief overtaken at night in the act might lawfully be put to death, but if the sun had risen the act of killing him was to be regarded as murder (Ex. xxii. 2, 3). Other cases are added by the Mishna, which, however, are included in the definitions given above. (*Sanh.* ix. 1, 2, 3; *Maccoth*, i. 2; Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* "Homicida.") [MURDER.]
H. W. P.

MANTLE. The word employed in the A. V. translate no less than four Hebrew terms, entirely distinct and independent both in derivation and meaning.

1. עֲטִיפָה, *s'mēdh*. This word occurs but once, namely, Judg. iv. 18, where it denotes the thing with which Jael covered Sisera. It has the definite article prefixed, and it may therefore be inferred that it was some part of the regular furniture of the tent. The clew to a more exact signification is given by the Arabic version of the Polyglott, which renders it by *alcatifah*, القطيفة, a word which is explained by Dozy,[b] on the authority of Ibn Batuta and other oriental authors, to mean certain articles of a thick fabric, in shape like a plaid or shawl, which are commonly used for beds by the Arabs: "When they sleep they spread them on the ground." "For the under part of the bed they are doubled several times, and one longer than the rest is used for a coverlid." On such a bed on the floor of Heber's tent no doubt the weary Sisera threw himself, and such a coverlid must the *semicah* have been which Jael laid over him. The A. V. perhaps derived their word "mantle" from the *pallium* of the Vulgate, and the *mantel* of Luther. [Fürst thinks that it was the "tent-carpet," which Jael threw over Sisera, *Handb.* s. v. — H.]

2. מְעִיל, *metl.* (Rendered "mantle" in 1 Sam. xv. 27, xxviii. 14; Ezr. ix. 3, 5; Job i. 20, ii. 12; and Ps. cix. 29.) This word is in other passages of the A. V. rendered "coat," "cloak," and "robe." This inconsistency is undesirable; but in one case only — that of Samuel — is it of importance. It is interesting to know that the garment which his mother made and brought to the infant prophet at her annual visit to the Holy Tent at Shiloh was a miniature of the official priestly tunic or robe; the same that the great Prophet wore in mature years (1 Sam. xv. 27), and by which he was on one occasion actually identified. When the witch of Endor, in answer to Saul's inquiry, told him that "an old man was come up, covered with a *meil*," this of itself was enough to inform the king in whose presence he stood — "Saul perceived that it was Samuel" (xxviii. 14).

3. מַעֲטָפָה, *mᵉdtdphdh* (the Hebrew word is found in Is. iii. 22 only). Apparently some article of a lady's dress ["mantles," A. V.]; probably an exterior tunic, longer and ampler than the internal one, and provided with sleeves. See Gesenius, *Jesaia*, i. 214; Schroeder, *de Vestitu Hebræarum*, ch. xv. § 1–5.

But the most remarkable of the four is: —

4. אַדֶּרֶת, *addereth* (rendered "mantle" in 1 K. xix. 13, 19; 2 K. ii. 8, 13, 14; elsewhere "garment" and "robe"); since by it, and it only, is denoted the cape or wrapper which, with the exception of a strip of skin or leather round his loins, formed, as we have every reason to believe, the sole garment of the prophet Elijah.

Such clothing, or absence of clothing, is commonly assumed by those who aspire to extraordinary sanctity in the East at the present day — "Savage figures, with 'a cloak woven of camels' hair thrown over the shoulders, and tied in front on the breast,

[a] רֹצֵחַ, part. of רָצַח, "pierce" or "crush," Ges. p. 1207: *φονευτής*: *homicida*: used also in the sense of murderer. The phrase בִּשְׁגָגָה, *decovetur*, *per ignorantiam*, Ges. p. 1362, must therefore be intended, to denote the distinction which the Law drew so plainly between malicious and involuntary homicide. (Ex. xxi. 13, 14; Lev. iv. 22; Num. xxxv. 22, 23; Deut. xix. 4, 5.)

[b] *Dictionnaire des Vêtements Arabes*, p. 282. We gladly seize this opportunity to express our obligations to this admirable work.

[c] But see the curious speculations of Dr. Mühlau (*Essay on False Worship*, p. 176, etc.).

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naked except at the waist, round which is a girdle of skin, the hair flowing loose about [a] the head.'" But a description still more exactly in accordance with the habit of the great Israelite [b] dervish, and supporting in a remarkable manner the view of the LXX., who render *addereth* by μηλωτήν, *i. e.* "sheep-skin," is found in the account of a French traveller [c] in the 16th century: "L'enseigne que les dervis portent pour montrer qu'ils sont religieux, est une peau de brébis sur leurs épaules: et ne portent autre vêtement sur eux sinon une seule peau de mouton ou de brébis, et quelque chose devant leur parties honteuses."

Inaccurately as the word "mantle" represents such a garment as the above, it has yet become so identified with Elijah that it is impossible now to alter it. It is desirable therefore to substitute "mantle" for "garment" in Zech. xiii. 4; a passage from which it would appear that since the time of Elijah his garb had become the recognized sign of a prophet of Jehovah. G.

MA'OCH (מָעוֹךְ [*a poor one*, Fürst: *a breast-band*? Ges.]: Ἀμμάχ; Alex. Μωαβ: *Maoch*), the father of Achish, king of Gath, with whom David took refuge (1 Sam. xxvii. 2). In the Syriac version he is called Maachah; and in 1 K. ii. 39 we find Maachah described as the father of Achish, who was king of Gath at the beginning of Solomon's reign. It is not impossible that the same Achish may be intended in both cases (Keil, *Comm.* on 1 K. ii. 39), and Maoch and Maachah would then be identical; or Achish may have been a title, like Abimelech and Pharaoh, which would still leave Maoch and Maachah the same; "son" in either case denoting descendant.

MA'ON (מָעוֹן) [*habitation*]: Μαάρ, Μαάν; [Vat. in 1 Sam. Μααν, in Chr. Μεων;] Alex. Μαων: *Maon*), one of the cities of the tribe of Judah, in the district of the mountains; a member of the same group which contains also the names of Carmel and Ziph (Josh. xv. 55). Its interest for us lies in its connection with David. It was in the *midbar* or waste pasture-ground of Maon (A. V. "wilderness") that he and his men were lurking when the treachery of the Ziphites brought Saul upon them, and they had the narrow escape of the cliff of ham-Machlekoth (1 Sam. xxiii. 24, 25). It seems from these passages to have formed part of a larger district called "the Arabah" (A. V. ver. 24, "plain"), which can hardly have been the depressed locality round the Dead Sea usually known by that name. To the north of it was another tract or spot called "the Jeshimon," possibly the dreary burnt-up hills lying on the immediate west of the Dead Sea. Close by was the hill or the cliff of Hacilah, and the *midbar* itself probably extended over and about the mountain (ver. 26), round which Saul was pursuing his fugitives when the sudden alarm of the Philistine incursion drew him off. Over the pastures of Maon and Carmel ranged the three thousand sheep and the thousand goats of Nabal (xxv. 2). Close adjoining was the *midbar* of Paran, which the LXX. make identical with Maon. Josephus's version of the passage is curious — "a certain man of the Ziphites from the city Emma" (*Ant.* vi. 13, § 6).

The name of Maon still exists all but unchanged in the mouths of the Arab herdsmen and peasants in the south of Palestine. *Main* is a lofty conical hill, south of, and about 7 miles distant from, Hebron. To the north there is an extensive prospect — on the one hand over the region bordering the Dead Sea, on the other as far as Hebron. Close in front is the lower eminence of *Kurmul*, the ancient Carmel, no less intimately associated with David's fortunes than Maon itself (Rob. i. 493, 494).

It is very much to be desired that some traveller would take the trouble to see how the actual locality of *Main* agrees with the minute indications of the narrative cited above. See also HACHILAH.

In the genealogical records of the tribe of Judah in 1 Chronicles, Maon appears as a descendant of Hebron, through Rekem and Shammai, and in its turn the "father" or colonizer of Beth-zur (ii. 45). Hebron is of course the well-known metropolis of the southern country, and BETH-ZUR has been identified in *Beit-sûr*, 4 miles north of Hebron, and therefore about 11 from *Main*.

It should not however be overlooked that in the original the name of Maon is identical with that of the Mehunim, and it is quite possible that before the conquest it may have been one of their towns, just as in the more central districts of Palestine there were places which preserved the memory of the Avites, the Zemarites, the Ammonites, and other tribes who originally founded them. [BENJAMIN, vol. i. p. 277.] G.

MA'ONITES, THE (מְעוּנִים), *i. e.* Maon, without the article [see above]: Μαϊδμ in both MSS.: *Chanaan*), a people mentioned in one of the addresses of Jehovah to the repentant Israelites, as having at some former time molested them: "the Zidonians also, and Amalek, and Maon did oppress you, and ye cried to me, and I delivered you out of their hand" (Judg. x. 12). The name agrees with that of a people residing in the desert far south of Palestine, elsewhere in the A. V. called MEHUNIM; but, as no invasion of Israel by this people is related before the date of the passage in question, various explanations and conjectures have been offered. The reading of the LXX. — "Midian" — is remarkable as being found in both the great MSS., and having on that account a strong claim to be considered as the reading of the ancient Hebrew text. Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 322 *note*) appears to incline to this, which has also in its favor, that, if it be not genuine, Midian — whose ravages were then surely too recent to be forgotten — is omitted altogether from the enumeration. Still it is remarkable that no variation has hitherto been found in the Hebrew MSS of this verse. Michaelis (*Bibel für Ungelehrte*, and *Supplem.* No. 1437), on the other hand, accepts the current reading, and explains the difficulty by assuming that Maon is included among the Bene-Kedem, or "children [sons] of the East," named in vi. 3: leaving, however, the equal difficulty of the omission of Israel's great foe, Midian, unnoticed. The reason which would lead us to accept Midian would lead us to

[a] Light, *Travels in Egypt*, etc., quoted by Stanley, *S. & P.* 311.

[b] See the instructive and suggestive remarks of Dr. Wolff, on the points of correspondence between the ancient Prophets and the modern Dervishes (*Travels*, etc., i. 468; also 329, 521); and Stanley's *East. Church* p. 397.

[c] Belon, *Observations* (Paris, 1588), quoted by Dozy *Dictionnaire*, etc. p. 54

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reject the reading of the Syriac Peshito — "Ammon," — the Bene-Ammon having been already named. "Canaan" was probably a conjecture of Jerome's. [MEHUNIMS.]

A trace of the residence of the Maonites in the south of Palestine is perhaps extant in MAON, now *Main*, the city of Judah so well known in connection with David. G.

MA'RA (מָרָא, or, according to the correction of the *Kri*, מָרָה), the name which NAOMI adopted in the exclamation forced from her by the recognition of her fellow-citizens at Bethlehem (Ruth i. 20): "Call me not Naomi (pleasant), but call me Mara (bitter), for Shaddai hath dealt-very-bitterly (*hamêr*) with me." The LXX. have preserved the play πικρόν, ὅτι ἐπικράνθη ὁ ἱκανός; though hardly as well as Jerome, "*Vocate me Mara (hoc est amaram) quia amaritudine me replevit Omnipotens.*" Marah is often assumed to have been the origin of the name MARY, but inaccurately, for Mary — in the N. T. Mariam — is merely a corruption of MIRIAM (see that article). G.

MA'RAH (מָרָה [*bitterness*]: Μερρᾶ, Πικρία, Πικρίαι [Vat. Πικρεῖαι]: *Marra*), a place which lay in the wilderness of Shur or Etham, three days' journey distant (Ex. xv. 22–24, Num. xxxiii. 8) from the place at which the Israelites crossed the Red Sea, and where was a spring of bitter water, sweetened subsequently by the casting in of a tree which "the Lord showed" to Moses. It has been suggested (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 474) that Moses made use of the berries of the plant *Ghûrkûd*,[a] and which still it is implied would be found similarly to operate. Robinson, however (i. 67), could not find that this or any tree was now known by the Arabs to possess such properties; nor would those berries, he says, have been found so early in the season as the time when the Israelites reached the region. It may be added that, had any such resource ever existed, its eminent usefulness to the supply of human wants would hardly have let it perish from the traditions of the desert. Further, the expression "the Lord shewed" seems surely to imply the miraculous character of the transaction. As regards the identity of Marah with any modern site, all travellers appear to look out for water which is bitter at this day, whereas if miraculous, the effect would surely have been permanent, as it clearly is intended to be in 2 K. ii. 21. On this supposition, however, *Howarah*, distant 16¼ hours (Rob. *Bibl. Res.* i. 67) from *Ayoun Mousa*, has been by Robinson, as also by Burckhardt (April 27, 1816), Schubert (274), and Wellsted, identified with it, apparently because it is the bitterest water in the neighborhood. Winer says (*s. v.*) that a still bitterer well lies east of Marah, the claims of which Tischendorf, it appears, has supported. Lepsius prefers *Wady Ghûrundel*. Prof. Stanley thinks that the claim may be left between this and *Howarah*, but adds in a note a mention of a spring south of *Howarah*, "so bitter that neither men nor camels could drink it," of which "Dr. Graul (vol. ii. p 254) was told." The *Ayoun Mousa*, "wells of Moses," which local tradition assigns to Marah, are manifestly too close to the head of the gulf, and probable spot of crossing it, to suit the distance of "three days' journey." The soil of this region is described as being alternately gravelly, stony and sandy; under the range of the *Gebel Wardan* chalk and flints are plentiful, and on the direct line of route between *Ayoun Mousa* and *Howarah* no water is found (Robinson, i. 67). H. H.

MAR'ALAH (מַרְעָלָה [perh. *earthquake*, Ges.; *declivity*, Fürst]: Μαγελδά; Alex. Μαρλα; [Comp. Μαραλά:] *Merala*), one of the landmarks on the boundary of the tribe of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 11), which, with most of the places accompanying it, is unfortunately hitherto unknown. Keil (*Josua*, ad loc.) infers, though on the slightest grounds, that it was somewhere on the ridge of Carmel. G.

MARANATH'A (Μαραναθά), an expression used by St. Paul at the conclusion of his first Epistle to the Corinthians (xvi. 22). It is a Grecized form of the Aramaic words מָרָן אָתָא, "our Lord cometh." In the A. V. it is combined with the preceding "anathema;" but this is unnecessary; at all events it can only be regarded as adding emphasis to the previous adjuration. It rather appears to be added "as a weighty watchword" to impress upon the disciples the important truth that the Lord was at hand, and that they should be ready to meet Him (Alford, *Gr. Test.* in loc.). If, on the other hand, the phrase be taken to mean, as it may, "Our Lord *has* come,' then the connection is, "the curse will remain, for the Lord has come who will take vengeance on those who reject Him." Thus the name "Maronite" is explained by a tradition that the Jews, in expectation of a Messiah, were constantly saying *Maran*, i. e. Lord; to which the Christians answered *Maran atha*, the Lord is come, why do you still expect Him? (Stanley, *Corinthians*, ad loc.). W. L. B.

MARBLE.[b] Like the Greek μάρμαρος, No. 1 (see foot-note), the generic term for marble may probably be taken to mean almost any shining stone. The so-called marble of Solomon's architectural works, which Josephus calls λίθος λευκός, may thus have been limestone — (*a*) from near Jerusalem; (*b*) from Lebanon (Jura limestone), identical with the material of the Sun Temple at Baalbec; or (*c*) white marble from Arabia or elsewhere (Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 3, § 2; Diod. Sic. ii. 52; Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 12; Jamieson, *Mineralogy*, p. 41; Räumer, *Pal.* p. 28; Volney, *Trav.* ii. 241; Kitto, *Phys. Geogr. of Pal.* pp. 73, 88; Robinson, ii. 493, iii. 508; Stanley, *S. & P.* pp. 307, 424; Wellsted, *Trav.* i. 426, ii. 143). That this stone was not marble seems probable from the remark of Josephus, that whereas Solomon constructed his buildings of "white stone," he caused the roads which

[a] Robinson says (i. 26), "*Peganum retusum*," Forsk., *Flora Æg. Arab.* p. lxvi. More correctly, "*Nitraria tridentata*" of Desfontaines, *Flora Atlant.* i. 372.

[b] 1. שֵׁשׁ, or שַׁיִשׁ: Πάριος, Πάρινος λίθος: *marmor Parium*; from שׁוּשׁ, to shine (Ges. 1384). 2. סֹחֶרֶת, from סָחַר, to travel round, either a stone used in tessellated pavements, or one with circular spots (Ges. 947). 3. דַּר: πίννινος λίθος: probably a stone with pearly appearance, like alabaster (Ges 355). 4. בָּהַט: σμαραγδίτης λίθος: *lapis smaragdus* (Ges. 132). The three last words used only in Esth. i. 6. 5. Μάρμαρος: *marmor* (Rev xviii. 12).

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ed to Jerusalem to be made of "black stone," probably the black basalt of the *Haurân;* and also from his account of the porticoes of Herod's temple, which he says were μονόλιθοι λευκοτάτης ὑαρμάρου (Joseph. *Ant.* l. c., and *B. J.* v. 5, § 1, 6; Kitto, pp. 74, 75, 80, 89). But whether the "costly stone" employed in Solomon's buildings was marble or not, it seems clear from the expressions both of Scripture and Josephus, that some at least of the "great stones," whose weight can scarcely have been less than 40 tons, must have come from Lebanon (1 K. v. 14–18, vii. 10; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 2, § 9).

There can be no doubt that Herod, both in the Temple and elsewhere, employed Parian or other marble. Remains of marble columns still exist in abundance at Jerusalem (Joseph *Ant.* xv. 9, §§ 4, 6, and 11, §§ 3, 5; Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 330; Sandys, p. 190; Robinson, i. 301, 305).

The marble pillars and tesserae of various colors of the palace at Susa came doubtless from Persia itself, where marble of various colors is found, especially in the province of Hamadan, Susiana. (Esth. i. 6; Marco Polo, *Travels*, p. 78, ed. Bohn; Chardin, *Voy.* iii. 280, 308, 358, and viii. 253; P. della Valle, *Viaggi*, ii. 250; Winer, *s. v.* "Marmor.") H. W. P.

MARCHESH'VAN. [MONTH.]

MAR'CUS (Μάρκος: *Marcus*). The Evangelist Mark, who was cousin to Barnabas (Col. iv. 10), and the companion and fellow-laborer of the Apostles Paul (Philem. 24) and Peter (1 Pet. v. 13). [MARK.]

MARDOCHE'US (Μαρδοχαῖος: *Mardochæus*). 1. MORDECAI, the uncle of Esther, in the apocryphal additions (Esth. x. 1, xi. 2, 12, xii. 1–6, xvi. 13; 2 Macc. xv. 36). The 14th of the month Adar, on which the feast of Purim was celebrated, is called in the last passage "Mardocheus' day" (ἡ Μαρδοχαϊκὴ ἡμέρα: *Mardochæi dies*).

2. (*Mardocheus,*) = MORDECAI, who returned with Zerubbabel and Joshua (1 Esdr. v. 8; comp. Ezr. ii. 2).

* **MARE'SHA** is the reading of the A. V. ed. 1611, and other early editions, in 1 Chr. ii. 42, instead of MARESHAH (2). A.

MARE'SHAH (מָרֵאשָׁה [*possession*, Fürst; *at the head* = elevated city or fortress, Ges.], in Josh. only; elsewhere in the shorter form of מָרֵשָׁה: Βαθησάρ, [in Chron. Μαρισά, Μαρισῆς, Μαρησά; Vat. Μαραισα, Μαρεισης, Μαρισαλ;] Alex. Μαρησα; [in Mic. i. 15, LXX. Λαχεῖς:] *Maresa*). 1. One of the cities of Judah in the district of the *Shefelah* or low country; named in the same group with KEILAH and NEZIB (Josh. xv. 44). If we may so interpret the notices of the 1 Chronicles (see below), Hebron itself was colonized from Mareshah. It was one of the cities fortified and garrisoned by Rehoboam after the rupture with the northern kingdom (2 Chr. xi. 8). The natural inference is, that it commanded some pass or position of approach, an inference which is supported by the fact that it is named as the point to which the enormous horde of Zerah the Cushite reached in his invasion of Judæa, before he was met and repulsed by Asa (2 Chr. xiv. 9). A ravine (ver. 10; *Ge:* A. V. "valley") bearing the name of Zephathah was near. In the rout which followed the encounter, the flying Cushites were pursued to the Bedouin station of Gerar (vv. 14, 15).

Mareshah is mentioned once or twice in the history of the Maccabean struggles. Judas probably passed through it on his way from Hebron to avenge the defeat of Joseph and Azarias (1 Macc. v. 66). The reading of the LXX. and A. V. is Samaria; but Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 8, § 6, has *Marissa*, and the position is exactly suitable, which that of Samaria is not. The same exchange, but reversed, will be found in 2 Macc. xii. 35. [MARISA.]

A few days later it afforded a refuge to Georgias when severely wounded in the attack of Dositheus (2 Macc. xii. 35; here, as just remarked, the Syriac version would substitute Samaria, — a change quite unallowable). Its subsequent fortunes were bad enough, but hardly worse than might be expected for a place which lay as it were at the junction of two cross-roads, north and south, east and west, each the constant thoroughfare of armies. It was burnt by Judas in his Idumæan war, in passing from Hebron to Azotus (*Ant.* xii. 8, § 6). About the year 110 B. C. it was taken from the Idumæans by John Hyrcanus. Some forty years after, about B. C. 63, its restoration was decreed by the clement Pompey (*Ant.* xiv. 4, § 4), though it appears not to have been really reinstated till later (xiv. 5, § 3). But it was only rebuilt to become again a victim (B. C. 39), this time to the Parthians, who plundered and destroyed it in their rage at not finding in Jerusalem the treasure they anticipated (*Ant.* xiv. 13, § 9; *B. J.* i. 13, § 9). It was in ruins in the 4th century, when Eusebius and Jerome describe it as in the second mile from Eleutheropolis. S. S. W. of *Beit-jibrin* — in all probability Eleutheropolis — and a little over a Roman mile therefrom, is a site called *Marash*, which is very possibly the representative of the ancient Mareshah. It is described by the indefatigable Tobler (*Dritte Wand.* pp. 129, 142) as lying on a gently swelling hill leading down from the mountains to the great western plain, from which it is but half an hour distant. The ruins are not extensive, and Dr. Robinson, to whom their discovery is due,[a] has ingeniously conjectured (on grounds for which the reader is referred to *Bibl. Res.* ii. 67, 68) that the materials were employed in building the neighboring Eleutheropolis.

On two other occasions Mareshah comes forward in the O. T. It was the native place of Eliezer ben-Dodavah, a prophet who predicted the destruction of the ships which king Jehoshaphat had built in conjunction with Ahaziah of Israel (2 Chr. xx. 37). It is included by the prophet Micah among the towns of the low country which he attempts to rouse to a sense of the dangers their misconduct is bringing upon them (Mic. i. 15). Like the rest, the apostrophe to Mareshah is a play on the name: "I will bring your heir (*yoresh*) to you, oh city of inheritance" (*Mareshah*). The following verse (16) shows that the inhabitants had adopted the heathen and forbidden custom of cutting off the back hair as a sign of mourning.

[a] Benjamin of Tudela (Asher, i. 77) identifies Mareshah with "Beit Gabrin." Parchi, with unusual inaccuracy, would place it in the mountains East of Jaffa.

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2. ([Rom. Μαρισά, Vat.] Μαρεισα: [Alex. Μαεισης.]) Father of Hebron, and apparently a son or descendant of Caleb the brother of Jerahmeel (1 Chr. ii. 42), who derived his descent from Judah through Pharez. "The sons of Caleb were . . . Mesha, the father of Ziph, and the sons of Maresha father of Hebron." It is difficult not to suppose that Mesha may have been a transcriber's variation for Maresha, especially as the text of the LXX. — both MSS. — actually stands so. It is however only a probable conjecture. The names in these lists are many of them no doubt those not of persons but of towns, and whether Mesha and Mareshah be identical or not, a close relationship is equally denoted between the towns of Hebron and Mareshah. But,

3. ([Rom. Μαρισά; Vat.] Μαιχα; Alex. Μαρησα) in 1 Chr. iv. 21 we find Mareshah again named as deriving its origin from SHELAH, the third son of Judah, through Laadah. Whether this Mareshah be a man or a place, identical with or distinct from the last mentioned, it is impossible to determine. G.

MARIMOTH (*Marimoth*). The same as MERAIOTH the priest, one of the ancestors of Ezra (2 Esdr. i. 2; comp. Ezr. vii. 3). He is also called MEREMOTH (1 Esdr. viii. 2).

* **MARINER**, Jon. i. 5. [SHIP (11.), Amer. ed.]

MARISA (Μαρίσα: *Maresa*), the Greek form of the name MARESHAH, occurring 2 Macc. xii. 35 only. G.

* **MARISHES**, Ez. xlvii. 11, an old spelling of "marshes," found in the A. V. of 1611 (and the Bishops' Bible), but changed in the current editions. The Hebrew is גֵּבֶא, elsewhere only in Is. xxx. 14, translated "pit." H.

MARK (Μάρκος: *Marcus*). Mark the Evangelist is probably the same as "John whose surname was Mark" (Acts xii. 12, 25). Grotius indeed maintains the contrary, on the ground that the earliest historical writers nowhere call the Evangelist by the name of John, and that they always describe him as the companion of Peter and not of Paul. But John was the Jewish name, and Mark, a name of frequent use amongst the Romans, was adopted afterwards, and gradually superseded the other. The places in the N. T. enable us to trace the process. The John Mark of Acts xii. 12, 25, and the John of Acts xiii. 5, 13, becomes Mark only in Acts xv. 39, Col. iv. 10, 2 Tim. iv. 11, Philem. 24. The change of John to Mark is analogous to that of Saul to Paul; and we cannot doubt that the disuse of the Jewish name in favor of the other is intentional, and has reference to the putting away of his former life, and entrance upon a new ministry. No inconsistency arises from the accounts of his ministering to two Apostles. The desertion of Paul (Acts xiii. 13) may have been prompted partly by a wish to rejoin Peter and the Apostles engaged in preaching in Palestine (Benson; see Kuinoel's note), though partly from a disinclination to a perilous and doubtful journey. There is nothing strange in the character of a warm impulsive young man, drawn almost equally towards the two great teachers of the faith, Paul and Peter. Had mere cowardice been the cause of his withdrawal, Barnabas would not so soon after have chosen him for another journey, nor would he have accepted the choice.

John Mark was the son of a certain Mary, who dwelt at Jerusalem and was therefore probably born in that city (Acts xii. 12). He was the cousin (ἀνεψιός) of Barnabas (Col. iv. 10). [SISTER'S SON, Amer. ed.] It was to Mary's house as to a familiar haunt, that Peter came after his deliverance from prison (Acts xii. 12), and there found "many gathered together praying;" and probably John Mark was converted by Peter from meeting him in his mother's house, for he speaks of "Marcus my son" (1 Peter v. 13). This natural link of connection between the two passages is broken by the supposition of two Marks, which is on all accounts improbable. The theory that he was one of the seventy disciples is without any warrant. Another theory, that an event of the night of our Lord's betrayal, related by Mark alone, is one that befell himself (Olshausen, Lange), must not be so promptly dismissed. "There followed Him a certain young man, having a linen cloth cast about his naked body; and the young men laid hold on him: and he left the linen cloth, and fled from them naked" (Mark xiv. 51, 52). The detail of facts is remarkably minute, the name only is wanting. The most probable view is that St. Mark suppressed his own name, whilst telling a story which he had the best means of knowing. Awakened out of sleep, or just preparing for it in some house in the Valley of Kedron, he comes out to see the seizure of the betrayed Teacher, known to him and in some degree beloved already. He is so deeply interested in his fate that he follows Him even in his thin linen robe. His demeanor is such that some of the crowd are about to arrest him; then, "fear overcoming shame" (Bengel), he leaves his garment in their hands and flees. We can only say that if the name of Mark is supplied, the narrative receives its most probable explanation. John (i. 40, xix. 26) introduces himself in this unobtrusive way, and perhaps Luke the same (xxiv. 18). Mary the mother of Mark seems to have been a person of some means and influence, and her house a rallying point for Christians in those dangerous days. Her son, already an inquirer, would soon become more. Anxious to work for Christ, he went with Paul and Barnabas as their "minister" (ὑπηρέτης) on their first journey; but at Perga, as we have seen above, turned back (Acts xii. 25, xiii. 13). On the second journey Paul would not accept him again as a companion, but Barnabas his kinsman was more indulgent; and thus he became the cause of the memorable "sharp contention" between them (Acts xv. 36–40). Whatever was the cause of Mark's vacillation, it did not separate him forever from Paul, for we find him by the side of that Apostle in his first imprisonment at Rome (Col. iv. 10; Philem. 24). In the former place a possible journey of Mark to Asia is spoken of. Somewhat later he is with Peter at Babylon (1 Pet. v. 13). Some consider Babylon to be a name here given to Rome in a mystical sense; surely without reason, since the date of a letter is not the place to look for a figure of speech. Of the causes of this visit to Babylon there is no evidence. It may be conjectured that he made the journey to Asia Minor (Col. iv. 10), and thence went on to join Peter at Babylon. On his return to Asia he seems to have been with Timothy at Ephesus when Paul wrote to him during

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als second imprisonment, and Paul was anxious for his return to Rome (2 Tim. iv. 11).

When we desert Scripture we find the facts doubtful and even inconsistent. If Papias be trusted (quoted in Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 39), Mark never was a disciple of our Lord; which he probably infers from 1 Pet. v. 13. Epiphanius, on the other hand, willing to do honor to the Evangelist, adopts the tradition that he was one of the seventy-two disciples, who turned back from our Lord at the hard saying in John vi. (*Cont. Hær.* li. 6, p. 457, Dindorf's recent edition). The same had been said of St. Luke. Nothing can be decided on this point. The relation of Mark to Peter is of great importance for our view of his Gospel. Ancient writers with one consent make the Evangelist the interpreter (*ἑρμηνευτής*) of the Apostle Peter (Papias in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39; Irenæus, *Hær.* iii. 1, iii. 10, § 6; Tertullian, *c. Marc.* iv. 5; Hieronymus, *ad Hedib.* ix. &c.). Some explain this word to mean that the office of Mark was to translate into the Greek tongue the Aramaic discourses of the Apostle (Eichhorn, Bertholdt, etc.); whilst others adopt the more probable view that Mark wrote a Gospel which conformed more exactly than the others to Peter's preaching, and thus "interpreted" it to the church at large (Valesius, Alford, Lange, Fritzsche, Meyer, etc.). The passage from Eusebius favors the latter view; it is a quotation from Papias. "This also [John] the elder said: Mark, being the interpreter of Peter, wrote down exactly whatever things he remembered, but yet not in the order in which Christ either spoke or did them; for he was neither a hearer nor a follower of the Lord's, but he was afterwards, *as I* [Papias] *said, a follower of Peter.*" The words in italics refer to the word interpreter above, and the passage describes a disciple writing down what his master preached, and not an interpreter orally translating his words. This tradition will be further examined below. [MARK, GOSPEL OF.] The report that Mark was the companion of Peter *at Rome* is no doubt of great antiquity. Clement of Alexandria is quoted by Eusebius as giving it for a "tradition which he had received of the elders from the first" (*παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβυτέρων*, Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 14; Clem. Alex. *Hyp.* 6). But the force of this is invalidated by the suspicion that it rests on a misunderstanding of 1 Pet. v. 13, Babylon being wrongly taken for a typical name of Rome (Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 15; Hieron. *De Vir. ill.* 8). Sent on a mission to Egypt by Peter (Epiphanius, *Hær.* li. 6, p. 457, Dindorf; Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 16), Mark there founded the church of Alexandria (Hieron. *De Vir. ill.* 8), and preached in various places (Niceph. *H. E.* ii. 43), then returned to Alexandria, of which church he was bishop, and suffered a martyr's death (Niceph. *ibid.*, and Hieron. *De Vir. ill.* 8). But none of these later details rest on sound authority. (SOURCES — The works on the Gospels referred to under LUKE and GOSPELS; also Fritzsche, *In Marcum*, Leipzig, 1830; Lange, *Bibelwerk*, part ii. etc.) W. T.

MARK, GOSPEL OF. The characteristics of this Gospel, the shortest of the four inspired records, will appear from the discussion of the various questions that have been raised about it.

I. *Sources of this Gospel.* — The tradition that it gives the teaching of Peter, rather than of the rest of the Apostles, has been alluded to above. The witness of John the Presbyter, quoted by Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 39) through Papias, has been cited. [See MARK.] Irenæus calls Mark "interpres et sectator Petri," and cites the opening and the concluding words of the Gospel as we now possess them (iii. 10, § 6). He also alludes to a sect (the Cerinthians?) who hold "impassibilem perseverasse Christum, passum vero Jesum," and who prefer the Gospel of St. Mark to the rest (iii. 11, § 7). Eusebius says, on the authority of Clement of Alexandria, that the hearers of Peter at Rome desired Mark, the follower of Peter, to leave with them a record of his teaching; upon which Mark wrote his Gospel, which the Apostle afterwards sanctioned with his authority, and directed that it should be read in the Churches (Eus. *H. E.* ii. 15). Elsewhere, quoting Clement again, we have the same account, except that Peter is there described as "neither hindering nor urging" the undertaking (*H. E.* vi. 14). The apparent contradiction has been conciliated by supposing that Peter neither helped nor hindered the work before it was completed, but gave his approval afterwards ("Nolo fieri ipsum non jusserit, tamen factum non prohibuit," Ruffinus: see note of Valesius *in loc.* Eus.). Tertullian (*Cont. Marcionem*, iv. 5) speaks of the Gospel of Mark as being connected with Peter, "cujus interpres Marcus," and so having apostolic authority. Epiphanius says that, immediately after St. Matthew, the task was laid on St. Mark, "the follower of St. Peter at Rome," of writing a Gospel (*Hær.* li.). Hieronymus (*De Vir. ill.* 8) repeats the story of Eusebius; and again says that the Gospel was written, "Petro narrante, et illo scribente" (*Ad Hedib.* 2). If the evidence of the Apostle's connection with this Gospel rested wholly on these passages, it would not be sufficient, since the witnesses, though many in number, are not all independent of each other, and there are marks, in the former of the passages from Eusebius, of a wish to enhance the authority of the Gospel by Peter's approval, whilst the latter passage does not allege the same sanction. But there are peculiarities in the Gospel which are best explained by the supposition that Peter in some way superintended its composition. Whilst there is hardly any part of its narrative that is not common to it and some other Gospel, in the manner of the narrative there is often a marked character, which puts aside at once the supposition that we have here a mere epitome of Matthew and Luke. The picture of the same events is far more vivid; touches are introduced such as could only be noted by a vigilant eye-witness, and such as make us almost eye-witnesses of the Redeemer's doings. The most remarkable case of this is the account of the demoniac in the country of the Gadarenes, where the following words are peculiar to Mark: "And no man could bind him, no, not with chains: because that he had often been bound with fetters and chains, and the chains had been plucked asunder by him, and the fetters broken in pieces: neither could any man tame him. And always night and day he was in the mountains crying and cutting himself with stones. But when he saw Jesus afar off, he ran," etc. Here we are indebted for the picture of the fierce and hopeless wanderer to the Evangelist whose work is the briefest, and whose style is the least perfect. He sometimes adds to the account of the others a notice of our Lord's look (iii. 34, viii. 33, x. 21, x. 23); he dwells on human feelings and the tokens of them; on our Lord's pity for the leper, and his strict

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charge not to publish the miracle (i. 41, 44); He "loved" the rich young man for his answers (x. 21); He "looked round" with anger when another occasion called it out (iii. 5); He groaned in spirit (vii. 34, viii. 12). All these are peculiar to Mark; and they would be explained most readily by the theory that one of the disciples most near to Jesus had supplied them. To this must be added that whilst Mark goes over the same ground for the most part as the other Evangelists, and especially Matthew, there are many facts thrown in which prove that we are listening to an independent witness. Thus the humble origin of Peter is made known through him (i. 16–20), and his connection with Capernaum (i. 29); he tells us that Levi was "the son of Alphæus" (ii. 14), that Peter was the name given by our Lord to Simon (iii. 16), and Boanerges a surname added by Him to the names of two others (iii. 17); he assumes the existence of another body of disciples wider than the Twelve (iii. 32, iv. 10, 36, viii. 34, xiv. 51, 52); we owe to him the name of Jairus (v. 22), the word "carpenter" applied to our Lord (vi. 3), the nation of the "Syrophœnician" woman (vii. 26); he substitutes Dalmanutha for the "Magdala" of Matthew (viii. 10); he names Bartimæus (x. 46); he alone mentions that our Lord would not suffer any man to carry any vessel through the Temple (xi. 16); and that Simon of Cyrene was the father of Alexander and Rufus (xv. 21). All these are tokens of an independent writer, different from Matthew and Luke, and in the absence of other traditions it is natural to look to Peter. One might hope that much light would be thrown on this question from the way in which Peter is mentioned in the Gospel; but the evidence is not so clear as might have been expected. Peter is often mentioned without any special occasion for it (i. 36, v. 37, xi. 20–26, xiii. 3, xvi. 7); but on the other hand there are passages from which it might seem that the writer knew less of the great Apostle. Thus in Matt. xv. 15, we have "Peter;" in the parallel place in Mark only the disciples." The Apostle's walking on the sea is omitted: so the blessing pronounced on him (Matt. xvi. 17–19), and the promise made to all the Apostles in answer to him (Matt. xix. 28). Peter was one of those who were sent to prepare the Passover; yet Mark omits his name. The word "bitterly" of Matthew and Luke is omitted by Mark from the record of Peter's penitence; whilst the account of his denials is full and circumstantial. It has been sought to account for these omissions on the ground of humility; but some may think that this cannot be the clew to all the places. But what we generalize from these passages is, that the name Peter is peculiarly dealt with, added here, and there withdrawn, which would be explained if the writer had access to special information about Peter. On the whole, in spite of the doubtfulness of Eusebius's sources, and the almost self-contradiction into which he falls, the internal evidence inclines us to accept the account that this inspired Gospel has some connection with St. Peter, and records more exactly the preaching which he, guided by the Spirit of God, uttered for the instruction of the world.

II. *Relation of Mark to Matthew and Luke.* — The results of criticism as to the relation of the three Gospels are somewhat humiliating. Up to this day three views are maintained with equal ardor: (*a*) that Mark's Gospel is the original Gospel out of which the other two have been developed; (*b*) that it was a compilation from the other two, and therefore was written last; and (*c* that it was copied from that of Matthew, and forms a link of transition between the other two. (*a.*) Of the first view Thiersch may serve as the expositor "No one," he says, "will now venture to call Mark a mere epitomizer of Matthew and Luke. Were his Gospel an epitome of theirs, it would bear the marks of the attempt to combine in one the excellences of both; else the labor of epitome would have been without an object. But the very opposite is the case. We miss the peculiarities of Matthew and Luke. We find that which is common to both. And therefore, were Mark's Gospel a mere epitome of the others, we should have a third repetition of that which had been already twice related, with so little additional or more exact matter, that the intention and conduct of the writer would remain a riddle. This difficulty disappears, and a great step is made in threading the labyrinth of the Gospel harmony, when we see that Mark formed the basis of Matthew and Luke. Where they follow him they agree. Where they do not, as in the history of our Lord's childhood, in his discourses, and in his appearances after his resurrection, they differ widely, and each takes his own way" (Thiersch, *Church History*, p. 94, Carlyle's translation). But the amount of independent narrative is too great, in each of the others, to admit of their having derived their Gospels from Mark; and in the places which they have in common, each treats the events in an independent way, and not as a copyist. Still this opinion has been held by Herder, Storr, Wilke, Weisse, Reuss, Ewald, and others. (*b.*) The theory that Mark's Gospel is a compilation and abridgment of that of Matthew is maintained by Augustin, and after him by Euthymius and Michaelis. The facts on which it rests are clear enough. There are in St. Mark only about three events which St. Matthew does not narrate (Mark i. 23, viii. 22, xii. 41); and thus the matter of the two may be regarded as almost the same. But the form in St. Mark is, as we have seen, much briefer, and the omissions are many and important. The explanation is that Mark had the work of Matthew before him, and only condensed it. But many would make Mark a compiler from both the others (Griesbach, De Wette, etc.), arguing from passages where there is a curious resemblance to both (see De Wette, *Handbuch*, § 94 *a*). (*c.*) Lastly, the theory that the Gospel before us forms a sort of transition-link between the other two, standing midway between the Judaic tendency of Matthew and the Universalist or Gentile Gospel of St. Luke, need not trouble us much here [see above, p. 1697]. An account of these views may be found in Hilgenfeld's *Evangelien*. It is obvious that they refute one another: the same internal evidence suffices to prove that Mark is the first, and the last, and the intermediate. Let us return to the facts, and, taught by these contradictions what is the worth of "internal evidence," let us carry our speculations no further than the facts. The Gospel of Mark contains scarcely any events that are not recited by the others. There are verbal coincidences with each of the others, and sometimes peculiar words from both meet together in the parallel place in Mark. On the other hand, there are unmistakable marks of independence. He has passages peculiar to himself (as iii. 20, 21, iv. 26–29, vii. 31–37, viii 22–26, xi. 11–14, xiv. 51, 52, xvi. 9–11), and peculiar fullness of detail where he goes over the

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same ground as the others. The beginning of his Gospel is peculiar; so is the end. Remarkable is the absence of passages quoted from the Old Testament by the writer himself, who, however, recites such passages when used by our Lord. There are only two exceptions to this, namely, the opening verses of the Gospel, where Mal. iii. 1 and Is. xl. 3 are cited; and a verse in the account of the crucifixion (xv. 28), where he quotes the words, "and He was numbered with the transgressors" (Is. liii. 12): but this is rejected by Alford and Tischendorf as spurious, inserted here from Luke xxii. 37. After deducting these exceptions, 23 quotations from or references to the O. T. remain, in all of which it is either our Lord Himself who is speaking, or some one addressing Him.

The hypothesis which best meets these facts is, that whilst the matter common to all three Evangelists, or to two of them,[a] is derived from the oral teaching of the Apostles, which they had purposely reduced to a common form, our Evangelist writes as an independent witness to the truth, and not as a compiler; and that the tradition that the Gospel was written under the sanction of Peter, and its matter in some degree derived from him, is made probable by the evident traces of an eye-witness in many of the narratives. The omission and abridgment of our Lord's discourses, and the sparing use of O. T. quotations, might be accounted for by the special destination of the Gospel, if we had surer data for ascertaining it; but it was for Gentiles, with whom illustrations from the O. T. would have less weight, and the purpose of the writer was to present a clear and vivid picture of the acts of our Lord's human life, rather than a full record of his divine doctrine. We may thankfully own that, with little that is in substance peculiar to himself, the Evangelist does occupy for us a distinct position, and supply a definite want, in virtue of these characteristics.

III. *This Gospel written primarily for Gentiles.* — We have seen that the Evangelist scarcely refers to the O. T. in his own person. The word Law (νόμος) does not once occur. The genealogy of our Lord is likewise omitted. Other matters interesting chiefly to the Jews are likewise omitted; such as the references to the O. T. and Law in Matt. xii. 5–7, the reflections on the request of the Scribes and Pharisees for a sign, Matt. xii. 38–45; the parable of the king's son, Matt. xxii. 1–14; and the awful denunciation of the Scribes and Pharisees, in Matt. xxiii. Explanations are given in some places, which Jews could not require: thus, Jordan is a "river" (Mark i. 5; Matt. iii. 6); the Pharisees, etc. "used to fast" (Mark ii. 18; Matt. ix. 14), and other customs of theirs are described (Mark vi. 1–4; Matt. xv. 1, 2); "the time of figs was not yet," *i. e.* at the season of the Passover (Mark xi. 13; Matt. xxi. 19); the Sadducees' worst tenet is mentioned (Mark xii. 18); the Mount of Olives is "over against the temple" (Mark xiii. 3; Matt. xxiv. 3); at the Passover men eat "unleavened bread" (Mark xiv. 1, 12; Matt. xxvi. 2, 17), and explanations are given which Jews would not need (Mark xv. 6, 16, 42; Matt. xxvii. 15, 27, 57). Matter that might offend is omitted, as Matt. x. 5, 6, vi. 7, 8. Passages, not always peculiar to Mark, abound in his Gospel, in which the antagonism between the pharisaic legal spirit and the Gospel come out strongly (i. 22, ii. 19, 22, x. 5, viii. 15), which hold out hopes to the heathen of admission to the kingdom of heaven even without the Jews (xii. 9), and which put ritual forms below the worship of the heart (ii. 18, iii. 1–5, vii. 5–23). Mark alone preserves those words of Jesus, "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath" (ii. 27). Whilst he omits the invective against the Pharisees, he indicates by a touch of his own how Jesus condemned them "with anger" (iii. 5). When the Lord purges the Temple of those that polluted it, He quotes a passage of Isaiah (lvi. 7); but Mark alone reports as part of it the words "of all nations" (xi. 17). Mark alone makes the Scribe admit that love is better than sacrifices (xii. 33). From the general testimony of these places, whatever may be objected to an inference from one or other amongst them, there is little doubt but that the Gospel was meant for use in the first instance amongst Gentiles. But the facts give no warrant for the dream that the first Evangelist represents the Judaic type of Christianity, and the third the Pauline; and that Mark occupies an intermediate position, marking the transition from one to the other! In St. Mark we have the Gospel as it was preached to all the world, and it is so presented as to suit the wants of Gentiles. But there is not a trace of the wish, conscious or unconscious, to assist in any change of Christian belief or modes of thinking. In all things it is a calm history, not a polemical pleading.

IV. *Time when the Gospel was written.* — It will be understood from what has been said, that nothing positive can be asserted as to the time when this Gospel was written. The traditions are contradictory. Irenæus says that it was written after the death (ἔξοδον, but Grabe would translate, wrongly, *departure* from Rome) of the Apostle Peter (Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 8); but we have seen above, that in other passages it is supposed to be written during Peter's lifetime (Eus. *H. E.* vi. 14, and ii. 15). In the Bible there is nothing to decide the question. It is not likely that it dates before the reference to Mark in the Epistle to the Colossians (iv. 10), where he is only introduced as a relative of Barnabas, as if this were his greatest distinction; and this epistle was written about A. D. 62. If after coming to Asia Minor on Paul's sending he went on and joined Peter at Babylon, he may have then acquired, or rather completed, that knowledge of Peter's preaching, which tradition teaches us to look for in the Gospel, and of which there is so much internal evidence; and soon after this the Gospel may have been composed. On the other hand, it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem (xiii. 13, 24–30, 33, &c.). Probably therefore, it was written between A. D. 63 and 70. But nothing can be certainly determined on this point.

V. *Place where the Gospel was written.* — The place is as uncertain as the time. Clement, Eusebius, Jerome, and Epiphanius, pronounce for Rome, and many moderns take the same view. The Latin expressions in the Gospel prove nothing; for there is little doubt that, wherever the Gospel was written, the writer had been at Rome, and so knew its language. Chrysostom thinks Alexandria; but this is not confirmed by other testimony.

VI. *Language.* — The Gospel was written in Greek; of this there can be no doubt if ancient testimony is to weigh. Baronius indeed, on the

[a] Mark has 99 sections common to all three; 23 common to him and Matthew; and 18 common to him and Luke

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authority of an old Syriac translation, asserts that Latin was the original language; and some MSS. referred to in Scholz (*Greek Test.* p. xxx.) repeat the same: but this arises no doubt from the belief that it was written at Rome and for Gentiles. This opinion and its grounds Wahl has travestied by supposing that the Gospel was written at Alexandria in Coptic. A Latin Gospel written for the use of Roman Christians would not have been lost without any mention of it in an ancient writer.

VII. *Genuineness of the Gospel.*—Schleiermacher was the first perhaps to question that we have in our present Gospel that of which Papias speaks, on the ground that his words would apply to a simpler and less orderly composition (*Studien u. Kritiken*, 1832). Accordingly the usual assumption of a later editor is brought in, as in the case of St. Luke's Gospel [see p. 1697]. But the words of Papias require no such aid (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39), nor would such authority be decisive if they did. All ancient testimony makes Mark the author of a certain Gospel, and that this is the Gospel which has come down to us, there is not the least historical ground for doubting. Owing to the very few sections peculiar to Mark, evidence from patristic quotation is somewhat difficult to produce. Justin Martyr, however, quotes ch. ix. 44, 46, 48, xii. 30, and iii. 17, and Irenæus cites both the opening and closing words (iii. 10, 6). An important testimony in any case, but doubly so from the doubt that has been cast on the closing verses (xvi. 9–19). Concerning these verses see Meyer's, Alford's, and Tischendorf's notes. The passage is rejected by the majority of modern critics, on the testimony of MSS. [particularly the Vatican and the Sinaitic] and of old writers and on the internal evidence of the diction. Though it is probable that this section is from a different hand, and was annexed to the Gospel soon after the time of the Apostles, it must be remembered that it is found in three of the four great uncial MSS. (A C D), and is quoted without any question by Irenæus. Among late critics Olshausen still pronounces for its genuineness. With the exception of these few verses the genuineness of the Gospel is placed above the reach of reasonable doubt.

VIII. *Style and Diction.* — The purpose of the Evangelist seems to be to place before us a vivid picture of the earthly acts of Jesus. The style is peculiarly suitable to this. He uses the present tense instead of the narrative aorist, almost in every chapter. The word *εὐθέως*, "straightway," is used by St. Mark forty-one times. The first person is preferred to the third (iv. 39, v. 8, 9, 12, vi. 2, 3, 31, 33, ix. 25, 33, xii. 6). Precise and minute details as to persons, places, and numbers, abound in the narrative. All these tend to give force and vividness to the picture of the human life of our Lord. On the other side, the facts are not very exactly arranged; they are often connected by nothing more definite than *καί* and *πάλιν*. Its conciseness sometimes makes this Gospel more obscure than the others (i. 13, ix. 5, 6, iv. 10–34).

Many peculiarities of diction may be noticed; amongst them the following: 1. Hebrew (Aramaic) words are used, but explained for Gentile readers (iii. 17, 22, v. 41, vii. 11, 34, ix. 43, x. 46, xiv. 36, xv. 22, 34). 2. Latin words are very frequent, as *δηνάριον*, *λεγεών*, *σπεκουλάτωρ*, *κεντυρίων*, *κῆνσος*, *κοδράντης*, *φραγγελλόω*, *πραιτώριον*, *ξέστης*. 3. Unusual words or phrases are found here; as *ἀξάπαντα*, ix. 8; *ἀπεσυντρέχειν*, ix. 25; *γουνεχῶς*, xi. 34; *νάρδος πιστική*, xiv. 3; *ἀπελάω* xv. 46; *ἥφιε*, i. 34, xi. 16; *προσκαρτερεῖν* (of a thing), iii. 9; *ἐπὶ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον καθεύδων* iv. 38; *προέλαβε μυρίσαι*, xiv. 8. 4. Diminutives are frequent. 5. The substantive is often repeated instead of the pronoun; as (to cite from ch. ii. only) ii. 16, 18, 20, 22, 27, 28. 6. Negatives are accumulated for the sake of emphasis (vii. 12, ix. 8, xii. 34, xv. 5, i. 44 (*οὐκέτι οὐ μή*), xiv. 25, etc., etc.). 7. Words are often added to adverbs for the sake of emphasis; as *τότε ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ* ii. 20; *διανυκτερεύσας νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας*, ver. 5; *εὐθέως μετὰ σπουδῆς*, vi. 25; also vii. 21, viii. 4, x. 20, xiii. 29, xiv. 30, 43. 8. The same idea is often repeated under another expression, as, i. 42, ii. 25, viii. 15, xiv. 68, etc. 9. And sometimes the repetition is effected by means of the opposite, as in i. 22, 44, and many other places. 10. Sometimes emphasis is given by simple reiteration, as in ii. 15, 19. 11. The elliptic use of *ἵνα*, like that of *ὅτος* in classical writers, is found, ver. 23. 12. The word *ἐπερωτᾶν* is used twenty-five times in this Gospel. 13. Instead of *συμβούλιον λαμβάνειν* of Matt., Mark has *συμβούλιον ποιεῖν*, iii. 6, xv. 1. 14. There are many words peculiar to Mark; thus *ἄλαλος*, vii. 37, ix. 17, 25; *ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι*, ix. 15, xiv. 33, xvi. 5, 6; *ἐναγκαλίζεσθαι*, ix. 36, x. 16; *κεντυρίων*, xv. 39, 44, 45; *προμερμνᾶν*, xiii. 11; *προσπορεύεσθαι*, x. 35; *στίλβειν*, ix. 3; *στοιβάς*, xi. 8; *συνθλίβειν*, v. 24, 31; *σκάνδαλον*, ix. 44, 46, 48; *παιδιόθεν*, ix. 21, *σμιρνίζω*, xv. 23.

The diction of St. Mark presents the difficulty that whilst it abounds in Latin words, and in expressions that recall Latin equivalents, it is still much more akin to the Hebraistic diction of St. Matthew than to the purer style of St. Luke.

IX. *Quotations from the Old Testament.* — The following list of references to the Old Testament is nearly or quite complete: —

Mark i. 2.	Mal. iii. 1.
i. 3.	Is. xl. 3.
i. 44.	Lev. xiv. 2.
ii. 25.	1 Sam. xxi. 6.
iv. 12.	Is. vi. 10.
vii. 6.	Is. xxix. 13.
vii. 10.	Ex. xx. 12, xxi. 17.
ix. 44.	Is. lxvi. 24.
x. 4.	Deut. xxiv. 1.
x. 7.	Gen. ii. 24.
x. 19.	Ex. xx. 17.
xi. 17.	Is. lvi. 7; Jer. vii. 11.
xii. 10.	Ps. cxviii. 22.
xii. 19.	Deut. xxv. 5.
xii. 26.	Ex. iii. 6.
xii. 29.	Deut. vi. 4.
xii. 31.	Lev. xix. 18.
xii. 36.	Ps. cx. 1.
xiii. 14.	Dan. ix. 27.
xiii. 24.	Is. xiii. 10.
xiv. 27.	Zech. xiii. 7.
xiv. 62.	Dan. vii. 13.
xv. 28 (?)	Is. liii. 12.
xv. 34.	Ps. xxii. 1.

X. *Contents of the Gospel.* — Though this Gospel has little historical matter which is not shared with some other, it would be a great error to suppose that the voice of Mark could have been silenced without injury to the divine harmony. The minute painting of the scenes in which the Lord took part, the fresh and lively mode of the narration, the very absence of the precious discourses of Jesus, which, interposed between the

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deeds, would have delayed the action, all give to this Gospel a character of its own. It is the history of the war of Jesus against sin and evil in the world during the time that He dwelt as a Man among men. Its motto might well be, as Lange observes, those words of Peter: "How God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power; who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the Devil; for God was with Him" (Acts x. 38). It develops a series of acts of this conflict, broken by times of rest and refreshing, in the wilderness or on the mountain. It records the exploits of the Son of God in the war against Satan, and the retirement in which after each He returned to commune with his Father, and bring back fresh strength for new encounters. Thus the passage from ii. 1 to iii. 6 describes his first conflict with the Pharisees, and it ends in a conspiracy of Pharisees and Herodians for his destruction, before which He retires to the sea (iii. 7). The passage from iii. 13 to vi. 6 contains the account of his conflict with the unbelief of his own countrymen, ending with those remarkable words, "And He could there do no mighty work, save that He laid his hands upon a few sick folk and healed them;" then, constrained (so to speak) in his working by their resistance, He retired for that time from the struggle, and "went round about the villages teaching" (vi. 6).

The principal divisions in the Gospel are these: — 1. John the Baptist and Jesus (i. 1–13). 2. Acts of Jesus in Galilee (i. 14–ix. 50). 3. Teaching in Perœa, where the spirit of the new kingdom of the Gospel is brought out (x. 1–34). 4. Teaching, trials, and sufferings in Jerusalem. Jesus revealing Himself as Founder of the new kingdom (x. 35–and xv. 47). 5. Resurrection (xvi.).

SOURCES. —The works quoted under LUKE, and besides them, Davidson, *Introduction to N. T.* (Bagster, 1848); Lange, *Bibelwerk*, part ii., and *Leben Jesu;* Fritzsche on St. Mark (Leipzig, 1830); Kuhn, *Leben Jesu*, vol. i. (Mainz, 1838), and Sepp, *Leben Christi* (1843–46). W. T.

* *Additional Literature.* — The most important works on the Gospel of Mark are mentioned in the supplement to the article GOSPELS, vol. ii. p. 959 ff. In addition, however, to the critical works of Wilke (1838), Hilgenfeld (1850), Baur (1851), James Smith of Jordanhill (1853), Holtzmann (1863), Weizsäcker (1864), with others there referred to, and the commentaries of Kuinoel, Olshausen, DeWette, Meyer, Bleek, Lange, Nast, etc., the following deserve to be noted: Knobel, *De Ev. Marci Origine*, Vratisl. 1831; Hitzig, *Ueber Johannes Marcus u. seine Schriften, oder welcher Johannes hat die Offenbarung verfasst?* Zürich, 1843; Güder, art. *Marcus Evangelist*, in Herzog's *Real-Encykl.* ix. 44–51 (1858); Kenrick, *The Gospel of Mark the Protevangelium*, in his *Biblical Essays*, Lond. 1864, 12mo, pp. 1–68; Hilgenfeld, *Das Marcus-Evangelium u. die Marcus-Hypothese*, in his *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.*, 1864, vii. 237–333; and *Marcus zwischen Matthäus u. Lucas*, ibid., 1866, ix. 82–113; Zeller, *Zum Marcus-Evangelium*, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1865, viii. 308–328, 385–408; H. U. Meijboom, *Geschiedenis en Critiek der Marcus-Hypothese*, Amst. 1866; J. H. A. Michelsen, *Het Evangelie van Markus*, 1e gedeelte, Amst. 1867; Aug. Klostermann, *Das Markusevangelium nach seinem Quellenwerthe f. d. evang Geschichte*, Gött. 1867; J. H. Scholten, *Het oudste evangelie Critisch onderzoek naar de samenstelling . . . de hist. waarde en den oorsprong der evangelien naar Matheus en Marcus*, Leiden, 1869; Davidson, *Introd. to the Study of the N. T.*, Lond. 1868, ii. 76–123. For an historical outline of the discussions respecting the relation of Mark's Gospel to those of Matthew and Luke, see Holtzmann in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, vol. viii. (1866), pp. 29–55. Many recent critics, besides those mentioned in the preceding article (p. 1788 *b*), as Smith of Jordanhill, Kenrick, Ritschl (*Theol. Jahrb.* 1851), Holtzmann, Weiss (*Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1861), Schenkel, Weizsäcker, and Meyer in the later editions of his *Kommentar*, regard Mark as the earliest and most original of the first three Gospels, most of them, however, resorting to the hypothesis of an earlier, perhaps Petrine Gospel, which forms its basis. The subject has been discussed with great fullness by Holtzmann. On the other hand, Hilgenfeld strenuously maintains the secondary and derivative character of Mark's Gospel, and Davidson, in his new Introduction (1868), as well as Bleek, adheres substantially to the view of Griesbach, arguing that it was mainly compiled from Matthew and Luke. Against the supposition that any one of the Evangelists copied from the others, see particularly the dissertation of Mr. Norton, "On the Origin of the Correspondences among the First Three Gospels," in his *Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels*, 2d ed. (1846), vol. i. Addit. Note D., pp. cvi.–cxiii.

Among the special commentaries we may notice the following: Victor Antiochenus (fl. A. D. 401), ed. by C. F. Matthæi (Βίκτορος πρεσβ. Ἀντ. καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν πατέρων ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον ἅγ. εὐαγγέλιον), Moscow, 1775, Latin translation in *Max. Bibl. Patrum*, iv. 370 ff. (comp. Lardner, *Works*, iv. 581 ff., ed. 1829); Possinus, *Catena Græcorum Patrum in Marcum*, Rome, 1673, fol.; Cramer, *Catena Græcorum Patrum in Evv. Matth. et Marci*, Oxon. 1840; Euthymius Zigabenus (in Migne's *Patrol. Græca*, vol. cxxix.), and Theophylact (*ibid.* vol. cxxiii.); see more fully under LUKE, GOSPEL OF, p. 1699; G. A. Heupelius, *Marci Evang. Notis gram.-hist.-crit. illustratum*, Argent. 1716; J. Elsner, *Com. philol.-crit. in Ev. Marci*, Traj. ad Rhen. 1773; C. F. A. Fritzsche, *Evang. Marci recensuit et cum Comm. perpetuis edidit*, Lips. 1830, a very elaborate philological commentary; James Ford, *The Gospel of St. Mark illustrated from Ancient and Modern Authors*, Lond. 1849; J. A. Alexander, *The Gospel according to Mark explained*, New York, 1858, perhaps the best commentary in English, being at the same time scholarly and popular; (N. N. Whiting,) *The Gospel according to Mark, translated from the Greek, on the Basis of the Common English Version, with Notes*, New York, 1858 (Amer. Bible Union). The translation of Lange's *Commentary* by Prof. W. G. T. Shedd, New York, 1866, forming, with Oosterzee on Luke, vol. ii. of the N. T. series, and the new (5th) edition of Meyer's *Krit. exeg. Handb. üb. d. Evv. des Markus et Lukas* (Gött. 1867), should also be mentioned here. A.

MAR'MOTH (Μαρμωθ; Alex. Μαρμωθ: *Marimoth*) = MERAIOTH the priest, the son of Uriah (1 Esdr. viii. 62; comp. Ezr. viii. 33).

MA'ROTH (מָרוֹת [*bitterness*, pl. Ges.]; Μάρη in both MSS.: and so also Jerome, *in*

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Amaritudinibus), one of the towns of the western lowland of Judah whose names are alluded to or played upon by the prophet Micah in the warning with which his prophecy opens (i. 12). The allusion turns on the signification of Maroth — "bitternesses." It is not elsewhere mentioned, nor has the name been encountered by travellers. Schwarz's conjecture (107), that it is a contraction of Maarath, is not very happy, as the latter contains the letter *ain*, which but very rarely disappears under any process to which words are subjected. G.

* **MARKET** occurs in the O. T. only in the 27th chap. of Ezekiel (vv. 13, 17, 19, 25), where it is the rendering of the Hebr. מַעֲרָב, which in the same chapter is five times (in vv. 9, 27, 33, 34) translated "merchandise." In the N. T. it is used as the equivalent of the Greek word *ἀγορά*, which, however, is rendered market-*place* in Matt. xx. 3; Mark xii. 38; Luke vii. 32; Acts xvi. 19; and in Mark vi. 56 is translated "*street*" (apparently after the Vulg. in *plateis*).

The market was not only a place of traffic, but also of general resort. It was frequented by persons in search of amusement (cf. Matt. xi. 16; Luke vii. 32) or of employment (Matt. xx. 3), and in time of calamity (Eccles. xii. 5 LXX.; cf. Is. xv. 3). There justice was commonly administered, and many other public affairs transacted; there, too, prophets and public teachers found their auditors (cf. Jer. xvii. 19; Prov. i. 20 f., viii. 1 f.; Luke xiii. 26). They were "market-loungers" (*ἀγοραῖοι*) who aided the Jewish persecutors of Paul at Thessalonica (Acts xvii. 5). Accordingly, the word sometimes appears to designate little more than a place of publicity (Matt. xxiii. 7; Mark xii. 38; Luke xi. 43, xx. 46).

The market-places in the cities of Palestine, at least in the earlier times, lay just within the gates [GATES, vol. i. p. 871; see also Thomson's *Land and Book*, i. 29 ff.]. They sometimes consisted of something more than a bare, open space, if we may judge from 1 Esdr. ii. 18 (17), where we read of "building (*οἰκοδομοῦσι*) the market-places;" cf. Joseph. *B. J.* i. 21, § 8. And it is doubtful whether they were always situated close to the city gates (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 4, § 1; v. 12, § 3; *Vita*, p. 29). Certainly in Jerusalem trade seems not to have been confined to the neighborhood of the gates; for we read in Jer. xxxvii. 21 of the bakers' street (רְחוֹב) (cf. also Neh. iii. 32), in Josephus (*B. J.* v. 8, § 1), of the wool-mart, the coppersmiths' shops, the clothes market, and (*B. J.* v. 4, § 1) of the valley of the cheese-makers, while in the rabbinical writings still other associated trades are mentioned, as the corn-market, meat-market, etc. (For illustrations of modern usages, see Tobler's *Denkblätter aus Jerusalem*, pp. 139 ff., 142 f., 373 f., &c.) Accordingly, the supposition is not an improbable one that in the larger cities a market for the sale of country produce, cattle, etc., was held in piazze near the gates, while traffic in manufactured articles was grouped in bazaars, or collections of shops within — a usage not unknown in the East at the present day [STREET] (see Hackett's *Illustrations of Scripture*, p. 69 ff.). On the approach of the Sabbath, or of a festival, a signal from a trumpet was given "between the two evenings" [DAY, vol. i. p. 568] that work should cease and the markets be closed. They remained shut also on days of public mourning. Foreigners seem to have been free to engage in traffic (Neh. xiii. 16, x. 31); indeed, the wandering habits of oriental traders are indicated by the primary signification ("one who travels about") of כּוֹחֵר and רָכַל, two of the most common Hebrew words to denote a merchant, (see Jas. iv. 13, and Hackett's *Illustrations*, etc. p. 70 f.). The falsification of weights and measures was rigorously proscribed by Moses and the prophets (Lev. xix. 35, 36; Deut. xxv. 13, 15; Ezek. xlv. 10 ff.; Amos viii. 5; Micah vi. 10 f.; cf. Prov. xi. 1, xvi. 11, xx. 10, 23). On the medium of trade see MONEY.

Respecting "the market" at Athens, where Paul "disputed daily," according to the practice of public teachers, at least from the time of Socrates, see ATHENS, vol. i. p. 194. A detailed account (of course somewhat conjectural) of the place and its environs is given in Conybeare and Howson's *Life and Epp. of St. Paul*, i. 354 f., Am. ed., and a lively description of the scenes that were to be witnessed there may be found in Felton's *Lectures on Ancient and Modern Greece*, i. 375 ff.; cf. Becker's *Charicles*, 2d Eng. ed., p. 277 ff. The "market-place" of Philippi, and the proceedings before the "prætors" there, must derive illustration from the forensic usages of Rome, of which Philippi as a Roman colony was a miniature likeness. J. H. T.

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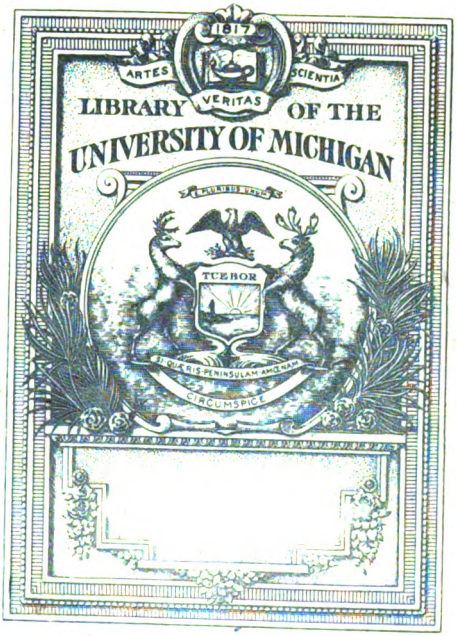
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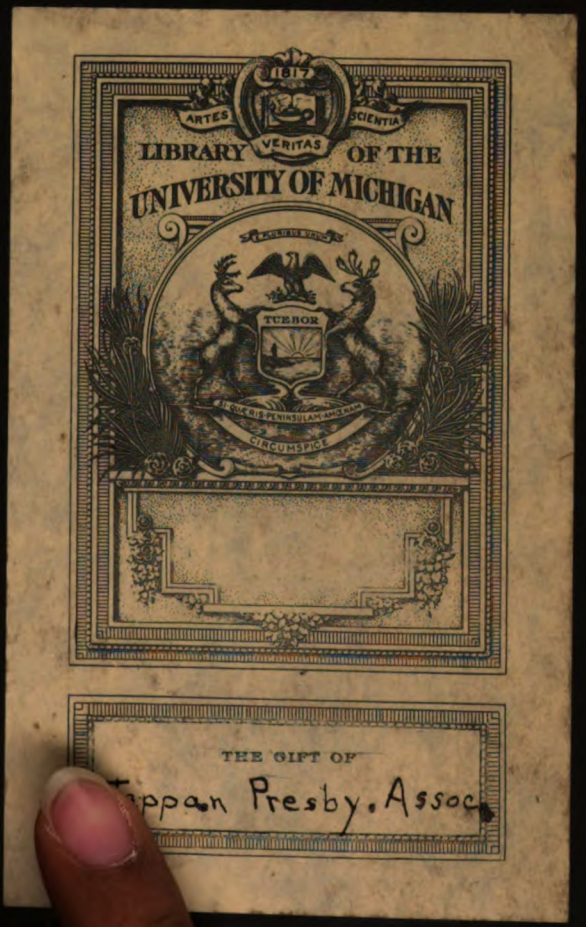


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